PLANNING FOR THE HOUSING IMPACTS OF A HALLMARK EVENT: A CASE STUDY OF EXPO 86

By

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B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1985

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The School of Community and Regional Planning

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

The University of British Columbia

April 1988

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes a strategy which will assist governments, the sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups to identify and plan for the negative housing impacts of such events. Hallmark events are major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourist destination in the short and/or long term. World's Fairs and Olympic Games are two examples of hallmark events.

The 1986 World's Fair (Expo 86) in Vancouver provided an opportunity to document the impacts of this hallmark event on the residents of a community which borders the fair site and on the planning practices of the local government.

Five research questions are addressed:

1) How has the nature of World's Fairs changed since their emergence in the late 19th century?

2) To what extent have World's Fairs been used as an inner city redevelopment tool ; what have their housing impacts been; and, how have these impacts been planned for?

3) What was the nature of the housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside community in Vancouver?

4) What was the City of Vancouver's planning process with respect to the potential and then actual housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside?

5) What were the reasons for the success and/or failure of the City of Vancouver's planning process?

These research questions are explored by: undertaking a literature review; corresponding with academics, planners and

World's Fair staff in cities where fairs have or will be held; interviewing representatives of Expo 86, the City of Vancouver and the impacted community; analyzing City files on the issue; and, personal observation.

The results suggest that the nature of World's Fairs has changed considerably since their emergence. In the last two decades, their use as an inner city redevelopment tool, in combination with the pressures created by millions of fair visitors, has created four different types of housing impacts: on-site impact; post-announcement speculative impact; pre-Expo tourist demand impact; and, post-Expo impact. In Vancouver, for example, between 1,600 and 2,600 lodging house units were demolished or converted between 1978 and 1986 in a community bordering the fair site (Expo 86 was announced in 1980). In addition, between January and June, 1986, 500 to 850 residents were evicted from lodging houses (Expo 86 opened on May 2, 1986).

The evaluation of the City of Vancouver's planning process for the Expo 86 housing impacts suggests that the City was adequately prepared. However, it was the politics of planning -- the issues of political jurisdiction, ideology and ideological differences -- which resulted in the City's failure to stop the negative housing impacts.

This study concludes by recommending that a systematic planning process be implemented for addressing the housing impacts of hallmark events. Planners should adapt their role in the process to fit the planning environment. Lastly, governments,

sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups should implement a wide range of options to prevent negative housing impacts from occurring. Examples of such options and some "points to consider" are presented in Chapter Five of this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

CONTENTS v

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF FIGURES viii

CLARIFICATION OF TERMS ix

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Background

A. Introduction 1
B. Context and Scope of the Study 3
C. Significance and Limitations 8
D. Methodology and Organization 11

CHAPTER TWO: Historical Overview of the Roles of World's Fairs

A. Introduction 14
B. Period I: Origins of World's Fairs 15
C. Period II: The Early World's Fairs 18
D. Period III: The City Beautiful 23
E. Period IV: The City Efficient 27
F. Period V: The City of Renewal 31
    1. Expo 62 - Seattle, Washington 32
    2. Expo 64/65 - New York, New York 34
    3. Expo 67 - Montreal, Quebec 35
    4. Expo 68 - San Antonio, Texas 38
    5. Expo 74 - Spokane, Washington 40
    6. Expo 82 - Knoxville, Tennessee 43
    7. Expo 84 - New Orleans, Louisiana 50
    8. Expo 88 - Brisbane, Australia 53
    9. Expo 92 - Chicago, Illinois 56
G. Conclusions 58

CHAPTER THREE: Expo 86 in Vancouver: A Case Study

A. Introduction 64
B. Expo 86
    1. Origins 65
    2. Location 69
    3. General Operational Facts 71
    4. The Legacies of Expo 86 71
    5. The Relationship of Expo 86 to the B.C. Enterprise Corporation 75

C. The Impacted Community: A Profile of the Downtown Eastside
1. Location and Definition 78
2. A Brief History 80
3. A Statistical Profile 83
4. Residential Tenancy Rights 89
5. Sense of Community 90
D. The City of Vancouver's Planning Process 93
E. The Housing Impacts of Expo 86
1. On-site Impact 103
2. Post-Announcement Speculative Impact 103
3. Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact 107
4. Post-Expo Impact 110
5. The Health Costs of the Expo 86 Housing Impacts .. 112
6. The Impact on Housing in Metropolitan Vancouver .. 115

CHAPTER FOUR: An Evaluation of the City of Vancouver's Planning Process

A. Evaluation of the Planning Process 117
B. The Politics of Planning 131
C. Conclusions 137

CHAPTER FIVE: An Action Plan, Recommendations and Summary

A. How to Plan for the Housing Impacts of a Hallmark Event
1. Introduction 140
2. The Process Issues to be Considered
a. The Process 140
b. The Role of the Planner 141
3. A Catalogue of Possible Options and Points to Consider 145
C. The Future of the Downtown Eastside: Recommendations to the City of Vancouver 166
D. Summary
1. The Research Questions Addressed 169
2. Future Research Possibilities 176

BIBLIOGRAPHY 179

APPENDIX I. 207

APPENDIX II. 222

APPENDIX III. 263

APPENDIX IV. 264

APPENDIX V. 266

APPENDIX VI. 268

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Population Changes in the Downtown North and South, the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona Census Tracts, 1961-1981	84
Table 2	Lodging House Tenants and Their Proportion of the Total Residential Population in the Downtown North and South, the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona, 1961-1981	85
Table 3	Changes in Total Assessed Value for Downtown Residential Hotels, 1979-1982	104
Table 4	Indicators of Instability in the Residential Hotel Market, 1979-1982	105
Table 5	Index to Catalogue of Possible Options and Points to Consider	146

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Map of Vancouver	66
Figure 2	Map of Expo 86 Site	70
Figure 3	Map of Downtown Eastside - Oppenheimer District (narrow definition)	78
Figure 4	Map of the Downtown Eastside (broad definition)	79
Figure 5	Prototype of Planning Problems	143
Figure 6	Planning Roles Categorized by Planning Conditions	144

CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

World's Fair, fair, Expo, Exhibition, and Exposition are used interchangeably throughout the study. They are considered to refer to the same spectacle.

The terms displacement, eviction and dislocation are used interchangeably throughout the study. They are considered to refer to the same process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been completed without the help of many people. David Hulchanski and David Ley have provided excellent help and support as my primary advisors. Thanks also go to Peter Boothroyd, Henry Hightower and Brahm Wiesman for advice along the way. Doug Konrad supplied very helpful information and comment on the topic. The City of Vancouver's Social Planning (particularly Doug Purdy) and Health Departments were very supportive of the research. Jim Green and John Shaylor of DERA permitted "yet another" student to hound them for information. Finally, my wife Janice lovingly beared with, and assisted me over the three years it took to carry out the study.

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) provided me with two years of vital financial assistance through the CMHC Graduate Fellowship.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

A. Introduction

This study proposes a strategy which will assist governments, the sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups to identify and plan for the negative housing impacts of such events. Hallmark events are defined as:

> Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourist destination in the short and/or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention. (Ritchie, 1984, p. 2)

The proposed strategy addresses both process and substantive issues. Past experience has demonstrated that ad hoc planning ("fire fighting") is a problematic and costly activity for all parties, especially the poor and elderly inner city residents who most often suffer because of the housing impacts.

The major premise of this study is that planning to protect the traditional residents of a community from involuntary displacement is a desirable and necessary activity. World's Fairs and other hallmark events create housing impacts which disrupt the lives and health of the most powerless people in our society. Given that hallmark events receive considerable government support, the government, the sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups have a moral obligation to preserve

the peace of mind and body of the people who may be impacted.

World's Fairs are cultural artifacts. Since the late 19th Century they have been staged in cities such as London, Paris, San Francisco, Montreal, and more recently Knoxville, New Orleans and Vancouver. There are a multitude of roles, both explicit and implicit, which World's Fairs have played since they began being held on a systematic basis in North America. Recently, one of their more important roles has been that of an inner city redevelopment tool. This role has combined with the pressure created by the influx of large numbers of visitors to create disruptive housing impacts on residential areas adjacent to the hallmark event site.

The operation of the 1986 World's Fair (Expo 86) in Vancouver provided an opportunity to document the impacts on the residents of the inner city and on the planning practices of the local government.

This study answers five research questions:

1) How has the nature of World's Fairs changed since their emergence in the late 19th century?

2) To what extent have World's Fairs been used as an inner city redevelopment tool; what have their housing impacts been; and, how have these impacts been planned for?

3) What was the nature of the housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside community in Vancouver?

4) What was the City of Vancouver's planning process with respect to the potential and then actual housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside?

5) What were the reasons for the success and/or failure of the City of Vancouver's planning process?

B. Context and Scope of the Study

This study contributes to a diverse body of literature in the field of planning, housing, geography, tourism, and social work. One of the central objectives of this study is to integrate relevant aspects of the existing literature. Too often research has been carried out in a vacuum for valid reasons (e.g., "I'm limiting the scope") or for invalid reasons (e.g., "municipal staff aren't health care workers"). This point is expressed by C.M. Hall (1987) in a paper on the "potential directions for research on hallmark tourist events". He states that it is important to note:

> the context within which hallmark events take place. Hallmark tourist events cannot be studied in isolation from the complex economic, environmental political, and social milieux in which they occur (Runyan and Wu, 1979). If researchers are to make a valid contribution to the study of hallmark events and their impacts it is vital that we become aware of the widest possible implications of such events for host communities. (p. 3) (emphasis added)

It is important, therefore, that the scope of the study remain wide and that a broad range of knowledge is drawn upon.

The first body of literature this study draws on is hallmark events. Since the late 1970's a small number of academics, primarily from Canada, Australia and the United States, have been carrying out research on the impacts of hallmark events. There are a wide variety of "types" of hallmark events. Ritchie (1984, p. 2) delineates seven classifications:

1) World fairs/expositions such as Expo 86;

2) Unique carnivals and festivals such as the Quebec Winter Carnival;

3) Major sport events such as the 1984 Summer Olympics;

4) Significant cultural and religious events such as the Royal Wedding;

5) Historical milestones such as the 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of America;

6) Classical commercial and agricultural events such as Wine Purchasing in France; and,

7) Major political personage events such as the funeral of Brezhnev (Russia) or Papal visits.

Important research on hallmark events has been carried out by: Cowie (1987); Hall (1987); Hiller (1987); Ritchie (1984); Ritchie and Aitken (1984); and, Ritchie and Beliveau (1974). These authors examine the economic, tourism/commercial, physical, social/socio-cultural, psychological and political impacts of hallmark events together with the methodological and conceptual issues.

This study can be characterized as hallmark event research since both the physical and social impacts of World's Fairs are examined. The focus is on North American fairs (with the single exception of Expo 88 in Australia) and their impacts on inner city redevelopment, housing and the local government planning efforts devised to address these impacts.

The second important body of literature drawn upon is tourism research. Hallmark event literature is in fact one particular branch of tourism research. Tourism research is becoming an increasingly important field. As Hall (1987) puts

it, "tourism is the industry of the late twentieth century and beyond." With the rise in the economic, political and cultural importance of tourism, we have seen considerable growth in tourism research.

Research tends to fall into four main areas:

1) The tourist -- his/her motivations, attitudes, reactions, and roles;

2) The relations and perceptions of tourists and locals;

3) The structure of the tourist system; and,

4) the socioeconomic and sociocultural consequences of tourism.

(Cohen, 1984, p. 373)

Authors such as Mathieson and Wall (1982), Young (1973), Wu (1982), Wall (1983), Pizam (1978), Long and Hecock (1984) or Gartner and Holecek (1983) are just a few in a blossoming field who are concerned with all four principal issue areas (see Cohen, 1984, for an overview of the approaches, issues and findings of tourism research).

This study focuses on the last issue area -- the socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts. Generally, research in the socioeconomic area examines issues such as foreign exchange, income, employment, prices, distribution of benefits, ownership and control, development and government revenue (Cohen, 1984, p. 384). In contrast, the sociocultural studies focus on issues such as community involvement, the nature of interpersonal relations, the bases of social organization, the rhythm of social life, migration, the division of labour, stratification, the distribution of power, deviance, and customs and the arts

(Cohen, 1984, p. 385). Hall (1987) also includes issues such as "problems of cultural change and anxiety, social stress in the host community, and social eviction resulting from changes to the pattern of economic production," (p. 6). Residential displacement resulting from the operation of a hallmark tourist event is both a sociocultural and a socioeconomic impact.

The third body of literature relevant to this study deals with World's Fairs. Part of this study provides an historical overview of the various roles of World's Fairs, leading to an examination of their use as an inner city redevelopment tool. Historical studies such as Abbott (1981), Allix (1922), Buel (1894), Cawelti (1968), Chandler (1986), Gardner (1880), Luckhurst (1951) and Mandell (1967) are drawn upon. Planning history literature (Boyer (1983), Foglesong (1986), Hines (1974), Krueckeberg (1983), Mullin (1972), Peterson (1983) and Wilson (1984)) are perused as are anthropological and sociological studies (Benedict, 1983; Dobkin, 1983; The Queens Museum, 1980). Most importantly, a small group of studies have partially documented how World's Fairs have been, and will be used, as inner city redevelopment tools (Chicago Central Area Committee and The City of Chicago, 1983; Elliot, 1968; Gutstein, 1986; Knack, 1982; McDonald and Wheeler, 1983; Mullin, 1972; Park and Feros, 1985; Peters, 1982).

Residential displacement research is the fourth body of literature this study draws upon. Authors such as Hartman (1974; 1979), Hartman, Keating and LeGates (1981), Hodge (1981), LeGates

and Hartman (1986), Ley (1986b), Rosen (1984) and, Smith and Williams (1986) analyze the causes and consequences of displacement. They identify strategies designed to protect inner city residents from the negative impacts of urban redevelopment and displacement. The majority of this literature is concerned with the process of gentrification.

One alternative and yet complementary perspective on displacement has emerged from the fields of social work and public health. Primarily concerned with the aged, researchers such as Bahr (1976), Borup, Gallego and Heffernan (1980), Bourestrom and Pastalan (1981), Cohen and Sokolvsky (1980), Eisinger (1986), Eckert (1980), Ferraro (1982), Fry (1986), Hanvey (1981), McLachlan (1981), Rowels and Ohta (1983), and Schulz and Brenner (1977) are a few of the authors concerned with the social life of inner city residents and the elderly. They have sought to determine the health impacts of the involuntary relocation of elderly people. This literature is relevant because considerable negative health impacts were incurred during the Expo 86 evictions.

The scope of this study is very broad. The work is kept sufficiently focussed in three ways. World's Fairs alone are used as the example of a hallmark event. The focus is on inner city redevelopment and housing impacts of North American World's Fairs (with one exception). Lastly, the housing impacts on lodging houses in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside community are concentrated on. Traffic and economic impacts are beyond the

scope of this study as are the housing impacts of Expo on mobile home owners in the suburbs. The issue under examination was the most serious and controversial impact created by Expo 86. As such, it deserves detailed examination.

C. Significance and Limitations

> "I don't understand why the government can't put on rent control ... During the war we had rent control. Well, there's a new war on now - it's a war against poor people ... I'm not the ruler of my destiny any more. The dollar bill is the ruler of my destiny."
>
> (Evictee Joseph Smith, 87, cited in Sarti, March 4, 1986)

> There is a need to go beyond the glamour of hallmark events, and the supposed economically beneficial effects of such events, and subject them to rigorous integrated economic, environmental, social and political analysis.
>
> (Hall, 1987, pp. 8-9)

The impacts of hallmark events have not been analyzed to any great extent nor have appropriate research methods been developed (Ritchie and Aitken, 1984; Hall, 1987). As in tourism research, the impact studies which have been carried out are generally concerned with "the more obvious economic impacts" (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Blackorby, Picard and Slade, 1986; Della Betta, Loudon, Booth and Weeks, 1977; Ritchie and Beliveau, 1974). Moreover, the majority of the small number of studies concerned with the social impacts of tourism have tended to focus on the Third World (Cohen, 1984; Hall, 1987; UNESCO, 1976). The work by

researchers on the impacts of either tourism, hallmark events, or World's Fairs is limited in quantity and quality. This study is significant because:

1) Work is being carried out on the impacts of a hallmark event;

2) This work is concerned with impacts other than economic ones;

3) The setting to study the social (the evictions), physical (World's Fairs as an inner city redevelopment tool/legacies) and political (the City of Vancouver's planning process) is in North America as opposed to the Third World;

4) Field research was carried out during the build-up to the impacts, during the impacts, and after the impacts occurred.

Further, the "Expo eviction crisis" as it has come to be known is an important event in the history of World's Fairs, Vancouver and the Downtown Eastside. It was also a highly controversial issue which "ruffled the feathers" of local, provincial and national politicians. Seven evictees died during the crisis although only one death was officially attributed to the stress of relocation. Two of the seven committed suicide and the other four had various unrelated health problems. The health problems of other evictees were aggravated by the disruptive effects of the evictions. When events such as these occur, it is important that they be properly documented, explained and hopefully avoided in the future. The eviction crisis was <u>the</u> big media event relating to Expo 86 while it was happening. It has long since been forgotten by the media or, as R.S. Laurie, High Commissioner for Australia eagerly put it in a <u>Globe and Mail</u> letter to the editor:

> Ask former B.C. premier Bill Bennett and Expo 86 chairman Jimmy Pattison about negative images projected as a result of union problems, lack of money, protests over the site clearing and housing of former tenants, construction behind schedule, all now forgotten in the afterglow of a successful venture. (August 12, 1987) (emphasis added)

It is important that such events not be forgotten, or rewritten after the fact. It is therefore critical to document what happened, who said what, and who did what. Successful planning for the potential housing impacts of a hallmark event requires facts about what happened in the past. This study aims to supply them.

This study has a number of limitations. Firstly, the eviction crisis is an extremely controversial issue. One consequence is that many of the interviews carried out reflect this controversy. Often, interview subjects did not wish to comment on certain topics and in other cases, the author feels information was withheld.

The Social Planning Department generously permitted the author to use their complete files on the eviction crisis. From these files, augmented by interviews and media reports, a description of the substantive and procedural elements of the planning process is formulated. It is possible that errors have been made in the formulation process as the files could be missing important documents. Also, the memories of interview subjects lapse over the several years during which this planning occurred.

Housing impact data is supplied by the Social Planning

Department. The data has validity problems and criticisms are raised in Chapter Three of this study.

Written correspondence is used to inquire about the housing impacts of some World's Fairs. The author had great difficulty receiving replies, let alone relevant information. The consequence is that there are light descriptions of housing impacts and housing impact planning when Expo 62, Expo 67 and Expo 68 are examined.

D. Methodology and Organization

A case study approach is employed because it "enables basic principles to be postulated by building on human experience" and because "it allows past mistakes to be recognized and avoided" (Kessel, 1984; Kiralfy, 1973). In addition, case studies generate "possibilistic knowledge" as opposed to "deterministic knowledge". The possibilities of what can happen if "this occurs" (e.g., sponsoring a hallmark event) are demonstrated. Deterministic knowledge, in comparison, simply demonstrates "if this occurs, that will happen" (e.g., if you heat ice, it melts). It is also possible to develop tentative generalizations from the particular case under examination (Kessel, 1984).

The case study approach is associated with a methodology known as "evaluation research" or "evaluation studies". Babbie (1979) describes evaluation research as a method appropriate:

> whenever some social intervention occurs or is planned. It is specifically appropriate whenever a new social program or process is introduced for the purpose of achieving a particular result. In its

> simplest sense, evaluation research is a process of determining whether the intended result was produced. (p. 292)

This is an appropriate method given that a principal aim of this study is to evaluate the effects of the City of Vancouver's planning process with respect to the housing impacts of Expo 86. This is analysis of policy.

This study also seeks to propose a strategy which will assist governments, the sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups to identify and plan for the negative housing impacts of hallmark events. This is carried out by drawing "lessons" from the case study, as well as from the historical overview of the various roles of World's Fairs. This is analysis for policy.

The integration of analysis of policy and analysis for policy is recognized by Ham and Hill (1984) in their studies of policy and policy analysis as a characteristic of evaluation studies. They also note that evaluation studies may be either descriptive or prescriptive or both (p. 10). In this study there are descriptive, analytical and prescriptive components.

Chapter Two is an historical overview of World's Fairs and the many roles which they have played. A detailed examination is conducted on the recent use of the World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment tool, the consequent housing impacts and the planning which took place to address these impacts. Data for Chapter Two is collected from literature, correspondence with academics and planners in cities where World's Fairs have or will

be held, and interviews with Expo 86 personnel.

Chapter Three is a case study of Expo 86 and the housing impacts it created in a residential community which borders the fair site. The City of Vancouver's planning process for these housing impacts is described. Data for Chapter Three was primarily supplied by the City of Vancouver's Social Planning Department. Media reports, interviews and observation are also used as data sources.

The City of Vancouver's planning process for the Expo 86 housing impacts is evaluated in Chapter Four. The author uses an "ideal" planning process in combination with interviews and informed judgement to carry out this evaluation.

Chapter Five contains an action plan which will assist governments, the sponsors of hallmark events, and community groups to identify and plan for the negative housing impacts of such hallmark events. The information in this action plan is collected from interviews, correspondence, and a literature search. Chapter Five also contains specific recommendations to the City of Vancouver on the future of the Downtown Eastside community, and a summary with respect to the five research questions posed at the outset of this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ROLES OF WORLD'S FAIRS

A) Introduction

> We're the rising tide come from far and wide
> Marching side by side on our way,
> For a brave new world,
> That we shall build today
>
> Theme song of 1939/40 World's Fair
> (O'Connor, 1980, p. 62)

World's Fairs are not merely overgrown amusement parks or simple trade fairs. They play a multitude of roles, both explicit and implicit. It is important to ensure that people do not suffer because of the direct and indirect effects of any of these roles. One of the first steps towards meeting this goal is the acquisition of knowledge about the many roles which World's Fairs have played in the past.

This overview is divided into five periods, a division based on the approach taken by Mullin (1972), Reps (1965) and a host of other historical studies. Period I covers the origins of the World's Fair. In Period II, the early European and North American World's Fairs are examined. Period III, "The City Beautiful", covers 1890 to 1930. The "City Efficient" World's Fairs (Period IV) took place between 1931 and 1961. Period V, "The City of Renewal", covers 1962 to the present. This period receives particular attention due to its relevance to the issue

of housing impacts.

There are two main categories of "official" expositions. Universal expositions have very broad themes. Each participating government or corporation builds its own pavilion on the site. Expo 67 in Montreal is an example of a universal exposition. Specialized expositions tend to be smaller spectacles. The host country builds the pavilions and leases space to participating countries and corporations. The site is generally smaller and a single aspect of human endeavour is selected as a theme. Expo 86 in Vancouver is an example of a specialized exposition. All official expositions must be sanctioned by the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) based in Paris.

B. Period I. Origins of World's Fairs

The origins of World's Fairs goes back to the 12th Century B.C. (Allix, 1922). During this era religious festivals were held combining ritual and public entertainment activities. Such fairs were held in ancient India, Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and later, Greece.

These festivals also provided opportunities for the exchange of news and goods (Cawelti, 1968, p. 317). Allix (1922) notes that as time progressed, the "goods" aspect of these fairs became increasingly important. Commodity fairs emerged as:

> the sole mechanism of large-scale commerce, and especially international commerce in a state of civilization, when there was no security for regular exchange nor were means of transportation organized. (p. 532)

If exchange of commodities was to occur, there had to be a mechanism or locale where neutrality was a characteristic feature. Indeed, this is one of several characteristics of these early fairs. Besides "security of the fair", Allix (1922) identifies the other important characteristics as "periodicity", "international character", the "travelling merchant of the fair" and "location". By "location" he means that commodity fairs tended to be held on major trade routes, ports of call and at border sites (p. 542).

The need for commodity fairs gradually disappeared after the middle ages. Transportation technology improved and communications between nations between merchants increased. Permanent large-scale centres of commerce were developing and sales began to be made on sample only, with the shipping of merchandise occurring by "order" (Allix, 1922, p. 545).

A transition began to occur in the early 18th century. Sales oriented fairs (where sales were directly made) disappeared and display oriented fairs (where goods were displayed as in sample) emerged with increasing regularity (Luckhurst, 1951). There were two major classes of display oriented "exhibitions" as they began to be known. The first class was the public industrial display which was held primarily in England. For example, Mandell (1967) writes that:

> In 1760 the Royal Society of Arts in London purchased the prize-winning models of agricultural tools, cranes, windmills, and sawmills from a recent competition. The Society then hired a warehouse for a public display to last two weeks. However, its popularity convinced them to extend

> the show for three more weeks. This exhibition occurred when there was in England a fresh and intense interest in mechanical contrivances and their possible use for profit. (p. 4)

The second class of display oriented exhibitions, art exhibitions, arose with regularity at the same time though they were held primarily in France (Paris). Public exhibitions of art were frequently staged by the Academie des Beaux-Arts marking the first periodic display of art for the public, although it was primarily the bourgeoisie who attended the showings (Luckhurst, 1951). Gradually, public exhibitions of art occurred elsewhere on the continent and in England. There was always a "rigid caste division between the arts liberaux and the arts utiles" (Mandell, 1967, p. 4). Both classes of exhibitors (particularly the artists) refused to display their works under the same roof.

By 1801 the popularity of the exhibitions had increased so much that they had to be held for several weeks at a time. In addition, the French government eventually persuaded the "artists to exhibit with the industrialists" (Mandell, 1967, p. 5). The French like the English began to sponsor more of the industrial exhibitions during the first decade of the 19th century. The exhibitions continued increasing in size and finally included some foreign visitors. They also became part of Napoleon's economic and political policy.

The last French national exhibition was the largest. Held in 1848, the "Exhibition of Agricultural and Industrial Products" required heavy state subsidy (60,000 francs) because of its size and length of operation. One feature of these French

exhibitions is that the French government "thought them too important to be entrusted to ordinary citizens" (Mandell, 1967, p. 7).

This first period in the history of World's Fairs can be considered to end with the 1848 French exhibition. It which was still predominantly national in terms of the participants. Change was in the wind across the English Channel where a truly international exhibition was being planned.

C. Period II. The Early World's Fairs

> But yesterday a naked sod,
> The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,
> And cantered o'er it to and fro:
> And see 'tis done!
> As though 'twere by a wizards' rod
> A blazing arch of lucid glass
> Leaps like, a fountain from the grass
> To meet the sun!
>
> William Makepiece Thackeray
> (Luckhurst, 1951, p. 83)

The "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations", known more commonly as the "Crystal Palace Exhibition", was held in 1851 in London, England. Its origins lay in the efforts of Queen Victoria's consort, Prince Albert. President of the Society of Arts, science-favouring Albert convinced members of this society as well as some manufacturers and politicians that a large exhibit planned for 1850 in Hyde Park "should be made yet larger, and international" (Lyster, 1986).

Although he faced considerable opposition from the

"beau monde" who held him in contempt, Prince Albert managed to stage a first -- an international exhibition which is now considered the first World's Fair. The highly successful event was staged in a plate-glass structure known as the Crystal Palace. Only industrial exhibits were displayed creating a highly symbolic event marking the rapid expansion of industrialization not only throughout England, but also the rest of the colonies and in France and Germany. Mass producers sought international markets for their consumer goods and industrial machines. This World's Fair and the ones to follow were phenomena of industrial capitalism. World's Fairs were held in New York (1853), Munich (1854), Paris (1855), London (1862), Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876) and Paris (1878). All, to one degree or another, celebrated the industrial revolution and were heavily oriented toward the display of production oriented mechanisms.

There are two particularly important French fairs and one U.S. fair which deserve special mention. The 1855 and 1867 World's Fairs were held in Paris. Following the success of the 1851 World's Fair in England, Emperor Napoleon III decreed that the next of the French quinquennial exhibitions scheduled for 1854 should be postponed for one year in order to stage an exposition universelle. When staged, it was apparent that the arts were placed at an equal level to industry. The 1851 London World's Fair shocked the French with its total lack of concern for the "important" aspects of culture. The French also

introduced a number of unique features which point to the multitude of roles which the 1855 fair played. Consumption was encouraged with the display of household consumer durables. Also:

1) The French wished to demonstrate confidence in their own technology, and the industrial competitiveness of the event as well (Mandell, 1967, p. 10).

2) Napoleon wished to demonstrate to the French people and to the allies and enemies of France that, in addition to the blood of the Bonapartes, he had the spirit of a true Napoleon (Chandler, 1986, p. 12).

3) France wished to erase the memories of Waterloo and introduce the spirit of reconciliation between these two antagonistic countries (England and France) (Ibid., p.12).

4) Napoleon wished to promote peace ... at home, while retaining a warlike image abroad (Ibid., p. 13).

5) French pride and national self-respect and correspondingly, the "esteem of her enemies and allies" were "unspoken but clearly recognized goals" (Ibid., p. 13).

The 1855 fair demonstrated that there are a multitude of roles which a World's Fair can play. This is even more evident upon examination of the 1867 Paris fair. Set in a building of novel design, exhibits of industry, art, commodities and "the history of labour" were open to public view. Also, a section of the fair was devoted to "social and moral problems" (Luckhurst, 1951, p. 133). This subject matter can be traced to Saint-Simonians such as Frederic Le Play and Jules Simon who were involved in planning of the fair.

While on the surface, writers such as Mandell (1967) and Luckhurst (1951) commend Napoleon's support of the workers with

such displays, other writers have looked more closely at the socio-political context of the period and have arrived at a different conclusion (Zeldin, 1958; Harvey, 1985). Zeldin (1958) feels that Napoleon's strategy for maintaining power was simple: "satisfy the interests of the most numerous classes and attach oneself to the upper classes" (p. 10). The spectacle of a World's Fair can also be used to consolidate power and put forward a view of how society should develop. Walter Benjamin (cited in Harvey, 1985, p. 200) noted that this World's Fair was also used as a place "of pilgrimage to the fetish commodity". The World's Fair was a "phantasmagoria of capitalist culture" where it "attained its most radiant unfurling."

One other very important role of this World's Fair was its use as a salutary occasion "for Napoleon III and Baron Georges Eugene Haussman to beautify Paris and maintain its preeminence as a world capital and world resort" (Mandell, 1968, p. 14). David Harvey (1985) touches upon the same role in his chapter on Paris between the years of 1850-1870. The 1867 Paris fair was used as a tool along with the actions of Haussman to create a Paris in which "the glory of the Empire" reigned supreme and where symbols of authority, benevolence, power and progress were constructed. Harvey theorizes about the actions of Napoleon III and Haussman when he states:

> He used the public works (their monumentalism in particular); the universal expositions; the grand galas, fetes, and fireworks; the pomp and circumstance of royal visits and court life; and all the trappings of what became known as <u>fete imperiale</u> to construct a sense of community

> compatible with authoritarian rule, free market capitalism, and the new international order. (p. 163)

Regardless of their intended impact, World's Fairs have many designed roles and all of them are derived and imposed from "above". They are the exact opposite of any "grassroots" spectacle.

The 1876 Philadelphia fair marked the first appearance of systematic World's Fairs in North America. There are three important features of this fair with respect to the purpose of this chapter. Firstly, unlike the European World's Fairs which were state sponsored and state organized, American World's Fairs were organized by private individuals with minor state support. Beginning with this one, all American World's Fair have been organized and formed into a private "Expo Corporation". It is the business elite and those "architects engineers, designers and academicians to whom financiers and industrialists turn for advice" (Cawelti, 1968, p. 319) who drive and steer the World's Fair.

The second important feature of the 1876 fair is that it started the generally followed tradition of sponsoring a World's Fair to combat the effects of a depression or local disaster.

Lastly, this World's Fair was built on land that was formerly a swamp (Gardener, 1880). From this point on until the late 1950's, American World's Fairs have been used as land development tools. Usually, a swamp or marsh was chosen as the site, land fill and dredging occurred, and the legacy was a park.

The site was usually on the periphery of the urban areas or the edge of downtown which explains its undeveloped status.

D. Period III. The City Beautiful

During Period III, a considerable number of World's Fairs were held in the United States: Chicago (1893), Omaha (1898), Buffalo (1901), St. Louis (1904), Portland (1905), Norfolk (1907), Seattle (1909) and San Francisco (1915). A number of new roles emerged during this period.

The 1893 exposition is well known largely because of the architectural style and urban design features of the site itself. In sharp contrast to the dingy, "cultureless" industrial city that Chicago was, the designers created a vision -- a "White City" which revealed to the people, in the words of the journalist H.D. Lloyd: "the possibilities of social beauty, utility and harmony which they had not been even able to dream" (cited in Hines, 1974, p. 120). The designers of the exposition, led by Daniel Burnham, had a common intellectual, artistic and ideological background in the Academie des Beaux Arts in Paris. They presented a unified plan of landscaping and architecture which adapted the classic style with illusions of monumental permanence (Cawelti, 1968, p. 343). The exposition's designers, and those of the subsequent World's Fairs held in this period reached to the past to cover up the grim present. The vile and ugly industrial city was tamed (at least symbolically) on the fair site.

The freedom which the designers were allowed reflects a somewhat new role for the World's Fair -- that of an educational institution. Cawelti (1968) notes that the business leaders of America felt their minds expanding. They were no longer solely concerned with "production and distribution in a particular area." They now [1893] had "a feeling of involvement with and responsibility for the world" (p. 335). Through the physical layout of the exposition, the public was to be educated how industrial society should ideally develop. Poverty, immorality and the slums could be eliminated if the principles annunciated by this design team were followed; this was the message (Reps, 1965; Cawelti, 1968).

The concept that the Chicago Fair was a fair of ideas is supported by Daniel Burnham himself as well as one observer, Paul Bourget, who noted that visitors to the 1893 Fair were more interested in "instruction" than "entertainment" (Harris, 1978). An educational role had become explicitly obvious and has remained so until the present.

Inseparably related to the educational role of the 1893 World's Fair (particularly that associated with the physical design principles) is the use of a World's Fair as an influence upon architectural and urban planning practices throughout the nation. Reps (1965) is only one of many urban historians and planners who describe the extremely influential role of the 1893 World's Fair (see also: Boyer, 1983; Foglesong, 1986; Peterson, 1983). The City Beautiful movement as it is known gained wide

acceptance and support throughout North America during the 1890's and early 1900's. Cities such as Washington D.C. were planned using the principles of "order, system and pattern". The "chaos" of urban growth during the industrial boom was tamed (Wilson, 1980). It is no surprise that designers such as Daniel Burnham were worshippers of Baron Haussman (Reps, 1965, p. 519).

The World's Fairs which followed the Columbian Exposition are remarkably similar with respect to roles but there are a few new ones worthy of attention.

The World's Fairs of Period III were used as vehicles for civic, regional and national boosterism. The investors of these fairs hoped that in the long-term, capital could be enticed to their cities after visitors witnessed the positive features and investment possibilities of the area. Marjorie Dobkin's article in The Anthropology of World's Fairs (1983) notes time and again how the business elite of San Francisco attempted to use the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition to attract capital investment. The main thrust of their campaign was:

> addressed to visiting businessmen. It was hoped that reconstruction of the city, and an exposition managed without labour disruption would allay the fears of potential investors and drive home to the atlantic states, where they conjure finance, and to New England, where they manufacture goods for export, the significance of San Francisco's geographical situation. (p. 88)

Writers such as Rydell (1983), Jones (1972) and Abbott (1981) note very similar roles for the World's Fairs held in Buffalo (1901), St. Louis (1904), Portland (1905) and Seattle (1909).

Another role for the World's Fairs of this period was to

propagate "anthropologically validated racial hierarchies", primarily through the displays of "savages" and "barbarians" in the midway area of the fair site (Rydell, 1983). Upon examination of an interesting photographic essay of the 1893 Columbian Exposition (Buel, 1894), one finds full support for these assertions by Rydell. The white, anglo-saxon elites who sponsored and designed the World's Fairs considered themselves as the ultimate progression; the racial, intellectual and cultural utopia which all must strive to attain. Why? Rydell (1983) speculates by offering us motives for these racist and elitist prejudices:

> Their anthropologically validated racial hierarchies serve several purposes. They legitimized racial exploitation at home and the creation of an empire abroad. Carefully designed exhibits of non-whites left little doubt that the same set of ideas that had been used to justify the political and economic repression of Native Americans, Afro-Americans and Asian Americans were being used to validate American imperial policy overseas. The emphasis on white supremacy as a utopian agency, moreover, muted class divisions among whites, providing them with a sense of shared national purpose. (p. 236)

Lastly, World's Fairs were used as tools to affect labour relations. In the 1893 Columbian Exposition for example, building trade organizers attempted to make the building of the exposition a complete "union job" (Hines, 1974, p. 103). Hines goes on to note that the directors of the Expo corporation refused, agreeing instead to "a kind of company union in which all disputes should be settled by arbitration and where union men were hired on an individual basis with a minimum wage". In San

Francisco (1915) as well, labour relations were affected with a strong union clashing with an anti-union business elite who controlled the Expo corporation (Dobkin, 1983, p. 75). The labour relations strife which occurred in San Francisco during the construction of the exposition was strikingly similar to that which occurred in Vancouver during the construction of Expo 86 (see Mickleburgh (1986) for a discussion of the Expo 86 labour issue).

E. Period IV. The City Efficient

The "City Efficient" designation is applied to the fourth period, 1930 to 1960, because a major shift in emphasis occurred. Given that one of the roles of World's Fairs has been, whether explicitly or by accident, to influence the nature of architecture and urban planning, it is evident that a change in the role of World's Fairs was already occurring. Throughout the 1920's the principles of the City Beautiful fell into disrepute. Monumental parks, civic centres and grand boulevards did not mesh well with the increasingly popular automobile. What emerged due to this factor and many more, was a new style of urban planning; one which espoused the concepts of the "efficient city".

The first World's Fair of this period was the 1933-34 Century of Progress Exhibition held in Chicago. Unlike the last World's Fair held in Chicago (1893), this one reached to the future for inspiration (Cawelti, 1968). A new conception of the relationship between art and technology developed. Technology

was viewed as a source of artistic beauty, rather than something to be masked. Impermanence was accentuated, and the principles of change and motion were common themes throughout the fair.

Part of the influence behind these new themes was the changing nature of who was involved in not only the design, but also the operation of the fair. The national and multinational corporation was coming to play an ever increasing role. Benedict (1983) and Cawelti (1968) focus on the role of large corporations in influencing the nature of the World's Fair. When one considers that the majority of the corporations which took part in the World's Fairs are either automobile manufacturers or automobile accessory manufacturers, it is not surprising to see this new emphasis on the practical and efficient.

It was the 1939/40 New York World's Fair which truly symbolized the growing corporate influence upon the content of the World's Fair. Although academics such as Harvey Zorbaugh and Lewis Mumford had important intellectual roles in planning this fair, the reality was far different than the ideal. They had wanted to present a vision of the future in which the environment, industry and civilization were planned. They wanted a future vision which was "progressive and growing in every department of life and throughout civilization, not merely in New York City, not merely in the United States" but in the world. Mumford thought they could "lay the foundation for a pattern of life which would have an enormous impact in times to come" (Lewis Mumford cited in Cusker, 1980, p. 4). Such lofty aspirations

were envisioned by the corporations and their designers such as Normon Bel Geddes. The result was a World's Fair which, for the most part, stressed the construction of a society which lived in regional suburban sprawl and required automobiles to travel. The World's Fair began playing a role in the expansionist dreams of the multinational corporation.

Past World's Fairs were also used to stimulate consumption, but never so explicitly than at the 1939/40 New York World's Fair. It was dedicated to "the future of America and its unrealized opportunities for individual fulfillment and human progress" (Cusker, 1980, p. 4). One route to this fulfillment, as defined by the designers, was consumption. In the New York fair the American house was seen as playing an important part in defining American culture. The family was viewed as a consuming unit and the "American way of life" was seen in terms of individual ability to consume larger and larger quantities of material objects "not simply because of the positive impact on economic conditions, but because this behaviour was an expression of confidence in the very nature of machine civilization, and because the products themselves represent a big element of American character" (Cusker, 1980, p. 13). It is unclear, however, how much of an effect these "designs" had on visitors to the 1939/40 Fair.

The World's Fairs in the fourth period were also being used, as usual, to develop land which was previously undeveloped (the site of the 1939/40 World's Fair was the former ash heap/swamp

described in F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby). They were also used to string along a number of civic improvements. The infamous Robert Moses used the 1939/40 Fair to spend approximately $59 million on public works (Moses, 1970). According to Moses, the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, Queens Midtown Tunnel and the site for LaGuardia Airport were all constructed using the World's Fair as a planning tool or "catalyst".

With the development of industrial society and particularly the media, World's Fairs were needed less by people for things such as education, amusement or information. For example, there were thousands of trade journals published on every production or consumption oriented "thing" imaginable. The television began to be used by the vast majority of people as a source of accessible entertainment. Art could be viewed in art galleries or museums. Benedict (1983) notes that early World's Fairs were major educational events but eventually education was acquired through a number of more accessible sources. In addition, the staging of Olympic games "siphoned off" national competition which was previously staged at World's Fairs. Gradually World's Fairs also "ceased to be the venue of important meetings and congresses" (see Benedict, 1983, pp. 159-160 and Wachtel, 1986, pp. 39-41 for a discussion of their declining importance). Architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable has observed that:

> The world's fair is a tired institution ... It is a long time since it startled the world with its products or offered stimulating or controversial ideas. No longer an instrument of genuine intellectual exchange, it has been reduced to an expeditious shot in the arm and an instrument of national propaganda. (cited in Wachtel, 1986, p. 40)

It is Huxtable's latter point which is of particular significance for an analysis of the most recent World's Fairs. The "expeditious shot in the arm" has taken on a very specific form in recent decades -- the use of the World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment tool.

F. Period V. The City of Renewal

The use of the World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment tool has become one of the most important reasons for the government and local business elite to become involved in such a costly and time-consuming endeavour. Unfortunately this role has received little attention from either the media or researchers. While "atmosphere", "fun", landscaping, and entertainment has received considerable attention, the links have rarely been made between the spectacle and its role in the physical restructuring of the inner city, together with all the physical, economic and social impacts associated with major urban redevelopment projects. This oversight is surprising in that the origins of almost every World's Fair (in Period V) are rooted in the redevelopment potential of a Fair. Why else would fairs receive such government support given that they rarely, if ever, turn a profit and require considerable subsidies?

Beginning with the Seattle's Expo 62, a chronological order is following while examining:

1) How specific World's Fairs have been used as an inner city redevelopment tool;

2) What the housing impacts have been; and,

3) What planning took place, if any, to address these impacts.

Expo 86, the case study, is examined in Chapter Three of this study.

1. Expo 62 - Seattle, Washington

The Century 21 Exposition was held during the summer of 1962 in Seattle, Washington. It began like all other World's Fairs -- in the minds of a small number of the business elite who were worried about the sagging business climate in Seattle following decades of steady prosperity (Jones, 1972). They recalled the 1909 Seattle World's Fair which created legacies as well as boosting civic pride. With this in mind, they began lobbying to turn the concept into reality. Simultaneously, a number of civic groups and private citizens were seeking support for "new sports and cultural facilities for Seattle" (Morgan, 1963). The two groups eventually linked and a site was chosen which would satisfy both; 50 acres of publicly owned (city and state) inner city land on which various old structures such as an indoor hockey rink and basketball court existed. The surrounding area was considered to be a "blighted area" of "slum dwellings, small stores, warehouses, garages and vacant structures" (Lynes, 1962, p. 21).

Clearance took place, and the World's Fair was held. What was left in its place as "legacies" included:

-- an opera house
-- Seattle Centre Coliseum
-- a fountain
-- a refurbished arena
-- pools and playhouses
-- the Space Needle and Restaurant
-- a federal science museum

(Jones,1972; Lynes, 1962; Murray, 1963)

The "Seattle Centre", as it is now known, is considered to be a successful cultural and sporting complex for the residents of Seattle. Besides this direct positive legacy on the Expo site itself, the surrounding area was upgraded. Stores were remodelled, trees planted and a "downtown plan and a 10-acre private renewal project" were "in the wind" (Architectural Forum, June, 1962, p. 101). The stimulative qualities of the 1962 World's Fair are considered, even today, to have "created one of the most liveable cities in North America ... one hell of a city and it would not have been that way without the World Fair", according to a Seattle Times reporter at a 1985 Vancouver conference on "The Expo Gamble" (Vancouver Sun, January 25, 1985). While one could question the validity of such a statement, the fact remains that Seattle's inner city was changed considerably because of the 1962 World's Fair.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of the housing impacts of the Seattle Fair. A literature search and correspondence with City of Seattle planners have not produced data on the extent of the removal of "slum dwellings". Also, the

housing impact created by the influx of tourists was not considered a problem according to Stan Petty of the Seattle Times because "there was plenty of accommodation in private homes" (Farrow, March 5, 1986).

By coincidence then, the convergence of two groups (the business and cultural elites) with different yet complementary goals (inner city revitalization and the acquisition of new civic facilities) led to the use of the World's Fair, for the first time, as an inner city redevelopment tool.

2. Expo 64/65 - New York, New York

The next North American World's Fair was held at the same site as the 1939/40 New York World's Fair. This one, operated during the summers of 1964 and 1965, was used by Commissioner Robert Moses to finish off his vision of "Beauty for Ashes" started over 25 years earlier. It was an "unofficial" World's Fair because the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) refused to sanction it. Various BIE guidelines were not followed by Moses.

Close to $1 billion was invested in the fair and its immediate surroundings (Caro, 1974; Moses, 1970). No inner city redevelopment occurred. The long term plans and development visions were not achieved, as James Peters (1982) discovered:

> A visitor to the site today [1982] will see an erie wasteland, with a few aging relics, including the unisphere, the fair's symbol, scattered across hundreds of acres of largely unused parkland. 'It's worse than the ash heap it was converted from,' one critic said recently. (p. 17)

3. Expo 67 - Montreal, Quebec

An international exposition was held in Montreal during the summer of 1967. It met with amazing success drawing some 50 million visitors while also receiving critical acclaim.

The site was in fact four different sites separated by an arm of the St. Lawrence River (Marsan, 1981, p. 365). Unlike Seattle's 1962 World's Fair, the site was not situated in the inner city. Rather, three-quarters of the site was created by land fill along the St. Lawrence River which flows through the central city (Peters, 1982, p. 17; Marsan, 1981, p. 367).

Because the site was virginal, there was no demolition of housing. According to Jean-Pierre Blais[1] "there was no housing impact [tenants displaced] as such since Expo 67 was built on man-made islands in the St. Lawrence River." He also notes that new housing was in fact created. This "luxury housing" is known as Habitat 67.

Expo 67 was used by the City of Montreal as:

> an excuse to pyramid dozens of public projects including a new subway system (the Metro), highway expansion (finished 10 years ahead of schedule),and 745 acres of new parkland in the middle of the St. Lawrence River. (Peters, 1982, p. 17)

While physical and social impacts may not have occurred on-site, they appear to have occurred off-site. Jeanne M. Wolfe[2] believes

[1] Jean-Pierre Blais, Deputy Secretary, Communaute Urbaine de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec. Letter to the author, September 5, 1986.

[2] Jean M. Wolfe, Associate Professor, School of Urban Planning, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec. Letter to the author, March 5, 1987.

that certain residential sections of the city were "razed for Expo purposes, although some of these areas had been designated as 'urban renewal' or 'urban development' areas previously." These areas include:

1) Goose Village (cleared to make way for the Expo Stadium, now demolished and a vacant area).

2) The twenty block site where "Radio Canada/CBC" now sits.

3) Various city blocks at the north-end of the Jacques Cartier bridge, demolished in order to improve traffic circulation.

4) Various city blocks and part of Verdun demolished to make access routes onto the Champlain Bridge (about 1961).

5) Various residential blocks truncated in the Snowden area to make way for the Decarie autoroute.

6) Removal of residential blocks in St. Henri and La Petitie Burgogne (for example the whole of Selby Street) to make way for east west autoroute (2-20).

The 1960's were known as the "Golden Decade" in that considerable Expo-related and non-related urban restructuring took place -- all aimed "at encouraging private investment and tourism" culminating with "the International Exposition of 1967" (Melamed, Schaecter and Emo, 1984, p. 29).

The City of Montreal Planning Department has not done any impact studies on Expo 67 (Jeanne Wolfe, letter, March 5, 1987). Melamed, Schaecter and Emo (1984) have tracked down some relocation survey data carried out following the 1966 demolition of at least "15,000 dwellings" by City agencies in older sections of Montreal. It is impossible, however, to determine what proportion of these relocations were Expo-related versus those of

a "generic" urban renewal process.

There is evidence of Expo housing impacts relating to tourist accommodation (Menyasz, 1982). Two planning strategies were put forward by the Provincial Government. The first involved the passing of a law by the Quebec Legislative Assembly, the Expo 67 Lodging Price Control Bill. The function of this bill was to "formally recognize the creation of an agency known as the Provincial Lodging Service for Expo 67." The service had three functions: to make a survey of all accommodation available in the Montreal area for Expo visitors; to set up maximum rates for lodgings; and, to cooperate with the directors of the exhibition in order that the greatest number of lodgings be made available to travellers at suitable cost (Expo 67, S138, p. 2).

In theory, reasonable costs were set by having the lodging service issue certificates "fixing the maximum rental for each lodging." Hotel-keepers and landlords who failed to "keep these certificates posted at all times in a conspicuous spot in rooms and other lodgings" were liable, on conviction, of fines and penalties such as imprisonment (p. 2). The second solution, a market solution, was the "construction of pre-fabricated motel units." This was "badly handled" giving Montreal and Expo 67 a "black eye" according to Paul Leduc, Mayor Drapeau's secretary (Monyasz, 1982). These poorly constructed, low quality temporary hotels "let people down." There appears to be no record of how successful the Expo 67 Lodging Price Control Bill was.

4. Expo 68 - San Antonio, Texas

One year after Montreal, a World's Fair was held in San Antonio, Texas. What is unique about Expo 68 is that it is the first explicit, proactive attempt to use a World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment tool.

The fair was first proposed in 1961 and immediately received support from the political and business elites when it was agreed to hold the fair on land near the Central Business District (CBD) (Business Week, March 30, 1968, p. 68). A World's Fair corporation was created and the City's urban renewal agency acquired the needed 147 acres using both federal and local government urban renewal funds. Clearance of a rundown residential area of "substandard housing" and "dilapidated houses" took place (Peters, 1982). 1,600 mostly Mexican-Americans were relocated by the City's urban renewal agency. Business Week reported at the time that the families were "successfully" relocated because the director of the urban renewal agency:

> built a strong relocation agency and devoted great care - and $1.3 million - to avoid charges that people were being thrown out of their homes to make way for a business-backed exposition. (March 30, 1968, p. 71)

There does not appear to be any further literature about the Expo 68 housing impact. [3]

After the fair, San Antonio was left with a $13 million

[3] Attempts to correspond with City of San Antonio officials have not resulted in a response.

civic centre which includes a 10,500 seat arena, a 2,500 seat theatre, an exhibition hall and the "renovation and remodelling of some 20 old homes on the site into specialty restaurants" (Progressive Architecture Observer, February 1965, p. 203). Freeway construction and infrastructure improvements were also carried out as part of Expo 68.

The San Antonio fair is a prime example of the synthesis of a hallmark event with the process of urban redevelopment. As Roger Montgomery (1968) puts it:

> The two things fit beautifully: the urban renewal process provided the vehicle that made possible the land assembly and clearance necessary to get the fair up on time; at the same time the fair provided impetus that picked up the pace of public development action. Now, with the fair going and a slug of new public facilities up and operating, private investment on a massive scale has started in downtown San Antonio. (p. 85)

Montgomery goes on to state that while "as a World's Fair it stands no chance of joining the list of great ones ... that was not really what it set out to do. As a catalyst for redevelopment in downtown San Antonio it worked, and is working splendidly" (p. 88).

However, Montgomery's claims are probably exaggerated. In his interview with a San Antonio planner about what Expo 68 did for the city, Peters (1982) was told: "As urban renewal it's been a bomb" (p. 16). Efforts to attract capital in the form of manufacturing plants and new businesses failed miserably, leaving city council to periodically ponder what to do with the site.

5. Expo 74 - Spokane, Washington

> Expo 74 was used as a vehicle to "squeeze a revitalization program that ordinarily would have taken 20 years into an intensive five-year effort." (Yake, 1974, p. 55)

Like the other World's Fairs examined in Period V, the origins of Expo 74 lie with the desire of the city's business and political elite to find some mechanism whereby their goals for the nature of the inner city could be realized. Hoping to draw "people back to the city's centre and thereby [rejuvenate] the adjacent business section", an "environmentally oriented" World's Fair was born (Industrial Design, September 1974, p. 40). Spokane, like the majority of American cities in this period, was suffering because of the expansion of residential, commercial and industrial growth in the suburbs.

Why was the World's Fair chosen as the planning mechanism for redevelopment? King Cole, president of Expo 74 (and executive consultant with Expo 82) stated it very clearly:

> If it seems a complicated route to urban renewal, it was necessary. This city had a sort of resentment of its downtown area ... Three times in the past, the city voters have turfed out city councils that ran for office on a platform of downtown renewal ... But when we started pushing the idea of a world fair, which would bring about downtown renewal incidentally, citizens bought the idea. (Vancouver Sun, May 3, 1974, p. 5)

The site for the World's Fair was "just a stone's throw from the major downtown retail district" (Yake, 1974, p. 55). Dilapidated warehouses, rundown structures, factories and little

used railway tracks littered the site. Directly adjacent to the site, however, was an area described as the scene of many marginal businesses and long-time "'transients' havens" (Yake, 1974, p. 56). In the Environmental Impact Statement produced by the Expo 74 corporation, it is recognized that this area "has a fairly large population of fixed low income and elderly individuals who live in substandard housing units" (pp. 63-64).

The World's Fair was held during the summer of 1974. Among the "legacies" left to the city are two large permanent structures (one serving as a convention centre), forty-eight acres of waterfront parkland with an extensive underground irrigation system, downtown streets surfaced with asphalt, new bank buildings and department stores, and "high morale and potential for new business and retail outlets -- a growing confidence in downtown" (Yake, 1974, p. 55). Yake further notes that Expo 74 spurred on a building boom "unprecedented since the city's central area was destroyed by fire in 1889" (p. 56). This statement is supported by King Cole's boast in 1982 that:

> Before the Spokane fair, Spokane's central business district was contributing about 17 percent of the city's property taxes. After the fair, because of downtown building projects, that figure rose to 25 percent. (Siler, 1982, p. C6)

Besides a construction boom, the 1974 World's Fair had other impacts. While an on-site housing impact did not occur, Marion B. Hess[4] notes that the areas adjacent to the site were impacted.

[4] Marion B. Hess, Assistant Director of Planning and Zoning, City of Spokane, Washington. Letter to the author, March 13, 1987.

"Several older hotel/apartment buildings were demolished and converted to off-street parking." This was predicted in the Environmental Impact Statement written for the Spokane World Exposition in March 1972:

> The more important housing problem concerns the possibility that there will be considerable redevelopment of lands and structures adjacent to or near the proposed Expo site. (p. 63)
>
> The probability of displacement of individuals living further south from Trent Avenue will most likely decrease as a function of the distance from Expo. (p. 64)
>
> If we assign a probability that 100 percent of residents on Trent Avenue immediately adjacent to the proposed site and 50 percent of these latter individuals (from an area slightly further to site) will be displaced by some type of new activity, we have a minimum displacement of 258 residents. This minimum number could increase substantially if the additional residents were displaced from the area to the south of Main extending to 3rd or 4th Avenues. (pp. 64-65)

The impact statement further suggests that general urban redevelopment pressures in combination with the City's Riverfront Development Plan would "probably cause" the displacement in any case but:

> even though the point can be argued that Expo 74 is not directly causing the displacement of individuals ... it can be stated that Expo 74 will definitely accelerate the change. (p. 65)

In this case the housing impacts were predicted and they occurred. On-site, the World's Fair was being used as a tool for inner city redevelopment. In surrounding communities, the World's Fair was accelerating change and creating new redevelopment pressures. The combination of these impacts

disrupted the lives of the traditional inner city resident -- the poor and elderly. "Very hard to come by" affordable inner city housing was destroyed (Spokane World Exposition, 1972).

There is little evidence that any major planning took place with respect to the housing impact of Expo 74. Apart from a housing office established in the Chamber of Commerce Building which directed tourists to available accommodation, a few community groups developed "new housing for low income people in the area surrounding the Expo site. Two new large apartment buildings were constructed" (Marion B. Hess, letter, March 13, 1987).

In the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) several options were identified for dealing with the potential displacement of residents (p. 66) but all were found to be inadequate for one reason or another and the issue was neglected. Reference was made in the EIS to two "downtown projects" offering up to 140 units maximum. They were in the "planning stage" at the time (1972).

6. Expo 82 - Knoxville, Tennessee

Knoxville, Tennessee was the site of the 1982 "International Energy Exposition". This city in the Appalachian mountains provides an ideal case study of an industrial city in decline. Knoxville had been a commercial city in the late 1800's but by the early 1900's it was transformed into a typical industrial city although the city had a higher than average number of

government employees.

Between the 1950's and 1970's the processes of suburbanization and industrial decline created severe economic, social and political problems (see McDonald and Wheeler (1983) for an historical study of Knoxville between 1865 and 1982).

Along with industrial decline came inner city decline. By 1974, the city was attempting to develop methods which would enable downtown redevelopment to occur. A plan was created but "a catalyst to enable it [downtown redevelopment] to make a quantum leap forward" was needed (Knack, 1982, p. 8). After hearing of Spokane's success at the annual general meeting of the International Downtown Executives Association, the business and political elite worked aggressively to ensure that a World's Fair was held in Knoxville.

A World's Fair Advisory Committee was appointed consisting of many "area business leaders" (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission et al., 1982). A site was chosen -- "Stinky Creek" -- 72 acres of inner city Knoxville described as:

> the long, narrow creek valley, wedged between the downtown on the east and both the hilly University of Tennessee campus and the Fort Sanders neighborhood on the west. Years ago, the valley was an important storage yard for the Nashville and Southern railroads, but by the 1960's, with railroad freight traffic down to a few trains a day, it had become an eyesore, filled with abandoned buildings and marginal businesses. (Knack, 1982, p. 8)

Dodd (1982) partly contradicts the industrial wasteland images evoked by Knack when he adds that there were also "two modern

medical clinics" employing 14 medical doctors, "two viable tire retailers" and a "new veterinary hospital" on the site (p. 44). Nevertheless, a "good portion" of the Lower Second Creek Valley (Stinky Creek) was "ragged and rundown" (Ibid.).

Some specific goals of the proponents of the World's Fair were to supply infrastructure and service improvements to the area while also speeding up freeway improvements (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission et al., 1982). These specific goals however were symbolic of much larger goals for the inner city. Both Dodd (1982) and McDonald and Wheeler (1983) note that the World's Fair was used to attempt to alter existing patterns of uneven development. The strategy was to revitalize the downtown retail trade area by enabling major residential construction to be undertaken on the Expo site, luring "affluent newcomers to the central city" (McDonald and Wheeler, p. 163; Dodd, p. 19).

The land was assembled in a complex government-supported process (see Knack, 1982 and Dodd, 1982 for an explanation of the process) and the World's Fair was staged during the summer of 1982.

A considerable amount of development was spurred on by the Fair. As the Mayor of Knoxville, Randy Tyree, stated after the fair:

> Previously Knoxville was the gateway to the Smokies, but we weren't a destination. We had one hotel, we had no convention facilities. We had an area in the centre of the city that was an industrial slum. There were beautiful old buildings rotting away. There was no way to make

> the figures work to do anything about it. Now ... the city has 4 new hotels and a convention centre along with its new roadway and new spirit. (Calonius, 1983, p. 37)

The new roadway was $224 million dollars in interstate highway improvements as well as numerous local roadway and infrastructure improvements (Knack, 1982; The Knoxville - Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission et al., 1982).

There were a range of social impacts caused by Expo 82. While no on-site housing was demolished, considerable temporary pressure was put on the rental housing market. Since the Fair was situated in the inner city, strong pressure was felt in bordering residential communities. This was predicted. In August 1981, the Knoxville County Metropolitan Planning Commission (1981) predicted that Knoxville's housing market would be "significantly impacted by the population influx resulting from the 1982 World's Fair." More precisely:

> The rental housing market located in inner city neighborhoods will be significantly affected. The massive conversion of rental housing within these neighborhoods into temporary accommodation for Fair visitors and employees will result in the displacement of many area residents. (p. 1)

The prediction described above unfortunately came true. Estimates of the number of tenants evicted range between: "150 mostly students" (Expo 86)[5]; the City of Knoxville's guess (as of May 1, 1982) of 350 to 400 (cited in Harris, May 2, 1982); an

[5] This figure was presented by George Madden, Vice President, Communications and Marketing, Expo 86. He was interviewed on October 10, 1985 at a public debate on the potential for Expo 86 housing impacts.

estimate of 1000-1500 by the Knoxville based Tenants for Fair Housing (Harris, May 2, 1982), and; 1500 (Vancouver Province, April 5, 1982; Hauka, March 5, 1986). The "hardest hit" tenants were "Knoxville's handicapped, its senior citizens and students" (Hulse, April 24, 1982). As Larry Aldridge, city editor of the Knoxville Journal put it: "A lot of slum landlords and entrepreneurs evicted people from low-rent accommodation and tried to make a quick buck out of the fair" (cited in Farrow, 1986).

Expo 82 created strains on the city's crisis centres. The tight housing market forced clients to remain in the centre instead of finding private rented accommodations when the worst part of the crisis was over (Garcia, 1982).

The impacts were first felt in January 1982 and carried on until the early months of the fair. Impacts stopped when landlords realized that an oversupply of accommodation existed given the smaller than anticipated crowds. In fact, many of the "gouging landlords went broke" and "by the second month of the fair they were scrambling to get their tenants back (Knoxville News Sentinel reporter Roger Harris, cited in Hauka, March 5, 1986).

Planning for the housing impacts of Expo 82 did take place but it succeeded in merely pointing out how ill-prepared and powerless the City of Knoxville was. Planning efforts can first be traced back to pre-Expo predictions of attendance levels. Both Expo officials and the City carried out housing market

studies with respect to both available tourist accommodation and the number of people expected to visit the fair. Eventually a housing reservations system (KNOXVISIT) was established (DuBose, 1985). The Expo officials and the City created attendance estimates which were not "in line with reality" according to Gretchen F. Beal.[6] The over-estimations motivated inner city landlords to evict tenants in an effort to cater to Expo tourists. Paradoxically, the first efforts of planning contributed to the creation of negative housing impacts.

After large numbers of tenants were being evicted, planning efforts became reactive in nature. In January 1982 City staff began "toying with the idea of placing a 10-percent cap on rent increases to prevent landlords from raising rents exorbitantly to force renters out" (Harris, May 2, 1985). This tactic was discarded when it was realized that it constituted an "illegal" rent control (Ibid.). The City did not have legal authority to enact rent controls.

Two temporary ordinances (see Appendix I) were passed by City Council which "authorized overnight rentals in residential zones" and set up a certification process through which apartment owners could qualify for participation in the program (Harris, May 4, 1982). The strategy was to monitor and restrict the landlords' attempts to rent suites to tourists. When challenged in court, the ordinances were ruled invalid as they had not been

[6] Gretchen F. Beal, Information Resources Coordinator, Knoxville/Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission. Letter to the author, September 18, 1986.

approved by the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The Mayor of Knoxville also "flailed away at the gougers" with a carefully orchestrated castigation of the evictors for giving the city a "black eye" while simultaneously attempting not to tarnish the city's image (Dodd, 1982, p. 75). In the end, the ordinances "came too late to be effective and most could not be enforced. Their passage was a necessary political move but did not solve any of the problems" (Gretchen F. Beal, letter, September 18, 1986).

In summary, initial efforts at planning (attendance estimations) helped to create the housing impacts of Expo 82. The attendance was over-estimated and landlords expected large financial gains if they evicted tenants. Once the housing impacts began, planning efforts came too late and they were ineffective. The reactive planning which did occur merely succeeded in deflecting blame from the Mayor, City Council and the bureaucrats (including planners) where some of the blame should rest. The City was hoping to redevelop its inner city. The housing impact planning was merely a facade of concern to mask the impacts created by the redevelopment goal.

7. Expo 84 - New Orleans, Louisiana

New Orleans, Louisiana was facing economic problems much the same as Knoxville. From the 1950's through the 1970's the suburbs surrounding New Orleans expanded dramatically. Correspondingly, the inner city lost population, racial

composition changed from white to black, and socio-economic status declined (Glassman, 1978; Smith and Keller, 1983).

While New Orleans' tourist and port economy remained relatively buoyant:

> It [had] a concentrated and expanding underclass, extreme dependence on a shrinking pool of federal aid, a declining white middle class, an aging infrastructure, and indigenous cultural patterns and structural factors that reinforce a secondary labor market and exert a negative influence on future capital investment. Furthermore, neither port revenues nor tourist dollars [could] sustain New Orleans' economy in the face of nearby aggressive competitors with more diversified economies like Houston or Dallas. (Smith and Keller, 1983, pp. 131-132)

In the face of these problems, a group of business and political elites decided upon the mechanism which could revitalize New Orleans' sagging fortune -- the World's Fair (Hager, 1981, p. 3; Smith and Keller, 1983, p. 143; Douglas, 1984).

An inner city site (the Warehouse District) was chosen for redevelopment. It encompassed 82 acres on a bend of the Mississipi River "immediately adjacent to the central business district and within walking distance of the Vieux Carre" (Douglas, 1984, p. 48). The site contained railroad lines, commercial buildings and 19th century wharves.

The World's Fair was held during the summer of 1984 and, by all accounts, failed miserably with respect to attendance and financing (LeMann, 1984; Farrow, 1986). However, Expo 84 accomplished the aim of inner city redevelopment. Many on-site commercial buildings were renovated for post-fair use as restaurant and exhibit space. Also, "all the activity has

sparked a major construction and rehabilitation effort in the district, with obvious residual effects" -- major hotel construction, riverfront development projects and "the repaving and reconstruction of many streets, particularly those leading to the site" (Douglas, 1984, p. 48). This rosy picture is supported by Kathie O. Clark[7] who wrote that "The Louisiana Expo has helped the commercial revitalization of this blighted area with the completion of such projects as the New Orleans Convention Centre and the Riverwalk, a retail specialty mall." This convention centre was built with considerable state and local government financial support (Smith and Keller, 1983, p. 144).

The World's Fair was used as a tool to redevelop the inner city. The planners' ultimate goal -- to establish "a new neighborhood ... within the context of an older one" (Douglas, 1984, p. 55) is approaching attainment.

Direct housing impacts of Expo 84 are reported to be virtually nil. Both Kathie O. Clark and Ralph Thayer[8] note that:

1) No housing was demolished because the World's Fair was set in the Warehouse District which does not have residential housing.

2) "Some upgrading" of rental property occurred approximately 3-4 months prior to the opening but this

[7] Kathie O. Clark, Deputy Director, Office of Housing and Community Development, City of New Orleans. Letter to the author, March 23, 1987.

[8] Ralph Thayer, Professor, Program of Urban and Regional Planning, University of New Orleans. He is an expert on World's Fairs and urban redevelopment. Letter to author, September 12, 1986.

> was not reported to be "widespread." People either speculated and built rental units "but when the influx failed to materialize, rents came back down and there was never any real outcry about housing impact" (Thayer).

The consequence of the limited speculation, disastrous attendance levels and few housing impacts was that little planning took place. If one assumes though that planning involves considerable effort beforehand, why was a planning effort never initiated? Apparently "agencies did not get extra dollars for World's Fair activities" thereby limiting their incentive (Ralph Thayer, letter, September 12, 1986). The planning which did occur was "ad hoc" in nature. It involved the "Regional Planning Commission circulating a letter inviting agencies to meet and discuss their plans in an attempt for better coordination." This merely initiated a few "loosely structured meetings and no reports" (Ibid.). The only other planning effort was undertaken by a non-governmental organization involving shelter for runaway youth "but the scale of the problem never really materialized on a grand scale as expected" (Ibid.).

While the housing impacts of Expo 84 were relatively insignificant, it is possible that continued revitalization of the inner city (initiated by the World's Fair) will entail the permanent loss of affordable housing.

8. Expo 88 - Brisbane, Australia

A World's Fair, Australia's first, will be held in Brisbane, Queensland during the winter (summer in the Northern Hemisphere)

of 1988. Its origins are very similar to those of Expo 86. In 1978 some senior government officials were seeking an appropriate "event" to mark Australia's 1988 Bicentenary celebrations. The Queensland Government considered sponsoring the event but a site had to be chosen first (Park and Feros, 1985). Three potential sites were examined. The one finally selected is on the south bank of the Brisbane River in the City of Brisbane. The site was chosen for a number of reasons including:

> 1) its proximity to the CBD;
> 2) its potential for development from an unattractive inner city area into an attractive and valuable precinct of the city.
>
> (Park and Feros, 1985, p. 12)

The Queensland Government established the Expo Authority (Brisbane Exposition and South Bank Redevelopment Authority) and the land was acquired in 1985.

The Expo site was occupied by "rundown" commercial and industrial businesses including some residential property (Johnson, 1987). One hundred and eleven small businesses were displaced through land resumption and payment of compensation, according to E.K. Campbell[9]. Both Campbell and Derek Baines[10] feel that the clearance of the Exposition site did not involve the demolition of any "substantial areas of residential property" (Baines) although "substantial" was not defined.

[9] E.K. Campbell, Town Clerk, Brisbane City. Letter to the author, July 30, 1987.

[10] Derek Baines, Manager, International Participation, World Expo 88. Letter to the author, April 9, 1987.

While the World's Fair is yet to be held at the time of writing, it is clear that Expo 88 is being used as an inner city redevelopment tool. David Park and Vic Feros (1985), two planners associated with the World Expo 88 organization, have detailed the objectives and planning principles for the World's Fair. While there are numerous "operational" issues dealt with in the article, it is evident that Expo 88 is a means to an end; the development and improvement of "these lands with a view to their disposal to achieve a net financial result that will not impose a burden of cost on the Government of Queensland" (p. 15). As they explicitly put it, one objective is to "ensure that, wherever possible, work undertaken for Expo 88 will be compatible with longer-term plan(s) for the area" (p. 15). As of April 1987, thirteen proposals had been presented for redevelopment of the site after Expo 88 closes (D. Baines, letter, April 9, 1987). A committee of representatives from World Expo 88, Brisbane City Council and the Queensland Government were reviewing these proposals, although Brisbane Mayor Sallyanne was disturbed with the whole process because the land was excised from local authority and there is a distinct "lack of forward planning" (cited in Johnson, 1987).

The housing impacts of Expo 88 to date includes the initial demolition of "a very small number of residential properties" (E.K. Campbell, letter, July 30, 1987). This housing served as "low-cost inner city housing for successive waves of immigrants" (Johnson, 1987). It was part of the West End, a "still low-cost,

relatively cosmopolitan area." In parts of the West End which border the Expo site, residents worry "that Expo" will "make their neighborhood too expensive to live in" (Ibid.). Their worries are valid. Derek Baines of World Expo 88 predicts that "the Exposition is expected to contribute to a marginal increase in rents in some of the properties in this area" (letter, April 9, 1987). This view is supported by F.B. Rudd[11], the Secretary of the Expo Accommodation Sub-Committee:

> It is anticipated that nearer to the starting time of Expo there will be a firm demand for accommodation and there will be an increase in rents and a very tight vacancy rate. Just how marked this will be we have no way of knowing at this stage. (letter, June 5, 1987)

With further impacts virtually certain, it is interesting to examine what planning efforts are being undertaken by both Brisbane City and the Expo Authority. Brisbane City is assuming that the "ready availability" of short term accommodation in the Brisbane Region will ensure few, if any housing impacts from occurring. Because Expo 88 is being held in the off season, and rapid transit links are being created to resort areas to the north and south of the city (within the Brisbane Region), Expo housing impacts are not considered to be a planning issue (E.K. Campbell, letter, July 30, 1987). The State Government and the Expo Authority have no "special housing projects for Expo 88." It is the attitude of the State Government that "the free

[11] F.B. Rudd, Secretary, Expo Accommodation Sub-Committee. He is also associated with the Real Estate Institute of Queensland Ltd. Letter to the author, June 5, 1987.

enterprise market place will cope with the influx of people" (F.B. Rudd, letter, June 5, 1987).

Whether or not Expo 88 creates further negative housing impacts remains to be seen. There are the potential short term impacts because of the tourist influx. There are also the potential long term impacts created by the planned redevelopment of the inner city. The future of the West End with its "low-cost inner city housing" is uncertain. One thing remains certain though -- there is little effort being exerted by the State Government, Expo 88 authorities or Brisbane City to ensure that this community remains affordable for the traditional residents.

9. Expo 92 - Chicago, Illinois

Chicago, Illinois was to be the host of its third World's Fair in 1992. It was cancelled in June, 1985 because the public appropriations for the fair were discontinued by the State of Illinois Legislature. There were several reasons for the funding cutoff including a divided civic government, accelerating cost projections, environmental and community opposition, the perceived failures of Expo 82 and Expo 84, and the fact that "the fair had no public constituency beyond a handful of downtown businessmen and real estate developers" (Dorfman, 1985, p. 7; McClory, 1985; Vancouver Sun, February 18, 1985, p. A2).

This cancelled World's Fair is briefly examined because it adds further support to the thesis that one of the primary roles of the modern World's Fair is inner city redevelopment.

A World's Fair was first proposed in the late 1970's by the downtown Chicago business community. A private corporation representing this community was created to hold the World's Fair licence awarded by the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE). A 600 acre-tract of land to the south of the CBD along Lake Michigan was selected as the site. The reasons for this particular site are alluded to in a draft document titled Chicago Central Area Plan: A Plan for the Heart of the City (1983). During the early 1980's the retail core "was in danger of losing several of its major retail anchors" (p. 9). It was recognized that Chicago had been feeling the impacts of the change from industrial to post-industrial city (i.e., office space construction) but that, unlike other American Cities such as Boston or San Francisco, the related gentrification process was only occurring in a minor way. Civic politicians, bureaucrats and the development industry were disconcerted that Chicago was not witnessing the "revitalization" of inner city neighborhoods near the CBD. The subsequent and "desired" impacts of revitalization -- a vigorous downtown retail market, "enlivened pedestrian activity" beyond the present 9 to 5 time schedule, and "perhaps most important", establishment of "a neighborhood that would be characterized by pride of ownership" (p. 25) -- were not occurring.

Downtown housing was identified as the "key element in maintaining the Central Area's diversity, vitality and viability" (p. 56). The World's Fair was to be the catalyst for the

creation of "viable" inner city housing for the white collar, post-industrial workforce. According to the Chicago Central Area Plan:

> the development of the World's Fair will create new lakefront amenities to encourage residential growth. In addition, the Fair represents an opportunity and the impetus for developing high quality residential projects. (p. 26)

It was expected that "quality" housing developments (both on and surrounding the site) would be activated by the stimulative qualities of Expo 92. Land value impacts had started as early as 1983. In the Vancouver Sun it is noted that "the price of land around the chosen exposition site on the near South Side has more than tripled in two years" (February 18, 1985, p. A2). With the 1985 cancellation of the 1992 World's Fair, Chicago's Central Area Plan will have to be altered considerably as it was heavily reliant upon the impacts Expo was to have caused.

G. Conclusions

This chapter provides a general introduction to the history of World's Fairs and their many associated roles. Particular attention has been paid to the impact of World's Fairs on the urban environment with a focus on: the use of the World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment tool; the housing impacts created; and, the extent to which planning for the impacts has occurred.

There are a multitude of roles, both explicit and implicit, which World's Fairs have played since they began being held on a systematic basis in North America. These roles are created by

the business and political elites who, in North America at least, have always launched these spectacles. What follows is a summarization of the roles which fall within six major categories.

World's Fairs have been used as "marks of progress". All fairs have marked anniversaries or historically significant dates.

Early fairs were symbolic "display cases" or "catalogues" for the tools of production, products and agricultural goods. New ideas and inventions were traditionally unveiled or conceptualized at the World's Fair.

In the economic sphere, fair supporters have attempted to use it to stimulate trade between cities, regions and nations, particularly during an economic depression. World's Fairs have also been used as vehicles of competition for prestige between leaders, cities, regions and nations. Currently, cities are using the World's Fair to attain that sought after title -- "The World Class City." Other economic roles include the employment of the World's Fair by business elite to affect union/management relations and the power of the unions in the construction industry. Fairs have been exploited for private gain. In some cases, the business and political elites who sponsored the event divulged "inside tips" to people in positions to capitalize on profit-making ventures.

In the cultural sphere, World's Fairs have been utilized as instruments of hegemony. Elitist aspirations, the culture of

consumption, racism and sexism have been underlying themes in the "content" of past fairs. On a different note, fairs have been operated as celebrations to lift the spirits of people, to build a sense of comraderie, and to educate.

World's Fairs have been used in the political sphere as a diversionary tactic to attain political legitimacy. By using their celebratory characteristics, problems or conflicts such as government fiscal restraint are "glossed over". Fairs were used to entrench the political party or leader in power and to nullify opposition.

With respect to land use planning, World's Fairs have been used as land development tools. Generally, swamp or marshland is developed for the site and then a park created when the fair ends. In more recent decades, the World's Fair has been operated as an inner city redevelopment tool. "Blighted" inner city areas are cleared or the World's Fair is situated in close proximity to such an area in order to stimulate redevelopment. Following the Fair's occupation of the site, assorted permanent "legacies" remain. Also, urban redevelopment plans have been accelerated because of the stimulative qualities of the World's Fair. The development and redevelopment roles have involved the acquisition of state funds which would never have been received by a city or region in normal circumstances.

The inner city redevelopment role is one of the most important motivations for the business and political elites of host cities to support recent World's Fair as vigorously as they

do. However, when the World's Fair is used for such a role, four housing impacts are possible and, as has been demonstrated, are highly probable.

The first type of housing impact is created when the inner city site is chosen and clearance takes place. If there is housing on the site it is demolished. This type of housing is usually rented by low income people. Affordable housing is lost from the inner city. The housing of 1,600 San Antonian's cleared for Expo 68 is an example.

The second type of housing impact is created after the announcement that a city will be hosting a World's Fair. Housing in communities surrounding the fair site is demolished or becomes more expensive. For example, in Spokane (Expo 74) deteriorating lodging houses were demolished to create parking lots for Expo tourists. Speculators hoped to gain financially from the potential increase in value of property surrounding the site.

The third type of housing impact is created by the millions of tourists drawn to the World's Fair. As the World's Fair is situated in the inner city, communities bordering the site are impacted. Tenants living in houses, apartments and lodging houses are evicted because of the natural market dynamic. Landlords, unimpeded by restrictive regulations, cater to the expected tourist influx. In the vast majority of cases (Expo 82, Expo 84 and Expo 86 as will be seen in Chapter Three), expectations do not meet reality (from the landlord's perspective). Few tourists are attracted and those who do

reside in converted accommodation are usually disappointed with the conditions. Landlords are soon seeking their former tenants back while suffering from financial loss. Speculation peaks approximately three to four months before the World's Fair opens. Evictions take place and they have virtually stopped by the end of the first month of the fair's operation.

The fourth type of housing impact is closely related to the second. Housing in communities surrounding the Exposition site is demolished, changes in tenancy status take place (for example, a residential hotel becomes a tourist, daily rental hotel), and new higher income housing is built. These impacts can be permanent in but they vary from city to city, community to community. For example, in past host cities they have failed to occur (Knoxville), have occurred (Spokane), will likely occur (New Orleans) or could possibly occur (Brisbane). They are also the type of impacts which are desired by the proponents of the World's Fair.

Planning efforts which address potential and actual housing impacts of World's Fairs have the following characteristics. Often, housing impact planning has consisted of creating the impacts. Planners have sought to redevelop the inner city and this has involved the destruction of affordable, sometimes "rundown" housing. In some cases, residents are relocated (San Antonio's Expo 68). In other cases, planners have erected a preventative "facade" when in reality they are attempting to redevelop the inner city. In Knoxville for

example, planning efforts were late, ineffective and of an ad hoc nature. There have been no cases (excluding, in part, the Expo 86 case study) of comprehensive, effective, preventative housing impact planning. The issue of housing impacts has virtually been ignored or not taken seriously by politicians, planners and academics alike.

CHAPTER 3

EXPO 86 IN VANCOUVER: A CASE STUDY

A) Introduction

Planning for the housing impacts of a hallmark event is fraught with difficulties. Apart from the complex and controversial issues which must be dealt with, past experience and information has never been collected and assessed. Moreover, hallmark events are by their very nature "once in a lifetime" events. When an event such as a World's Fair or Olympics is proposed, planners are forced to write letters of inquiry or use the telephone and try to dig up as much information as they can. Often the information is irrelevant and the tight deadlines make research difficult.

This chapter documents what happened in Vancouver when Expo 86 was staged. This chapter has four objectives:

1) to examine Expo 86 itself -- its origins, location, general operational facts, legacies, and relationship to British Columbia Place (a provincial Crown corporation responsible for redevelopment of the site);

2) to provide a multifaceted profile of the community which borders the Expo site;

3) to provide a descriptive summary of the City of Vancouver's planning process which addressed the potential and then actual housing impacts of Expo 86 in the Downtown Eastside; and,

4) to examine the nature of the housing impacts of Expo 86 as well as some ancillary impacts.

The more detailed descriptive information about the Expo 86

housing impacts can be found in the chronology in Appendix II.

B. Expo 86

1. Origins

The first documented proposal for holding a World's Fair in Vancouver's inner city was in 1974 by consultant Richard Mann. He had been hired by the City of Vancouver and the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs to draw up a Central Waterfront Plan.[12] Mann recommended that one possible redevelopment scenario could involve treating the waterfront land like a "World's Fair" in order to capitalize on the stimulative qualities of this institution (Mann, 1974, p. 8). Expo 67 was used as an example.

During 1975, Jack Volrich, Mayor of Vancouver and Sam Bawlf discussed the idea of holding a World's Fair in Vancouver. In 1975 or 1976, Premier Bill Bennett suggested a similar proposal after the Provincial Government became embroiled in a public controversy. He was seeking a spectacle to divert public attention from the controversy (Dr. Walter Hardwick, interview, April 16, 1988).

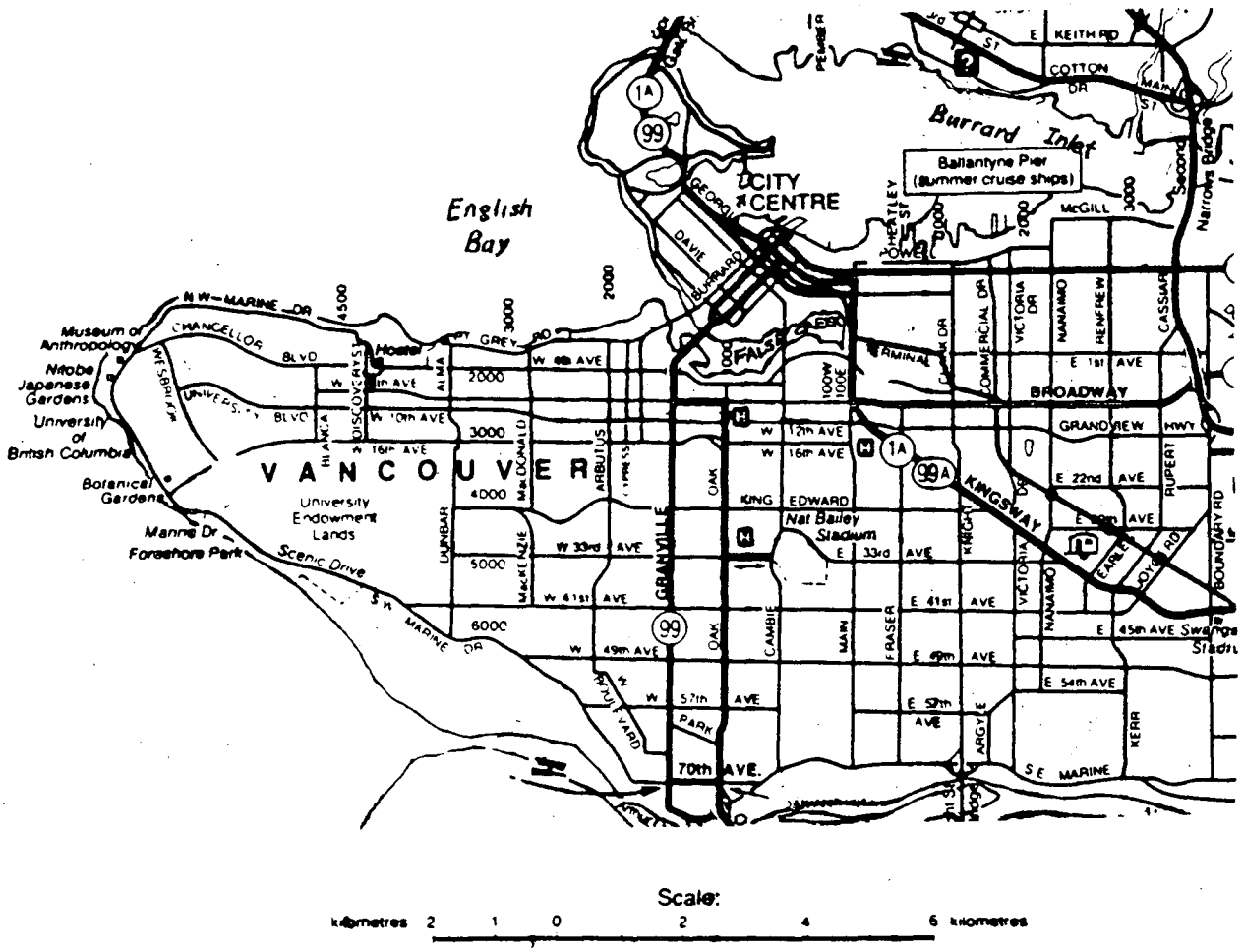
It was not until February 1978 that the idea of sponsoring a World's Fair in Vancouver was raised once again. Architect Randle Iredale prepared a "concept study" for the redevelopment of the north shore of False Creek. This land is on the opposite

[12] The Central Waterfront is an area located to the immediate north of the CBD, stretching from Cardero Street to Gore Avenue. The majority of land is owned by Canadian Pacific Rail.

side of False Creek from the celebrated False Creek Neighbourhood being developed at that time (Hulchanski, 1984) (See Figure 1).

Figure 1

Map of Vancouver



The north side of False Creek had been under consideration for redevelopment since 1967 when Marathon Realty (the real estate arm of Canadian Pacific Railway) first raised the issue of building residential towers on the declining industrial site.

After reading the Iredale "concept study", the sponsor of the study, Provincial Recreation and Conservation Minister Sam Bawlf, proposed an "international exposition to complement Vancouver's 1986 centenary" (Appendix II, February 1978). One could speculate that since the subject of the Iredale study was inner city redevelopment, Vancouver's centenary was simply a suitable excuse to hold a World's Fair given that all fairs are linked to "important" dates such as the centennial of the French Revolution (Expo 1889), the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Columbus in America (Expo 1893) or the "tenth anniversary of the gold rush" (Expo 1909) (Wachtel, 1986, p. 22). This linkage is required in order to attract support from the community, all levels of government and the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE).

In June 1978, a minister of the Provincial Government, Grace McCarthy, met with the President of the BIE in London and discussed the possibility of holding a World's Fair in Vancouver. The idea received full support from the Premier of the Province, Bill Bennett. Proposals were drawn up and the important issue of site selection received considerable attention. While various sites were examined during the spring and summer of 1979, Premier Bennett hired defeated federal Liberal Candidate Paul Manning to

recommend locations for a large domed sports stadium. Manning worked with Larry Bell, the Deputy Minister of Lands, Parks and Housing in the fall of 1979 to produce a 22 page document which changed the face of Vancouver forever. They recommended that the World's Fair under consideration be linked to the stadium and constructed on the False Creek lands held by Marathon Realty.

While a site had yet to be confirmed for the World's Fair (known at this date as Transpo '86) Premier Bennett and the Social Credit Cabinet (the cabinet of the political party led by Premier Bennett) clearly favoured the north side of False Creek. This became apparent when, in January 1980, Bennett announced his "vision for the future, a vision to build a great meeting place for all our people that we would call British Columbia Place" (Bennett, 1980, p. 4). His vision consisted of a sports stadium, a World's Fair, and a brand new rapid transit line linking the CBD to the site and the suburbs. He mentioned the enormity of the site and the consequent benefits for all people of Vancouver if it was developed properly. Most important of all, from the perspective of this study, was the use of a fair to kick-off the project:

> the trigger for this development will be Transpo '86 ... We see in this Exposition an opportunity to host both a major World Fair and to proceed with developments that suit our present and future needs ... we see in Transpo '86 the chance for a celebration that will leave a lasting legacy." (Ibid., pp. 6-7)

It becomes very clear that this World's Fair, like most fairs examined in Period V of Chapter Two, was recognized as an

opportunity for initiating a major inner city redevelopment project. This was one of several important functions which Expo 86 was designed to perform (see Anderson and Wachtel, 1986; Ley, 1987; Ley and Olds, 1988, forthcoming).

By May of 1980, B.C. Place Ltd., a provincial Crown corporation, was formed with a mandate as follows:

1) to design and construct a 60,000-seat amphitheatre;
2) to provide a fully serviced site for Expo 86, a world class international fair;
3) to manage the design and urban redevelopment of the north shore of False Creek.

(Planning Department, November 1984, p. 1)

The land on the north shore of False Creek (175 acres) was acquired by B.C. Place in November 1980 for $30 million in cash, $30 million in valuable downtown properties and other undisclosed benefits. Following this purchase of the land, the BIE gave final approval (on November 26, 1980) of the application to hold a World's Fair. Expo 86 was officially established.

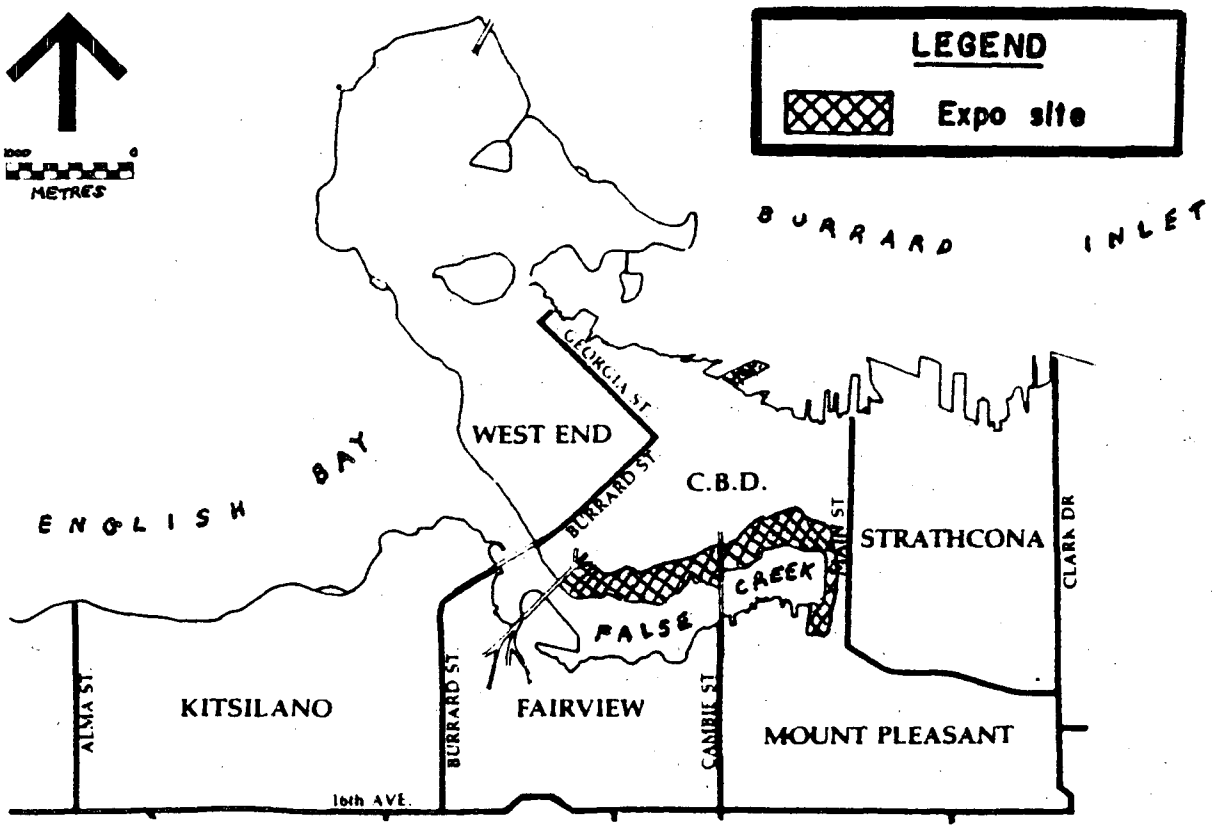
2. Location

Expo 86 was built on seventy hectares (173 acres) of inner city waterfront land. The major site was sixty-seven hectares of land on the north and easterly shores of False Creek. There was also a three hectare site on the Central Waterfront directly north of the CBD. It was in fact a pier projecting into Burrard Inlet. This was the site of the Canada Pavilion, and subsequently Vancouver's convention and exhibition centre (see

Figure 2). This three hectare site ended up being smaller than the site proposed in 1983 by B.C.Place (1983). A brochure showed the site extending eastward along the waterfront to Main Street.

Figure 2

Map of Expo 86 Site



The two sites were connected by the Skytrain, a $1 billion advanced light rapid transit system built, in part, because of Expo 86.

3. General Operational Facts

THEME: Transportation and Communications.

THEME STATEMENT: World in Motion -- World in Touch.

TYPE OF WORLD'S FAIR: Special Category World Exposition.

AGENCY RESPONSIBLE: The Expo 86 Corporation was established by the Expo 86 Corporation Act in February of 1981. As a non-profit agency of the Crown, it was responsible for the planning, operation and financial administration of Expo 86. Jim Pattison was Chairman and President of the Expo 86 Corporation as well as Chairman, Board of Directors, B.C. Place Ltd. The other members of the Expo 86 Board of Directors were primarily senior B.C. business executives. The Board reported to the Minister responsible for Expo 86, Claude Richmond.

PAVILIONS: There were a total of 65 pavilions on site representing countries around the world, Canadian provinces and territories, corporations, and themes.

PERIOD OF OPERATION: May 2 to October 13, 1986.

TOTAL ATTENDANCE: 22,111,578 visits.

TOTAL CORPORATE AND GOVERNMENT INVESTMENT: $1.5 billion.

TOTAL EXPO REVENUE: $406.6 million.

TOTAL EXPO EXPENDITURES: $ 685.8 million.

TOTAL EXPO DEBT: $336.7 million.

4. The Legacies of Expo 86

Billions of dollars of improvements and development was either accelerated or created because of Expo 86. "Legacies" remain as testimony to the stimulative qualities of the World's

Fair. World's Fairs, particularly since the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, have been used as mechanisms to leave the host city with a list of "legacies" (Peters, 1982). Expo 86 was no exception.

The Expo legacies are described below according to an "on-site/off-site" categorization. Many of these legacies have been created specifically because of the government sponsored nature of this World's Fair. Other legacies would likely have been built if Expo 86 was never staged, but their timing and specific characteristics have been altered because of Expo. This assertion is illustrated by the "fast tracking" of the construction of an interior British Columbian highway system called the Coquihalla Highway. Premier Bennett increased the pace of construction at great expense so it would be finished in time for the opening of Expo 86 (and a coming provincial election). The result was a 112 kilometre highway which cost $414.7 million instead of an estimated $250 million (MacKay, 1987; Palmer, 1987).

On-site Legacies

British Columbia Pavilion -- a multi-million dollar structure used as the British Columbia Pavilion for Expo 86. It is currently being used by the B.C. Enterprise Corporation as an "Enterprise Centre" to "promote business and high technology investment" (Whiting and Farevaag, 1987). Occasional musical concerts are held in the building as well.

Expo Centre -- a multi-million dollar eleven story globe. Its primary feature is a 500-seat IMAX Theatre. There are also other rooms and a restaurant. It will continue as a theatre and house a new science and technology centre museum.

Plaza of Nations -- a central covered meeting place currently being used as a setting for festivals and public media events.

Expo Theatre -- a covered but open air theatre in which various entertainment acts are staged.

B.C. Place Stadium -- a 60,000 seat, $126 million dollar domed stadium used for professional sporting events, rock concerts, tractor pulls, trade shows, public events and conferences.

Canada Place -- a $144.8 million multi-use facility used as Canada's national pavilion during Expo 86. A highrise portion houses 231,000 square feet of office space and a 500 room hotel (the Pan Pacific). Other facilities include a cruise ship terminal, a theatre, and a trade and convention centre. It was built on the site of an old Canadian Pacific pier (see Gutstein, 1986, for a discussion of the politics and history of this legacy).

Off-site Legacies

Skytrain -- a $1.2 billion automated light transit system linking Canada Place and the Central Waterfront to the CBD, the Expo site (and B.C. Place Stadium) and various suburban areas. This untested, comparatively expensive system was chosen unilaterally by the Provincial Government over the objection of the local governments. It was considered by the Provincial Government and Expo 86 to be a "major feature" of the Exposition itself (Government of Canada, 1986, p. 129). It is presently being extended to outlying suburban areas (see Hasson, 1984, and Gutstein, 1986, for a discussion of some of the controversial issues surrounding this system).

Cambie Street Bridge -- A new Cambie Street Bridge was built to replace an older, "inefficient" bridge. The bridge crosses over False Creek linking the downtown area to a main traffic corridor which passes by City Hall, through the rest of Vancouver and out to the suburbs. In March 1984 the citizens of Vancouver voted in a plebiscite to "approve the borrowing of $35 million to make up the estimated $59.7 million cost" (Gutstein, 1986, p. 80). The vote was yes, the money borrowed and the bridge was built quickly in order to meet Expo's opening day. Considerable development is beginning around the southern end of this bridge which, in part, is due to its construction (Kemble, 1986; Gutstein, 1986). Some construction had also started before the new bridge was opened as a result of the success of the False Creek Neighbourhood.

There were other relatively minor legacies which were created because of the existence of Expo 86. They include $70 million worth of road improvements in the city, the opening up of the downtown waterfront (Central Waterfront) for development, and improved transit and computerized traffic systems, according to Mayor Mike Harcourt (Daniels, October 4, 1986). The Central Waterfront changes included an overpass (the Main Street overpass) and the improvement of sections of a roadway along the waterfront.

5. The Relationship of Expo 86 to the B.C. Enterprise Corporation

An assessment of Expo 86 must include B.C. Place Ltd. (known as the B.C. Enterprise Corporation as of September, 1987). The two Crown corporations are closely related and dependant upon each other. Both the Expo 86 Corporation and B.C. Place Ltd. were created in May of 1980. The land was assembled by B.C. Place Ltd., and then leased, except for a small portion, to the Expo 86 Corporation for $1 (Cruickshank, February 1, 1986). Expo 86 was considered to be the "trigger for the development" of the north shore of False Creek (Bennett, 1980).

The site was a former industrial area characterized by smoke spewing lumber mills, railyards and assorted manufacturing plants. It had seriously declined by the early 1960's (Burkinshaw, 1984; Hardwick, 1974) and by the time Expo 86 leased the site, little remained of its industrial past.

Expo 86 was used as a vehicle to prepare the site not merely for the World's Fair, but also for post-Expo development. Comments by two prominent Expo 86 personnel support this assertion. In the Vancouver Sun, former Expo 86 finance chairman Peter Brown stated:

> Expo probably saved B.C. Place about $100 million because it cleared the site, prepared it for development, constructed the sea wall on the site and did other work that benefitted B.C. Place. (Baldrey, March 17, 1987, p. A8)

Brown carried on to state that the two corporations operated on a "landlord tenant basis with B.C. Place merely reaping the benefits of work done on the site by Expo" (Ibid.).

Bruno Freschi, Chief Architect and Designer for Expo 86 told the members of the B.C. Place Citizens' Advisory Committee that they had worked "intensively to integrate the Expo plan with B.C. Place's waterfront plan" (Appendix II, April 11, 1983).

In considering the complex and forever changing plans for the Expo site, a few points should be made.[13] From the time of acquisition of the land on the north shore of False Creek until the fall of 1986, B.C. Place Ltd. had prepared a series of proposal plans. The first two were very controversial in that

[13] For information on the plans and the controversy surrounding the future development of the Expo site, see: Vancouver Province, May 3, 1987, p. C40; Baldrey, 1987; British Columbia Place, 1983; Buchanan, 1987; Carline, 1986; Cernetig, 1987; Cruickshank, February 1, 1986; Downtown Eastside Residents Association, 1987; Farrow, January 20, 1986; Ford, 1987; Gutstein, 1986; Hauka, December 28, 1986; Hossie, 1983; Konrad, 1987; Ley, 1987; McMartin, 1987; Planning Department, City of Vancouver, 1984; Rankin, 1981; Sewell, 1984; Tevlin, 1987; Volkart, 1987; Volkart and Hamilton, 1987; Whiting and Farevaag, 1987.

the proposed density was far above that desired by the City of Vancouver. The City had no legal say in the development of the site as it was owned by a provincial government corporation. The Province exempts itself from all municipal land use regulations. The City expressed its opposition through both public (the media) and private (delegations) channels. Members of the community were also vocal opponents of the plans.

A third plan was developed between 1985 and 1986 for a small sub-area of the site -- the "North Park." It was proposed jointly by B.C. Place and City of Vancouver planners. This plan was scrapped by the Provincial Government in April 1987 because it failed to meet the "test of economic viability." At about the same time, B.C. Place Ltd. was merged with the B.C. Development Corporation creating a Crown corporation known as B.C. Enterprise Corporation. This corporation has responsibility for the site and, as of March 1988, it appears that the site will be sold to one developer. Proposals submitted by private developers are being assessed in great secrecy (Tevlin, 1987).

It is likely that the future development plans of the north shore of False Creek will be at a much higher density and with a more homogeneous population (primarily middle and upper income) than that on the south shore (see Cybriwsky et al., (1986), Hulchanski (1984), and Ley (1987) for description and analyses of the south shore development). Future conflict is virtually assured as the maximization of profit seems a high provincial and private sector priority whereas social goals seem to be given

greater priority in City policy.

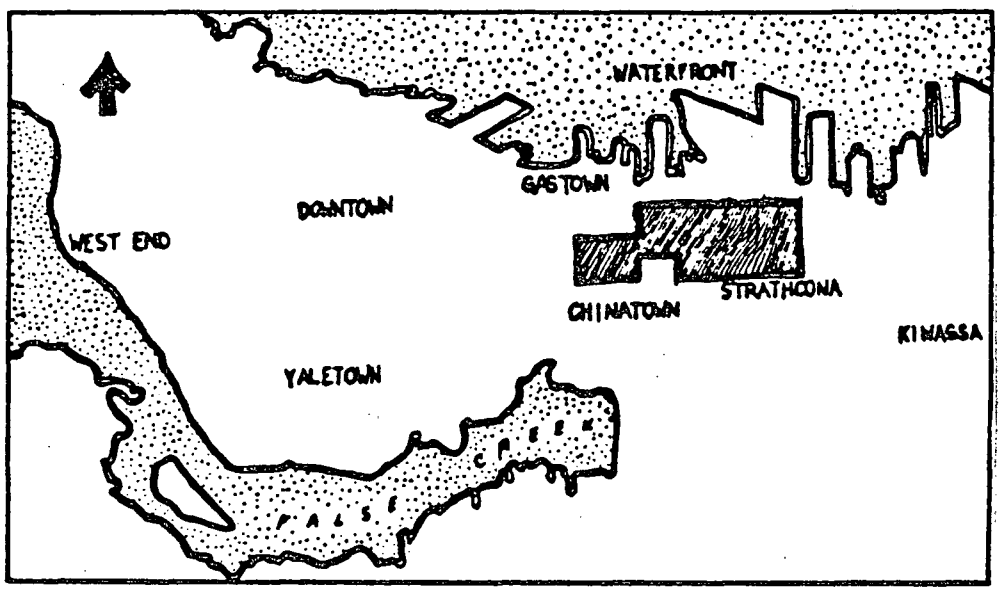
C. The Impacted Community: A Profile of the Downtown Eastside

1. Location and Definition

There are two definitions of what constitutes the Downtown Eastside. The first is a narrow one used by the City of Vancouver in its local area planning process. The City, through the Zoning and Development By Law defines the area as bounded by Main Street to the west, Heatley Street to the east, the lane south of Hastings Street to the South and Alexander Street to the north. This area is also called the Downtown Eastside - Oppenheimer district by the City.

Figure 3

Map of Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District

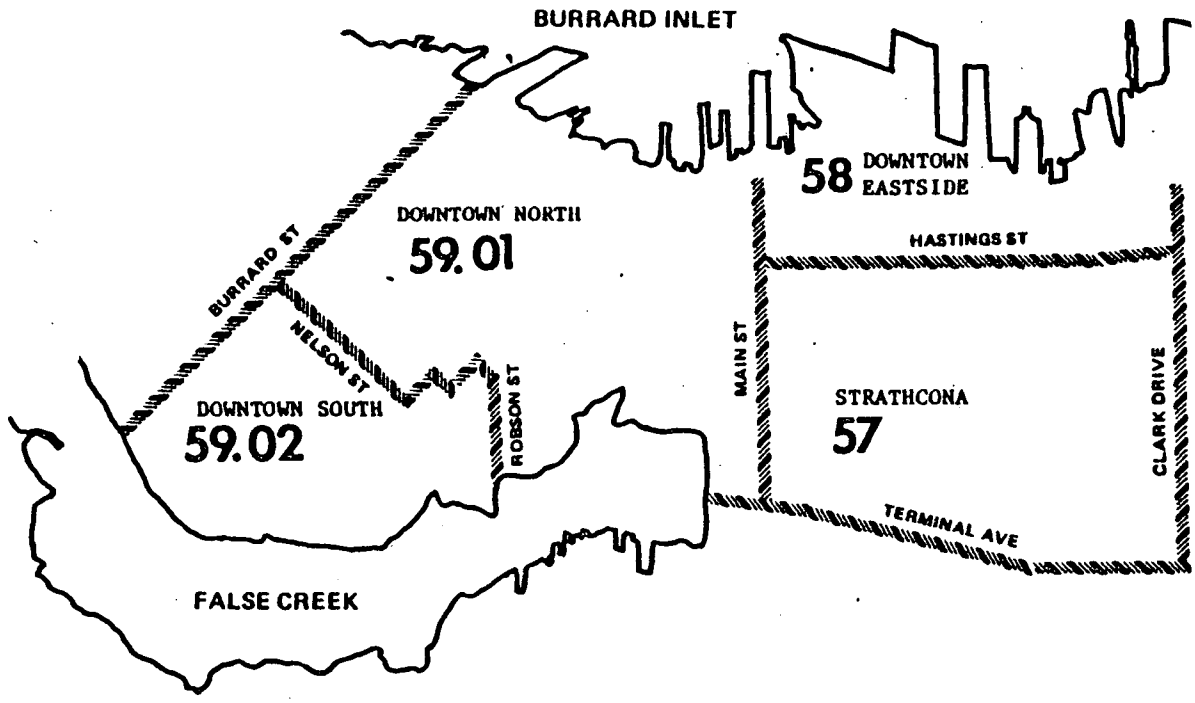


DOWNTOWN-EASTSIDE/OPPENHEIMER
City Context

For the purposes of this thesis, however, a broader definition is more useful. In this second definition, the Downtown Eastside community is bounded by Burrard Street to the west, Clark Street to the east, False Creek to the south and the port to the north, covering four census tracts.

Figure 4

Map of the Downtown Eastside



This second definition is the one used by community groups and the City of Vancouver in its plans for addressing the housing impacts of Expo 86. The City calls this area "the Downtown" but the "Downtown Eastside" is the term used in this study.

2. A Brief History

The Downtown Eastside is the oldest area of Vancouver. In 1876, this community covered two blocks along Burrard Inlet. 1881 census tabulated: 2 shoemakers, 44 loggers, 1 policeman, 31 millworkers, 4 butchers, 1 school teacher, 2 ministers and 1 wine merchant (Davis, 1976, p. 69).

The area was the heart of Vancouver and it rapidly expanded after the great fire of 1886. The Canadian Pacific Railway played the most important role in this period (Ibid. p.69) in terms of Downtown Eastside development.

The area expanded in boom and bust cycles until a very important twenty year boom from 1893-1913. In this period developers "realized unimaginable profits" (Davis, 1976). It was also during this period that the great steel magnate Andrew Carnegie donated $50,000 to develop the Vancouver Public Library on the corner of Main and Hastings.

It was in this twenty year boom period that many of the rooming houses and residential hotels were built. They provided the immigrant families and low-income, blue collar workers with a cheap place to live in close proximity to the canneries and mills on the waterfront.

As time progressed, the central business district (CBD) shifted to the west. During the 1940's the area was zoned for heavy industrial use and residential land values fell. The community headed down the road of neglect and deterioration (Save the Downtown Eastside Committee, 1982).

The post-WWII period in the Downtown Eastside was characterized by a decreasing quality of life for residents. The central area of the community acquired the "Skid Row" label and this led to further neglect from within as well as outside. Politicians could afford to dump undesirable institutions in the area as little protest would be faced. The community was the poorest in the city with little voice at City Hall, in part, because of the traditional conservative-business linkages of the dominant civic party, the NPA (Non Partisan Association).

Demographic shifts during the post-WWII period included rapid Chinese immigration to the Strathcona area. In 1947 Strathcona was 28% Chinese, in 1957 50% and by the mid 1970's about 75% Chinese (Davis, 1976, p.106). The percentage is approximately the same in 1987.

The fact that the Downtown Eastside was still a residential community had major implications for the urban renewal initiatives of the three levels of government during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Ley (1984) notes that the first two phases of urban renewal resulted in the displacement of over 3300 residents. The third phase, which would have involved the displacement of another 3000 residents and the construction of an

urban freeway through the heart of Chinatown, was approved and eventually cancelled. It was during this latter phase that the citizens of Strathcona mobilized with the assistance of the professionals.

It was during the late 1960's and early 1970's that various interest groups emerged and began to affect the municipal political decision-making process. Community groups, such as the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA) and community-based, non-governmental organizations such as the First United Church and the Chinese Benevolent Association, began to speak out on behalf of community residents. This was primarily a grassroots activity, in contrast to the top-down paternalism which characterized the area's previous history.

Community-based attempts to improve the quality of life for Downtown Eastside residents were periodically supported by City Council. The City of Vancouver Social Planning Department has provided strong support for attempts to improve the quality of life for residents (Swan, 1987; Purdy, 1988). This has included vigorous advocacy for the conversion of the vacant and deteriorating Carnegie Public Library building into a community centre, and for the construction of social housing. Several socially mixed, subsidized housing projects were built in the community during the late 1970's and early 1980's. Social housing projects are now looked upon fondly by the downtown business community for their aesthetic qualities and for their stabilizing influence upon the land market (Sarti, June 26,

1984). While funded by the government (federal, provincial and municipal), the social housing projects are sponsored, developed and managed by community-based organizations such as DERA, the First United Church Social Housing Society and the Chinese Benevolent Association.

The announcement of mega-projects such as B.C. Place and Expo 86 were quickly recognized by community representatives for their potentially destabilizing effects. Considerable time and effort has been spent preparing for impacts, lobbying politicians, working with planners, and raising public awareness. DERA was the most involved organization in such activities.

3. A Statistical Profile

The following statistical profile of the Downtown Eastside community is primarily based on 1981 census data and two surveys conducted by the Social Planning Department (1983, 1985). The census tracts which are in the "broad" definition of the Downtown Eastside are Strathcona (57), Downtown Eastside (58), Downtown North (59.01) and Downtown South (59.02). As Table 1 indicates, there have been significant changes in the total residential population.

Table 1

Population Changes in the Downtown North and South, the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona Census Tracts, 1961-1981

Year	Downtown North and South	Downtown Eastside	Strathcona	TOTAL
1961	8,218 (40%)	3,963 (19%)	8,493 (41%)	20,674 (100%)
1966	8,065 (42%)	3,530 (18%)	7,551 (40%)	19,146 (100%)
1971	6,095 (34%)	2,785 (16%)	8,850 (50%)	17,730 (100%)
1976	5,441 (36%)	2,182 (14%)	7,634 (50%)	15,257 (100%)
1981	6,031 (36%)	2,507 (15%)	8,070 (49%)	16,608 (100%)

(Social Planning Dept., 1983, p. 25)

Between 1961 and 1971 the population in the Downtown Eastside declined at 8% per year. Between 1971 and 1976 the rate of decline accelerated to approximately twice that of the previous decade. One can, however, detect growth between 1976 and 1981 -- the first shift towards growth in 15 years. Preliminary data supplied by the Social Planning Department (1987) suggests a continuation of this growth trend.

The 1981 Census found 16,608 people living in the Downtown Eastside between Burrard Street and Clark Drive. Approximately 36 percent of the total residential population resides in the Downtown North and South (Census Tract 59), 15 percent in the Downtown Eastside (small definition; Census Tract 58), and the remaining 49 percent in Strathcona (Census Tract 57) (Social Planning, 1983). 55% of this population resides in private dwellings (single-detached dwellings, duplexes, row housing and apartments), and the remaining population (45%) lives in lodging houses (residential hotels, rooming houses, non-profit hostels

and multiple conversion dwellings). It is the lodging house population (the residential hotel residents in particular) which is under examination in this case study.[14]

Table 2 provides data on where lodging house tenants live in the Downtown Eastside.

Table 2

Lodging Houses Tenants and Their Proportion of the Total Residential Population in the Downtown North and South, the Downtown Eastside and Strathcona, 1961-1981

Year	Downtown North and South	Downtown Eastside	Strathcona	TOTAL
1961	5,760 (70%)	1,985 (50%)	1,764 (21%)	9,509 (46%)
1966	5,831 (72%)	1,763 (50%)	1,631 (40%)	9,225 (48%)
1971	4,137 (68%)	1,620 (58%)	1,270 (14%)	7,027 (40%)
1976	4,593 (84%)	1,456 (67%)	1,193 (16%)	7,242 (48%)
1981	4,847 (36%)	1,412 (56%)	1,202 (15%)	7,461 (45%)

(Source: Social Planning Dept., 1983, p. 26)

The proportion of the total residential population living in lodging houses differs considerably among the four Census Tracts. 80% of the residential population in the Downtown North and South (tract 59) reside in lodging houses, 56% in tract 58 reside in lodging houses, and 15% of the residential population in

[14] Lodging house is a general term which encompasses both residential hotels and rooming houses. Residential hotels can be differentiated from rooming houses as follows. A residential hotel has a lobby/lounge area and amenity space. There are often bars on the main floor of these hotels. The rooming house on the other hand does not have a lobby with hotel staff/check in area. It is the residential hotels which evicted the great majority of tenants living in the Downtown Eastside.

Strathcona (tract 57) reside in lodging houses.

The Social Planning Department has, since 1980, prepared reports on the status of Downtown (Downtown Eastside) lodging house accommodation. These reports provide basic information on the occupancy, rents and condition of Downtown lodging houses and a social profile of the tenants.

The following is an edited series of highlights from the most recent survey (1985). A small portion of some unreleased data from the 1986 survey is also referred to.

Building Stock and Rents

1) As of December, 1984, there were 12,501 units of accommodation in the downtown.

2) 25% of all units (3,125) are apartment units, while 75% (9,500) are sleeping-housekeeping rooms.

3) Almost one-half (4750) of all sleeping-housekeeping rooms are in Downtown North (59.01), concentrated north of Dunsmuir between Richards and Main.

4) The true vacancy rate for all housing units in the Downtown Eastside is 16%, in the year of 1984 (it approximates the same in 1988).

5) The average Downtown unit rented for $204 a month, in 1984. This rate increased from 1982 to 1984. In fact, from 1982 to 1984, incomes for tenants under 65 scarcely rose while rents increased by 17%. Rents have not increased significantly from 1984 to 1987 because social income assistance rates have basically remained at a stable level. Tenants cannot afford any increases in rent levels.

Tenant Profile

1) About 13,000 households reside in lodging houses, apartment blocks or rowhouses containing 5 or more units, in the Downtown Eastside.

2) Among these households, 90% are single persons, 8% are shared or couples and 2% are families (including single parents).

3) 51% of Downtown Eastside tenants are 55 or older. 19% are over 69 and 5% are under 20.

4) Just 15% of adult tenants (over 19) are female.

5) Just over three-quarters of tenants are Caucasian, almost one-fifth Oriental, and the remaining 6-7%, mostly Native Indians.

6) 30% of all tenants have lived in their building 6 years or longer; 60% have lived in the Downtown Eastside 6 years or longer.

7) 31% of all tenants have been in their building less than a year, while only 12% have been in the Downtown Eastside less than a year.

8) 60% of all tenants report a monthly income at or below $500. Among all tenants, 80% receive their primary source of income from income maintenance programs: Almost one-half (49%) depend on GAIN (Guaranteed Available Income for Need) or HPIA (Handicapped Pension Income Assistance).

9) 91% of all Downtown Eastside tenants fall below the poverty line of $9,403 annual income set by the Federal Government for single urban dwellers in March, 1984.

Housing Trends

1) In November, 1978 there were 278 buildings containing 11,321 units of accommodation in the Downtown Eastside. As of December 1984, there were 228 lodging houses with 10,153 units in the Downtown Eastside. The loss of lodging house units -- largely sleeping-housekeeping rooms - between 1978 and 1984, but particulary between 1984 and 1986 is substantial.[15]

[15] There appears to be some discrepancy between the two surveys (1983 and 1985) with respect to the total loss of lodging house units. The 1983 survey reports that between November of 1978 and December of 1982, a "substantial loss" in lodging house accommodation occurred. "There appears to have been a total loss of 76 lodging houses containing 1,987 units or roughly 20 buildings containing 500 units a year (p. 7).

In the 1985 survey, it is reported that "over the last 6 years" a loss of 858 lodging house units has occurred (p. 8).

2) Since 1978, over one-half the building loss has occurred in old multiple conversions. These buildings and 23 old hotels and rooming houses were demolished and their sites redeveloped for non-residential use.

3) Between the 1982 and 1984 surveys carried out by the Social Planning Department, 4 lodging houses, representing 244 units, have been converted into 4 apartment buildings with 74 units, resulting in a net loss of 170 units of accommodation.

4) Between 1982 and 1984, the stock of lodging house accommodation has decreased at 2.3% annually. Most of this decrease has occurred in Downtown North (59.01), particularly in the Gastown area, where a total of 269 units were demolished or converted to tourist use. The net loss of lodging house units between 1982 and 1984 amounts to 489 units.

5) Approximately 1,100 apartment units were added to the Downtown Eastside housing stock between 1978 and 1984. Between 1984 and 1986 232 self-contained units were built. Self-contained units now (1986) constitute 25% of the area's monthly rental housing stock.

(Social Planning Dept., 1985;1987)

The Downtown Eastside Residents Association (1987) summarizes this data with the following profile of a typical resident:

> If there is a typical Downtown Eastside Resident, he is an unemployed man, about 55 years old, receiving social assistance, and living alone in a small housekeeping room for which he pays $225 a month. He probably has lived in the community in a variety of lodging houses, on and off, for the past 15 years. He has previously worked in primary industries (e.g., logging, mining) and may have become disabled while working. (pp. 7-8)

This summary is similar to ones provided by both Eisinger (1986)

Later in the survey, it is reported that "The loss of lodging house units - largely sleeping/housekeeping rooms - amounts to 1,045 units or 9% over the 6 year period. In annual terms this loss has averaged 174 units or 1.5% per year" (p. 34). In any case, substantial housing loss has occurred since 1978.

and the Social Planning Department (1985).

4. Residential Tenancy Rights

The lack of residential tenancy rights has a definite impact upon the daily life of all residential hotel dwellers. Tenants have absolutely no security of tenure. Legally, they are considered to be "licensees" (those who have not got the right to "exclusive possession"). As a licensee, they are considered to be hotel guests even though they may have lived in the hotel room or rooming house for one, ten or even forty years. As such, they may be evicted at any time with no notice required. They may face rent increases at any time and in any amount. Their goods may be seized and their use of the room may be regulated by the landlord (e.g., no guests allowed after 11:00 p.m.) (Tenants' Rights Coalition, 1986).

All efforts to persuade the Provincial Government to amend the Residential Tenancy Act (it is provincial legislation which governs the relations between tenant and landlord) have failed.

Very precarious tenancy status, combined with marginal financial resources leave the typical Downtown Eastside resident vulnerable to any potential speculation by hotel owners interested in catering to the Expo tourist market.[16] Given that a large number of residential hotels and rooming houses are

[16] For a discussion of the unique problems faced by lodging house (or single room occupancy (SRO) hotels as they are more commonly known) residents see Hartman, Keating and LeGates (1981), and Bratt, Hartman and Meyerson (1986).

within five minutes walk to the Expo site, and that many of the hotels are in weak financial conditions (Clark, 1978), many hotel owners could not resist the conceived potential financial gains brought by the money-laden Expo tourist.

5. Sense of Community[17]

The Downtown Eastside has been discussed from a historical perspective as well as a statistical perspective. Both offer considerable insight into the nature of the community. Communities consist of much more than mere history and income levels however. Communities exist because humans live and interact in them. We are social animals who relate in varying ways to ourselves, each other and to the environment around us.

Roger Ahlbrandt Jr. (1984) has defined community not in static terms but in processive terms. The "community of action" is the location of the primary and secondary relationships of residents, along with all of the other activities in which people are engaged (p. 1).

Primary relationships consist of those relationships between "family members, friends and providers of social support." Secondary relationships consist of those relationships involved in the process of "neighbouring" (the provision of help, information and social interaction) (Keller, 1968).

The concept of community consists of several dimensions.

[17] The author thanks Marvin Kamenz (1987) for pointing out some of the "community" literature used in this section.

There is the "locality of place that serves certain functions and there is the extra-local community into which people's [social] networks also extend" (Ahlbrandt, 1984, p. 16).

This concept of community can be applied to the Downtown Eastside. Unfortunately, such communities are often denigrated with the "Skid Row" label. Images of desolate garbage filled wastelands appear. Worst of all, people imagine that isolated, atomized individuals roam around without interaction of any type. These stereotypes have been promoted in the media for decades and the majority of society has little contact with such areas and their residents.

The "locality of place" dimension was raised by Dr. John Blatherwick, Chief Medical Health Officer for the City of Vancouver.[18] He states that residents rely upon the various services which are developed for their unique needs. Food stores, a food bank, health centre, community centre and other various "services" are heavily used. Residents of the Downtown Eastside are relatively immobile compared to the average city resident.

Another dimension consists of the residents' social networks. Residents of inner city communities such as the Downtown Eastside cannot and should not be considered as either isolated individuals or as average, elderly middle class folks. Dr. Blatherwick has admitted that one of his department's major

[18] Dr. John Blatherwick, Chief Medical Health Officer, City of Vancouver. Interview with author, June 29, 1987.

mistakes was making assumptions on "normal, healthy elderly people." Residents are "fiercely independent individuals" who are linked to "informal" social support systems. Their independence exists with respect to mainstream society and the services offered by the government.

Independence, combined with a history of struggle (in terms of work, personal life and community problems), links to community-based services and, social networks, has created for many a strong sense of community in the Downtown Eastside. This assertion is supported in a book, Hastings and Main: Stories from an Inner City Neighbourhood (1987), which consists of personal interviews with twenty "Downtown Eastsiders". Moreover, it is not insignificant that a retired policeman who worked the "skids" reminisced:

> There have been many other changes in the skid row area itself, most of them positive. The name itself has almost disappeared, to be replaced by the much more enlightened 'Downtown Eastside.' Thanks to the efforts of DERA members and numerous other community groups in the area, a sense of pride and community has developed where once there was none. (Swan, 1987, p. 6)

In summary then, the Downtown Eastside is a residential community; a "community of action" with a social fabric (the interaction between the characteristics of the local residents and those of the neighbourhood) that cannot be either neglected or assumed to equate middle class norms. The populus, like "Skid Row" dwellers in other North American cities, is elderly and poor and this leaves them very vulnerable to potential housing

impacts. [19]

D. The City of Vancouver's Planning Process

The first questions about the possible housing impacts of Expo 86 (then called Transpo 86) and B.C. Place were raised during the summer of 1981, one-half year after the Bureau of International Exhibitions (BIE) official ratification of the Expo application. In the Downtown Eastside, First United Church representatives predicted that at least 800 low and fixed income residents would be evicted from residential hotels and rooming houses being upgraded for the Expo 86 "lucrative tourist trade" (Rankin, 1981).

It was not until the summer of 1982 that the City of Vancouver began to examine the impact of Expo 86 on the city. Representatives of several departments went to Knoxville, Tennessee to attend Expo 82 and meet with Knoxville civic staff to discuss the impacts of the fair on the municipality. "No information" was sought or obtained about the housing impacts of Expo 82 (Doug Purdy[20], letter, March 1, 1988; Dr. J. Blatherwick,

[19] There is a very interesting and diverse range of literature which can provide insights into the "community of action" of poor, inner city areas ("Skid Row") throughout North America, Australia and Europe to a lesser degree. See Cantor (1975), Clark (1971), Cohen and Sokolusky (1980), Duncan (1978), Eckert (1980), Erickson and Eckert (1977), Pastalan (1983), Rowles and Ohta (1983), Siegal (1978), Spradley (1970), Stephens (1976) and Ward (1979). Two semi-autobiographical classics by Knut Hamsun (1967) and George Orwell (1933) are highly recommended.

[20] Doug Purdy, Deputy Director, Social Planning Department, City of Vancouver. He was interviewed several times for this study and wrote the author one letter.

interview, June 29, 1987).

During the fall of 1982, a consultant hired by Expo 86 began considering the potential Expo housing impact in the bordering Downtown Eastside residential community. The consultant (Patricia French) met with the B.C. Place Citizens' Advisory Committee (CAC) that City Council had set up in September of 1981. This committee was responsible for a range of B.C. Place planning issues such as housing. It appears that Expo 86 intended to carry out impact studies. A draft of "Phase 1" of the impact studies, which included housing, was produced (see Patricia French Ltd., 1983). With the changes in Expo 86 management during spring 1983, the responsibility of carrying out impact studies was passed over to the "appropriate" departments at City Hall (Patricia French, interview, March 12, 1987). From March 1983 the City became involved in all aspects of the municipal impacts of Expo 86.

In early spring 1983, several City departments produced Expo 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues: Study Terms of Reference. In the report they note:

> Be prepared is the Boy Scout marching song. The purpose of this document is to identify issues which are or will be of concern to Vancouver residents and business people and to be prepared for anticipated and unanticipated problems to ensure Expo success. (City of Vancouver, 1983, p. 2)

Areas of concern included "access, parking and transportation", "safety and security" and "accommodation". The Social Planning Department assumed responsibility for accommodation because of

their long history of involvement in Downtown Eastside issues. In the accommodation section of the report, reference was made to the fact that there is "potential" for the "permanent or temporary displacement of long term and moderate income residents" (p. 8).

The terms of reference for study proposals were identified. These included: reviewing accommodation experiences of previous fairs; carrying out studies on the number of out-of-town tourists visiting Vancouver; researching the price range of accommodation required; determining what kind of housing stock serving longer term tenants could be converted to tourist accommodation; identifying the number of long term tenants who may be displaced from such premises; and, examining methods and mechanisms that will ensure minimum displacement of longer term tenants.[21] The task is summarized in the following statement contained in the report: "to measure the likely impact of Expo against City policy and to outline policy response options".

The accommodation studies were scheduled to be completed by November 1983 with a final report ready for presentation to City Council and the Expo Board of Directors by January 1984. The timetable for these accommodation studies was not followed.

In October 1983 the Social Planning Department asked the

[21] The term "longer term tenant" is used by the City of Vancouver in reference to residents of the Downtown Eastside who live in residential hotels and rooming houses. If the person has been in continuous occupation of the residential premises for a period exceeding 1 year they are considered a long term tenant.
In Spokane, Washington, the period was 3 months when considering whether tenants were long or short term.

Permits and Licenses Department to identify ("red flag") any downtown hotel or rooming house seeking a permit to carry out renovations. At approximately the same time the Social Planning Department initiated work on a major option called the "Expo Housing Program". The justification for the program was that Expo 86's inner city setting, its "success in attracting exhibitors and its likely success in attracting a multitude of visitors" would exert "considerable pressure on an already limited amount of rental housing stock" (Social Planning Department, 1984). Additional housing assistance from the Canada and Mortgage Housing Corporation (CMHC) was sought because of:

> The necessity to avoid further pressure on rental accommodation, particularly in the inner city, and the necessity to protect the most vulnerable population - the long term, low income inner city dweller living in hotels and rooming houses. (Introduction)

The City attempted to use Expo 86's need for temporary housing near the fair site. Community-based housing organizations were assisted by the City in their efforts to sponsor the Expo housing. After Expo, the housing units were to become non-profit and co-operative housing, some of which would be allocated to those who were evicted. The City was going to provide financial assistance in the form of writing down the land costs, while CMHC would provide long term subsidies. A request was made for a special allocation of 765 units to be built if possible in the Downtown Eastside.

The Expo Housing Program was also to include increased funding of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program

(RRAP) which was being used to upgrade lodging houses in the Downtown Eastside, increased funding for special needs housing for Downtown Peninsula mobility impaired and/or handicapped individuals, and increased funding of the Canadian Rental Supply Program (CRSP) where the inner city was the site of new rental unit construction. The Expo Housing Program basically involved capitalizing on the possible negative housing impact of Expo 86 by convincing the Federal Government to provide "special" increased funding of existent programs.

The City developed other options in 1984. The most important and controversial of these was a rent freeze and no eviction program. This option was proposed by the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA) and was refined with Social Planning staff input. In the proposal, the long term residents (over 1 year) of lodging houses would receive protection from either rent increases or evictions during the period of operation of Expo 86. This option required Provincial Government approval because the City does not have legal authority to enact either rent controls or eviction protection.

Some other options were created and acted upon in 1984. These included lobbying for changes to the Residential Tenancy Act in order to allow residents of lodging houses the same tenancy rights as other tenants in the province and, checking with the City's Law Department to see if they can prevent the owners of lodging houses and apartments from converting their premises to tourist accommodation.

During November 1984 the City was heavily involved in assessing the situation in the Downtown Eastside. Since 1980 the Social Planning Department has carried out bi-annual lodging house surveys in which housing conditions and trends and tenant profiles are determined. In the survey to be carried out in fall 1984, explicit attention was focused upon any actual or potential Expo housing impacts. The survey was conducted and then examined in spring 1985. Considerable effort was also spent examining attendance predictions of out-of-town tourists in relation to the number of hotel vacancies.

By June of 1985 the results of the survey entitled Expo Housing Survey were in. After examining the results, the Director of Social Planning reported to the City Manager for Community Services that:

> at present it would appear that a large majority of hotel operators will not be undergoing major upgrading specifically for Expo 86 ... If they are going to take such action they will likely wait until the last possible moment - January or February 1986, to do so. (June 6, 1985, pp. 3-4) (emphasis added)

This prediction, in addition to Expo 86 refusing to support the Expo Housing Program, caused planners to focus on their "ounce of prevention" option -- time-limited, no-rent increase, no-eviction legislation applied to long-term residents of residential hotels alone.

By August 13, 1985 this option had come before City Council for approval. It failed to pass as Council split 5-5 on the motion to request the Provincial Government to amend either the

City Charter or the Residential Tenancy Act until October 13, 1986 (the day Expo was scheduled to close). There was firm opposition to this option from various members of City Council including Alderman Gordon Campbell, who aligned himself with the B.C. Hotels' Association. Their perspective was that no hotel owners intended on evicting tenants. Rather, in the words of Campbell, rent freeze advocates were "trying to set up a bunch of straw men and burn them down ... The hotels in the Downtown Eastside are not going to be prime locations for Expo" (Minovitz, 1985).

The situation was monitored by the Social Planning Department during fall of 1985. In addition, on October 13, 1985, City Council passed a motion to direct the Law Department to draw up the proposed legal changes for the rent freeze and no eviction program. While Council hadn't yet voted in favour of this legislative option, they wanted to be prepared should an eviction crisis begin. On November 19, 1985, City Council voted once again on a motion to request the Provincial Government to approve the prepared legal changes which would allow the City to implement the rent freeze and no eviction program. A 5-5 tie vote occurred and the motion was not passed. Alderman Gordon Campbell continued to lead the attack on any legal action preventing evictions.

By February 1986 at the exact time predicted by the Social Planning Department, evictions began to occur. From this point on planning was undertaken in a reactive, high pressure

atmosphere. Doug Purdy stated that "we were left doing a problem management strategy rather than taking preventative action" (interview, May 27, 1986). Several University of British Columbia planning students were hired to conduct a questionnaire survey in the Downtown Eastside lodging houses in order to ascertain the nature and extent of the eviction crisis. This questionnaire had to be drawn up quickly and a survey plan worked out. The survey was conducted from February 26-28. The immediate results of the survey were used by the planners to evaluate the vacancy rate in the Downtown Eastside.

On February 25, 1986 City Council finally passed a motion requesting the Provincial Government to legislate an end to the evictions. The exact motion is presented in Appendix III. Certain members of City Council (Don Bellamy, Gordon Campbell and George Puil) continued to oppose this option.

A public debate was held on February 25 in the Downtown Eastside community. Mayor Mike Harcourt represented the City, Jimmy Pattison represented Expo 86 and Jim Green represented DERA. The City was hoping that Pattison could lobby the Provincial Government for the proposed legislative action if convinced that the situation was severe. Countless evictees paraded before Pattison to tell their story.

As the pace of evictions increased during the latter days of February, a Provincial-City Task Force was created (March 7) and the Social Planning Department was pressured into creating a "clearing house". A formal housing registry was set up, a

relocater was hired and it was expected that he (Stephen Leary) assist evictees in their attempts to find a vacant unit and then move into it. The housing registry was formalized in Carnegie Centre on April 2, 1986 with a computerized "hot-line".

On March 10, the City's Health Department became involved in the crisis. Many of the evictees were elderly, poor, and unhealthy individuals. Moreover, a high tuberculosis (TB) rate in the Downtown Eastside caused additional problems because of the infectious nature of the disease. The Health Department had been heavily involved years before the crisis with Downtown Eastside residents because of the TB disease. The Chief Medical Health Officer ordered his staff to track down and monitor the health of the displaced residents. Concern was expressed because of: tuberculosis and its infectious nature; the advanced age of the evictees; and, the poor health status of many of the evictees.

During March and April, the City continued to lobby the Provincial Government for legislative action; asked tenants to defy their eviction notices or at least "sit tight"; examined the tax breaks which some of the evicting hotels were receiving; sent letters to hotel owners and managers, as well as landlords asking them not to evict tenants; monitored hotels for "illegal" renovations; began to examine other legal methods of bringing the evictions to a halt; ensured that hotel reservations agents were properly licensed (hotel reservations agencies were directing tourists to some of the evicting hotels); and, began to consider

a City sponsored boycott of several evicting hotels.

A week and a half after Expo 86 opened (May 2), City Council rejected the boycott option (May 13) and again the Provincial Government was requested to legislate an end to the evictions.

By late May the evictions had slowed to a trickle and the Social Planning Department considered closing the housing registry. Also, a "Concert For The Evicted" was indirectly sponsored by the City through the Vancouver Folk Music Festival. It featured such luminaries of social protest as Pete Seeger, Arlo Guthrie and DOA.

During July 1986, the housing registry set up in Carnegie Centre was closed. Most of the "planning" in this period consisted of efforts by the Social Planning Department to find ways to alter the tax assessment status[22] of the evicting hotels as well as efforts to lobby the Provincial Government to change the Residential Tenancy Act to include the approximately 5000 long term residents of lodging houses in the Downtown Eastside.

There was no specific post-Expo planning. The vacancy rate of Downtown Eastside lodging houses returned to normal (approximately 10-20%) by spring 1987.

[22] Many residential hotels were being taxed at a "residential" rate instead of the "commercial" rate tourist hotels are taxed. As these residential hotels began catering to tourists, City staff thought that changing the tax rate might inhibit some hotels from evicting residents. They also wanted these hotels to receive "proper" tax assessment rates.

E. The Housing Impacts of Expo 86

As noted in Chapter Two, World's Fairs can result in four different types of housing impact: 1) On-Site Housing Impact; 2) Post-Announcement Speculative Impact; 3) Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact; and, 4) Post-Expo Impact.

1. On-site Housing Impact

No housing was demolished on the Expo 86 site because it was former industrial land comprised of railway tracks, lumber storage and several old industrial structures.

2. Post-Announcement Speculative Impact

Following the announcement of Expo 86 and the B.C. Place development in 1980 land speculation began occurring in the Downtown Eastside. Ley (1982) charted changes in the value of downtown residential hotels and the data points to a destabilized market which is characterized by a rapid increase in land values.

Table 3

Changes in Total Assessed Value for Downtown Residential Hotels, 1979-1982 ($,000s)

I. Granville-West Downtown (n=19)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1979	240	1893	637	-2.6	41.8	1	182
1980	241	1893	627	-1.7	42.5	0	179
1981	304	2060	704	12.3	42.3	9	201
1982	448	2750	1073	52.5	29.3	N.A.	306

II. Yaletown (n=10)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1979	159	1119	411	N.A.	49.3	0	117
1980	157	1124	443	8.0	47.6	3	126
1981	155	1118	447	0.9	47.4	1	127
1982	164	1387	519	16.0	49.9	N.A.	148

III. Chinatown-Strathcona (n=20)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1979	61	595	241	N.A.	54.9	1	69
1980	63	595	245	1.7	55	1	70
1981	90	971	344	40.2	46.9	3	98
1982	100	1925	553	60.6	49.4	N.A.	158

IV. Downtown Eastside-Gastown (n=21)

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
1979	32	415	175	N.A.	48.3	1	50
1980	59	412	186	6.5	48.6	3	53
1981	71	517	234	25.7	46.6	N.A.	67
1982	89	750	281	20.1	44.7	N.A.	80

Notes: Column headings

(a) Minimum total assessment
(b) Maximum total assessment
(c) Mean total assessment
(d) Annual percentage change in mean total assessment
(e) Building assessment as percentage of total assessment
(f) Number of ownership changes from assessment records
(g) Value expressed against a base of 100, the mean total assessment of all 70 hotels in 1979 assessment

Table 4

Indicators of Instability in the Residential Hotel Market, 1979-1982.

	Increase in mean total assessments (1)	Decline in building assessments as % of total assessments (2)	Rate of ownership change (3)
Granville-West Down-Town	Moderate (68%)	High (-12.5%)	High (53%)
Yaletown	Low (26%)	None (+0.6%)	High (40%)
Chinatown-Strathcona	High (125%)	Moderate (-5.5%)	Moderate (25%)
Downtown Eastside-Gastown	Moderate (61%)	Low (-3.6%)	High (48%)

Notes:

(1) See columns (d) and (g) in Table 3. The percentage in parentheses represents the 1979-82 mean increase in column (c) of Table 3.

(2) The percentage in parentheses is derived from the 1979-82 absolute change in column (e) of Table 3.

(3) Data are from 1979-81 only and are derived from column (f) of Table 3. Multiple sales are included in the percentage value.

Similar conclusions can be drawn by an examination of the Social Planning Department lodging house surveys (1983; 1985; 1986). Substantial housing loss has occurred in the Downtown Eastside since 1978. Various estimates of the loss put it

between 1,000 and 2,000 units for the period of 1978 to 1984 (see footnote 15 in this chapter). This is supported by preliminary data from the 1986 survey which shows a permanent loss of approximately 600 lodging house units (primarily sleeping/housekeeping units) between 1984 and 1986. As the Mayor of Vancouver also put it:

> In the past four years, about 80 private rooming houses -- which provided more than 2,000 rooms for low-income families and individuals -- have closed down. Some have been converted to non-residential use, others have been demolished. (Harcourt, 1984)

This loss is documented by Friesen (1987) in a detailed examination of the loss of residential hotels and rooming houses in the "post-industrial" city of Vancouver.

Some specific examples of the destabilizing effect of Expo 86 and B.C. Place include land, near the Expo site and a soon to be announced ALRT station, increasing in value from $3 million to $4.9 million in nine days (Kelly, 1984; Shaylor, 1986) or the demolition of a rooming house which was home for 60 tenants. In its place were plans for "an eight-story office and commercial tower development ... which [was] expected to be completed in the spring of 1986 when Expo [opened] its gates" and was to "include 14 luxury residential units and 186 parking stalls" (Glavin, 1985). In this particular case the plans were not completed (in lieu of a parking lot) but the housing units were lost forever.

Such impacts were predicted in 1983 by DPA Consulting Ltd., when they carried out a social land/use impact study for B.C. Place Ltd. (O'Brien, 1983). In the Downtown Eastside, the study

warned:

> B.C. Place could have some stimulative effect on redevelopment and, to a lesser extent, hotel renovations in these three areas. However, the main factors that will cause these changes will be Expo and general urban redevelopment pressures. B.C. Place, on its own, would probably not have any effects for at least ten years. (British Columbia Place, 1983, Section 2.1.7)[23]

Thus, Expo 86 had a destabilizing effect upon land values (and therefore housing supply) in the Downtown Eastside prior to the opening of the fair. Other contributing factors likely include "core commercial expansion" (Ley, 1985, p. 151), the expansion of Chinatown, the low profit margins of this type of rental housing, the enforcement of City standard of maintenance bylaws, and general urban redevelopment pressures.

4. Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact

The number of Downtown Eastside lodging house residents who were displaced because of Expo 86-induced pressure was and continues to be a controversial issue. Estimates between a low of "a few" and a high of 2,000 evictees have been suggested by politicians, planners and community representatives.

Statistics supplied by the Social Planning Department offer a very good "rough" estimate of the number of evictees. This sum is derived as follows.

[23] In a 1985 discussion with a DPA Consultant, the author was told that B.C. Place put considerable pressure upon the consultant responsible for the impact study. B.C. Place was attempting to have the conclusions of the study altered to reflect a lesser B.C. Place responsibility for housing impacts in the Downtown Eastside.

1) JANUARY - FEBRUARY 25, 1986 - 215 residents evicted. This sum is from the initial telephone survey carried out by the Social Planning Department as soon as they heard about a crisis starting.

2) FEBRUARY 25 - APRIL 1, 1986 - 57 residents evicted. This is the number of people which the relocater hired by Social Planning had to deal with.

3) APRIL 2 - JUNE 20, 1986 - 209 residents used the housing registry set up in the basement of Carnegie Centre. Of these 209, 66 were not "Expo related" according to the Social Planning Department so therefore the sum is (209-66) = 143.

The total is 215 + 57 + (209-66) = 415

This total can be characterized quite safely as conservative because of the following factors which came into play when the numbers were being tabulated.

Firstly, the 215 figure was arrived at from a telephone survey of Downtown Eastside hotel owners and managers during the midst of the crisis. The evictions of "poor", "elderly", "handicapped", "frail", "sick" people, for better or for worse, was pounced upon by the media. Television cameras were a common sight in the Downtown Eastside in February. The hotel owners and managers sought to minimize negative impressions of the actions they were carrying out. Some of them did not answer the telephone calls from the Social Planning Department. If a bias in the data exists, there is high probability that it is an underestimate.

The second factor relates to the 57 and 143 figures. Both were composed of residents who specifically sought assistance

from either community organizations or the government.. As previously mentioned, the typical Downtown Eastside resident is "fiercely independent." They like to live their own life with as little reliance upon others, particularly the government, as possible. Members of various community organizations, as well as Health and Social Planning Department staff emphasized this point. The consequence of such character traits with respect to a specific number of evictees is that underestimation occurs. Some residents of lodging houses received eviction notices and left quietly seeking no assistance. Also, residents left before receiving eviction notices in order to retain "control" over their own lives rather than remaining "in limbo".

Over-estimation is also possible. In several cases, residents of a hotel received their eviction notice. They moved with assistance to a new residential hotel. A short while later they received eviction notices from the owner of the new hotel they moved into. They were counted twice even though only one individual was involved.

Taking all of the above into account, assuming that Social Planning Department statistics are correct, speaking to community representatives and City staff, and searching over all relevant newspaper clippings, it is estimated by the author that between 500 and 850 evictions occurred in the Downtown Eastside lodging houses because of Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact. In addition, between 1,000 and 1,500 lodging house rooms were switched from monthly rental to tourist rental status during the spring of 1986

(Social Planning Department, 1986, p. 3; Purdy, 1988, p. 8). To put some perspective on both of these figures, the 1981 census tabulates approximately 7,461 lodging house tenants living in the Downtown Eastside (Social Planning Department, 1983, p. 26) and as of April of 1986, approximately 9,600 lodging house units in the Downtown Eastside.[24]

It should be noted that evictions were both direct (e.g., receipt of an eviction notice) and indirect (e.g., rent increases or implementation of strict regulations about cooking in the rooms).

4. Post-Expo Impact

While Expo 86 was open, a high proportion of the owners and operators of residential hotels where residents were evicted failed to see their dreams of financial gain materialize. Negative publicity occurred because of the evictions and the poor quality of the renovation work. Also, Downtown Eastside residents stopped frequenting the bars of hotels where residents were evicted. This action cut off an important source of revenue (Bolan, October 9, 1986; Casselton, July 18, 1986; Eisinger, 1986; DERA, 1987; Doug Purdy, interview, May 27, 1986).

[24] The 9,600 unit figure was arrived at as follows. The 1986 survey conducted by the Social Planning Department tabulated 8,617 lodging house units in the Downtown (Downtown Eastside). It is noted however that "slightly more than 1,000 rooms in 15 hotels" had switched from monthly rental to tourist rental in the spring of 1986 (when this survey was carried out) (p. 3). They assume that these units will probably appear as monthly rental units after Expo 86, hence my inclusion of the 1,000 units to the 8,617 figure.

Following the closure of Expo 86, many residential hotels attempted to attract back previous residents. Some of the hotels initially attempted to continue catering to tourists but they met with mixed results (Bolan, October 9, 1986). By spring 1988 only one hotel which was formerly renting to long-term Downtown Eastside residents has remained a tourist hotel. Many hotels borrowed money to renovate and failed to make up this cost. Consequently, several of the hotels where residents were evicted went into receivership and some have been sold. The rent levels in lodging houses returned to pre-Expo rates after Expo 86 closed and the vacancy rate (as of October 1987) was approximately equal to the rate recorded over one year before Expo opened.

While there appears to be little if any Post-Expo Impact, the Downtown Eastside housing market remains unstable. Walks through the community during 1987 and 1988 reveal considerable numbers of "For Sale" signs. This is a signal that a potential exists for future Post-Expo Impacts. In all likelihood, the future development of the B.C. Place lands, currently for sale, will have a powerful impact upon Downtown Eastside housing stock.[25]

[25] At the time of writing (March 1988), the B.C. Enterprise Corporation is considering secret bids from developers interested in the site. It appears that one developer will acquire the whole site, after which a 10-20 year development framework will come into place. The nature of this development and the civic policies in place (on and off-site) will create permanent impacts in the Downtown Eastside.

5. The Health Costs of the Expo 86 Housing Impacts

> I'm not going to move unless they force me out. I'm not a piece of garbage. I've been here three years and don't mind if they raise the rent, but I won't move ... Once you get used to a place, it's like a pair of shoes, they're comfortable. Even if they get worn out you still put your old shoes on. This hotel to me is home. You go to the beer parlor, you know everybody ... I like this place but what they've done -- it's inhuman.
>
> (Evictee Jon Muller, 59, cited in Hume, March 8, 1986)

Housing impacts are synonymous with human impacts. The evictions required individuals to relocate, either privately or with assistance, to another housing unit. In cases where suitable vacant units could not be found in the Downtown Eastside some evictees were offered vacant public housing units in outlying suburban districts. Eviction and relocation translates itself into an impact upon human health. The impact in the case of Expo 86 is even worse because the average type of Downtown Eastside resident is unemployed, elderly, poor and either handicapped or in a weak state of health. These residents could not adequately deal with the physical and psychological stress brought on by the eviction. University of British Columbia social work professor Mary Hill sounded a warning to politicians who insisted on implementing the relocation option:

> What they are ignoring is that the likelihood of death or illness is increased by involuntary relocation, the depression and hopelessness that comes with that kind of change. Study after study

> shows that.... All change involves stress, but these [Expo evictions] precisely combine the three factors that are dangerous to the elderly: the relocations are involuntary; they are sudden, without any preparation; and, they bring about a major change in the environment. (Sarti, March 8, 1986)

Similarly, Vancouver's Chief Medical Health Officer stated:

> The problem of course is that where a person lives is their own choosing ... From a humane perspective, it was their lives ... we dislodged them from their social surroundings. So you're taking people who are in their 60's, 70's and 80's and you are taking away things like food stores and the food bank which they had started to build [their lives] around and the Downtown Community Health Centre for health services and Woodward's Store and little stores in the Eastside who cater to these people and who know how to take care of them ... Plus all of the support systems that were built in. (Dr. J. Blatherwick, interview, June 29, 1987)

Some of the evictees who faced health problems after their eviction are described below.

- Olaf Solheim, 80 years old. Olaf "made a conscious decision to stop living with the eviction obviously a part of it ... Did it precipitate his death. No. Was it a contributing factor -- sure it was. Was it the main contributing factor -- no way. He was an old man at the end of his life." (Ibid.)

- Saul Kahan, 80 years, "from a long-standing respiratory condition shortly after being evicted from a hotel he'd lived in for 30 years." (Hume, October 9, 1986)

- Alexander Mairs, "a 15-year resident, died two weeks after being evicted. The official cause of death was chronic obstructive lung disease." (Ibid.)

- Lorne Inkster, age 57 years, "a 14-year resident of the Olympia, died from cancer after being evicted." (Ibid.)

- Thomas Tapping, age 78 years, "a 26-year resident of the Patricia, died shortly after his eviction, cause unknown." (Ibid.)

- Harold Scarrow, age 61 years, "threw himself under the wheels of a moving dump truck a week before he was to have vacated his room at the Lotus Hotel." (Ibid.)

- Daniel Stephen Ponak, age 50 years, jumped to his death from the third floor of the Patricia Hotel. He was living in the hotel while awaiting another room to be found for him (Horwood, February 27, 1986). Dr. Blatherwick felt that this suicide was "clearly linked" to the eviction. (Dr. J. Blatherwick, interview, June 29, 1987)

- One woman was a stable schizophrenic for 2-3 years prior to her eviction. "In her mid 40's, she relapsed within two weeks after her eviction." (Ibid.)

- "Considerable stress was caused to one elderly man who, while in the hospital, was evicted. There was no place to send him and it was particularly important to go back to familiar surroundings to recover. Clearly it was not in his best interest to not have a home not to go back to." (Ibid.)

DERA organizer Jim Green stated that eleven evictees had died as of March 1988 (interview, March 11, 1988).

These health problems cannot be considered uni-causally. Clearly, the cancer death of someone such as Lorne Inkster is not likely related to the effect of the eviction. In the other cases, excluding Alexander Mairs, Saul Kahan and Thomas Tapping, Expo 86 evictions were contributing factors to their health problems. Many evictees (Thirty-four of 300 as of March 25, 1986) had serious health or handicap problems and were "at risk from the increased stress brought on by the relocation" according to Vancouver's Health Department (Sarti, March 25, 1986). Some of the evictees' general well-being did not deteriorate after moving and indeed, some were happier (Eisinger, 1986). A larger group however felt negative health costs because of the Expo 86

evictions. [26]

6. The Impact on Housing in Metropolitan Vancouver

While beyond the scope of this study, a brief discussion of the impact of Expo 86 on housing in metropolitan Vancouver is important. As CMHC (1986) notes:

> A declining vacancy rate was anticipated in light of limited new rental supply ... The decline no doubt reflects to some extent on the impact of Expo 86. Notably, vacancies in the Fraser Valley and Victoria did not decline thereby reinforcing the interpretation that Expo 86 has influenced vacancy levels. (p. 1)

The apartment vacancy rate declined from 2.9% in April 1985 to 2.3% in October 1985 to 0.9% in April 1986 (CMHC, 1986, p.8). In October 1986 it remained at 0.9% and by April 1987, had risen to 2.3% (CMHC, 1987).

The declining vacancy rate was reflected in the number of unfurnished apartments advertised in the Vancouver Sun. Between mid-April of 1985 and April 1986, a 75% drop occurred (Bolan, April 30, 1986). This decline was created by landlords evicting tenants or holding regularly vacated units empty for several months until the opening of Expo 86 even though Vancouver's zoning bylaws prohibited apartment owners doing so (Clark, April 23, 1986). One survey by the Tenants' Rights Action Centre

[26] For an examination of the effects of relocation on different social groups, see: Bartolome (1984); Borup, Gallego and Hefferman (1980); Bourestrom and Pastalan (1981); Eisinger (1986); Ferraro (1982); Hanvey (1981); McLaughlan (1981); Melamed, Schaecter and Emo (1984); and, Pastalan (1983).

uncovered 34 landlords renting approximately 200 suites to Expo tourists and "these are just the cases we've documented" (Bolan, April 30, 1986).

Expo 86 was, however, only one contributing factor to the decline and later increase in the rental vacancy rate. Other contributing factors likely included: the cyclical nature of the vacancy rate; the traditional tightening of the vacancy rate because of summer in-migration; and (with respect to the post-Expo vacancy rate increase) leakage into homeownership.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN EVALUATION OF THE CITY OF VANCOUVER'S PLANNING PROCESS

This chapter evaluates the planning process used by the City of Vancouver to plan for the housing impacts of Expo 86. The purpose is to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the process so that future hallmark event planners can learn from Vancouver's experience.

A. Evaluation of the Planning Process

A planning process can be described in terms of its components: their nature, sequence, and relationship to the context of the process and its output (Alexander, 1979, p. 107). Since planning is a process for determining appropriate future actions through a sequence of choices, the planning process can be broken into "manageable, understandable steps" which can be examined one by one (Boothroyd, 1986, p. 4).

There are numerous ways of describing the generic steps which an individual, group, or organization goes through in order to plan. Although there are problems with generalizations, the following systematic planning process is used to structure the evaluation of the City of Vancouver's process. According to Boothroyd (1986, p. 32), these steps are common to all planning processes:

STEP 1. planning TASK definition
(what matter does the group agree to plan [or problem to solve], how, by whom, when and where?)

STEP 2. personal GOALS identification
(what would participants like to achieve in terms of the matter the group has agreed to plan?)

STEP 3. SITUATION appraisal
(what are the significant characteristics of the systems which have to be managed or taken into account in order for participants to move towards their goals? what opportunities and constraints do these systems present?)

STEP 4. generation of action POSSIBILITIES
(what possibilities for action will bring the participants toward at least some personal goals?)

STEP 5. packaging of possibilities as OPTIONS
(what categories do the possibilities fall into, which possibilities are contingent upon which, and therefore, what are the mutually exclusive packages of possibilities, or "options"?)

STEP 6. ASSESSMENT of options
(what are the pros and cons of each option given all participants' goals and values -- not just the goals they started planning from -- and given present and future resources and constraints presented by the systems to be managed?)

STEP 7. DECISION making
(which is the best option given substantive criteria and political process established for decision?)

While there are many other examples of systematic planning processes (see, for example: Alexander, 1979; Shalinsky, 1977; Society of Participation Research in Asia, 1982), this is both a typical and defensible proposal.

Step 1. Task Identification

The task was not formally identified until the spring of 1983, approximately three years after the announcement of Expo 86

and B.C. Place. The impetus was Expo 86's refusal to carry out any impact studies (Patricia French, interview, March 12, 1987). The Social Planning Department was responsible for housing impact planning given their long-standing concern with all issues effecting Downtown Eastside residents.

Concern was focussed on the Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact. Post-Announcement Speculative Impact was not explicitly recognized as a problem. Existing City housing policies for the area in the Downtown-Eastside / Oppenheimer Policy Plan (1982) did deal with the issue of the loss of existing affordable housing, but only in terms of a goal statement (p. 12). The policy plan does not mention either the Expo 86 or the B.C. Place development.

When the Social Planning Department became responsible for housing impact planning, they had no information about the housing impacts of past World's Fairs. Consequently, housing impact 2 (Post-Announcement Speculative Impact) and housing impact 3 (Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact) were not identified as separate problems which needed separate solutions. This understandable oversight also led the Social Planning Department through a planning process which was based upon the erroneous assumption that the planner's task was to plan for impacts which may or may not happen and which may happen at any time between 1984 and 1986. Such errors are possible when dealing with hallmark events which, by their very nature, are "once-in-a-lifetime" events.

With respect to the step of task identification, a number of problems seem apparent. Firstly, it is unfortunate that such a long time passed before any municipal action occurred. Given the potential conflict of interest a Crown corporation would have carrying out impact studies about itself, the City should have acted sooner. Even so, three full years of planning was possible before the start of Expo 86.

Secondly, it appears as if the Social Planning Department alone defined the planning task. Ideally, several relevant departments together with community representatives, academics, and Expo 86 representatives should have been brought together to reach a tentative agreement on <u>what</u> is to be planned (scope) and <u>how</u> it is to be planned (process). Chances did exist to bring in relevant civic departments. For example, Dr. Malcolm S. Weintein, Director of Health Planning sent a letter to Max Beck, Director of the Social Planning Department in March, 1984, stating:

> In the shorter term, the possible conversion of downtown eastside hotels and rooming houses for Expo 86 tourist accommodation could displace needy health service clients. The department already experiences difficulty in tracking down active TB (tuberculosis) patients in the inner-city who must be screened annually. Displacement could compound the problem. We appreciate your staffs' cooperation in dealing with us and look forward to continuing this relationship and dialogue. (mimeograph)

Unfortunately, these two departments failed to develop a relationship until the eviction crisis began (Dr. J. Blatherwick, interview, June 29, 1987). If the task had been jointly defined,

these two important departments may have been more prepared to assist the evictees.

By defining the scope of the planning task themselves, the Social Planning Department began following the planning process they use for existing and familiar issues. A problem arose, however, because the potential for Expo housing impacts was a unique and unfamiliar issue.

Step 2. Goals Identification

The goals of the City's planning process were identified by the Social Planning Department in a report entitled Expo 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues (1983). The main goal was to ensure that potential permanent or temporary displacement of longterm low and moderate income residents be stopped or held to a "minimum" (p. 8). Another goal of the planning process was to "ensure the integrity of hoteliers, Expo 86, the Province and the City against the perceived or real reputation as price-gouging opportunists" (p. 8). City Council supported this report and the goals contained in it in 1983.

These goals, however, are general "motherhood statements". When discussions focussed on specific Expo housing impacts, it became evident that not all parties actually supported the goals. Several City aldermen believed that the issue of housing impacts was a myth being raised by other aldermen and by DERA in particular. This view was also held by the B.C. Hotels' Association. Undercurrents of conflict over goals existed and

would continue even after mass evictions started. Only the Social Planning Department, the Downtown Eastside community and some aldermen supported these goals.

Step 3. Situation Appraisal

Expo 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues (1983) provided a timetable for the situation appraisal step. This step was supposed to be carried out from July to November or December of 1983 but the timetable was not followed because, in the words of Doug Purdy, it "changed of course as our understanding of the issues changed." Municipal staff began reporting on their areas of concern but a final consolidated report was never produced. Each department took care of their own affairs and produced individual reports (interview, May 27, 1986). By examining the issue of Expo housing impacts several years before Expo 86 opened, the Social Planning Department was able to adapt the situation appraisal step as required. Conversely, a stricter timetable should have been in place to better prepare the City for the predicted housing impacts.

The first major effort at pre-Expo situation appraisal did not occur until the fall of 1984 with the preparation of the Expo Housing Survey by the Social Planning Department, released in 1985. While no evidence was uncovered that residents were being evicted because of the conversion of residential units into tourist units, the survey does note that if evictions were to occur, they would happen in January or February 1986. The survey

concluded that the "potential" for Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impact existed. In retrospect, this conclusion proved correct.

The Social Planning Department also appraised the situation by requiring the Permits and Licenses Department to "red-flag" any lodging house owner or operator seeking an permit to upgrade his/her premises. Also, DERA carried out surveillance work and notified the planners of any movement in the housing market. This step, until January 1986, was carried out very well.

The Social Planning Department was taken by surprise, however, in mid-February when the eviction crisis began. From this point on the situation was dealt with in a reactive, problem management planning process. When several University of British Columbia students were hired to carry out a survey to determine the vacancy rate, problems arose. Hotel owners and operators refused to answer questions and the media followed students around, thereby influencing the survey interview. Given that the Social Planning Department had predicted when the evictions would likely occur, efforts should have been made to carry out the survey in the latter months of 1985 in a more calm atmosphere.

Other City departments, the Health Department in particular, should have had an understanding of the predictions of the Social Planning Department. According to Dr. Stephen Gray of the Health Department:

> Once the evictions started taking place we weren't set up to catch it and follow it. There should have been advance warning -- and I don't mean just a day, but a year or more. (Hume, October 9, 1986)

Similarly, Dr. John Blatherwick, Chief Medical Health Officer of

the Health Department stated:

> In terms of when it was going to occur, we simply didn't know because there was no requirement to report any of these changes and we only became aware of these people through the news media. (interview, June 29, 1987)

Moreover, municipal politicians and Expo 86 executives repeatedly stated that they had no information that would lead them to believe evictions might occur. For example, on a community television station Vancouver alderman Gordon Campbell stated:

> There's no evidence to suggest that residents of the Downtown Eastside are going to be affected by evictions because of people coming to Expo ... We have had innumerable presentations by the B.C. Hotels Association. There are no plans in the books. There is no evidence that our Social Planning Department has discovered that this is going to take place. (Rogers Cable TV, Vancouver, September 1985)

This statement was contradicted by Doug Purdy of the Social Planning Department on the same TV program; a contradiction which may be more symbolic of the "politics of planning" than of a poorly prepared bureaucracy. As Purdy puts it, "at no time were we able to convince the politicians of the seriousness of the situation" (letter, March 1, 1988).

There are three final points about the situation appraisal step. Firstly, it appears that relevant information was not acquired from other cities where World's Fairs were held. Although the Social Planning Department "reviewed available information from several World's Fairs, little was reported on the housing impacts. It was either not reported or unavailable" (Doug Purdy, letter, March 1, 1988). Also, as discussed in

Chapter Three, representatives of several departments went to Knoxville, Tennessee to attend Expo 82 and meet with Knoxville civic staff to discuss the impacts of the fair on the municipality. "No information" was sought or obtained about the housing impacts of Expo 82 (Ibid.). Relevant questions should have been asked in Knoxville, and in-depth research about the housing impacts of previous World's Fairs should have been carried out. If this had been done, City staff might have been able to identify more timely and relevant options, better adapt the planning process to the potential impacts, and most importantly, they would have had some evidence with which to convince politicians, Expo personnel and other interested parties of impending problems. For example, Alderman Gordon Campbell stated that "there is no evidence that I have been made aware of from Knoxville, from Seattle, where visitors for a World's Fair are going into neighborhoods like the Downtown Eastside and displacing long term residents" (Rogers Cable TV, Vancouver, September, 1985). Similarly, in 1985 George Madden, Vice President, Communications and Marketing for Expo 86, claimed that only "150 students" were evicted from rental housing because of Expo 82 (interview, October 10, 1985). This is a low estimate according to Gretchen F. Beal of the Knoxville/Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission (letter, July 9, 1987).

The second point relates to the legal implications of the licensee-tenant relationship. During the midst of the eviction crisis, public attention became focussed on a Victoria, B.C. case

in which an arbitrator for the Residential Tenancy Branch ruled that an occupant of a rooming house has the same security of tenure rights as the occupant of an apartment. This licensee-tenant relationship was not investigated by municipal staff until after the test case. The situation appraisal step should have included more detailed and timely assessment of the legal issues surrounding evictions. A chance existed to halt evictions by exploring legal options. This view was held by Vancouver Legal Aid lawyer Carolyn McCool. She stated that in the Downtown Eastside office of the:

> Legal Services Society we have seen few, if any requests for assistance. It is a situation which distresses me because the assistance is available and this argument can be made on behalf of these people in the Downtown Eastside. (CBC Radio, April 29, 1986)

Mayor Mike Harcourt recognized this missed opportunity in late April, 1986 when he noted that the City could have started "arbitrations four months ago, clogging up hearing dates and preventing hotel owners from evicting the residents until their cases had been heard" (Mason, April 26, 1986).

Lastly, once the City set up a housing registry to relocate evictees, it became the primary tool for appraising the situation. The registry worked very well in its role of enabling relocations to occur with a minimum of hassle (for both the evictees and the relocating authority). The registry also enabled municipal staff to keep a record of the number of evictees assisted each day. In all previous World's Fairs, reliable impact records were not kept.

The situation assessment step was adequately carried out. The community assistance provided by DERA was an important reason for the successful aspects of this step. More time and effort may have ameliorated some of the problems with the situation appraisal step as outlined above. However, such an evaluation must recognize that the Social Planning Department was both overworked and understaffed.

Step 4. Generation of Action Possibilities

Action possibilities were generated throughout the planning process by the Social Planning Department. Periodic assistance was provided by community representatives and other municipal departments. As the chronology in Appendix II indicates, action possibilities were generated in an ad hoc basis.

The most obvious action possibilities which could stop the potential evictions were generated in 1984. These include the rent freeze/no eviction option and changes to the Residential Tenancy Act. The construction of non-profit and co-operative housing option was also generated at this time.

Once the eviction crisis began, a diverse range of action alternatives were quickly generated. On February 26, 1986 the mayor of Vancouver spontaneously decided to tell evictees to defy their eviction notices. Between early March and May 1986, the Social Planning Department and DERA concocted action possibilities such as the housing registry (under pressure from the Provincial Government); a City sponsored boycott of evicting

hotels; the elimination of tax breaks for hotels housing long term residents, and a benefit concert for the evicted.

All of the action alternatives should have been generated well before January or February of 1986 when the evictions were predicted to begin. Sandra James, Health Planner and Policy Analyst for the Vancouver Health Department, felt that by not having all action alternatives generated before the housing impacts began, a confused "bungle in the jungle" atmosphere existed (interview, July 8, 1987). This may have been prevented if the action possibilities step itself had been planned. Community representatives, civic departments, provincial government representatives, academics, etc., should have been brought together. The synergy of the varied perspectives could have been tapped since such a step does not require choice but merely mass generation of action possibilities. Brainstorming is one of many techniques which could have been used.

Step 5. Packaging of Possibilities as Options

This step is often excluded in systematic planning depending on the issue being planned (Boothroyd, 1986). In the Vancouver case study, the packaging process did not occur. The generation of action possibilities (Step 4) is equivalent to the generation of options.

Step 6. Assessment of Options

The assessment of the pro's and con's of each of the options

generated was carried out in an ad hoc manner. Each option was generated and assessed primarily by Social Planning staff with the occasional assistance of relevant City departments and community representatives. Rather than generating a wide variety of options and comparatively assessing each, individual options were assessed alone. While performing well with respect to individual option assessment, some problems did arise because of when the assessment process took place. As previously mentioned, the legal implications of the licensee-tenant relationship were not investigated and therefore assessed until the midst of the eviction crisis. Similarly, one option which involved exerting influence on Expo's reservations agency (ResWest) to halt the "listing" of evicting hotels was not assessed until the midst of the crisis.

Such an ad hoc assessment also contributed to planning inefficiencies and problems. In the case of the Expo Housing Program, for example, if the City had succeeded in convincing Expo to take up this option, none of the evicted residents would have been able to take advantage of the housing until after the Fair. While recognizing that in the long run the community might be better off, considerable time and effort was spent on preparing this proposal, time which could possibly have been better used, for example, by carrying out research on past World's Fairs or assessing the viability of other options. The stated goal of ensuring no or minimum displacement was not met by this option (City of Vancouver, 1983, p. 8).

The Social Planning Department was able to assess the potential long term benefits of some options very well. As mentioned, Expo 86 did not implement the Expo Housing Program. The Social Planning Department realized that this option still had the potential to benefit Downtown Eastside residents. Efforts were made, with the assistance of DERA, to convince the Federal Government (through CMHC) that "extra" social housing units were needed because of the Expo 86 housing impact. The City was able to extract 112 additional subsidized units according to John Jessop, City of Vancouver Social Planner (interview, March 14, 1988). These units were applied to the 153 unit Four Sisters housing project which opened in spring, 1987 in the Downtown Eastside.

In summary, like the previous steps in the planning process, the assessment of the options was carried out relatively well by the City. Comparative option assessment may have suggested which options to focus upon more closely in the effort to meet the City's goals. The assessment procedure itself should have been planned so that the comparative examination of each option was possible before the housing impacts began.

Step 7. Decision Making

The decision making process, like the assessment of options step, was ad hoc in nature. After particular options were developed and assessed, they were decided upon. If required, significant options were delivered to the City Council in the

form of a recommendation from the Director of the Social Planning Department. There were many options put forward and the great majority of them received support from both the Director of Social Planning and City Council. The only option which did not receive eventual support was a boycott of several of the evicting hotels. This option was deemed too "confrontational" and municipal staff worried about the possibility of embroiling the City in a "political brouhaha" and legal mess.

When particular options were put before City Council for deliberation, considerable debate occurred over each option's effectiveness. Debate was fueled by the nature of some of the options. The option requiring City Council to officially request preventative legislation from the Provincial Government was the most controversial option. The deliberations over the legislative option illuminated ideology, ideological differences, and how ideology can effect all steps of the planning process.

C. The Politics of Planning

Could the dislocation of between 500 and 850 Downtown Eastside residents have been prevented if both City Council and the Provincial Government had acted upon the Social Planning Department recommendation for a preventative rent freeze/no eviction legislation option? The answer is yes. However, the planning process is an inherently political process which is structured according to the particular ideology of each planning agency involved. Ideological differences and political

jurisdiction also effect the planning process. The main goal of the City of Vancouver's planning process (to ensure that the potential permanent or temporary displacement of long term low and moderate income residents be stopped or held to a minimum) was not attained. Why?

Initial efforts at bringing all relevant parties together to plan for the housing impacts of Expo 86 failed. According to Doug Purdy:

> The political will was not there to sustain an on-going process ... The City had distanced itself from Expo because of concerns about being forced into financial commitments ... Ideologically, the City and the Province were like oil and water and the political relationship was non-existent. (letter, March 1, 1988)

Purdy also stated that there were strained relationships between City and Expo 86 staff.

The Social Planning Department's recommendation for preventative legislation met stiff opposition as soon as it was publicly considered in late 1984. At the municipal level, the mere suggestion of the possibility of evictions, let alone the consideration of a legislative solution was considered to be "political" by several alderman. For example, in September, 1985 Alderman Gordon Campbell stated:

> I think it's an arbitrary and political type of action which doesn't serve anybody's needs in the long run ... I think that this has been a scare campaign that frankly, is strictly politically motivated and not one based on any kind of fact ... It should be a non-issue but I think some people are trying to make it an issue. (Rogers Cable TV, Vancouver, September, 1985)

Rick Higgs, Executive President of the B.C. Hotels'

Association, discussed his organization's opposition to the legislation on this TV program and at several City Council meetings:

> Its a matter of principle. We don't believe that establishing controls for hotel housing or any other kind of housing is a good idea. (Ibid.)

Following the mass eviction of hundreds of Downtown Eastside residents, Vancouver City Council passed a February 25, 1986 motion requesting Provincial Government legislative action by an eight to three vote. Only the Provincial Government has the legal authority to enact temporary or permanent legislation effecting landlord-tenant relationships.

When pressed by the City of Vancouver for a legislative solution to the Expo 86 housing impacts, it became apparent that the Provincial Government was ideologically opposed to such an option. After being questioned by BCTV News Hour staff on Feb. 26, 1986 about the rising number of evictions, an unidentified government spokesperson stated: "there is a problem that has to be solved for these people and it will be solved. We can't ignore it." He threw out rent control or government regulation as this would cause "unfairness in the market-place." They would more likely give "assistance" for these people to move.

The clearest baring of the ideology of the majority of Provincial Government representatives came when Michael Walker[27]

[27] Michael Walker is an economist for the Fraser Institute, an economic "think-tank" which often advises the Social Credit government about policy issues.
The Kootenays are an interior region of British Columbia, approximately 400 miles from Vancouver.

stated that "displaced rooming house tenants" would

> save everyone a lot of trouble if they all were put on buses to the Kootenays ... the world runs by greed ... everyone is greedy in one way or another. What we're talking about is relative greed. It's not a question of dire necessity. It's a question of choice of location. People are saying 'I don't want to live in the Kootenays ... I want to live where the action is.' (Glavin, April 23, 1986)

When Vancouver mayor Mike Harcourt asked Walker about the proposed legislative solution, Walker replied: "Isn't it morally wrong to do that" (Ibid.). Another Fraser Institute spokesperson also presented such views in a Vancouver newspaper column (Block, March 25, 1986).

The Provincial Government refused to seriously consider a legislative solution for the Pre-Expo Tourist Demand housing impacts of Expo 86. Instead, they put their full weight behind relocating tenants through the housing registry. Their ideology further bared itself while this option was implemented and several evictees displayed reluctance to move into suburban social housing units. Jack Kempf, Minister of Lands, Parks and Housing stated:

> The old adage that you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink sure holds true in this situation. You can provide all the accommodation you want to those so-called evictees but you can't make them move into it. (Vancouver Sun, May 14, 1986, p. A12)

The Provincial Government and some Vancouver aldermen deemed the housing registry a suitable option for dealing with the housing impacts of Expo 86 because it was a "positive" solution to place "these people in appropriate accommodation" (Alderman Gordon

Campbell, CBC Radio, June 2, 1985). More importantly, such an option permitted the inner city to be redeveloped. When asked if it is fair that residents be forced to move after receiving eviction notices, Claude Richmond, Minister Responsible for Expo 86 and Tourism stated:

> Well, I guess that's a difficult question to answer. For many of these hotels, this is the only opportunity they're going to have to upgrade and renovate their premises. (CBC Radio, March, 1986)

In a February 26, 1986 BCTV News Hour program Bill Ritchie, Minister of Municipal Affairs, was interviewed. He stated "despite hardship of individuals, development must take place." Also, a Vancouver Province article quoted Premier Bill Bennett as saying that legislation aimed at preventing evictions would also stop redevelopment:

> 'Handling problems of people, and also encouraging the removal of areas that in many communities could also be called slum areas' are the government priorities he said. (April 25, 1986, p. 27)

The neo-conservative ideology of the ruling Social Credit Party strongly supports a capitalist "free-market" approach to public policy. This, along with a number of other factors, led to the rejection of the only option which could have reduced Expo 86 housing impacts (the Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impacts). These other factors include the fact that the City of Vancouver and the Provincial Government had several years of conflict prior to the opening of Expo 86. After mass evictions started, the two levels of government began publicly and viciously attacking each other. Also:

> The Province was in denial mode attempting to smooth over any implications that they had failed to take into account displacement of poor people ... The City politicians were somewhat content to have a housing crisis occur so they could say 'There, I told you so! Look what you've done to poor people.' (Doug Purdy, letter, March 1, 1988)

The Mayor, who was a prominent member of the New Democratic Party (NDP), decided to run for leadership of the provincial NDP during the height of the eviction crisis. He had also opposed Expo 86 in its formative years (Government of Canada, 1986). The Provincial Government was in conflict with DERA, which for years had been criticizing provincial government policy. Finally, Premier Bennett often pursued particular courses of action regardless of the cost to the impacted sectors of the public (Palmer, 1987). He is generally acknowledged to be a stubborn man with respect to changing any of his policies, especially controversial policies.

In summary, the analysis of Provincial Government comments with respect to the eviction crisis (and the legislative option in particular) reflects a philosophy which values the exchange-value of housing and not the use-value; a belief in the primacy of economic relations; a belief that the inner city must be redeveloped; and, a belief that Downtown Eastside residents do not live in a "residential community". People are considered to live in a geographic area without bonds to the physical or social environment. While City of Vancouver planning efforts, for the most part, reflected the opposite, the lack of political jurisdiction meant that the most powerful option could not be

implemented. Instead, the housing registry was favoured by the Provincial Government because opposition to the Expo 86 housing impacts could be diffused while inner city redevelopment was facilitated.

C. Conclusions

The City of Vancouver's planning process for the potential housing impacts of Expo 86 has the following strengths.

Planning efforts began several years before the opening of the fair. This is in sharp contrast to many other World's Fair host cities where planning, if it occurred, started too late to be effective.

The City, through the Social Planning Department, maintained a close working relationship with representatives of the Downtown Eastside community. Also, community representatives played a vital role in developing options, monitoring the situation, and lobbying civic and provincial politicians and Expo 86 executives.

Permanent improvements in the community were gained. Tenacious work by the Social Planning Department and community groups convinced the Federal Government to contribute to the construction of 112 "extra" subsidized social housing units.

Once the Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impacts began, the City provided excellent assistance to the people affected. Vacant units were located and tenants were relocated. Social services were provided if required.

Weaknesses of the planning process are as follows.

The planning process was not planned. Many of the problems with the planning process may not have occurred if time had been spent planning the planning process. The relevant parties should have been brought together as soon as the City assumed responsibility for planning for the housing impacts of Expo 86. The groups should have gone through systematic planning steps to decide, amongst other things:

-- who is to be involved in the planning?

-- which goals will be taken into account and will they be weighted?

-- how will the situation appraisal step be carried out?

-- how will different options be generated?

-- how will the options be assessed?

-- what is the time scale for the planning?

More effort should have been spent organizing and coordinating the City's approach to the issue.

There were not enough staff or financial resources to properly deal with the issue. Staff were overworked and consequently the process suffered. For example, not enough research was carried out on the housing impact experience of other World's Fair host cities. This particular weakness relates to the fact that City of Vancouver departments have "work programs which are approved by Council and cannot arbitrarily allocate resources from one priority task to another without management or Council approval" (Doug Purdy, letter, March 1, 1988).

All possible options were not generated and set-up before the Pre-Expo Tourist-Demand housing impacts began. For example, the housing registry should have been ready to operate in late 1985 and not after the impacts began in February 1986.

Inter-departmental coordination was lacking. The legal department and the health department should have been more involved in the planning process.

Efforts were entirely focussed on Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impacts. Little is known about what part Expo 86 played in the creation of Post-Announcement Speculative Impacts. Affordable housing has been lost.

City planners did not make enough effort to inform Expo 86 executives and some members of City Council that impacts were expected to begin in early 1986. Instead, several aldermen, B.C. Hotels' Association executives and Expo 86 executives publicly spread information suggesting that no evictions would occur.

Ultimately though, it was the "politics of planning": political jurisdiction, ideology and ideological differences which prevented the City of Vancouver from attaining the goals of the planning process. As Doug Purdy, the planner most responsible for planning for Expo 86's housing impacts lamented:

> Political vision and political will were significant variables and impediments to constructive preventative and remedial actions ... We saw and experienced in this process how the exercise of personal political perspectives can supercede the political responsibility of exercising action for the 'common good.' ... Without political will and vision, the best laid planning process can be undermined.
> (letter, March 1, 1988)

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ACTION PLAN, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

A. How to Plan for the Housing Impacts of a Hallmark Event

1. Introduction

Each city which stages a hallmark event has a different social, economic, political and historical context. The planning process followed, the options implemented and the intensity of the impacts will vary greatly.

While the context is an important and variable factor, the types of housing impacts are quite similar. It is, therefore, possible to propose a strategy which will assist governments, the sponsors of hallmark events and community groups to identify and plan for the negative housing impacts of such hallmark events. Some suggestions in terms of the planning process, the role of the planner, the options to be implemented, and "points to consider" are presented.

2. The Process Issues to be Considered

a. The Process

An explicit systematic planning process should be followed. The steps followed should be planned as well as the planning of the planning process is an often overlooked activity. Ad hoc planning is not recommended, particularly since the housing impacts of hallmark events can permanently effect hundreds of

people and cause serious health problems.

The planning process should be consistent, participative, thorough, non-linear, fair, self-aware, self-evaluative, self-reflective, flexible, efficacious, anticipatory, informed, active, creative, dynamic and efficient.

The planning agency should allocate additional staff and financial resources. Past experience has demonstrated that to be effective, planning for the housing impacts of a hallmark event must be considered a major project with significant costs. The result of being unprepared is that permanent impacts occur (e.g., loss of affordable housing) when they could have been prevented. Also, the possibilities to capitalize on the potential for negative housing impacts (e.g., the City of Vancouver used the potential for Expo housing impacts to acquire "extra" social housing units from the Federal Government) may be missed.

b. The Role of the Planner

All planners should explicitly consider what role they will play in the planning process. Such introspection is particularly required when dealing with hallmark event housing impacts because they are of an often controversial nature. Based upon both field and literature research carried out for this study, the following suggestions are offered with respect to the role of the planner.

Planning theory literature is the medium for continuous debate over the "proper" role of the planner. Should the planner be a technocrat, an advocate, a social learner, a mediator, an

administrator, a regulator, a social reformer, etc.? This is a debate that will likely never be resolved.

One synergistic perspective suggests that:

> Any attempt to devise a new and comprehensive role for planners, or to argue that one of the existing roles is superior, is, therefore, both counter-productive and fruitless. Instead, planners should learn how to adopt their various roles to various planning environments in the same way they employ alternative techniques of analysis depending on the nature of the problem and the availability of data. (Gunton, 1984, p. 417) (emphasis added)

A similar and complementary perspective is offered by Karen S. Christensen (1985) in her article "Coping with Uncertainty in Planning". She suggests that planners should "tailor their styles [roles] to problem conditions" (p. 63). Problem conditions are defined in terms of uncertainty and uncertainty exists with respect to both means (technology) and ends (goals). Technology is defined as "the knowledge of how to do something" and goals are "the purpose, desired outcome, or end" (Ibid.). The following matrix explains the dichotomy.

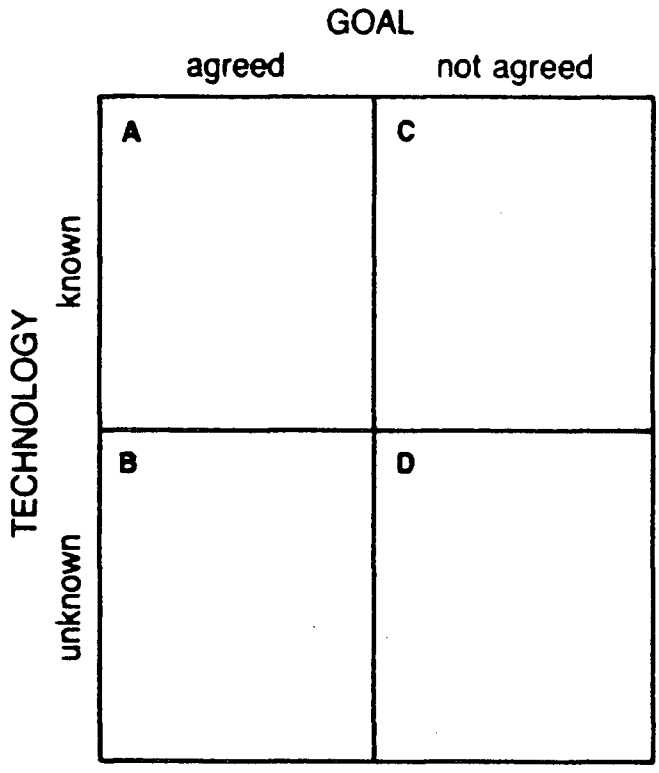


Figure 5. Prototype Conditions of Planning Problems (Christensen, 1985, p. 64)

The housing impacts of a hallmark event can be curbed in the majority of cases. The means exist but, as the "Politics of Planning" section of Chapter Four and the "City of Renewal" case studies demonstrated, the community, municipal staff, politicians and hallmark event representatives often disagree over goals and consequently, which options to implement. This situation represents a planning problem characterized by Christensen as "known technology/not agreed goal (Box C, the upper right box). Christensen suggests that such a planning environment will require planners to play the roles outlined in Figure 6.

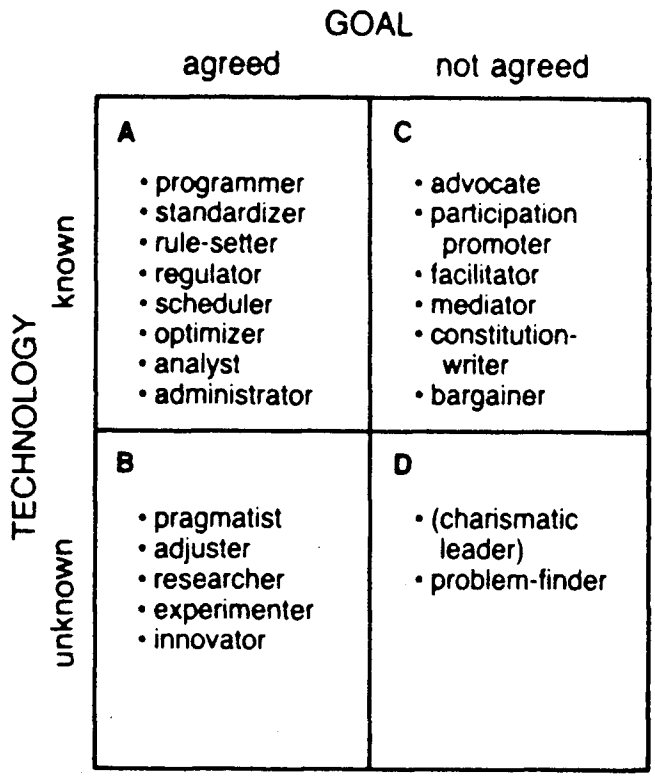


Figure 6. Planning Roles Categorized by Planning Conditions (Christensen, 1985, p. 69)

The roles in Box C were the most important roles which planners should have played to effectively address the issue of Expo 86 housing impacts. Future hallmark event planners should adopt their planning styles towards such roles.[28] Uncertainty and conflict in the planning environment must be addressed when

[28] Some initial references for examining such roles include the following. Advocate: Davidoff (1965); Heskin (1980); Hudson (1979). Consensus building and facilitating: Susskind (1981); Archibald (1970). Mediation and negotiation: Susskind and Ozawa (1984); Fisher and Ury (1983). Participation promoter: Friedmann (1973); Webber (1978).

planning for the housing impacts of a hallmark event.

3. A Catalogue of Possible Options and Points to Consider

During the course of research for this study, a wide variety of options relevant to both preventing and lessening the housing impacts of a hallmark event have been collected. Some complementary "points to consider" have also been amassed. Following an index (Table 5), this information is presented below in five separate categories according to who will be most interested and able to implement the suggestions. Further, the options and points are chronologically ordered according to when they should be examined. The initial options and points of each separate category should be examined first.

Table 5

Index to Catalogue of Possible
Options and Points to Consider

GOVERNMENTS

Referendum
Impact Studies
Demolition and Conversion Controls
Legislative Action
Increase the Supply of Rental Housing
Restrict Parking in Residential Communities
Evictee Housing Registry
Squatting

GOVERNMENTS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

Situation Appraisal
Increase Landlords' and Tenants' Knowledge of Respective Rights
Using the Media

GOVERNMENTS AND SPONSORS OF HALLMARK EVENTS

Site Selection
Intergovernmental and Interdepartmental Coordination
Attendance Estimation
Increase Supply and Coordination of Tourist Accommodation
Community Group Support
Political and Executive Leadership
Reservation Agency Discrimination
Public Boycott

GOVERNMENTS, SPONSORS OF HALLMARK EVENTS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

Using the University's Potential
Assumptions
Public Discourse

COMMUNITY GROUPS

Community Mobilization
Lobbying

GOVERNMENTS

Referendum: When serious discussions begin to take place about the staging of a hallmark event, consider holding a civic referendum to gage public support. Dodd (1982) discusses the conflict surrounding a referendum proposal for Expo 82 in Knoxville.

Impact Studies: Housing impact studies should be carried out. The director of Vancouver's Social Planning Department suggested some reasons why impact studies for an event such as the World's Fair are needed:

> It is pertinent to recognize that even though Expo 86 is a transient event whose lifespan covers a mere seven months period, some of its impacts can be fairly long term ... and the City should ensure that Expo will not leave behind a legacy of lingering negative impacts, socially, economically or environmentally. Impact assessment of Expo 86 must take into account as well as being able to distinguish between the short and longterm impacts, and to evaluate both positive and negative impacts within the context of Expo's and the City's overall objectives. Indeed, it would be a rather futile exercise if the bandage approach is applied to assessing possible impacts of Expo 86. (Appendix II, December 2, 1982)

When carrying impact studies out, these suggestions should be considered:

1) The local community should have a constructive role in planning how the study is to carried out, as well as carrying out the study and offering critical comment.

2) Take into account the perspectives of a diverse group of sources. For example, interview public health professionals as well as the development community and academics.

3) Carry out the impact studies as soon as possible. Past experience has shown that impacts can begin as soon as the hallmark event is announced.

4) Speculative and irrational commercial behaviour is common when a hallmark event is held in a city. Do not assume that rational decisions will always be made.

Demolition and Conversion Controls: Since some hallmark events create speculative impacts involving the demolition and conversion of affordable housing, implement legal controls on such processes. Examine effective municipal action in the cities of Seattle, San Francisco and Santa Monica. Use the hallmark event impacts as the justification for such controls. With respect to demolition, consider the fact that:

> Experience in the U.S. indicates that if the only barrier to demolition is dollar penalties and relocation assistance payments, developers will probably absorb these as a cost of business and will continue to demolish lower-rent housing because alternative uses are very profitable ... Only when the development process is directly restricted, or when construction of lower-income replacement is required as a condition for removal of units, is speculative demolition actually halted.[29]

Housing owners often require permits to upgrade or demolish residential units which might be used for hallmark event tourists. Ensure that the permit issuing department "red flags" the permit request and notifies all relevant departments. If

[29] This information was taken from background papers produced for the Conference on Affordable Housing in B.C., held on November 23 and 24, 1985.

required, delay and linger over the applications as time is in the essence from the owner's perspective. Strictly enforce all relevant standards of renovated premises and make sure that the owner knows this will occur.

Legislative Action: The passing of temporary preventative legislation before the housing impacts of a hallmark event start is the surest way to prevent them. Legislation should address all aspects of the impacts and be enforceable. Various levels of government and community representatives should be involved in the assessment of the potential of this option. When drafting legislation, take into account

1) existing legislation related to tenancy issues;

2) which rooms (vacant/occupied) are to be covered;

3) the time period required;

4) the geographical area;

5) the housing type. For example, in Vancouver only residential hotels and not tourist hotels were to be covered. Apartments fell under the guise of the Residential Tenancy Act;

6) the criteria to be met when defining a "tenant" For example, the City of Vancouver was going to require residents to have lived in the residential hotel for one year before being eligible for protection. Spokane considered residents to be "long term" tenants if they lived in the building for three months; and,

7) the permitted rental increase and valid reasons for eviction.

Legislative options are very costly and time-consuming. It is important to act as soon as possible on this option. See Appendices I, III and IV for copies of Vancouver, Knoxville and

Los Angeles legislative options.

Ensure that enough inspectors are hired to handle the extra work created by housing impacts.

Increase the Supply of Rental Housing: Because of the potential for negative housing impacts, increase the supply of both private and public rental housing. For example, the City of Vancouver applied for additional "extra" social housing units from the Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation because of the potential for Expo 86 housing impacts.

In Perth, Australia, the 1987 America's Cup Defense was held. Potential existed for negative housing impacts. One Perth recommendation to increase the supply of private rental housing involved the establishment of a community managed rental housing scheme for single people to cover the duration of the Defense. The scheme would:

> involve Government funding for community groups to lease large properties. These would then be sub-let on a room basis to single people facing a shortage of suitable accommodation ... The community management group would take on all responsibility for keeping the property tenanted, for maintenance and for rent collections with the lessor guaranteed income through the Government paid lease. The rental payments made would help to cover the Government outlay while the scheme would also enable the government to support more people at a much lower cost than if it was solely involved in purchase or construction. (Cowie, 1987, p. 9)

Restrict Parking in Residential Communities: Housing impacts and parking are related. If parking is restricted from residential

zones where the potential for negative housing impacts exist, tourists will be less inclined to seek accommodation in these areas.

Evictee Housing Registry: A housing registry is an excellent way to lesson the harmful effects of eviction. It should be set up "at least a year" before the housing impacts could potentially begin (Dr. J. Blatherwick, interview, June 29, 1987). However, be wary of the influence it might have on politicians considering preventative options. All relevant government departments and the community should be involved in the planning of the registry. When operating a registry, basic steps in a process are followed. In Vancouver, for example:

Step 1: Tenant contacts community organization and completes tenant form.

Step 2: Tenant information is entered into computer (the registry) at the community centre.

Step 3: Tenant information is matched with landlord listings.

Step 4: A separate listing for each tenant stating vacancies to suit their needs is returned to community organization.

Step 5: Follow-up service is provided and as vacancies are filled listings are deleted from computer.

A similar process is described in Appendix II, March 7, 1986. Examples of the tenant and landlord forms used by the City of Vancouver are displayed in Appendix V.

In the planning of the housing registry, review the points

raised in the "Sense of Community" and health impact sections of Chapter Three. If the elderly are being relocated, it is important that they have:

> enough time to become accustomed to each stage and new development in the process of moving ... Seniors are often forgetful and may lose sight of the goal; they need constant reminders, reinforcement and reassurance. (Eisinger, 1986, p. 18).

Women have had a more difficult time being relocated because of physical safety concerns. If problems exist locating suitable vacant units, notify the media of this problem and your need for assistance. Do not start moving the clientele until the building is actually being demolished or converted into tourist use because, "other people would move in very quickly and fill up the spots behind them. You would simply start a revolving door in which you would not solve your problem" (Dr. J. Blatherwick, interview, June 29, 1987). When relocating residents during a period of impacts ensure that the newly located building will not evict residents at a later date. Several Expo 86 evictees moved into another hotel only to find themselves faced with eviction notices two weeks later.

If significant housing impacts seem inevitable, get hoteliers or landlords to set aside a block of vacant units for evictees. Negotiation should occur with respect to the size of this block.

Squatting: If an acute housing shortage exists and major housing impacts are occurring, squatting in vacant housing could be

recognized as a legitimate short-term alternative for people (Nawrocki, 1987).

GOVERNMENTS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

Situation Appraisal: The situation appraisal step should be carried out as soon as possible. If housing impacts start, the controversy usually creates a volatile atmosphere in which reliable data is difficult to retrieve. A housing registry is a useful method to appraise the situation while impacts are occurring.

Community groups should play a major role in both the planning of and carrying out of the situation appraisal step. Studies and workshops should be sponsored by community groups on the potential for housing impacts. Lastly, Hartman, Keating and LeGates (1982) raise the following point which community groups should bear in mind when addressing negative housing impacts:

> Make sure you have analyzed fully and correctly the displacement problem you are facing. The reasons displacement pressures are building up usually have to do with broader economic, social and political forces affecting your area, which often are region-wide in scope. Unless you begin to understand those forces and root your anti-displacement work in that analysis, it is unlikely that you will be able to develop effective and durable strategies to counter the displacement push. (p. 203)

Increase Landlords' and Tenants' Knowledge of Respective Rights: Ensure that landlords know exactly what is and what is not

allowed with respect to the use of rental housing for tourist accommodations. Educate tenants who reside in rental housing of their rights. Also, Cindi Gagne, Manager of Housing Allocation and Rent Calculation, British Columbia Housing and Management Commission, stated that public housing tenants should be notified before housing impacts begin that they will not be effected (interview, June 1987). Apparently some confusion and tension existed when public housing tenants thought they would be evicted.

Using the Media: Astute use of media coverage can be an important part of the effort to halt negative housing impacts. As Hartman, Keating and Legates (1982) bluntly put it:

> It's sad but true that displacement [creates] the kind of human interest stories that the press and TV feed on, and those stories can highlight displacement issues, make important political points, and garner citywide support for effective regulation and preservation. (p. 58)

Use the media to advantage whenever possible. In San Franciscan battles to prevent displacement, effective media coverage "was critical in making enforcement of this moratorium, plus basic regulation of SRO (Single Room Occupancy) hotel conversions into major issues" (p. 57). All planners should build up a strong trustworthy relationship with one or a few sympathetic reporters. If required, praise the hallmark event while addressing the negative impacts.

GOVERNMENTS AND SPONSORS OF HALLMARK EVENTS

Site Selection: Representatives of both the host city and the communities which may border the potential site should be constructively involved in the site selection process. As Gottdeiner (1987) notes:

> Despite the many costs of growth the ideology of development possesses great appeal as the universal panacea for the ailments of society and is most often pursued with only minor concessions to those asked to pay for its social burdens. A narrow fix on pursuing growth chains local governments to the unquestioned acquisition of development projects, often of a spectacular nature such as football stadiums or world fairs, with limited real payoffs to local areas. (p. 18)

Also, if the hallmark event is linked to inner city redevelopment, ensure that this is a publicly approved process. Often hallmark events have been used as excuses for autocracy in planning in an effort to circumvent the democratic process (Dodd, 1982; Gottdeiner, 1987). For positive housing impacts to occur, the hallmark event must be "fitted into the city's master plan of development and not vice versa" (MacDonald, September 4, 1986).

Intergovernmental and Interdepartmental Coordination: Governments and government departments planning for the impacts of a hallmark event (e.g., civic and provincial; health, planning, engineering, law) should keep in close contact. Relevant departments should be brought together when planning the planning process. As Lawson (1984) recalls, "one of the keys to the success of the 1984 Olympic Games was intergovernmental

cooperation and coordination and the identification of areas of responsibility" (p. 139).

Attendance Estimations: The estimation of possible attendance figures is one activity which has contributed to the creation of negative housing impacts. For example, in Knoxville:

> the most crucial issue of the housing problem was that both local government and Fair officials overestimated what the demand for housing would be so that an oversupply was created. If the estimates had been lower and more in line with reality, the problems would have been fewer. (Gretchen F. Beal, letter, September 18, 1986)

Attendance estimations have confused people when several groups carry out their own, often conflicting estimations. This problem could be ameliorated by having <u>one</u> attendance estimation which is carried out with the input of all interested parties. This may ensure estimations which are "in line with reality". When carrying out attendance estimations, relate them to traditional rental vacancy rate fluctuations.

Increase the Supply and Coordination of Tourist Accommodation:[30] Develop a comprehensive accommodation register for all types of housing:

[30] Much of this option is taken from Ian Cowie's paper "Possible Measure to Protect Private Tenants from any Impact Associated with Hallmark Events with Special Reference to the America's Cup Defence in Perth". The paper was presented at a 1987 conference on The Effects of Hallmark Events on Cities, held in Perth, Australia.

> By accurately monitoring the level of demand for tourist accommodation, the register would provide an early indication of the likelihood of demand exceeding supply which could result in pressure on the private rental market. It would also help to alleviate a situation in which potential visitors are dissuaded from coming due to unfounded fears of a lack of accommodation or its exorbitant price. The success of the register would depend upon the ability of the managing organization to collect and disseminate the relevant information. (Cowie, 1987, p. 6).

Marketing of the hallmark event:

> should be tied to the availability of tourist accommodation as quantified in the accommodation register. A comprehensive accommodation register would allow marketing to be dovetailed to the standards of accommodation available. (Ibid.)

Permit city residents to use their house as a "guest house". This option is valuable "because it utilizes underoccupied space in housing stock as well as providing international visitors with an experience" (Cowie, 1987, p. 7). City zoning and development bylaws should be temporarily ignored or altered to permit residents in parts or throughout the city to provide sleeping quarters in their homes for paying guests. If possible, the appropriate body should regulate this process to ensure quality, price, etc. (Hamilton, February 19, 1986). Appendix VI contains an Expo 86 "Guest House Program" brochure explaining various issues surrounding this option. Such an option can create problems, however, as Lawson (1984) discovered. In Los Angeles:

> as many as 200 new firms had entered the Olympic home rental business ... Some of the firms accepting rental listings fees were not properly licensed or bonded and were not making any effort to match renters with homeowners. (p. 135)

Problems were dealt with by "bringing these facts to the public's attention and holding a seminar for Olympic rental housing businesses on the legal responsibilities involved" and by charging "a small number of rental listing firms with false and misleading advertising" (Ibid.).

To ensure sufficient supply of tourist accommodation, the sponsors of the hallmark event could assist developers in getting started by contributing seed money so that buildings would be brought on stream in time for the event. The hallmark event organization would guarantee occupancy for a determined period of time. Mr. Ed Keate of the B.C. Place Citizens' Advisory Committee recalled an Austrian bid for the Winter Olympics in which they created a village which was presold to the private sector. After the event, the private sector retained this village as tourist accommodations (Appendix II, August 2, 1983).

Offer incentives to encourage the construction of new rental housing which will come "on stream" in time to be rented to hallmark event tourists. For example, Perth, Australia was the site for the 1987 America's Cup Defense. Potential existed for negative housing impacts. "Priority Development Zones" (PDZs) were created to reduce the land cost for medium density dwellings (Cowie, 1987, p. 8).

> In operation, small parcels of land suitable for rental accommodation (near to amenities and transport to ensure these developments are not isolated and stigmatised) would be designated as PDZs. This land would then be offered to private developers at low cost based upon previous use value in return for a commitment to build an approved quantity and quality of dwellings with

> rents predetermined for the Defense period. The proposal therefore envisioned the rapid construction of rental housing accommodation to take the pressure from the demand side of the equation. The great advantage of this recommendation lay in its cost effectiveness which resulted from private capital being invested while the Government maintained a control on rents charged to reduce the number of people who may face hardship if market rents rise generally. (Ibid.)

Attempt to obtain as many alternatives to hotel units as possible. School and university dormitories, moveable modular housing (Hiller, 1987, p. 11) campgrounds and caravan parks (Cowie, 1987, p. 7), etc., are all possible sources. When required, relax existing regulations to expand capacities rather that making it necessary to build new campgrounds and caravan parks (Ibid.). Also, if the vacancy rate is high and if the potential exists for negative housing impacts, allow the use of vacant apartment units as daily rental tourist rooms. The following criteria could be applied: 1) units or buildings which have never been occupied before; 2) buildings in "busy" areas only; 3) be restricted to commercial, heritage or other zones where hotels are permitted; 4) be of use between the operating dates of the hallmark event alone.

Community Group Support: If required, governments and hallmark event organizations should provide adequate financial and technical assistance to community groups. It is the community groups which are "in the field" and can assess the situation relatively easily. Community representatives know about idiosyncracies and quirks in their community. They also have a

supply of often untapped knowledge which can assist in planning efforts.

Political and Executive Leadership: Past experience has demonstrated that politicians and senior hallmark event executives can have considerable influence in lessening the housing impacts of a hallmark event. The politician should take a personal interest in the issue and display public conviction as the mayors of both Los Angeles (Lawson, 1984, p. 140), and Vancouver did. S/he should use the media to voice concern, write letters to the owners and operators of housing which may be converted to tourist use, and lobby hallmark event executives and politicians of other levels of government for support. Close contact should be maintained between those planning for the impacts and the politician demonstrating leadership. The politician should designate key staff members as hallmark event liaisons (Lawson, 1984).

Hallmark event executives should openly address the possibilities of both positive and negative impacts. In Calgary, for example, Ron Sandrin-Litt, Accommodation Service Manager for the 1988 Olympics, publicly condemned residential hotel evictions as "unnecessary" in an attempt to stop them (Lamb, November 16, 1987).

Reservation Agency Discrimination: In the past, the reservations agency responsible for directing tourists to suitable

accommodations has contributed to the creation of negative housing impacts and given a "black eye" to the host city (DuBose, July 30, 1985; Banks, April 26, 1986; McDonald and Cernetig, May 14, 1986; Bolan, June 4, 1986; Fletcher and Margoshes, June 5, 1986). Prevent this from occurring by allowing, suggesting or forcing the reservations agency(s) to not handle contracts where residents are evicted. Create and publicise the discriminatory criterion of the reservations agency several years before the hallmark event opens. Lawson (1984) suggests that such an option should have been used for the 1984 Olympics:

> In retrospect, the LAOOC (Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee) could have created, or designated, a central housing and visitor services office, with referrals being made only to hotels, home rental agencies, and restaurants which had agreed to maintain reasonable prices and ethical standards. This centralized office could have arranged for housing as part of the Olympic ticket order process, instead of leaving the visitor to find housing alone. As it was, local visitor and convention bureaus were inundated with telephone calls and letters, and were unable to screen local hotels effectively as a way of monitoring problems of price gouging or service quality. (p. 136)

Also, lobby travel agents involved in the booking of accommodation to set up similar discriminatory criteria.

Public Boycott: Consider a government and hallmark event sponsored boycott of residential hotels or other premises where traditional residents have been impacted. This option involves public condemnation and official action. Assess the constructiveness and legal implications of this volatile means.

GOVERNMENTS, SPONSORS OF HALLMARK EVENTS AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

Use the University's Potential: Early links should be made between the groups planning for the housing impacts and the university community. Contact representatives from the planning, geography, social work, public health, anthropology, law and sociology departments. Students and professors in these departments are in great need of some socially relevant and constructive research topics. They can also assist with all steps of the planning process.

Assumptions: Do not operate under the assumption that both temporary and permanent housing impacts will not occur. Past experience has demonstrated that these assumptions are a major reason why planning efforts are non-existent and why planning agencies have been unprepared when impacts begin. Also, such assumptions have been based upon a belief that the owners and operators of all residential hotels and apartments are "good managers" and "rational" businessmen. This has not been the case in the past. Hallmark event hype has contributed to illusions of massive profit for all businesses involved. Rarely do profit expectations meet reality (Doug Purdy, interview, January 20, 1987; Laventhol and Horwath, 1984; Casselton, July 18, 1986; Bolan, October 9, 1986).

Critics of some options, particularly legislative options

designed to stop the housing impacts of a hallmark event, often argue about "root causes". They rationalize, and rightly so, that the potential housing impacts are symptoms of deeper structural problems in the housing market. For example, the B.C. Hotels' Association argued that temporary rent freeze/no eviction legislation did not address the root cause of the problem (inadequate tenant income levels), but instead the symptom. They are right but a situational problem also exists; a problem created by the temporary existence of the hallmark event. It is this situational problem which needs to be quickly addressed by planners. The root cause of the problem remains and cannot be solved in the limited time span available.

Public Discourse: Once a hallmark event, particularly a World's Fair, is approaching its operation period, public attachment characteristically becomes obsessive (Dodd, 1982; Ley and Olds, 1988, forthcoming). This atmosphere makes it difficult to carry out any critical evaluation as two senior Knoxvillian bank executives discovered:

> "If we said anything critical about the fair, people would say 'Oh, you're against the fair,'" said George Morgan, chairman of Valley Fidelity Bank.
> "It was almost like you were against motherhood and apple pie," added Valley Fidelity President Dale Keasling.
> "You know, looking back, I think that's where we made our biggest mistake. We didn't speak out," Morgan said. (DuBose, August 1, 1985)

Attempt to ensure a relatively calm atmosphere of public discourse by emphasising the acceptance of both positive and

negative impacts. Public debates about the potential for housing impacts can create awareness about the issue while informing decision-makers.

COMMUNITY GROUPS

Community Mobilization: Chester Hartman (1974; 1984) and Hartman, Keating and LeGates (1981) have come to the conclusion that there is "no substitute for an aroused and organized community when it comes to campaigning for anti-displacement protection." The Vancouver case study suggests a similar perspective. DERA began analyzing the potential for Expo 86 housing impacts as soon as Expo was announced. They carried out detailed research and acted politically to raise awareness of their concerns. Once the mass evictions started, DERA attempted to coordinate community unrest. Although the impacts were not stopped, DERA played an important role in convincing the Federal Government to contribute "extra" social housing units to the Downtown Eastside. DERA was also prepared to help relocate residents at all times. The community groups should, according to Jim Green, DERA Organizer, be well organized, know what they are talking about, offer solutions and never take a ridiculous stand (interview, March 11, 1988).

A coalition of groups and individuals can have a much stronger impact than they could individually. This is particularly true since hallmark events characteristically have

considerable public support. Individuals or single groups tend to be considered to "negative types" with an "axe to grind". Coalitions also have the potential to derive more innovative solutions to problems.

Lobbying: Considerable lobbying effort is required when planning for the housing impacts of a hallmark event. When lobbying, do the utmost to convince the organization in question that, for the sake of their own reputation, the city's reputation and the hallmark event's reputation, action is needed. Negative housing impacts in an atmosphere of media attention can create severe image problems. All counter-lobbying efforts should be assessed with respect to how factual their information is.

In the effort to lobby politicians, hallmark event executives and other influential people to address the potential for housing impacts, organize a "politicians' tour" through the community. Set a date, invite all relevant people and notify the media. Carry out the tour through the community so that any early signs of impact are witnessed. Demonstrate that the community is home for many people and that they are attached to it. Ensure that some high profile politicians attend in order to attract media attention. If required, praise the hallmark event while addressing the potential for impacts.

B. The Future of the Downtown Eastside: Recommendations to the City of Vancouver

1. The rate of loss of lodging house stock is sufficient to require the continuation of the lodging house surveys. Moreover, a continuous record of the status of Downtown Eastside lodging houses and their residents will be needed to check future B.C. Place housing impacts.

2. All existing lodging house stock should be registered. A computerized data base should be constructed with respect to lodging house stock in Vancouver. This would permit the continuous monitoring of any changes. The data base should include property value and ownership. The data base should be accessible to housing researchers if they meet criteria to be determined by the City.

3. Begin preparation for the planning for the social impacts of the B.C. Place development.

4. Continue funding of community organizations such as DERA. Consider supplying them with additional research funds for specific projects.

5. Consider the purchase of residential hotels. Renovate them but maintain them with respect to maid service and the presence of

a front desk. Examine the successes of a Los Angeles SRO non-profit housing society briefly discussed by Sarti, (May 9, 1986).

6. Continue lobbying the provincial government to include longterm tenants of residential hotels under the Residential Tenancy Act.

7. Future developments of high density residential housing in the Downtown should be assessed with respect to the impact on lodging house stock. Granville Mall redevelopment plans should explicitly take into account the potential loss of affordable housing in residential hotels.

9. The Downtown-Eastside / Oppenheimer Policy Plan (1982) should be revised to take into account the future redevelopment of the B.C. Place site and the impacts it may create.

10. Given that the City is considering the inception of a local area planning process in Strathcona, consideration should be given to expanding the scope of this process. It is important to consider the links to broader issues to such as the B.C. Place development and the loss of affordable housing.

11. Community organizations and non-governmental organizations based in the Downtown Eastside face some problems with respect to communication and coordination. The City is well placed strategically to play a facilitative role in bringing these organizations together for the benefit of all Downtown Eastsiders.

12. Developers wishing to convert or demolish over 5 units of affordable housing should be required to contribute to a social housing replacement fund. (B.C. Housing Coalition, 1986)

13. Efforts should be made to gain greater powers to enact by-laws regulating rental demolitions. With respect to the single-room occupancy residential hotels (SRO), consider:

    * recognition of SRO residential hotel units as an endangered housing resource;
    * replacement of converted SROs on a one-for-one basis; and
    * relocation assistance to displaced tenants by hotel owners who are permitted to convert.

    Examine the strategies used to prevent demolition and conversion of affordable inner city housing stock in Portland, San Francisco and Seattle.

14. The City should continue supporting the development of non-profit and co-operative housing in the Downtown Eastside.

    Apart from the benefits to residents, this is an excellent strategy to temper future private redevelopment of the

community. In addition, this housing should strategically be placed in the most attractive sites thereby "claiming" the site before private development companies do the same. The Four Sisters project is an excellent example of this strategy.

15. The City through the Social Planning and Health Departments should continue in their efforts to ensure that the future deinstitutionalization of psychiatric patients does not occur without suitable community-based care and housing available.

16. The City should investigate the use of community land trusts in the efforts to provide affordable housing.

C. Summary

1. The Research Questions Addressed

Five research questions were posed in Chapter One. A summary of the findings is presented below.

1) How has the nature of World's Fairs changed since their emergence in the late 19th century?

While historically rooted in ancient trade fairs, World's Fairs as they are known today emerged out of the artistic and industrial exhibitions of 19th century Europe. Early World's Fairs were used as display cases for the tools of production, agricultural products and art. They were also used for a number of other purposes including the marking of historically

significant dates, the creation of prestige for host cities, regions and nations, and a range of political objectives by sponsoring governments.

As time progressed, World's Fairs began to reflect changes in the cultural, political and economic systems of host societies. Thus we saw them symbolizing the rise of the culture of consumption, the growing dominance of the corporation, and the transformation of race relations. From a planner's perspective, what was particularly interesting was how the World's Fair reflected and influenced the evolution of urban planning. World's Fairs such as the 1893 Chicago fair marked the city beautiful principles. Mid-1930's World's Fairs displayed the rise of the modernist movement, a movement which would continue into the early 1960's. By the late 1950's, we saw the World's Fair decline in importance due to a number of factors including the development of alternative forms of entertainment, education and advertising.

2) How have World's Fairs been used as an inner city redevelopment tool; what have their housing impacts been; and, how have these impacts been planned for?

Beginning with the 1962 Seattle World's Fair, we witnessed this spectacle being used, with one exception, as a tool for inner city redevelopment. While these World's Fairs played numerous other roles, a primary reason for their existence was their capacity for inner city redevelopment. Civic political and business elites, seeking ways to reverse inner city decline and

uneven development, considered the World's Fair as a stimulative planning tool which could attract "additional" government and private capital for redevelopment projects.

The consequence of the use of the World's Fair as an inner city redevelopment project, in combination with the pressures created by millions of tourists on inner city housing (primarily residential hotels/SRO's) was that housing impacts were created. Four different types of housing impact were delineated.

The first type of housing impact was created when the inner city site was chosen and clearance took place. If there was housing on the site it was demolished. This type of housing was usually rented by low income people. Affordable housing was lost from the inner city.

The second type of housing impact was created after the announcement that a city would be hosting a World's Fair. Housing in communities surrounding the fair site was demolished or became more expensive.

The third type of housing impact was created by the millions of tourists drawn to the World's Fair. As the World's Fair was situated in the inner city, communities bordering the site were impacted. Tenants living in houses, apartments and lodging houses are evicted because of the natural market dynamic. Landlords, unimpeded by restrictive regulations, cater to the expected tourist influx.

The fourth type of housing impact is closely related to the second possible type. Housing in communities surrounding the

Exposition site was demolished, changes in tenancy status took place (for example, a residential hotel became a tourist, daily rental hotel), and new higher income housing was built.

Planning efforts which addressed the housing impacts of World's Fairs have the following characteristics. Often, housing impact planning has consisted of creating the impacts. Planners have sought to redevelop the inner city and this has involved the destruction of affordable, sometimes "rundown" housing. In other cases, planning efforts have been both late, ineffective and of an ad hoc nature. There have been no cases of comprehensive, effective, preventative housing impact planning. The issue of housing impacts has virtually been ignored or not taken seriously by politicians, planners and academics alike.

3) What was the nature of the housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside community in Vancouver?

Expo 86 created housing impacts. While no housing was demolished on-site, post-announcement speculative impacts were created in the neighboring Downtown Eastside community. Land values increased after the announcement and between 1000 and 2000 lodging house units were lost. This loss occurred between 1978 and 1984 (Expo 86 was announced in 1980) with another 600 units permanently lost between 1984 and 1986. Expo 86 was only one of several contributing factors to this loss however. Other factors include core commercial expansion, B.C. Place pressures, the expansion of Chinatown, the enforcement of City bylaws and general urban redevelopment pressures).

Pre-Expo Tourist Demand impact began occurring vigorously three to four months before Expo 86 opened on May 2, 1986. By July 1986 the impacts ceased leaving a total of 500-850 residents dislocated. Many of the evictees faced serious health problems.

Following the closure of Expo 86, Downtown Eastside vacancy rates returned to pre-fair levels and the vast majority of evicting residential hotels began catering to traditional clientele. Some hotels owners faced serious financial difficulties though because reality did not meet their expectations with respect to tourist demand. The Downtown Eastside housing and land market remains unstable with many "For Sale" signs evident. The future development plans for the Expo site (B.C. Place) will likely create enormous pressures on the area over the next twenty years.

4) What was the City of Vancouver's planning process with respect to the potential and then actual housing impacts of Expo 86 on the residents of the Downtown Eastside?

The City of Vancouver, mainly through the Social Planning Department, planned for the potential and actual housing impacts of Expo 86. Between early 1983 and January of 1986, the City followed a systematic planning process. The task and goals were identified, the situation monitored and numerous options were developed and implemented. The main efforts were put behind an "Expo Housing Program" which involved the development of community-based social housing which was to be leased to Expo 86. Following the fair's operation period, community groups were

supposed to manage the housing for Downtown Eastside residents. The other main option involved the development and lobbying for rent freeze/no eviction legislation.

When mass evictions from residential hotels in the Downtown Eastside started in late February, 1986, the City followed a reactive, problem management planning process. A wide variety of options were developed and implemented. The City lobbied the Provincial Government for preventative legislation but they refused to act, instead forcing the City to develop a housing registry. This registry assisted evicted residents to find alternative accommodations. No post-Expo planning took place.

5) What were the reasons for the success and/or failure of the City of Vancouver's planning process?

The City of Vancouver achieved both success and failure in their planning efforts. In stark contrast to other World's Fair host cities, they were prepared and planning several years in advance of the Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impacts. Unfortunately, Post-Announcement Speculative Impacts were not planned for beyond relocation assistance to displaced tenants, and the monitoring of the situation through lodging house surveys.

With respect to Pre-Expo Tourist Demand Impacts, the situation was closely monitored with the assistance of community organizations such as DERA. A wide variety of options were developed. The Expo Housing Program was not implemented by Expo 86 authorities although the City did manage to lobby the federal government for 112 "extra" social housing units for a Downtown

Eastside project.

Once mass evictions began, a housing registry was set up. This registry should have been set up before the impact started. Legislative proposals to the crisis were plagued with controversy. Initially, municipal politicians refused to pass a motion recommended by their Social Planning Department to request Provincial Government legislative action. After City Council finally passed this motion during the midst of the eviction crisis, the Provincial Government refused to pass legislation halting the evictions. Instead, residents were relocated into vacant units throughout the Downtown Eastside and Greater Vancouver region.

Based against the City of Vancouver's goal of ensuring that the potential permanent or temporary displacement of longterm low and moderate income residents be stopped or held to a "minimum", the planning process failed. It was the "politics of planning"; the issues of political jurisdiction, ideology and ideological differences which forced failure. The Provincial Government alone could pass rent and eviction control legislation. Analysis of comments by provincial politicians and their supporters suggests an ideology which values the exchange-value of housing over the use-value; a belief in the primacy of economic relations; a belief that the inner city must be redeveloped; and, a belief that Downtown Eastside residents do not live in a "community" but rather in a geographic area without bonds to the physical or social environment.

2. Future Research Possibilities

Some future research possibilities became apparent during the course off research for this thesis.

1) The Downtown Eastside is experiencing a diverse range of pressures. Chinatown is expanding and will likely continue to do so with the expected influx of Hong Kong capital as 1999 approaches. Strathcona is beginning to feel the pressure of gentrification. Efforts are being made to transform Gastown into a residential community. The port to the east and west of the B.C. Trade and Convention Centre will likely be developed over the next 20 years into a mixed residential/commercial area. The B.C. Place site will be developed over the next 20-25 years. Core commercial expansion will likely continue. Lastly, the City of Vancouver is attempting to facilitate the development of high density residential housing in the southwest corner of the Downtown (South Granville Mall). In all of these cases, considerable potential exists for the redevelopment of the Downtown Eastside and the subsequent loss of affordable housing. Research could be carried out on any one or combination of the above processes and on what could be done to ensure that the traditional residents of the Downtown Eastside are not displaced. [31]

[31] A forthcoming M.A. thesis by Doug Konrad of the U.B.C. Geography Department will examine several of the above mentioned processes.

2) Research could be carried out on the status of the lodging house in Vancouver. How fast are lodging houses being lost? Where are they being lost? Are speculators buying lodging houses? What impact is the supply of social housing having on the private lodging houses? Will there be a need for lodging houses in the near or far future? Who is living in the lodging houses and to what degree does this housing form suit their needs? What impact are City policies having on the supply of lodging houses?

3) Hallmark events need to be studied in much more detail than they have in the past. C.M. Hall (1987) offers the best suggestions:

> There is a need to go beyond the glamour of hallmark events, and the supposed economically beneficial effects of such events, and subject them to rigorous integrated economic, environmental, social and political analysis. The task of the researcher should be to compare the image with the reality and attempts to answer the questions ... 'why, for what, and for whom are these events being held?' and in so doing come to a more complete understanding of the urban impacts of hallmark events. (p. 9)

4) Tourism has become one of the largest and fastest-growing world industries and an economic and social phenomenon of major importance. The unprecedented expansion of tourism has given rise to a multitude of economic, environmental and social impacts which are concentrated in destination areas. (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 183)

Given these facts and given that most politicians see

tourism as a desirable route to development, multi-perspective research should be carried out. The actual and potential impacts of tourism could be examined. What type of tourism will benefit destination communities while causing the least negative impacts? Who is, and who should be planning for the development and impacts of the tourism industry in specific communities? What types of jobs are created by tourism? Where does the profit from the tourist trade accumulate and how might it be distributed to benefit the host community better? Do existent planning frameworks take into account the future reliance upon tourism? How might planners integrate the many disparate components of the tourism industry into an overall planning framework?

5) Research could be carried out on the distribution of lower-income people in the greater Vancouver region. Is the city being "turned inside out"? Where are the traditional residents of the inner city living? Are low income people being forced or do they wish to live in the outer suburbs? Do the suburbs suit low income people's needs as well as the inner city? What are the theoretical implications of such a transformation? What are the future trends for Vancouver in terms of spatial income and class distributions? What impact are civic, provincial and federal government policies having on such a transformation, if it is occurring?

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MEDIA SOURCES

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Radio

British Columbia Television (BCTV)

Rogers Cable TV, Vancouver

RESOLUTION NO. 116

RESOLUTION

A RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE REFERRING ORDINANCE O-57-82, AN ORDINANCE TO ESTABLISH REGULATORY MEASURES AND PROVISIONS FOR HEARING AND APPEALS RELATIVE TO ARTICLE VIII OF THE ZONING ORDINANCE OF THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE AND ORDINANCE NO. O-72-82, AN AMENDMENT TO ORDINANCE NO. 3369 TO ADD A NEW ARTICLE VIII ENTITLED "GENERAL EXCEPTIONS" SO AS TO PERMIT THE SHORT TERM RENTAL OF SLEEPING ACCOMODATIONS IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS FOR PURPOSES OF THE 1982 WORLD'S FAIR, TO THE METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMISSION FOR ITS REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATION RELATIVE TO AMENDMENTS TO THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE ZONING ORDINANCE.

RESOLUTION NO: R-97-82

REQUESTED BY: _____

PREPARED BY: _____

APPROVED AS TO FORM AND CORRECTNESS: _____
Director of Law

FINANCIAL IMPACT STATEMENT: _____

_____
Director of Financ

APPROVED ON 1ST READING: _____

APPROVED ON 2ND READING: _____

APPROVED AS AN EMERGENCY MEASURE: _____

MINUTE BOOK_____PAGE_____

WHEREAS, the City of Knoxville has heretofore passed Ordinance O-57-82 and Ordinance O-72-82 as measures to amend the zoning ordinance to permit short term rental for compensation to temporary residents, motorists, tourists or travelers, and to regulate such action, and

WHEREAS, proper consideration by the Metropolitan Planning Commission prior to the passage by City Council has come in issue.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE:

SECTION 1: That O-57-82 and O-72-82 be referred or remanded to the Metropolitan Planning Commission for its review and recommendation relative to the proposed changes contained in the said ordinance, and suggestions, modifications, deletions or repealing of sections or one or both ordinance in their entirety.

SECTION 2: That the Metropolitan Planning Commission is requested to consider these matters as early as convenient within the legal requirements for notice and conducting of hearings.

SECTION 3: This ~~ordinance~~ resolution shall take effect seventeen days (17) from and after its passage, the welfare of the City requiring it.

Presiding Officer of the Council

Recorder

WHEREAS, there is a need to protect the interests of persons occupying rental space in single and multi-family residential structures, and to balance these interests with the interests of persons desiring an amendment to the zoning ordinance to permit short term rental of sleeping accomodations to visitors to the 1982 World's Fair.

WHEREAS, an emergency exists in that it is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, property, health and safety and to provide for the safe and adequate housing to tenants that this ordinance take effect immediately upon its passage.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE:

SECTION 1: Definition.

1) World's Fair Housing Board (Board) means the Board empowered to take the actions authorized by this Ordinance.

2) Short-term rentals as used in this ordinance shall mean those rentals for compensation to temporary residents, motorists, tourists or travelers which do not exceed fourteen (14) consecutive days.

3) Dwelling unit as used in this ordinance shall mean one or more rooms designed as a unit for occupancy by only one family for living and sleeping quarters including both permanent

structures and mobile homes or trailers located in trailer parks, mobile home parks or other approved locations.

4) Bureau means the Bureau of Code Enforcement in the Department of Community and Economic Development.

5) Mobile Home site means a parcel or lot within an approved mobile home park designed for the placement of a mobile home or trailer.

SECTION 2: World's Fair Housing Board.

There is established the World's Fair Housing Board (Board) which shall perform all duties and responsibilities herein after set forth. The Board shall be composed of five members appointed by the Mayor and confirmed by Council.

SECTION 3: Requirements, Conditions, Restrictions and Appeals.

(a) No person shall operate and no owner shall permit the short term rental of a dwelling unit or mobile home site until such owner or operator has been granted a certificate of authority from the Bureau for the City of Knoxville. Application for certificates of authority may be made to the Bureau on forms provided by that office, and the payment of a fee of $50.00 for the first dwelling unit and all additional units up to and including 10 in the same dwelling unit or complex of dwelling

units and $2.00 for each additional dwelling unit for which a certificate of authority is requested. Provided, the owner of an owner occupied single family dwelling unit is exempt from the $50.00 fee. The application shall contain the name of the property, if any; owner's name, address and phone number; manager's name, address and phone number; total number of dwelling units on the property and the number of units for which application has been made, designating by apartment numbers whenever possible; the number of units vacated since January 1, 1982, and reason vacancy occured; any other solicitation of information necessary to the enforcement of this ordinance.

(b) While considering the application and as long as the owner or operator holds a certificate of authority, the premises permitted for short term rental shall be open to inspection by employees of the Bureau. These inspections will generally be made between the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. on Monday through Friday, but may be made at other hours and on weekends if necessary to enforce the provisions of this ordinance.

(c) In attempting to meet a public need, the Executive and Legislative bodies of the City

of Knoxville do not intend to encourage or countenance the termination of rental agreements or involuntary displacement of persons occupying rental space in single and multi-family dwellings, and feel that such action on the part of property owners or landlords is irresponsible and contrary to public policy and the best interest of all the citizens of Knoxville. Accordingly, the Bureau or Board shall review complaints by tenants involuntarily displaced and shall refuse to issue a certificate of authority for any unit, complex or group of units or buildings to any owner or operator who has, since January 1, 1982, caused a tenant to be involuntarily displaced from any unit or terminated a lease agreement for any units for reasons other than failure to pay rent when due, damage to the rental property, engaging in prohibited practices under a lease agreement, or voluntary surrender of occupancy. Voluntary surrender of occupancy shall not be interpreted to include surrender of occupancy as the result of a rent increase designed to cause involuntary surrender.

(d) A register shall be maintained in the Bureau Office for the purpose of recording complaints or

information relative to involuntary displacement. If the name or location of the applicant appears on the Register, the Bureau will forward that application to the Board for consideration and a public hearing upon 10 days notice before the certificate of authority may be issued. The decision of the bureau to grant a certificate shall be subject to appeal within 10 days of decision. Either the landlord or the tenant may appeal the decision of the Bureau to the Board or the Board to City Council, which may also review the action of the Board upon request of a Councilperson or the Mayor. Appeals must be made within 10 days of the decision of the Board or its action becomes final. No certificate shall be issued until the decision of the Board is final. If a complaint is made subsequent to granting of the certificate the certificate shall be revoked after a hearing. The Board, at such hearing, shall determine whether the certificate shall be revoked or remain in full force and effect. No such complaint may be filed more than 30 days after the granting of the certificate.

(e) The initial fee of fifty dollars ($50.00) shall be used to defray the cost of inspections. Eighteen dollars and fifty cents ($18.50) of the

fifty dollar fee shall pay for the minimum business tax as required by the Business Tax Act. All such fees collected shall not be refundable. Those who offer evidence of previous payment of the Business Tax for this activity shall be entitled to receive a certificate upon payment of thirty one dollars and fifty cents ($31.50).

(f) Penalties - The violation of any of the provisions of this article shall be punishable by a mandatory fine of $50.00 for each offense and the revocation of the certificate of authority herein provided for.

SECTION 4: Severability - The provisions of this Article are hereby declared to be severable; and if any of the sections, provisions, exceptions, sentences, clauses, phrases or parts be declared and held unconstitutional or void in any court of competent jurisdiction, the remainder of this Article shall continue in full force and effect, it being the legislative intent, now hereby declared, that this Article would be incorported in the City of Knoxville Zoning Ordinances, even if such unconstitutional or void matter had not been included therein.

SECTION 5: The exception to the City of Knoxville Zoning Ordinance established by this section of Article VIII shall terminate on November 30, 1982, and thereafter shall be void and of no effect. All rentals made pursuant to this section shall terminate on or before November 30, 1982.

SECTION 6: An emergency is declared to exist in that it is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace property, health and safety that this ordinance take effect upon its passage and the recorder is directed to publish this ordinance at the earliest date.

SECTION 7: This ordinance shall take effect from and after its passage, the public welfare requiring it.

Presiding Officer of the Council

Recorder

WHEREAS, there is a need to protect the interests of persons occupying rental space in single and multi-family residential structures, and to balance these interests with the interests of persons desiring an amendment to the zoning ordinances to permit short term rental of sleeping accomodations to visitors to the 1982 World's Fair.

WHEREAS, an emergency exists in that it is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, property, health and safety and to provide for the safe and adequate housing to tenants that this ordinance take effect immediately upon its passage.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE:

SECTION 1: Ordinance No. 3369, the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Knoxville, be and is hereby amended by adding a new Article, to be codified as "Article VIII," which shall read as follows:

ARTICLE VIII

EXCEPTIONS TO THE APPLICATION OF THE ZONING ORDINANCE

SECTION 1: 1982 WORLD'S FAIR.

Notwithstanding contrary provisions contained in Article I through VII of this ordinance, from April 1, 1982, through November 30, 1982, owners of property in single family and multi-family residential districts may, subject to the requirements, conditions and restrictions contained in City of Knoxville Ordinance No. 0-57-82, provide short term rental of sleeping accomodations

with or without meals for temporary residents, tourists, motorists or travelers.

SECTION 2: REGULATIONS.

Regulatory measures, administrative procedures, and provisions for hearings and appeals relative to the establishment of Article VIII, are found in City of Knoxville Ordinance No. 0-57-82 and shall be a prerequisite and condition of approval for applications of this Article.

SECTION 3: PARKING - NUISANCE.

Inactment of the exceptions to the Zoning Ordinance contained under this article shall not be construed to permit the creation of a nuisance, a non-conforming preexisting use, or the waiver of parking requirements, building code regulations, health and sanitation provisions or any other City, County or State regulatory measure not specifically referred to herein.

SECTION 4: The exception to the City of Knoxville Zoning Ordinance established by Article VIII shall terminate on November 30, 1982, and thereafter shall be void and of no effect. All rentals made pursuant to Article VIII shall terminate on or before November 30, 1982.

SECTION 5: An emergency is declared to exist in that it is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, property, health and safety that this ordinance take effect upon its passage and the recorder is directed to publish this ordinance at the earliest date.

APPENDIX II

A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS: THE EXPO 86 EVICTION CRISIS

Introduction

The following chronology has been derived in part for some papers and in part for my thesis. It details an assortment of issues with respect to: the housing impact of Expo 86; the City of Vancouver's planning process, and; associated "events" of relevance to the issue at hand. It is based upon personal observation, personal interviews, Social Planning Department files, written reports and media reports.

This chronology has been compiled so that the author and all future researchers have an "information base" in order to understand what happened when and where and, who said what. Note that when referring to either CAC minutes or Government of Canada (1986), I have tended to quote exactly what appeared in the particular material examined. The Government of Canada (1986) references are extracted from a chronology contained in the General Report.

The following abbreviations which will be encountered throughout the chronology:

- ALRT = Advanced Light Rapid Transit
- BC = British Columbia
- BCHA = BC Hotel Owner's Association
- BCHMC = BC Housing Management Commission
- BIE = Bureau of International Expositions
- CBA = Chinese Benevolent Association
- CAC = BC Place Citizens' Advisory Committee
- DEEDS = Downtown Eastside Economic Development Society
- DERA = Downtown Eastside Residents Association
- FUC = First United Church
- GAIN = Guaranteed Available Income for Need
- GVRD = Greater Vancouver Regional District
- MHR = Ministry of Human Resources
- PNE = Pacific National Exhibition
- RTA = Residential Tenancy Act
- SPD = Social Planning Department
- TRAC = Tenants Rights Action Centre

Chronology

1974 - First documented discussion of the use of a World's Fair to restructure the inner-city of Vancouver. The City of Vancouver and the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs jointly sponsor a waterfront planning study which was managed by Richard C. Mann. In the study, a number of "scenario's are suggested including one in which the waterfront land in the inner-city of Vancouver is treated like a World Fair (eg. Expo 67 in Montreal). The title of the study is Waterfront Planning Study. It is the north shore of the city (the central waterfront) which is under examination.

FEBRUARY 1978 - Architect Randle Iredale delivers "concept study" development proposal of Marathon lands in False Creek for Provincial Recreation and Conservation Minister Sam Bawlf. Objective is to develop concepts for event during Vancouver's 100th birthday, 1986. Bawlf had suggested a multi-use stadium. Iredale adds the Roundhouse complex as a technical museum, a convention centre and international trade exposition facilities, a transportation centre, eating and service facilities, parks, and a series of canals. The concept encompasses many of the BC Place/Expo elements on a smaller scale. Bawlf proposes as one possibility: "An international exposition to complement Vancouver's 1986 centenary" (Government of Canada, 1986).

MARCH 1978 - The Iredale proposal is publicly released as possible final north shore phase of False Creek development. It is endorsed by Larry Bell (who worked on detailed planning of False Creek south shore development), Paul Manning, and Martin Zlotnick. The National Harbours Board unveils harbour-front scheme which includes Provincial Secretary Grace McCarthy's recommendation for a convention centre on Pier BC. The Vancouver Board of Trade adds support (Expo 86, 1986).

MAY 1978 - Grace McCarthy announces Trade and Convention Centre concept for Pier BC.

JUNE 1978 - In London, England, at the Cavalry Club, McCarthy and Patrick Reid discuss possibility of hosting a world exposition in Vancouver (Government of Canada, 1986).

FALL 1978 - Grace McCarthy, Patrick Reid (President of the BIE) and various provincial and federal staff set the wheels in motion for a formal request to hold a World's Fair in Vancouver.

DECEMBER 1978 - McCarthy approaches Premier Bennett on December 6, stressing the high priority of making the decision (whether or not to have it) quickly. She points out that the Exposition's theme would fit in well with transit funds and likely help with acquiring additional Federal funds. Within a week, on DECEMBER 13, Bennett transmits message of intent to the Honorable Don

Jamieson, Secretary of State for External Affairs. The informal application referred to the year 1985, in competition with Japan and France, with 1986 as a second choice. Japan, however, asks for 1985 at the DECEMBER 14 meeting and seems likely to get that year (Government of Canada, 1986).

JANUARY 1979 - BC begins preparation of firm statement of intention for March, 1979, to be followed by application in JUNE (Government of Canada, 1986).

FEBRUARY 1979 - Initial planning envisions a four-month event located at the Pacific National Exhibition (PNE) site. Included in the concept is a trade and convention centre as part of the PNE grounds complex. Also envisioned is a transportation system from the PNE to the downtown core as a key theme element (Government of Canada, 1986).

APRIL 1979 - The honorable Evan Wolfe assures the public that the worst-case Transpo deficit scenario is $12 million (Government of Canada, 1986).

JUNE 1979 - Formal application is submitted to the JUNE 20, 1979, meeting of the BIE in Paris. The year requested is 1986, the centenary of the City of Vancouver and the arrival of the first transcontinental passenger train at West Coast tidewater. The proposed location divides the event between the main site at Pier BC and a secondary site at the PNE's Exhibition Park. A light, rapid urban transit system would join the sites. The Mayor of Vancouver, Jack Volrich, and Hugh Curtis of the Province went to Paris (Vancouver Express, June 20, 1979, p. A1).

In addition to the Pier BC convention centre and the PNE locations, other planned venues are named in the presentation brochure. They include as secondary sites Jericho Park, site of the United Nations Conference on Habitat, the Vancouver International Airport, and the Boeing plant in Seattle. The City of Victoria is suggested as a site for technical meetings, presentations, and symposia. False Creek is not proposed (Government of Canada, 1986).

SEPTEMBER 1979 - Paul Manning is hired by Premier Bennett to possible study stadium sites (Government of Canada, 1986).

DECEMBER 15, 1979 - Defeated federal Liberal candidate Paul Manning and provincial bureaucrat Larry Bell turn in a 22 page document. The Manning-Bell Report recommends Transpo be linked to the stadium, and thus located at a False Creek site. Ten other locations have been evaluated. They note that the 1986, 100th anniversary of Vancouver would be an appropriate occasion and allude to the traditional 50/50 cost-sharing of the Federal Government, based on the Expo 67 and Montreal Olympics models (Government of Canada, 1986).

JANUARY 29, 1980 - Premier Bill Bennett exposes his vision for BC Place, an enormous redevelopment project on the north side of False Creek. In his speech, the ALRT, BC Place Stadium, the exhibition and the trade and convention centre were all disclosed. "The trigger for this development will be Transpo 86," Bennett said.

No site is specifically confirmed for Transpo, but the use of False Creek site plans at announcement indicates prevailing preference. Final decision must be made with BIE "pre-enquete" team (Government of Canada, 1986).

FEBRUARY 1980 - Negotiations are underway for acquisition of the CPR/Marathon False Creek acreage with estimated $75 million selling price (Government of Canada, 1986).

MARCH 1980 - Evan Wolfe, minister responsible, submits preliminary briefing to BIE. Briefing illustrates two sites: The west end of False Creek from the Granville Bridge to Pender Street and the Burrard Inlet waterfront from Pier BC to the CN Pier.

Alvin Narod named Chief Executive Officer of BC Place. BC Place board, known as the "Action Committee for BC Place," listed Paul Manning; Alan Laird; Lucille Johnstone; Edgar Kaiser, Jr.; Bruce Howe; and Environment Minister Stephen Rogers, as Chairman of the Committee (Government of Canada, 1986).

MAY 1980 - Bill 19 establishes Transpo 86. Pre-enquete team in Vancouver. Wolfe and Manning host their tour. Pacific National Exhibition, Jericho Park, and False Creek under consideration for the main site. Chairman of BIE team lauds application as best prepared in recent history (Government of Canada, 1986).

JUNE 1980 - BIE pre-enquete team unanimously endorses Vancouver, and BIE recommends False Creek site on JUNE 12. Acceptance practically assured (Government of Canada, 1986).

JULY 1980 - Bill 19 passed in legislature and Transpo confirmed. Bill 46 introduced to set up BC Place. Alderman and mayoral candidate Michael Harcourt writes Patrick Reid asking BIE to reject BC's application. Further, he warns Reid that, if elected, he will oppose Expo 86. Grace McCarthy strikes first sledgehammer blow to begin demolition of Pier BC (Government of Canada, 1986).

NOVEMBER 6, 1980 - Premier Bennett strikes $60-million-plus land deal with Marathon Realty to acquire False Creek site. Agreement involves $30 million in cash, $30 million in valuable downtown properties, plus other undisclosed benefits for 175 acres to BC Place (Government of Canada, 1986).

NOVEMBER 26, 1980 - BIE gives final approval, the final

ratification of the application, and Transpo 86 becomes fact (Government of Canada, 1986).

DECEMBER 1980 - Municipal Affairs Minister Bill Vander Zalm announces that the government will build a rapid transit line between downtown Vancouver and New Westminister to be completed by 1986.

FEBRUARY 1980 - An agreement between the Government of Canada and the Province of British Columbia results in the prime responsibility for planning, construction, operational, and financial requirements of the Exposition being assumed by a Crown Corporation known as Transpo 86. With this act of legislature, known as Bill 16, the planning and construction functions become part of the Corporate mandate (Government of Canada, 1986).

FEBRUARY 23,1981 - The 13 member Transpo board was formed. Each member of the board was chosen for his or her business and political experience. It included Jimmy Pattison, Peter Brown, a Socred fundraiser and president of Canarim Investment Corp., Herb Capozzi, a family friend of Bennett's who had been a Socred MLA, Clark Bentall, chairman of one of BC's largest construction firms, and Walter Badum, a former Socred chairman of the BC Building Corporation. The three representatives for the City of Vancouver are Don Hamilton from the Centennial Commission, housing consultant Doug Sutcliffe, and False Creek resident's representative Alison Robinson.

MAY 1981 - Site planning is hampered by difficulties in land acquisition. BC Place lands anticipated for Transpo site are being withheld for housing development (Government of Canada, 1986).

MAY 5, 1981 - Early signs of impact. Car dealer Don Docksteader purchased the 3.7 acres of land on the northwest corner of Main and Terminal for $3 million from Ocean Construction Supplies. Nine days later Docksteader resold the land to O&K Tract Developments for 4.9 million, deriving a 60 per cent profit in nine days (Gutstein, 1986).

JUNE 1981 - The First United Church publishes a report on the housing crisis in Vancouver and its impact on the Downtown Eastside. The United Church predicts that in preparation for Transpo 86, hotels and rooming houses in the Downtown Eastside area will evict their tenants and upgrade their premises for the lucrative tourist trade that is expected. It expects that at least 800 low and fixed income residents will be evicted (Rankin, 1981).

SEPTEMBER 22, 1981 - Vancouver City Council appoints BC Place Citizens Advisory Committee (CAC) to deal with BC Place planning issues.

OCTOBER 1981 - Patrick Reid (BIE) initiates a name change, to EXPO 86, eliminating the trade fair connotation that Transpo may have implied and creating the "world-class event" image that the Federal Government requires if support is to be forthcoming (Government of Canada, 1986).

FEBRUARY 1982 - Premier Bennett publicly introduces restraint policies in government spending. BC Place and City of Vancouver reach cost-sharing agreement on surrounding roadways (Government of Canada, 1986).

APRIL 1, 1982 - Premier Bennett makes a surprise announcement. The Government of Canada will construct a host Canadian pavilion on Pier BC. It will be designed for conversion to a trade and convention centre and cruise ship facility after 1986. The pavilion will be connected to the main Expo site by a dedicated rapid transit line. Also, the creation of a new lottery, specifically designed to help finance the construction of Expo 86, is announced (Government of Canada, 1986).

SUMMER 1982 - In Knoxville an estimated 1000 to 1500 tenants are evicted from their residences as landlords seek to cash in on the potential tourist demand of Expo 82 (Vancouver Province, April 5, 1982; Hulse, 1982). Representatives of the City of Vancouver travel to Expo 82 but do not inquire nor receive any information about housing impacts.

AUGUST 1982 - Vancouver City Council issues a legacy wish-list including: an arts, science and technology centre; a False Creek shoreline development; a major park; a False Creek fountain; a peoplemover to the downtown core; a False Creek-Burrard Inlet water connection; a performing arts centre; an outdoor amphitheatre; and political support for a new Cambie Street Bridge (Government of Canada, 1986).

OCTOBER 7, 1982 - Premier William Bennett drives spike signifying first construction on Expo site.

NOVEMBER 1982 - The roof is raised on BC Place Stadium.

NOVEMBER 19, 1982 - CAC acting as an Expo 86 Sub-Committee meets with Patricia French, a consultant hired by Expo 86. Ms. French seeks input from CAC on the subject areas and specific concerns which should be addressed by Expo 86 impact studies. With respect to Accommodation-Residential Impacts:

1) Prime concern is for displacement of low income people from current affordable housing in downtown areas and elsewhere. Particular concern is for tenants in hotels, who are not protected under the Tenancy Act and can be evicted without

notice;

2) Concern over the use of parks for camping and R.V.'s; need for enforcement of current laws;

3) Feeling that "good press" is important to Expo and Vancouver prior to and during the Fair, and that accommodation "scare" stories such as happened with other fairs can be avoided through good planning and impact studies.

NOVEMBER 23, 1982 - Expo 86 asks the City to provide a list of impact studies that should be carried out. Expo may be undertaking a number of such studies beginning in 1983. The Planning Department prepares a preliminary list of study areas and circulates these to Director of Finance, City Engineer, Director of Planning, Director of SPD, General Manager of Parks, Director of Permits and Licences, Medical Health Officer, Fire Chief and the Chief Constable for perusal. The Accommodation section includes A) Residential Displacement and B) Visitor Accommodation.

DECEMBER 2, 1982 - Max Beck, Director of SPD replies that "the extent of residential displacement must take into account all short and long term impacts as it is conceivable that some hotel operators may choose to convert to tourist accommodation during the Fair only, whereas others may prefer a complete changeover. Questions related to who will likely be affected and to what extent, where are these people, and how could displacement be minimized must be considered." Beck also states:

> It is pertinent to recognize that even though Expo 86 is a transient event whose lifespan covers a mere seven months period, some of its impacts can be fairly long term ... and the City should ensure that Expo will not leave behind a legacy of lingering negative impacts, socially, economically or environmentally. Impact assessment of Expo 86 must take into account as well as being able to distinguish between the short and longterm impacts, and to evaluate both positive and negative impacts within the context of Expo's and the City's overall objectives. Indeed, it would be a rather futile exercise if the bandage approach is applied to assessing possible impacts of Expo 86.

DECEMBER 6, 1982 - R.V. Herbert, Director of Permits and Licenses replies to the memo that "Housing was a major problem during Expo 67. What have we learned from it to do and not to do? I suspect a large increase in rooming houses, bed and breakfast conversions and alterations by the public in order to cash-in on the event..."

JANUARY 10, 1983 - Deputy City Manager circulates a draft listing of Expo impact study areas which will be sent to the General Manager of Expo. Copies to all relevant departments.

JANUARY 17, 1983 - Max Beck replies "Residents in the Chinatown and Downtown Eastside areas have expressed serious concerns about the possible short term impacts of Expo on their housing stock, particularly those that are operating as a quasi-residential hotel. Studies in this area should indicate:

a) How many units in the Downtown Eastside low-cost hotels and rooming houses may be affected by Expo?

b) How many residents may be temporarily displaced?

c) What are the possible ameliorative measures?

I believe this impact area should rank fairly high on our priority list."

JANUARY 24, 1983 - Deputy City Manager sends a list of the impact studies related to Expo 86 which should be undertaken, to Michael Bartlett, General Manager of Expo 86.

FEBRUARY 4, 1983 - Patricia French Limited produces Expo 86 Impact Studies: Phase 1. She notes "impact studies will provide an important test of Expo's own planning, revealing gaps and discrepancies and allowing earlier correction. Most importantly, as a good corporate citizen and major developer, Expo is expected to do impact studies. Failure to commit to doing them will result in needless local hostility, as was the case with B.C. Place."

She notes that the two areas of most concern to the citizens are housing impacts and transportation and parking impacts.

With respect to housing impacts she lists the general concerns raised, study areas, data required and proposed study action.

She proposes Expo follow a two stage study process on this topic. "The first stage would be a workshop using Expo representatives, and one or two housing experts from the City, possibly someone from BC Place's consulting team and from relevant community groups. The task force would work out in qualitative terms what and where the most serious pressures are likely to be, and review current City and Provincial legislation that protects tenants and residents. This will allow the identification of the most pressing areas early, and the beginning of work on design of preventative measures.

As soon as the data is available, a quantitative study can be

used to prove out the validity of the conclusions of what the task force has drawn and determine if the mitigating measures are actually necessary."

In an interview on MARCH 12, 1987, Patricia French tells me that with Expo management changes, Expo 86 decided the City should do the impact studies.

MARCH 1983 - Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II "invites the world" to Expo 86 at BC Place Stadium.

APRIL 11, 1983 - At a meeting of the BC Place Citizen Advisory Committee, Bruno Freschi, Chief Architect and Designer for Expo 86 notes that they had worked intensively to integrate the Expo plan with BC Place's waterfront plan. Anything Expo did could be permanent or temporary depending upon what was wanted.

It is stated that Expo 86 has agreed to pay for impact studies if the City defined the terms of references and hired the consultants.

It is also mentioned that the City is working to ameliorate some of the negative effects of Expo; for example, people who might be displaced during the time of the fair necessitated work in the area of housing (CAC minutes, April 11, 1983).

APRIL to JUNE 1983 - The various departments of the City of Vancouver prepare a draft report titled Expo 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues: Study Terms of References. This report deals with issues such as access, parking and transportation, accommodation, safety and security, selection of consultants, summary of study costs, public costs, public process, other issues. Of note:

> Be prepared is the Boy Scout marching song. The purpose of this document is to identify issues which are or will be of concern to Vancouver residents and business people and to be prepared for anticipated and unanticipated problems to ensure Expo success.

The studies outlined in this report will be considered by City Council and Expo 86 and if approved will provide an information base and a common base from which problems can be identified and agreed on and problem solving can occur...Study costs will be borne by Expo 86.

The section on Accommodation is located on pages 8, 9 and in Appendix III. They propose various studies which need to be done:

1) Accommodation experience from previous fairs;

2) A data base of existing and projected hotel, rooming house, rental and recreational vehicle accommodation in the Lower Mainland is required;

3) Attendance scenarios will estimate out-of-town tourists on a month by month basis and project accommodation alternatives (including location options, such as hotel, apartment, use of recreational vehicles, staying with friends and price range requirements); and,

4) A survey of local low cost hotels and rooming house owners and operators would identify longer term tenants who may be displaced before, during and or after Expo.

Methods, mechanisms and strategies to ensure no or minimum displacement of longer term low and moderate income tenants would be undertaken based on study conclusions and recommendations.

Costs are estimated to total between $20,000 - 45,000.

In Appendix III, the time frame is displayed:

Data Gathering----------July - November 1983
Community Feedback----------November - December 1983
Report to Council and Expo Board
Terms of Reference----------July - August 1983
Progress Report----------October 1983
Draft Report----------December 1983
Final Report----------January 1984

EARLY JULY, 1983 - SPD meets with consultant (DPA Consulting Limited) about studies for Expo 86 housing impact.

JULY 1983 - A study commissioned by BC Place states that about 900 low-income people could be pushed out of the neighborhoods surrounding BC Place primarily because of Expo 86 and general urban redevelopment pressures, not BC Place. DPA Consulting Ltd., are the authors.

A representative of DPA Consulting discusses this study before a meeting of the CAC held on JULY 18, 1983. At this meeting, it is noted that evictions could occur because "developers would take some of these old hotels, evict the people and put up a different landuse...another way in which people could be displaced was through the process of renovation where the hotel is aiming at a different clientele, or they do a minimum renovation but change the rate structure to a daily rate" (CAC minutes, July 18, 1983).

JULY 12. 1983 - The Director of the SPD recommends that City

Council approve the report entitled Expo 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues: Study Terms of Reference. City Council passes a motion "THAT this report be referred to the Standing Committee on Planning and Development for consideration at its meeting on July 14, 1983; FURTHER THAT the committee be given the power to act in this matter."

JULY 26, 1983 - The Committee approves the 5 motions offered by the Director of the SPD.

AUGUST 2, 1983 - At a CAC meeting, Deputy City Manager, Ken Dobell discussed EXPO 86: A City Perspective of Impacts and Issues: Study Terms of References. Dobell suggests one way to ensure sufficient accommodation is to get Expo to assist developers in getting started by putting seed money in, so that they could bring an already-planned apartment building on stream say, a year earlier. Expo would guarantee occupancy for that year or nine months of it. Mr. Ed Keate of the CAC recalled that ten or twelve years ago, Austria bid for the Winter Olympics; they created a village which they presold to the private sector, and which was taken over after the event. That was a profitable way of providing non-market housing
(CAC minutes, AUGUST 2, 1983).

SEPTEMBER 1983 - The Rentalsmans office is closed by the Socreds and new rules come in. Tenants rights are weakened.

OCTOBER 1983 - The Expo Board delivers $800-million-plus budget with projected deficit of $311 million.

OCTOBER 14, 1983 - The Director of SPD asks the Permits and Licences Department to "red flag" and notify him about any downtown hotel or rooming house for which an owner or operator is independently seeking permits to upgrade.

NOVEMBER 1983 - Provincial Cabinet makes Expo 86 a Special Economic Zone. Province on brink of general strike due to restraint budget. Premier Bennett commissions Decima Research poll to determine level of support for project (Government of Canada, 1986).

DECEMBER 1983 - Decima Research poll establishes unanimous public support (Government of Canada, 1986).

JANUARY 1984 - The SPD produces a support document titled Vancouver Housing Program for Expo. It is noted that Expo will have a positive temporary impact on the City's business economy but a negative lasting impact on inner city housing, particularly low rent hotel rooms.

JANUARY 9, 1984 - At a CAC meeting, Mrs. Carole Walker noted that

in the West End, rumours are rampant that apartments would be converted to hotels to cater to the Expo visitors.

FEBRUARY 1984 - Plebiscite held in city. Support given to the replacement of Cambie Street Bridge.

FEBRUARY 13, 1984 - A "hefty" progress report dealing with Expo impact issues is delivered to various departments in the City.

FEBRUARY 21, 1984 - City Council endorses the Mayor's initiative on housing for Expo. He submitted to the Minister Responsible for CMHC a proposal to provide approximately 4,000 units of new and rehabilitated housing during 1984 - 1987.

FEBRUARY 29, 1984 - Mayor Mike Harcourt (1984) notes that in the past four years, about 80 private rooming houses - which provided 2,000 rooms for low-income families and individuals - have closed down. He puts forward a housing plan to the federal government that calls for federal funds in four areas:

- To build 1,000 units of family housing at BC Place, to be used by Expo exhibitors, delegates and staff before and during the Worlds's Fair. Afterwards, the homes would be used as non-profit or co-operative housing for low and moderate income groups;

- To build 1,500 units under the National Housing Act's Special Needs Budget between now and 1987, for low-income singles and couples including the handicapped;

- To add $3.5 million to the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program for the upgrading by landlords of 1,000 hotel and rooming house units for low-income single people in 1984 and 1985;

- 2000 Canada Rental Supply Plan units allocated to the Lower Mainland, 750 of which would be targeted for BC Place and possibly other sites in the City of Vancouver over the next four years.

MARCH 3, 1984 - Expo 86 invites realtors and developers to provide approximately 800 new rental units for staff of visiting exhibitors to the 1986 World Exposition.

MARCH 5, 1984 - Dr. Malcolm S. Weintein, Director of Health Planning sends a letter to Max Beck, Director of SPD. Malcolm notes:

> In the shorter term, the possible conversion of downtown eastside hotels and rooming houses for Expo 86 tourist accommodation could displace needy health service clients. The department already experiences difficulty

in tracking down active TB (tuberculosis) patients in the inner-city who must be screened annually. Displacement could compound the problem. We appreciate your staffs' cooperation in dealing with us and look forward to continuing this relationship and dialogue.

MARCH 9, 1984 - Deputy City Manager is checking with the Director of Legal Services to see if the City can prevent the owners of lodging houses, hotels or apartments from converting their premises.

MARCH 12, 1984 - CAC meeting today. Planner Ronda Howard states that developers cannot convert West End apartment buildings into hotels for Expo 86 tourists. She said conversions are generally not permitted under the zoning bylaw for the area. She goes on to note that no one has applied as of this date and that the major threat to tenants will be directed at those living in rooming houses and residential hotels throughout the downtown core, who do not have the same protection from conversion as people living west of Burrard Street. The landlords don't have to apply to the city for a change-of-use.

Mr. Doug Purdy, Deputy Director of SPD notes that City staff have been attempting to meet with Expo and the Province. Three ministries are involved, each with a different responsibility; the Ministry of Housing interested in how much new housing would be built directly as a result of Expo, the Ministry of Municipal Affairs was concerned with bed and breakfast and municipal bylaws, and the Ministry of Tourism, since Mr. Claude Richmond was responsible for Expo. Work was continuing on these matters (accommodation issues).

Mr. Purdy states that in the Downtown Eastside it was known that there is the potential for pressure on accommodation rates. It is a legitimate concern because in the experience of other World's Fairs a number of things had happened; the reservation system (in Knoxville) was not entirely successful. Individual property owners had attempted to exploit the situation of the high demand for accommodation and had raised rates accordingly. Purdy went on that in anticipation of that, the Mayor's initiative (the housing program for Expo in which the City put forward a proposal to the Federal Government for the allocation of some 5500 units of housing, including new plus rehabilitated) was an effort to counteract that kind of market phenomenon associated with fairs, even though short-term in nature.

Purdy also notes that they will be looking at requests that come in to the Permits and Licences Department in respect to a change of use, and also looking at development permit applications for upgrading of accommodation. He states that if this was carried out for 1984-85, staff should have a good understanding of what movement was occurring in this type of accommodation and what the

likelihood of displacement will or will not be.

The Chairman asks about monitoring the situation and wonders how this would be carried out. Mr. Purdy replies that the SPD retained consultants and also have staff involved. They have interviewers who lived in the area, and they also had a good working relationship with the urban core workers (CAC minutes, MARCH 12, 1984).

MARCH 13, 1984 - The City of Vancouver plans to regulate homeowners who take in paying guests during Expo 86. Guidelines will not be in place until the city explores options with Expo and the province. The city should have a clear idea of the form and nature of guidelines by fall.

MARCH 20, 1984 - A large meeting was held with personnel representing the City, Expo 86, CMHC and the community re. Expo 86 and housing. Expo 86 wants cost appropriate housing built under a very tight schedule. CMHC mentions difficulties it is having with the Provincial Government. City Staff and Expo staff decide to meet with interested groups and their consultants to prepare basic proposals to the Mayor and Pattison.

MARCH 27, 1984 - A Housing Program for Expo is put out by SPD. The proposal sets out a rationale for a special Federal allocation of 765 non-market rental units to be built by Expo by CMHC approved sponsor groups and a further allocation of $1.7 million for Vancouver's Multiple Residential RRAP Budget. The City plans on providing a 25% writedown of up to $2.7 million as well guarantee an expedited development and building permit approval process.

LATE MARCH, 1984 - SPD working vigorously on Expo Housing Proposal.

MARCH 28, 1984 - Deputy Director of SPD notes that the timetable for Expo Housing program "squeaks". They are also having some difficulties with the proposal relating to a subsidy pool not being allowed by CMHC and the need for quick federal commitment and Expo agreement.

APRIL 5, 1984 - W.A. Ferguson, Supervisor of Properties notes that several of the proposed properties to be developed with respect to "Expo housing" are not on the market or have structures on them which are needed by the Police.

APRIL 9, 1984 - City is still meeting with sponsor groups and other parties associated with the Expo Housing Program. City has prepared their submission (draft) to Expo. Also, they are negotiating with CMHC over sticky points such as the subsidy pool.

APRIL 13, 1984 - Deadline for submissions to Expo regarding housing for Expo exhibitors.

WEEK OF APRIL 16,1984 - City Council decides to rezone land around Main Street and Terminal Avenue to allow a new high-density mixed commercial, industrial and residential project to be built. Council also passes a motion to allow building height in the area to be increased from a maximum of 250 feet to a maximum of 275 feet. Council instructs City staff to find potential sites in the area where low-income housing could be built. It also asked staff to provide information on how other cities such as San Francisco, Seattle and Toronto have initiated social housing (Vancouver Courier, April 22, 1984).

APRIL 18, 1984 - SPD is developing a new survey form and sampling design for the expanded Expo Housing Impact Assessment to be carried out in the fall.

APRIL 25, 1984 - Mayor is lobbying Pattison and the Minister of State for Social Development (Jack Austin) for special Federal unit allocation to Vancouver for Expo.

MAY 3, 1984 - Expo 86 to be evaluating all proposals to develop housing including the City's via DERA, Chinese Benevolent Association and First United Church, over the next two weeks.

MAY 14, 1984 - CAC meeting today. Doug Purdy of SPD explains what the City's housing proposal is all about. He feels that there is a good chance of the proposal happening as CMHC, Harcourt and Jimmy Pattison all appear positive.

There appears to be some confusion as to what the proposal entails. Lawrence Bantleman of First United Church Social Housing explains that Expo has put out a proposal call saying it has money for 800 units of new housing. The Mayor, as part of a larger proposal, has made a request to CMHC for 500 units, a special allocation, part of a larger allocation. When the agencies had gone to Expo, they had a proposal to build for Expo, "X" number of units, with the intention, in 1987, to rent the units at GAIN rate. That was the group that was difficult to reach, and because the province was out of the picture, they were requesting that Expo play the role of the province.

The Chairman of CAC feels that the problem (potential residential dislocation) calls for strategies. The job is to be concerned about the city and to be alert about issues connected with BC Place and Expo. She suggests that some thinking was required -- perhaps hostels, or some form of temporary accommodation would be an answer.

Doug Purdy notes that there have been discussions with Legal

Services, City Manager's Office and Permits and Licenses with respect to what measures the City could take to assist local neighborhoods to avoid the kind of undue dislocation that could take place as a result of Expo. He also notes that they are exploring what kind of legislation would be necessary to enable the City to take action against price-gouging. City staff are reviewing all measures carefully to determine what kind of reasonable protection could be given to residents in permanent accommodation in the downtown core area of the city.

Mr. Purdy, in response to the suggestion that problems were being "created" where none existed, states that the concerns could not be ignored on the assumption that accommodation problems would not occur. He also stated that price-gouging was not likely to occur in larger hotel accommodation, but rather in the smaller hotels on the periphery as they did not have the same stake in the tourist industry (CAC minutes, MAY 14, 1984).

MAY 29, 1984 - Expo 86 officials kill a proposal (the Expo Housing Program) which would have created 457 housing units in the Downtown Eastside. Instead the contracts will be awarded to private developers. Cost approx., $20 million. David McPhee, an assistant to Expo chairman Jim Pattison said the decision was based on cost. Expo was asked to contribute $6 million to the $34 million project proposed by the Chinese Benevolent Association, DERA and First United Church.

JUNE 1984 - The Expo Board of Directors confirm an anticipated reduction to the capital budget. This results in site-wide down-scaling of design development. The amusement zone and north gate are eliminated entirely (Government of Canada, 1986). This upsets members of the Townsite Renaissance Corporation and Downtown Vancouver Association who were counting on this gate to revive and revitalize the old Townsite area which is an area covering 300-400 acres of land and included Gastown, Chinatown and the Hastings/Pender corridor and the foreshore area (the Downtown Eastside) (CAC minutes, JUNE 25, 1984).

JUNE 5, 1984 - In an article in the Weekly Post notes that the City demanded four promises from Expo planners back in 1980 when the provincial government applied for permission to hold the exposition. They were that:

(1) it would involve no cost to the city;
(2) provide a new light rapid transit service system;
(3) provide new amenities to the city; and,
(4) provide new, affordable housing for those displaced by the fair.

Mayor Harcourt said the city would instead press ahead with "Plan B" which would see the city, the three sponsor agencies and CMHC cooperate on the housing project. He wants to continue

negotiating with Expo chairman Jim Pattison for low cost housing.

JUNE 25, 1984 - An interim lease agreement is signed on behalf of the City for the Fleck Bros. Ltd. industrial equipment warehouse facing Alexander Street at Columbia in the Downtown Eastside. The project is a $18 million, 176-unit housing scheme. The land cost approximately $1.2 million.

A CAC meeting was held today. At it Ms. Jean Swanson states that displacement of residents was still a major concern and the SPD would not be able to prevent it (CAC minutes, JUNE 25, 1984).

JUNE 26, 1984 - CMHC recommends that an additional allocation of 118 units be built for Downtown Eastside displacees (Sarti, July 11, 1984). Also, local CMHC is currently reviewing the DERA, CBA and FUC proposals.

EARLY JULY, 1984 - Expo 86 has decided not to proceed with a subsidized housing proposal involving over 450 housing units on six to seven sites.

JULY 6, 1984 - The Special Council Committee on Seniors urges Expo 86 to provide subsidized housing in the Downtown Eastside for low income people.

JULY 20, 1984 - DERA organizes a "politicians tour" through the Downtown Eastside neighborhood to raise awareness of the potential for Expo 86 housing impacts. Jim Pattison, Iona Campagnola, Bob Skelly, Art Kube and Roy Gautier went along. This is the first time a rent freeze is brought up in public, as well as inclusion of the residential hotels under the BC Residential Tenancy Act. Jim Pattison is quoted as saying "I can tell you right now we're anxious to help. We're anxious to do anything we can to help alleviate these problems," (Spence, July 25, 1984).

JULY 31, 1984 - Clayton Research Associates and Woodbridge, Reed and Associates release a study commissioned by the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing. The study, The Vancouver Rental Housing Market to 1991 estimates 1,000 units will be needed for Expo 86 employees with an additional 1,000 units to deal with demand from other workers at the fair and the excess demand for commercial hotel-type accommodation from visitors.

City Council requests of civic staff a status report on the City's Expo Housing Program and further that Council seek a meeting with Expo and CMHC to discuss this matter. SPD to coordinate report.

AUGUST 1984 - The BC Government declares Expo 86 a Special Development Zone, forcing union and non-union to work on adjacent but "separate" Expo projects (Government of Canada, 1986).

AUGUST 2, 1984 - The University of BC and the Expo 86 corporation enter into an agreement under which Expo has rented student housing accommodation that the university proposes to build. Proposed budget of $15.3 million.

AUGUST 13, 1984 - Federal Housing Minister Charles Lapointe announces that an extra $14 million will be spent this year to assist in the construction of 1,000 Vancouver-area rental housing units. Most of the 1,000 new units will be built in the central city near BC Place with some located near Lower Mainland ALRT stations. $700,000 has been added to BC's Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program Fund this year.

AUGUST 28, 1984 - City Council votes 7-3 to buy the land for the Four Sisters co-op. With respect to housing policy in the area, Max Beck states that co-op's are needed in the area as "We don't want a sea of single men's hostels. We want a balance" (Farrow, August 30, 1984).

SEPTEMBER 28, 1984 - SPD still preparing status report requested on July 31, 1984. Should be ready by October 18, 1984.

OCTOBER 18, 1984 - The status report is released to Council. In it "Director of Social Planning is taking a survey of hotel and rooming house owners and operators to determine the extent of dislocation of permanent residents in Downtown Eastside rooming houses that may occur as a result of Expo. He will report to Council with proposals on how to control such a dislocation if it is likely to occur.

The City is presently assisting the FUC, DERA and CBA in co-op and non-profit rental projects, all in the Downtown Eastside area. These projects will help relieve the potential dislocation of long-term residents arising out of Expo.

The City has been successful in obtaining additional funding under the RRAP, as well as enlarging the area in the Downtown Eastside which qualifies for assistance under the program. Efforts are continuing to increase the scope of RRAP and enlarge the number of units available under the CMHC non-market housing program in the next few years.

OCTOBER 1984 - Among the more recent social housing projects completed in the Downtown Eastside are the old Europe Hotel conversion in Gastown; the Bill Hennessey Place low-income project on E. Hastings; DERA Housing Co-op on Alexander, and the Affordable Housing Society sponsored Ford Building at Hastings and Main, which was to be completed in August of 1985.

NOVEMBER 8, 1984 - The Federal Government announces that it has killed the $14 million rental housing subsidy program for Vancouver. This was the program announced on AUGUST 12 after the

provincial housing study forecast a shortage of 1,000 housing units because of Expo 86. The vacancy rate in Greater Vancouver is 2.5 % at this date (Hamilton, November 10, 1984).

DECEMBER 1984 - Donna McCririck who is conducting the Downtown Expo Housing Survey for the SPD notes that there is "little hard evidence that long term tenants are being evicted. Many lodging houses are operating at the margins and cannot afford: 1) to turf out long-term tenants until just prior to Expo; 2) when they do upgrading it will be minimal (modest paintup and clean up); 3) When it happens, if it happens, it will be too late to do anything. If legislation is in place nobody loses but if it is not in place, a problem arising could result in dislocation."

JANUARY 1985 - The final Expo budget is announced. $806 million with anticipated $311-million deficit. $700 million more invested by participants (Government of Canada, 1986).

JANUARY 1985 - The tenants in the Georgia Rooms at 207 E. Georgia are told they have to be out by April 1. The 60 tenant building is being demolished to make way for a project slated to open in the spring of 1986. It will include 14 luxury residential units and 186 parking stalls. The owners are Golden Crown Holdings Ltd., and the project's architectural consultant is James Cheng.

On JANUARY 24 Jimmy Pattison told the Vancouver Sun that some form of government action is necessary. "I basically favour some form of protection for the people who live in that part of town ... There's no question that some greedy landlords will take advantage of the situation ... We've got to do something to help those people who can't protect themselves," (Glavin, January 25, 1985).

JANUARY 19, 1985 - At a seminar on Expo sponsored by the Centre for Investigative Journalism, Max Beck, Director of the SPD, raises the idea of a rent and eviction freeze.

LATE FEBRUARY, 1985 - SPD makes enquiries to Expo regarding their breakdown of hotel patronage. They expect to soon recommend a moratorium on evictions and rent increases for the period of the Fair, similar to the legislation introduced in Los Angeles for the 1984 Olympics.

APRIL 10, 1985 - Mayor Harcourt follows up an earlier letter in 1985 with a formal request to the Minister Responsible for CMHC (Bill McKnight) to complete the Expo 86 City Low Income Housing Program in which the City wanted 765 units. He notes that the City was fortunate to obtain the special allocation of 151 units through CMHC as an alternate solution (DERA's Four Sisters). $500,000 was also added to the City's RRAP budget providing a total 1984 Landlord budget of $847,269. Harcourt also lobbies for an additional 264 special needs units in time for

Expo 86 (CBA to receive if approved).

APRIL 15, 1985 - The City's Development Permit Board gives approval to the $9.7 million Four Sisters project. Jim Green says that 50 per cent of the project's 130 units will be occupied by subsidized tenants -- welfare recipients and the working poor -- and the objective is to provide affordable housing for the people displaced by Expo 86 "I think the whole nature of this area is going to change," said Max Beck, Director, SPD. (Moya, April 16, 1985)

WEEK OF APRIL 10, 1985 - The Georgia Rooms are demolished at 207 E. Georgia. Abbott Hotel for sale now.

APRIL 26, 1985 - Elda Anderson, properties manager for Liberty Investments Ltd., which owns four West End towers at 1600 Beach and at 1651 Harwood said she has agreed to set aside suites for clients who want short-term rentals during Expo. She said her clients are in "corporations and provincial government willing to pay rent to keep suites empty three months before Expo starts." On April 25, 1985 West End planner Craig Rowland addressed council's planning committee and it moved to toughen a bylaw which already prohibits converting West End rental housing. (Fournier, April 26,1985).

MAY 1, 1985 - SPD examining nature of the vacancy rate in Downtown Eastside hotels and rooming houses.

MAY 6, 1985 - Western Sports Hotel at 139 E. Hastings is evicting 16 tenants from sleeping units.

MAY 8, 1985 - A proposal put forward to rent the DERA Four Sisters Project to Canada Harbour Place for duration of Expo plus one month before and one month after. The purpose of this action is to gain capital which can be used to subsidize permanent tenants after they move into the project.

MAY 14, 1985 - City Council waiting for a proposed report on the impact of Expo on housing supply. It was promised by the SPD but hasn't appeared yet.

MAY 1985 - City Council ordered the Travellers Hotel, the Hornby Rooms and the Vernon Apartments closed down because of failure to comply with their requests to honour the fire safety and standards of maintenance bylaws. Interestingly, the Gastown Lodge at 176 Powell is facing a similar request in the month of June. It is owned by Peter Hu who operates Hu Enterprises out of a Kingsway office. He also owns the Vernon Apartments and a hotel next door to the Gastown Lodge at 134 Powell and the Ocean View Guest Home at 15638 Buena Vista in White Rock. It is a 138-bed private rest home which just doubled in size during the fall of 1984 (at a cost of more than $1 million). Furthermore, it is

noted in this newspaper article that city studies show a significant drop in the stock of rooming house accommodation, with about 250 units lost per year over the last five years (Bolan, June 11, 1985).

MAY 30, 1985 - Minister Responsible for CMHC (Bill McKnight) responds to Mayor Harcourt's APRIL 10 letter. He can't commit number of units as requested.

JUNE 6, 1985 - SPD has examined the Downtown Housing Survey carried out in DECEMBER, 1984 and puts forward two options to the City Manager for Community Services Committee. The first option proposes a rent freeze and no eviction program to be administered by the City to safeguard the tenure of the downtown, permanent, low income residents. The second option proposes staff merely continue to monitor the situation closely and report back to council by JANUARY 31, 1986 the results of the fall survey of Downtown Housing.

They note that at present it would appear that a large majority of hotel operators will not be undergoing major upgrading specifically for Expo 86...If they are going to take such action, they will likely wait until the last possible moment - JANUARY or FEBRUARY 1986, to do so.

The Director of Social Planning can find no significant evidence that a small or large number of permanent, low-income tenants will be evicted. The lead-in-time for evictions is modest and "to take any preventative, protective action in this area, the City needs enabling Provincial Legislation and such Legislation needs to be drafted at fall sitting."

"The Director of Social Planning is of the opinion that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." He wants a time-limited, no-rent, no-eviction legislation to be applied. This would only affect rooms where long-term residents live -- not vacant rooms.

JUNE 13, 1985 - DERA put forward a proposal to City Council to enact a law to prevent the eviction of downtown rooming-house tenants. Endorsed by the SPD, the report also recommends a rent freeze during Expo for long-term tenants of rooming houses. The report says there is no hard evidence yet suggesting rooming house tenants will be displaced but Max Beck states "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Community agencies would be asked to volunteer their services to certify tenants as eligible for rent and eviction protection and monitor the situation during the fair (Moya, June 13,1985). This would require the city charter to be amended says the city's community services committee.

The SPD had considered compiling a registry of tenants who would be eligible for the legislation but it was considered to be too difficult.

JULY 9, 1985 - Jimmy Pattison and Premier Bennett were attending an Expo-related tourism meeting in Cranbrook today and Pattison was reported as saying there has been discussion with the government about legislating room rates to control prices (Hamilton, July 11, 1985).

JULY 26, 1985 - A meeting was held at Carnegie Centre about the possible impact of Expo and 150 people attended. In an interview BC Hotels Association president Rick Higgs said there is no need for a bylaw and evictions and rent increases are "just not an issue," (Nathan, July 27, 1985).

AUGUST 13, 1985 - At City Council meeting today, Council splits 5-5 on five recommendations which, if passed would request the provincial government to amend either the City Charter or the Residential Tenancy Act until October 13, 1986. At the Meeting Rick Higgs of the BCHA states, "Our members have no intention of evicting tenants or making unjustified rate increases in time for Expo." Alderman Gordon Campbell states that the rent freeze advocates are "trying to set up a bunch of straw men and burn them down....The hotels in the Downtown Eastside are not going to be prime locations for Expo," (Minovitz, August 15, 1985).

Aldermen request information be brought forward listing buildings which were in the "system" (ie. being upgraded).

AUGUST 1985 - SPD trying to get sense of buildings which are potentially being renovated and are breaking City Bylaws. They dealt with City staff in the Permits and Licenses Department which is reviewing current development and building permit applicants. They look for:

1) conversion from residential to commercial use;
2) substantial upgrading of existing residential units;
3) conversion of sleeping rooms to contained dwelling units.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1985 - A computerized early warning system is now being operated which will alert City staff to an applicant for a development or building permit by a Downtown Lodging house owner or operator. Trends to be reported to City Council.

OCTOBER 10, 1985 - Debate over eviction issue held in Carnegie Centre. George Madden, Vice President - Communications for Expo 86 was there as well as Jim Green (DERA) and other community representatives. George Madden tells me that there were only 150 evictions in Knoxville during Expo 82. They were only a "few students" in temporary, rundown housing. The newspaper articles which stated that 1000-1500 people were evicted "made a mistake".

OCTOBER 22, 1985 - Council votes 8-3 to direct the City's Law Department to draw up proposed changes to the City Charter to present to the Provincial Government. Council also votes to send request to the Expo Board of Directors to support their request for City Charter changes.

NOVEMBER 1, 1985 - Mayor Harcourt meets with Provincial Ministers to discuss the necessary Provincial enabling legislation and documents requesting City Charter amendments to enact a temporary control of rent increases and conditional eviction protection.

NOVEMBER 1, 1985 - A Vancouver Sun survey of Greater Vancouver hotels shows the Austin Motor Hotel increasing its rates from $32 to $65 (103%) because of renovations (Cox, 1985).

NOVEMBER 19, 1985 - A proposal to give Downtown Eastside residents temporary protection against evictions during Expo 86 was defeated on a tie vote (5-5). The motion called for the City to ask the Provincial Government to amend not the Vancouver Charter but the Municipalities Enabling and Validating Act. It would have prohibited residential rent increases greater than 10 per cent and evictions unless a tenant is unruly or defaults on rent in the area bounded by Burrard, False Creek, Clark and the harbour. The 5-5 tie exists because Mayor Harcourt is ill and he cannot vote.

After the loss, Davies moves THAT this whole matter be deferred to the next meeting of Council at which time the Director of SPD report on the viability of the City establishing a tribunal to deal with evictions. FURTHER THAT this report also review current procedures under the Residential Tenancy Act. (Lost on tie vote with Bellamy, Brown, Campbell, Ford, Puil opposed. These aldermen also opposed the first motion).

DECEMBER 14, 1985 - 25 Squatters are kicked out of the abandoned Marshall Hotel at 569 Hamilton Street. The Marshall is supposed to be demolished to create more parking space for Expo 86. BC Hydro pays the $7,500 relocation fee as they are the hotel's owner.

JANUARY 1986 - The ALRT goes into operation.

JANUARY 24, 1986 - City Planning Department Director Ray Spaxman delivers a report to City Council today about a proposal by West Coast Executive Tourist Accommodation to rent out new suites in apartments as hotel rooms during the fair. Spaxman wants this provision, if passed by City Council to be limited to buildings which have never been occupied prior to Expo; be permitted in busy areas only; be of use until OCTOBER 15 latest; be restricted to commercial, heritage or other zones where hotels are permitted. City bylaws do not permit hotels in most zoning

districts in the city, including all residential neighborhoods, and the regulations would have to be amended to allow temporary hotels. This comes before Council on JANUARY 28.

FEBRUARY 6, 1986 - The College Place Hotel in New Westminster is putting in $125,000 worth of renovations and raising its rates from $55 a week to $55 a day (700%). There were some long term residents, including one man who had lived there for 23 years. A total of five tenants went to the Lower Mainland Community Housing Registry Society for help. CMHC has first charge on the residence and they agreed with the hotel owner, Jack Butterworth's proposal. The receiver - trustee firm of Henfrey, Samson and Belair Ltd., stated that "we're doing about $200,000 worth of refurbishings" and that since this deal has been approved, wholesalers said they an rent the entire complex to Expo visitors. Butterworth is a former BCHA president (Bolan, Feb 6,1986; Sarti, Feb 14,1986).

FEBRUARY 12,1986 - The owner of the Olympic Hotel, a 23-room hotel, has told the manager she has until February 28 to give up her lease. The owner is Kwok Tung Jow and his lawyer is David Chong. The lawyer stated "he (Jow) doesn't plan to cash in on Expo...It is an upgrading program that has been in the works for a year now...It's a renovation." She has been paying $750 a month to Jow but in August he told her it would go up to $1,600 and then in October it would go up to $2000. The nine tenants in the place pay an average of $235 a month rent. No eviction notices.

FEBRUARY 14, 1986 - DERA releases a survey today which states that more than 30 hotels in the Downtown Eastside are planning renovations to at least 1,000 low-rent rooms. Hotels surveyed indicated that they are raising their rates up to 600 per cent. The Metropole at 320 Abbott has begun $150,000 worth of renovations -- of the 65 rooms, 50 will serve Expo tourists with rent in the $45 a night range whereas it was $235 per month before; a 600 per cent increase. The Metropole spokesman Paul Olsen said rents in the renovated rooms will be boosted slightly to about $250 a month following Expo. Other hotels mentioned by DERA include the Georgia Rooms, at Georgia and Main; the Beacon, at 7 West Hastings which is closed for renovation into an apartment hotel; and the Lotus Hotel at 455 Abbott which started changing tourist rates when BC Place Stadium was opened. As well, tenants at the Marble Arch were given notice before Christmas that rooms with baths would be renovated and the rates raised. Others include the Niagara, 435 West Pender converting 70 rooms and charging $50 per night for a single; the Patricia, 403 East Hastings, converting 126 rooms at $65 per night; the Regent, 160 East Hastings, 100 rooms, at $25 per night and the Sunrise, 101 East Hastings, 10 rooms at $25 (Sarti, February 14, 1986).

FEBRUARY 18, 1986 - SPD (and tenants) starting to feel pressure because of hotel owners and operators renovating or planning to

renovate suites. SPD sets up the following timetable to attempt to get a hold of the situation:

1) Questionnaire plus letter of introduction, interviewing procedures and sampling plan set up by FEBRUARY 24.

2) Train U.B.C. students for the survey on FEBRUARY 25.

3) Inspection of buildings FEBRUARY 26, 27, 28.

4) Data analysis MARCH 3, 4, 5.

5) Write report MARCH 6-9.

6) Report to Community Issues Committee MARCH 13 and to Council MARCH 24.

FEBRUARY 19, 1986 - Roger Hebert, Director of Permits and Licenses states that they will ignore the zoning and development bylaws which restrict the number of people who can board in a residence that has not been inspected and licensed by the City and that does not meet certain safety standards. This is with respect to the provincially sponsored Expo 86 Guest House Program. This will be only during the Expo period. The program is operated by Res-West, Expo 86's hotel reservation system.

FEBRUARY 25, 1986 - SPD carries out a telephone survey this morning to confirm the one carried out by DERA a week earlier. In this survey, it appears that approximately 216 tenants will be displaced.

FEBRUARY 25, 1986 - 250 people came to a debate between Mayor Harcourt, Jim Pattison and Jim Green at the Ukrainian Hall in Strathcona. They discuss the issue and evictees gave the proof. Pattison pelted with eggs for his involvement in the distribution of pornography (O'Brien, February 26, 1986).

Earlier today, City Council voted unanimously THAT staff meet with the representatives of the BC Hotels' Association to urge them to persuade their members to not evict long term residents in Downtown Eastside hotels for Expo. The main motion was MOVED by Alderman Davies and it was THAT Council immediately request the Provincial Government to introduce legislation to enact proposed rental controls and a no eviction program during Expo. It was phrased as a proposed amendment to the provincial Municipalities Enabling and Validating Act, freezing evictions on any residential premises in the Downtown Eastside retroactively from SEPTEMBER 1,1985 until OCTOBER 12, 1986. It defines as a tenant anyone who has resided in a rental unit continuously for at least a year. It would only apply to hotel rooms which do not exceed, as of the 1st of September, $200.00 for a single person and $340.00 for a couple (the Provincial GAIN rates). Also, the

program would only apply within the area of the City of Vancouver known as the Downtown Eastside (the larger definition). The last point is that rent increases as of September 1, 1985 over 5 would be considered invalid.

At city hall Doug Purdy said at least 216 tenants face evictions. The three aldermen opposed to this motion were Bellamy, Puil and Campbell.

Also, City Council wants the Mayor and President of Expo 86 to meet with the Premier to discuss this issue.

FEBRUARY 26,1986 - Mayor Mike Harcourt is urging tenants to defy their eviction notices and remain in their suites. He is also sending hotel owners letters asking them to tear up eviction notices and roll back rent increases. In the letter he warns them that the City Council is seeking provincial legislation to prevent landlords from evicting people and instituting large rent increases during the world's fair. 50 tenants evicted from the Patricia at this date and another 50 from various other hotels. Rent at the Patricia was $220 per month before rising to $54 a night. As well, after hearing about DERA's survey results, the SPD did a quick telephone survey of 26 of the 40 hotels DERA surveyed. 22 were undergoing partial or total refurbishing, and this is where they extracted the 216 evictee figure (Cox and Krangle, February 26,1986).

FEBRUARY 26, 1986 - With respect to the proposal to use newly constructed apartments as hotels for Expo tourists, Vancouver City Council has agreed to send the item on a public hearing, probably on FEBRUARY 27. The planner dealing with this issue is Pat Johnston. At this date the Vancouver region still has 560,000 room nights available of hotel space - 329,120 of the nights (66%) in the city of Vancouver. Results of the survey by the BCHA tallied up to 75 per cent of the hotel space in the region already booked.

FEBRUARY 26, 1986 - Daniel Stephen Ponak jumps to his death from the third floor of the Patricia Hotel. He was 50 and was to be relocated. Lands, Parks and Housing Minister Jack Kempf said he was "certainly sorry" to see the evictions happen but he does not support rent controls and Human Resources Minister Jim Nielson said they can't enact legislation to control a few "greedy" hotel owners (Cox and Krangle, February 27, 1986).

FEBRUARY 27,1986 - Marble Arch Hotel operator Ron Polson said tenants in 40 rooms will be ousted for renovations, but they will move to cheaper rooms in the same hotel or in another hotel he owns (Horwood, February 27, 1986). Harcourt backs down from his suggestion that evictees defy their eviction notices, by advising tenants to "sit tight" until Victoria acts on the city's request.

Doug Purdy said the City could arrange temporary emergency shelter with the Ministry of Human Resources and the Red Door Rental Aid Society. The GVRD voted unanimously in favour of emergency legislation to try to prevent the evictions. Expo lawyer dealing with this issue is Bruce Wooley (Cox and Krangle, February 27, 1986).

FEBRUARY 27, 1986 - The Ng crisis starts. Tenants at 1531 Barclay are handed eviction notices today telling them they could return when the fair ends in October.

FEBRUARY 28, 1986 - A meeting is held between City staff and representatives of various Provincial ministries. Doug Purdy states that the SPD would like some assistance from the Province and coordination with various ministries and departments of the City. The options at this date are:

1) do nothing;
2) joint relocation approach;
3) leave it to the Provincial and Federal governments with a concentration on legislation; and,
4) emergency non-market accommodation.

Option 3) is chosen by the SPD.

Doug Purdy did note that they enquired whether Res West, the hotel registry system set up by Expo was listing any evicting hotels and if so, could they stop. Res West stated that they cannot discriminate between hotels. Also, the SPD has retained the services of a person who is working out of DERA offices to relocate tenants who require assistance. They have created standardized relocation forms for the purposes of this function. This Task Force planned to meet next week to look at the survey results.

FEBRUARY 28, 1986 - John Jessop of the SPD states that at least 300 downtown residents have been dislocated and "The trend has just started," (Horwood, February 28, 1986).

With respect to Ng crisis, Harcourt said the city will do everything in its power to stop the evictions of these tenants and Al Floyd, supervisor of development permits for the planning department has been instructed to refuse development permits to owners of apartment buildings who want to convert to hotels for Expo. The Regal Place at 146 West Hastings is the other hotel to evict 50 tenants getting that early 100 figure.

MARCH 1, 1986 - Ron Polson, who is renovating the 170-room Marble Arch Hotel, promises his residents none will be evicted, as did Richard Fleck, part owner of the Dominion Hotel at 210 Abbott. 60 rooms in the Marble Arch will be rented to Expo tourists. At a later date, the Dominion Hotel evicts tenants.

EARLY MARCH, 1986 - SPD meets with Minister of Municipal Affairs to discuss issue.

MARCH 2, 1986 - During CHEK-TV's "For the Record" Municipal Affairs Minister Bill Ritchie states "I can't help but feel that when someone has lived in accommodations for 14 years and is suddenly evicted, that's serious and I don't like to see that at all. We're going to have to find a solution ... The GVRD has a very substantial inventory of rental units, I believe 3,082. There's over three per cent of those vacant at the moment. I believe it's 3.14 per cent vacant, so we must look at that vacant occupation," (Sarti, March 1, 1986).

MARCH 3, 1986 - The Blackstone Hotel on Granville has handed out eviction notices, and will be renamed the Senate House. I believe the actual date of the eviction notices was March 1. 65 tenants out.

MARCH 3, 1986 - Mayor Harcourt travels to Victoria with Jim Green (DERA), Doug Purdy (SPD) and Jim Pattison (Expo 86) to request the necessary Provincial Government action to stop the evictions. The Provincial Government is only willing to consider action if residents are literally being thrown into the streets. Earlier in the day the Expo board passed a resolution expressing concern about the problem and Pattison was authorized to ask all the hotel owners "not to evict any more tenants until they have an alternative place to go," (Sarti, March 4, 1986). As well, we find out that management of the Blackstone will be taken over by the Chateau Granville, a member of the Best Western Hotels chain. One of the Blackstone evictees stated "I don't understand why the government can't put on rent control ... during the war, we had rent control. Well, there's a new war on now - it's a war against poor people ... I'm not the ruler of my own destiny any more. The dollar bill is the ruler of my destiny," - Joseph Smith, 87. (Sarti, March 4, 1986)

MARCH 5, 1986 - In a Vancouver Sun article, the total number of evictees is stated to be roughly 250 long-term hotel residents and according to the SPD, another 900 face loss of their housing. The SPD is almost finished their student survey of the 292 buildings.

MARCH 6, 1986 - SPD looking into the property tax status of some hotels in the Downtown Eastside. Some are taxed "residential premises" and not "commercial purposes" and are evicting permanent residents.

MARCH 6, 1986 - Nolan Fisher, owner of the Astoria and Regent hotels on Hastings has guaranteed that his 51 long term tenants will not get evicted. Apparently the eviction total is 200-220. According to Steve Leary of the city, the numbers include: The

Marble Arch Hotel, 10 tenants; the Regal Place 15-30; the Patricia, 50-60; the Blackstone Hotel, 65; the Ranier, 14 and 40 to 50 tenants in the Royal Manor Inn on Franklin face a 40 per cent increase; and the Lotus, 40. The GVRD units are filled now says manager Mike Walker, who can be located at 523-9513 (Hauka, March 6, 1986). The Rainier Hotel at 309 Carral is closed for renovations. Earlier this week 14 were evicted from it.

MARCH 6, 1986 - Bill Ritchie, provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs, is interviewed on Canada A.M. (a television news show). He calls Jim Green "a political activist stirring people up."

Ritchie also releases a News Release for the press. It contains the following statement:

> While he did not rule out legislation to ensure responsible behavior, he said that the hotel owners should be given a chance to demonstrate good corporate citizenship.

MARCH 7, 1986 - Bill Ritchie is in Vancouver today holding the first meeting of a provincial-city task force. The preliminary results of the survey are in. It looks like some additional dislocations will occur and that there are a significant number of vacancies. In the meeting a number of assumptions are apparent on the part of the Minister.

1) Vacancies do not need to be in the Downtown Eastside area. Vacancies must be considered throughout the entire Lower Mainland.

2) Vacancies must not preclude any vacancies regardless of the nature of the accommodation (2,3,4 bedrooms, if available must be used).

Furthermore, he is upset with respect to the conditions under which social housing is available.

Other issues which come up include the following. Firstly, legislation has not been ruled out yet. Secondly, the idea of a "clearing house" came up. The SPD would provide: a computer and program; programmer (relocator) who would update vacancy lists and match tenants; special phone line; truck and staff to physically move people; and furniture.

The Registry Process would be as follows:

1) City sets up a registry with telephone line to receive calls.
2) All social housing agencies and private landlords list with the registry.
3) Pertinent information (eg. cost, location, suitability, amenities etc.) noted in each unit.

4) DERA obtains hard copy of list of vacancies each day for posting.
5) Dislocated tenants are advised to go or to contact registry for relocation assistance.
6) Tenants can select vacancy.
7) When tenant is relocated, other services such as moving and MHR assistance are brought to bear.

MARCH 8, 1986 - University of BC social work professor Mary Hill warns that evictees will get sick and even die at a faster rate if moved. "What they (politicians) are ignoring is that the likelihood of death or illness is increased by involuntary relocation, the depression and hopelessness that comes with that kind of change. Study after study shows that ... All change involves stress, but these (Expo evictions) precisely combine the three factors that are dangerous to the elderly: the relocations are involuntary; they are sudden, without any preparation; and they bring about a major change in the environment," (Sarti, March 8, 1986).

MARCH 9, 1986 - Henry Ng is offering deals to his tenants if they move out even though he has lost his first bid to evict tenants -- they won a month's reprieve on Friday when the Residential Tenancy Review Board threw out the eviction notices as they were not properly filled out.

MARCH 10, 1986 - The City's Chief Medical Health Officer, John Blatherwick, orders his staff to tackle the medical problems caused by the evictions of elderly residents. He said a group consisting of staff from the North Health Unit will track down and monitor the health of the displaced residents. Blatherwick stated "Look at the ages -- 70s and 80s. I'm concerned. These people can die -- that's the worst." Dr. Stephen Gray is the North Health Unit medical officer. He will meet with DERA and then monitor hospitals and other agencies such as the public trustee, the homecare and home nursing services and even the police and the jail, to find out what has happened to the displaced. The numbers are approximately 300 (Sarti, March 11, 1986).

The City Manager feels that at the Task Force meeting on March 8, "most noted the hardship on those being dislocated, particularly the elderly. There was clearly a difference in philosophy and approach among those present relating to the matter of tolerating further evictions."

MARCH 11, 1986 - SPD goes before City Council to ask approval that: 1) Director of SPD be authorized to retain the position of a full-time housing co-ordinator; 2) a housing registry be set up and operated out of Carnegie Centre; and, 3) all costs be accounted for and the Province be approached regarding reimbursement. Also, Doug Purdy notes that Legislation has been

drafted and if the Registry establishes that "significant" numbers of tenants are being displaced, the Province will enact it.

MARCH 11, 1986 - Two men die after their eviction from a hotel two weeks previously.

The Ambassador Hotel gives 36 elderly residents 7 days notice to leave the premises. There are approximately 300 evictees to date and no one is tracing who is evicted and where they are going (Sandra James, interview, JULY 8, 1987).

MARCH 12, 1986 - On CBC TV's 11:00 p.m. news, Bill Ritchie announces he is launching an inquiry into social housing. Later on the 11:30 BCTV news, Harcourt states that the Regal Place was taxed 37% residential and the Patricia 45%. A new city strategy arises in public.

MARCH 13, 1986 - The SPD is attempting to stop the tax breaks given to some Downtown Eastside hotels as they were providing some shelter to long-term tenants. They will go to the BC Assessment authority for revisions. Also Purdy stated that there have been 275 evictions so far and another 150 are expected by May 1 (Fayerman, March 13, 1986).

In the provincial legislative question period Bill Bennett and Emery Barnes tangle over the eviction issue. Bennett states "The problem is just not going to be Expo. It's going to be social housing for people at all times, how it's delivered and whether all the available units really are being offered to those most in need." Socred MLA John Reynolds asks why Harcourt didn't act years ago to ensure the evictions didn't happen and he said: "You don't have to be an NDPer to help people in this province" (Fitterman, March 13,1986).

MARCH 13, 1986 - DEEDS, St. James Social Service and the New Hope Centre have started a "Shelter Crisis Hotline" at 689-9536.

MARCH 21, 1986 - Vancouver coroner Gerry Tilley said that the two elderly men who died after they were evicted both died of natural causes. Both had long histories of medical problems. There is also a sharp increase in the number of evictions from apartments. As well, Jack Hayes, executive director of the B.C. Rental Housing Council, which represents 3,000 landlords has been getting many calls from landlords interested in converting suites (Sarti, March 21, 1986).

MARCH 24, 1986 - On BCTV news, it is reported that there have been 315 evictees so far with 34 facing health problems. For example, one woman was a former schizophrenic who had been stable for 3 years but after the eviction, she broke down.

MARCH 25, 1986 - Chief Medical Health Officer Dr. John Blatherwick submits a report to City Council today. He asks "Does a health problem exist?...Yes. Thirty-four of the 300 individuals have serious health or handicap problems and thus are at risk from the increased stress brought on by the relocation." The two men who died were Saul Kahan, 80 and Alexander Mairs (Sarti, March 25, 1986).

APRIL 2, 1986 - The City sets up a computerized hotline for evictions in the basement of Carnegie Centre. Also tenants are no longer facing eviction notices but rather rent increases. At the Silver Hotel, 175 West Pender, rooms that were $260 a month will go up to $85 per night said a hotel spokesman. The Golden Crown Hotel at 108 West Hastings is going from $300 a month to 100 per week (Sarti, April 2, 1986).

APRIL 4, 1986 - At a town hall meeting, John Turner calls on the Provincial Government to intervene to make sure there are no more Expo-related evictions.

APRIL 4, 1986 - Harold Scarrow, 61, left the Lotus Hotel and dove under the wheels of a dumptruck at Pender and Carrall. The Lotus had hiked its rates from $225 per month to $50 per day April 3. The desk clerk stated that Scarrow knew the rates would increase when he moved in. The hotel manager Raphael Perez said he won't evict any tenants who've lived there more than a year (Fournier, April 8, 1986).

APRIL 8, 1986 - On Canada A.M. today, Bill Bennett states Expo is "a business venture" and "Expo is the catalyst for the explosion" and with respect to the evictions "when you do something visionary and exciting" there will always be a few problems. He left the impression that there is not much of a problem and that all is well in the city. In a Vancouver Sun newspaper article (April 9), the total number of evictees is stated to be around 500.

In the House of Commons, MP Ian Wadell told of the crisis. In reply, Transport Minister Don Masenkowski stated "we're concerned but it's not in our jurisdiction."

On CBC TV News, one tenant, Mike Hardy, refuses to leave his room in the Metropole Hotel and let renovators in. They have put up a piece of carpet where his door used to be.

APRIL 8, 1986 - At City Council meeting Alderman Ford moves a motion for the creation of a registry of residents who have lived in the area for ten years or more, in order to develop a housing strategy for them.

APRIL 9, 1986 - Housing Registry at Carnegie in "full force" and is being well received.

APRIL 10, 1986 - A Residential Tenancy Branch arbitrator rules that tenants of the Ng building can ignore eviction notices. This is a 22-suite building. Eight of the tenants proceeded with this appeal while others chose to accept Ng's offer of a half a month's free rent if they left. With respect to the vacant suites left, City permits and licensing director Roger Herbert said it will still be illegal for Ng to rent to tourists (Bolan, April 11, 1986).

APRIL 11, 1986 - In a report to the City Manager from the SPD, it is noted that 5-6 people per day are seeking relocation assistance. Also, "at least 350 people and likely more have been evicted or dislocated since the beginning of the year.

APRIL 11, 1986 - On CBC radio today, Bill Bennett said Expo has been able to do something the city hasn't been able to do - "get rid of the slums" and this is why Mayor Harcourt is disgruntled.

APRIL 11, 1986 - The heat and intercom systems in the Ng building were cut off today.

APRIL 14, 1986 - The boiler is back on in the Ng building after the city licensing department threatened to send in a contractor and bill Ng. Max Beck prepares a report for City Council asking for $40,000 to operate the city housing registry, which council approved last month. He also estimates about 350 people have been evicted so far (Krangle, April 14, 1986).

APRIL 15, 1986 - City Council approves the $40,000 registry financing. At council Doug Purdy discusses how the Metropole Hotel at 320 Abbott removed doors from rooms of tenants who refused to move.

DERA proposes a boycott of a number of hotels and asks for SPD input. SPD attempting to find out if certain hotels are doing extensive renovations without permits.

APRIL 16, 1986 - NDP MLA Emery Barnes suspended from the provincial legislature for two sitting days after he accuses Premier Bill Bennett of lying to reporters about the extent of the eviction problem. Bennett feels that the relocation assistance is appropriate assistance as hotels can be upgraded at the same time (Fitterman, April 17, 1986).

APRIL 17, 1986 - Housing Minister Jack Kempf states that the news media has been manipulated into presenting "sensationalized distortions" of Vancouver's eviction problems. "I am greatly distressed, in fact fed up, with the untiring efforts of certain elements to manipulate the media. Without doubt, their motives are not pure but politically motivated," Kempf told the legislature. Kempf said to this date only 13 Expo evictees have

approached the BC Housing Management Commission for help, while Harcourt said six a day are going to the city for help. Kempf stated "I want to go on the record in this House as stating most emphatically that if any evicted individual in need of housing assistance will contact the BC Housing Management Commission in Vancouver, we will ensure that those needs are met," (Mason, April 18, 1986).

APRIL 17, 1986 - City Council's community issues committee agrees to send a registered letter to Ng telling him to improve the living standards of his apartment building or risk having his business license revoked.

APRIL 18, 1986 - Olaf Solheim dies. He was the 88 year-old evictee from the Patricia Hotel. 500 evicted so far according to newspaper. Dr. John Blatherwick stated "This was a man whose way of life was completely disrupted. He was conscious of what he was doing. He just stopped living" ... "The spark went out of him after the eviction, and he just said 'That's it,'".

After hearing of Blatherwick's comments, Human Resources Minister Jim Nielsen said, "I can only conclude that those who would do so have ulterior motives" (Sarti, April 19, 1986).

APRIL 20, 1986 - Large article in Vancouver Province about "Skid Row" area of town. Marble Arch owner Ron Polson states he is renovating 65 rooms in his 170-room hotel. The Cobalt Hotel is on Res West's booking list (Tait, April 20, 1986).

APRIL 21, 1986 - Housing Minister Jack Kempf states, with respect to Olaf Solheim's death, "I'm certainly no psychologist but what I can tell you is that Mr. Solheim was offered superior accommodation at Columbia Place, only four blocks from the Patricia ... How can you say that the eviction cost him his life? I really don't know. I could see it if he hadn't been able to get another place," (Sarti and Fitterman, April 22, 1986).

APRIL 22, 1986 - Jack Perri, assistant manager of the City's property-use division feels that it will be very difficult to enforce the city's zoning bylaw about apartment owners attempting to turn buildings into makeshift hotels without a special city permit. The city solicitor Ian Lawrenson said landlords can be prosecuted for breaking the law or stopped by an injunction but the city needs evidence a landlord is violating the bylaw. They only have 21 inspectors and for Expo would need 40-50 (Clark, April 23, 1986).

APRIL 25, 1986 - Bennett said that legislation aimed at preventing evictions would also have stopped redevelopment of an area that could be termed a slum. "Handling problems of people and also encouraging the removal of areas that in many communities could be called slum area," are the government

priorities, he said (Vancouver Province, April 25, 1986).

APRIL 25, 1986 - Lawyer Charles Lugosi said in a decision filed in BC Supreme Court that a hotel room may be occupied by a person with rights of a tenant if that room has become home. This is a Victoria test case which is the first under the new Residential Tenancy Act to decide whether an occupant of a room in a licensed rooming house is a licensee or a tenant, and this could impact the Expo eviction issue. Harcourt and Jim Green said that they haven't been able to get anyone to be a test tenant in Vancouver but Harcourt also noted that they could have started arbitrations four months ago, clogging up hearing dates and preventing hotel owners from evicting the residents until their cases had been heard (Mason, April 26, 1986).

APRIL 25, 1986 - Ed Broadbent addresses crowd at Carnegie Centre and suggests possible Expo boycott but quickly changes his mind when he realizes how much Expo-hype is in Vancouver.

APRIL 28, 1986 - The Tenants Rights Action Centre said today that up to 1,000 apartment units have been taken off the renters' market in Vancouver to make room for Expo tourists.

APRIL 29, 1986 - City Council votes unanimously to warn landlords now advertising suites by the day and week that city bylaws prohibiting the use of residential apartments as hotels will be enforced throughout Expo. Council also votes to advertise in Vancouver community newspapers to let both tenants and landlords know that city apartments "are not for temporary or transient use." TRAC supplied information that 34 landlords are known to be renting roughly 200 suites to Expo tourists (Bolan, April 30, 1986).

At the same meeting, Council considers and passes a request from DERA to address it with a list of potential hotels to boycott. This was a strategy used in Knoxville at Expo 82. Also, Council wants to try to meet again with senior Provincial Government staff to persuade them to bring in the necessary legislation. And, Council is hoping that the ads will acquaint tenants with their rights, they are checking with reservation agencies to ensure that they hold valid business licenses and are aware of the requirements of the City's Zoning and Development Bylaw. Lastly, Council wants staff to look at the Victoria test case with respect to whether or not an occupant of a room in a licensed rooming house is a licensee or a tenant.

SPD calls for help from City Hall reporters, radio and TV personnel to publicize the need for affordable accommodation for the Registry.

APRIL 30, 1986 - Ng slips notices under the doors of his remaining tenants notifying them of a 50 per cent rent increase.

One BR.'s were $425 a month and are going up to $625 a month (Bolan, May 1, 1986).

MAY 1, 1986 - A residential tenancy branch arbitrator ruled that eviction notices handed out by Ng last month for May 31 are invalid. Ng has a contract with an Ontario company to rent old suites for Expo. Since the Residential Tenancy Act only allows one increase a year these notices are invalid as well (Bolan, May 2, 1986).

MAY 5, 1986 - Director of SPD notes that since Accommodation Registry was established on April 2, a total of 133 people sought relocation assistance. He also recommends not boycotting certain hotels as this action will create confrontation and possible legal action, will not produce affordable accommodation for tenants nor necessarily prevent further dislocations.

With respect to the Arbitrator's decision, the SPD has advised relocators about the case should someone wish to attempt another one. It is a case by case process though and it also costs the tenant $30 and then, if successful, he or she is only afforded 60 day protection.

The City is consulting with the District Assessor to ensure that for 1987-88, taxation categories are reassessed.

MAY 6, 1986 - Rick Higgs, executive vice-president of the BC Hotels Association and Boris Delmar, owner of the Regal Place, 144 West Hastings calls City Council DERA's "flunky". Rick Higgs states that "all parties should work together to assist those persons dislocated". The eviction rates are slowing down (Krangle, May 7, 1986).

MAY 8, 1986 - SPD conducts a telephone survey of 71 hotels from a master list of 289 buildings which were surveyed in March 1986. They received information from 41 premises and these were accommodating 988 long-term tenants.

MAY 9, 1986 - Director of SPD reports to the City Manager for City Council that:

1) JANUARY - FEBRUARY 25 (215 residents evicted based on a survey of 33 hotels.

2) FEBRUARY 25 - APRIL 1 (57 residents relocated).

3) APRIL 2 - MAY 5 (133 sought relocation of which 28 were not from downtown).

The sum is 405-28=377. I feel this figure must be considered with caution as it only takes into account residents who have been "accounted" for. The true figure, though difficult to

ascertain, is probably higher because many Downtown Eastside residents are very independent and wish to "do their own thing", with the consequence being, displacees leave untraced and unaccounted for.

MAY 13, 1986 - Some of the suburban accommodation offered to evictees has not been accepted. Upon hearing of this, Housing Minister Jack Kempf states, "The old adage that you can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink sure holds true in this situation. You can provide all the accommodation you want to those so-called evictees but you can't make them move into it." (Vancouver Sun, May 14, 1986, p. A12).

MAY 13, 1986 - A CMHC surveys show the vacancy rate for apartment buildings to be 0.9%, two percentage points less than one year ago and 1.6 percentage points less than October 1, 1985.

MAY 13, 1986 - City Council unanimously turns down DERA's request for a boycott, but also unanimously agrees that the eviction of long-term residents is "deplorable".

MAY 14, 1986 - 162 people evicted to date who used registry. 63 are long-term, 71 are short-term. 28 are not Expo-related. Total = 215+57+(162-28)=406.

MAY 15, 1986 - Stephen Leary, the evictee relocator, receives notice that his contract with City of Vancouver will terminate as of June 1, 1986 "due to a decline in the number of evictions in downtown hotels."

MAY 20, 1986 - SPD figures indicate 377 hotel residents have been evicted have so far and have sought relocation assistance after being evicted for Expo-related renovations. "But it doesn't take much imagination to know that the true number is clearly higher than that...People have been evicted who have not come to us for assistance," said Max Beck. Most of the evictees have been relocated in other hotels in the area, with 28 in social housing projects. DERA cites 501 evictions including the Ambassador with 80 evictions; Patricia, 58; Metropole, 55; Blackstone, 97; Rainier, 35; Glenaird, 54; and Dominion, 62. Beck said the DERA total "certainly seems within reason. I don't want to say it, but it could be higher," (Sarti, May 20, 1986).

MAY 23, 1986 - The Patricia Hotel has been ordered to make fire safety improvements in order to continue registering Expo guests, city permits and licences chief Roger Hebert said today. 173 people evicted to date who used registry. 69 are long-term, 71 are short-term. 28 not Expo-related. Total = 215+57+(173-32)=413.

MAY 23, 1986 - The Dominion Hotel has been given seven days to meet city safety standards or it will be closed down. It is a

71-room hotel at 210 Abbott owned by Ralph Caravetta, future alderman with the NPA (Gordon Campbell's party).

MAY 25, 1986 - Pete Seeger, Arlo Guthrie, DOA, Bim, and others played a free concert in Malkin Bowl at Stanley Park to raise money and awareness of the eviction issue. $15,000 was raised and 7,500 attended. Alderman Libby Davies is the host.

MAY 29, 1986 - Vancouver City Council's Community Issues Committee agreed today to close the Downtown Eastside's housing registry at the end of JUNE. Purdy stated that 299 have used registry since it opened April 2, 1986. $27,082 of $40,000 spent on relocators and accommodation registry.

MAY 30, 1986 - 188 people evicted to date who used registry. 69 are long-term, 72 are short-term. 47 not Expo-related. Total = 215+57+(188-47)=413.

JUNE 9, 1986 - 202 people evicted to date who used registry. 69 are long-term, 72 are short-term. 61 not Expo-related. Total = 215+57+(202-61)=413.

JUNE 20, 1986 - 209 evicted to date who used registry. 71 are long-term, 72 are short-term. 66 not Expo related. The sum (see MAY 9 for first equation) is 215+57+(209-66)=415. This is the last record with respect to eviction totals I can find in files borrowed from SPD.

JUNE 23, 1986 - Director of SPD notes that "the only issue Council can raise with respect to the status of these hotels is one which council has already raised: that the Province re-categorize hotels serving long-term tenants under the RTA.

JUNE 26, 1986 - The pace of evictions has slowed down considerably. In an interview today, Doug Purdy of the SPD stated that the approximate total number of evictees probably ranges between 500 and 700. Interestingly, in Purdy (1988), he estimates the figure to be approximately 1,500.

JULY 8, 1986 - SPD is still examining the legalities of the licensee-tenant Arbitrators decision.

JULY 9, 1986 - In preparation for JULY 15 Council meeting, the Director of SPD recommends that the Province amend the RTA to extend status to permanent residents in Downtown and Downtown Eastside hotels by amending Section 1 of the Act to include the following definition of "tenant": "any person who permanently resides in residential premises".

As well, it is recommended that Council make a formal protest to the Minister of Finance regarding the wording of the Assessment Act which will allow certain downtown and Downtown Eastside

hotels which have housed monthly tenants to qualify for Class 8, Recreational Property status in assessment year September 30, 1985 to September 30, 1986.

JULY 10, 1986 - SPD disconnects the Housing Registry telephone number in Carnegie Centre.

JULY 22, 1986 - Council approves recommendations brought forward by Director of SPD on JULY 9, 1986.

JULY 28, 1986 - Mayor Harcourt sends a formal letter of protest to Elwood Veitch, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs with respect to the two recommendations passed by Council JULY 22. He notes that the proposed changes will benefit 5,000 long-term residents in downtown hotels.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1986 - In a Vancouver Sun article today it is noted that Premier Bill Vander Zalm sent a letter to Mayor Harcourt stating that Downtown Eastside hotels that evicted people will continue to receive reduced property taxes. Apparently Council had requested that the hotels be assessed a higher tax rate. "I have some questions about the fairness of changing the qualifying rules at this late date," Vander Zalm wrote.

OCTOBER 9, 1986 - Summary of eviction crisis in the Vancouver Sun as part of its series of near-end Expo reports. In it, DERA estimates "and no official agency has disputed the figure, that 791 residents were forced to move." DERA has a list of 184, which represents those who actually came through DERA's door. Jim Green states that they lost track of approximately 45 per cent of the 184.

Six evictees who died are profiled. I added an overlooked death (D. Ponak) so the total is seven:

1) Olaf Solheim, 80 years old

2) Saul Kahan, 80 years, "from a long-standing respiratory condition shortly after being evicted from a hotel he'd lived in for 30 years."

3) Alexander Mairs, "a 15-year resident, died two weeks after being evicted. The official cause of death was chronic obstructive lung disease."

4) Lorne Inkster, age 57 years, "a 14-year resident of the Olympia, died from cancer after being evicted."

5) Thomas Tapping, age 78 years, "a 26-year resident of the Patricia, died shortly after his eviction, cause unknown."

6) Harold Scarrow, age 61 years, "threw himself under the wheels

of a moving dump truck a week before he was to have vacated his room at the Lotus Hotel."
(Hume, October 9, 1986)

7) Daniel Stephen Ponak, age 50 years, jumped to his death from the third floor of the Patricia Hotel. He was living in the hotel while awaiting another room to be found for him (Horwood, February 27,1986).

Dr. Stephen Gray, who was stationed at the city's north health unit throughout the evictions, said there should have been more warning that the crisis was coming:

> Once the evictions started taking place we weren't set up to catch it and follow it. There should have been advance warning - and I don't mean just a day, but a year or more. The hotel proprietors should have been more forthcoming, and Expo, the people who were planning the fair, should have been talking to us.

In this article "Gray said had there been adequate warning, a registry could have been set up and the effects of the evictions would now be known .... He said such information would have been of value to planners of future world's fairs in other cities."

"Lives were disrupted, particularly the elderly and less well off. But we don't really know what's happening to them, just as a result of the difficulty of following these people."

Jim Green (of DERA) stated in the article "The thing that bothers me is that we still have no protection for long-term residents in hotels." (Hume, October 9, 1986).

OCTOBER 9, 1986 - In The Vancouver Sun article "City hotels that evicted tenants for Expo claim mixed results" it is noted:

- **Astoria Hotel**, 769 East Hastings, and the Regent Hotel, 160 East Hastings, owned by Nolan Fisher signed an agreement with DERA not to evict anyone and they "had a great summer and it wasn't anything to do with Expo." The Astoria was 100 per cent full of long-term tenants and the Regent 90 per cent full and only 10 per cent of those were from Expo.

- **Metropole Hotel**, 320 Abbott. Manager Ernie Abney stated that the hotel spent about $150,000 on renovations after evicting 55 tenants and likely won't earn enough to cover the cost of work. "Occupancy was less than 50 per cent," said Abney, who blamed a late start for the poor showing as well as bad publicity from the evictions.

- **Regal Place Hotel**, 144 West Hastings. "All tenants from the 39 room hotel were evicted, but the increased rates didn't help pull the hotel out of receivership, assistant manager Allan Johnson said ... We did pretty good - about 80 per cent full most of the time ... but the building ate most of the money up itself." Johnson said that hotel rates will have to drop when Expo ends and he said a couple of the old tenants that were evicted have stopped by to inquire about moving back.

- **Ambassador Hotel**, 773 Seymour, evicted 80 tenants and averaged only about 65 per cent occupancy, said spokesman Peter Tang, who went on to say "We were hoping we could do better. We spent about $100,000 on renovations and I don't think we'll pay for them ... a lot of visitors thought the hotels were fully booked, so they made other arrangements." Tang said the hotel will probably offer a weekly rate after Expo but is not looking for the return of its long-term tenants.

- **Glenaird Hotel**, 1018 Granville, and the Royal Manor Inn, 1610 Franklin, are also hoping they won't have to take back their former customers. "We've been full all the time because we've kept weekly and monthly rates," said Royal Manor spokesperson Colleen Grant. "Now, because of ($200,000 worth) of renovations, it's just a nicer place to stay." Because the hotel has been improved, Grant said she's hoping that residents who moved out when the rates went up last May won't return. "Now we've got more working people and students. It's a different clientele. Before we were dealing strictly with welfare people."

(Bolan, October 9, 1986, p.A6)

JANUARY 20, 1987 - In an interview today, Doug Purdy states that things are back to normal in the Downtown Eastside except for the fact that a lot of hotels are suffering because of the financial losses brought on by unrealistic expectations.

Purdy also states that they would probably not carry out a lodging house survey in the Downtown Eastside because they felt there was not a "real need". In other words, there is little pressure on the housing stock at the present date.

OCTOBER 9, 1987 - The Vancouver Sun carries an article reporting the final Expo 86 deficit to be $336.7 million, following the selling off of Expo pavilions, etc.

APPENDIX III

Extract from the Minutes of the Vancouver City Council Meeting
February 25, 1986
Page 2

Expo Impacts: Proposed Rent Control
- No Eviction Program (Continued)

MOVED by Ald. Davies,
THAT Council immediately request the Provincial Government to introduce legislation to enact proposed rental controls and a no eviction program during Expo as follows:

1(1) For the purpose of this section:

'Residential Premises' means any premises used for residential purposes where the monthly rent, or the rent calculated on the basis of 30 days did not, as of the 1st day of September, 1985, exceed $200.00 for a single person and $340.00 for a couple (the Provincial GAIN rates); and

'Tenant' means any person who has been in continuous occupation of the residential premises for a period exceeding 1 year.

1(2) This section shall only apply within the area of the City of Vancouver bounded on the north by the waters of Burrard Inlet, on the west by Burrard Street, on the south by the waters of False Creek and by Terminal Avenue, and on the east by Clark Drive.

1(3) No increase in rent, or notice to a tenant increasing the rent, for an amount exceeding 5% of the rent payable for the month of September, 1985, for residential premises located within the area herein described shall be valid and enforceable if made or given between the coming into force of this section and the 13th day of October, 1986.

2 Between the coming into force of this section and the 13th day of October, 1986, and except for the reasons set out in sections 26 and 27 of the Residential Tenancy Act, no notice of termination, eviction or notice of eviction shall be valid as against a tenant in respect of residential premises located within the area described in section 1(2).

FURTHER THAT Council resolve that no rental tribunal is required and that the proposed legislation which would include apartments would apply only to hotel, sleeping rooms and self-contained units charging $340.00 a month rent or less, as noted in 1(1) above.

- CARRIED

(Aldermen Bellamy, Campbell and Puil opposed)

APPENDIX V

LANDLORD FORM

NAME:_____ DATE: _____/_____/_____
Month Day Year

ADDRESS:_____ UNIT #:_____

Area: (1) Downtown Eastside (2) Strathcona
(3) Downtown North (4) Downtown South (5) Other
ENTER #:_____

PHONE:_____ CONTACT PERSON:_____

VACANCY INFORMATION:

Type: (1) Sleeping/Housekeeping (2) Bachelor
(3) 1 Bedroom (4) 2+ Bedroomn
Enter #:_____

RENT:_____ DATE AVAILABLE:_____

CHILDREN: YES_____ NO_____ PETS: YES_____ NO_____

HEAT PAID: YES_____ NO_____ HYDRO PAID: YES_____ NO_____

CABLE PAID: YES_____ NO_____

FURNISHED: YES_____ NO_____

COOKING FACILITIES: YES_____NO_____ SHARED OR PRIVATE:_____

SHOWER/BATH: YES_____ NO_____ SHARED OR PRIVATE:_____

HANDICAP ACCESS: ELEVATOR: YES_____ NO_____

RAMP OR LEVEL ENTRANCE: YES_____ NO_____

COMMENTS:

TENANT FORM

Name: (First)_____(Last)_____ Date:_____

Present Address:_____ How Long: (Months)_____ (Years)_____

Phone:_____ Contact Person:_____

Age:_____ Sex:_____ Are you a war veteran? Yes____ No ____

Do you belong to a service group? Yes____ No____

Specify if yes: _____

S.I.N.:_____ Dependents: Yes ____ No____

Monthly Income:_____ Source of Income (Please state all sources):

_____

_____

Must Vacate By: _____

ACCOMMODATION NEEDED:

Max. Rent:_____

Type: (1) Sleeping/Housekeeping (2) Bachelor
(3) 1 Bedroom (4) 2+ Bedroom
Specify Choice in order of preference:
Choice 1:____ Choice 2:____ Choice 3:____

Area: (1) Downtown Eastside (2) Strathcona
(3) Downtown North (4) Downtown South (5) Other
Specify Choice in order of preference:
Choice 1:____ Choice 2:____ Choice 3:____

Cooking Facilities: Yes____ No____

Moving Transportation Needed: Yes____ No____

Pets: Yes____ No____

Handicap or Impairment: Yes____ No____ Illness: Yes____ No____

Specify if yes:_____ Specify if yes:_____

Handicap Access Needed: Elevator: Yes____ No____
Ramp or Level Entrance: Yes____ No____

Previous Address: (If present address less than 2 years)

_____

Thank you for your interest in the Guest House program. We hope this brochure will answer all your questions.

Q What is the EXPO 86 Guest House program?
A The program is designed to help meet the increased need created by EXPO 86 for accommodation in the Greater Vancouver area. Those who participate will provide sleeping quarters in their homes for paying guests referred by ResWest.

Q Is this a "Bed and Breakfast" program?
A No, Guest House hosts do not have to provide any meals and meals are not included in the price charged to the guest.

Q What is ResWest?
A ResWest is the *only* official reservation accommodation agency for the Province of British Columbia and EXPO 86.

Q Will ResWest be booking only Guest Houses?
A As the official reservation accommodation agency, ResWest will also handle the booking for hotels, motels and some "Bed and Breakfast" registries.

Q Is there an order of priority?
A Because the Guest House program is designed to supplement commercial accommodation, Guest Houses will only be booked after the alternatives are substantially filled.

Q Will there be anybody left for the Guest Houses?
A We expect there will be quite a demand for Guest Houses. It is estimated that there will be a need for 9,000 extra beds during certain periods of EXPO 86.

Q Can you guarantee the number of nights guests will be booked into my Guest House?
A No, however, you can indicate to the person who inspects your home that you would like high frequency bookings.

Q What if no guests are booked into my Guest House?
A If you are not offered a confirmed booking during the period in which your home is available for guests, ResWest guarantees to repay your $35 registration fee.

Q What if I send in my $35 and then change my mind, will I get a refund?
A You will receive a full $35 refund if you request it before your house is inspected.
You will receive a $25 refund if: (1) The inspection is arranged and you are not home at the agreed upon time. (2) Your house is inspected and not approved. (3) Your house is inspected, approved and then you decide not to participate in the program. The registration fee includes registering of your property on the ResWest computer system, inspection of your home, distinctive decal for your door and, an information kit on the City of Vancouver to assist you and your guests during their stay in Vancouver.

Q Who will inspect my home?
A Inspections will be carried out by adult members of amateur sport clubs. All inspectors will be thoroughly trained by ResWest. Appointments for inspections will be arranged in advance by telephone. No inspector will arrive at your house without an appointment. Inspectors will be looking for clean, comfortable accommodation in a pleasant environment. The inspector will ask for a cancelled or voided cheque to provide ResWest with banking details.

Q Does my home have to be available for the full duration of EXPO 86.
A No, you can indicate "black-out" periods when your home is not available for guests.

Q Can I change my mind regarding "black-out" periods after my home has been inspected?
A Yes, provided that you give ResWest notice 30 days before the start of the "black-out".

Q How does the booking fee work?
A For a single night booked the ResWest fee is $10, regardless of the size of the party.
For two or more nights booked the ResWest fee is $15, regardless of the size of the party. (The $15 is a flat fee whether the booking is for 2 nights or 10 nights.)

Q How much will I receive?
A The rate, per night, is:

$25 for the first adult.
$10 for each subsequent adult.
$ 5 for each child (11 & under).

The guest will pay ResWest in advance of arrival at the Guest House, for the total amount of his stay, provided that in the event ResWest is unable for any reason whatsoever to collect the payment aforesaid, ResWest shall notify the Guest House owner who shall collect the total amount and remit same to ResWest.

Q What do you expect to be the average length of a booking?
A ResWest does not anticipate many one-night bookings. The average booking will probably be three or four nights.

Q What do you expect will be the average size of a party?
A We expect the average party to consist of two adults and one child.

Q How will I get paid?
A ResWest will pay monthly by automatic bank transfer to your personal account after the departure of your guests. A detailed monthly statement will be mailed to you. Booking fees and any penalties as outlined below will be deducted before payment.

Q What if I have to cancel a confirmed booking?
A You will be charged a penalty by ResWest equal to the first night's fee charged to the guest.

Q How will I know when the guests are coming?
A ResWest will contact you by telephone to confirm if you are able to accept a party of guests. A confirmation letter will be forwarded to you with the name/address/telephone number of the guest and the dates of arrival/departure. If the booking is a late booking you will not receive the confirmation letter before the guests arrive.

Q What time can I expect my guests to arrive?
A Guests will be advised that they *must* check-in no

later than 9:00 p.m. unless prior arrangements have been made directly with the Guest House owner.

[Q] What about daily comings and goings during their stay?
[A] Arrangements for the daily departure and return of guests must be made between you and the guest. We expect that most guests will be at Expo all day, returning to the Guest House in the evening after dinner.

[Q] Do I get paid if the guests fail to arrive?
[A] If the guest fails to honour a reservation, an amount equal to the first night's fee charged to the guest, less the $10 booking fee, will be paid to you at the time of the monthly payment.

[Q] Do I have to be the registered owner of the Guest House?
[A] No; however, if the Guest House occupier is not the owner of the Guest House, he should obtain the owner's permission before registering with Expo's Host the World program.

[Q] Can I register a suite as a Guest House?
[A] Yes, if it is an integral part of your house. No, if the suite is not located in your house.

[Q] Does ResWest rent entire houses for long-term periods?
[A] No.

[Q] Will ResWest locate guests in Guest Houses closest to Expo first?
[A] No, guests cannot request to be located in any specific area. Guest Houses will be allocated on the following basis only:

1. Size of party.
2. Smoking or non-smoking accepted.
3. Children accepted or not.
4. Pets accepted or not.

[Q] Do I have to have a smoke alarm and/or fire extinguisher?
[A] It is strongly recommended that to protect you and your guests you have both a smoke alarm and fire extinguisher. And that you point out their location to each party of guests.

[Q] Can I have some more information about the insurance coverage provided by ResWest?
[A] The policy can be viewed by any registered Guest House owner, by prior arrangement, at the ResWest office.

[Q] Do I have to sign a contract?
[A] Yes, the contract must be signed at the time of inspection so it is necessary that the person responsible be in attendance.

EXPO 86

Hon. Claude Richmond,
Minister Tourism/Expo 86

Super, Natural British Columbia

I'd like to make my home an official EXPO 86 Guest House. I am the owner/occupier of the home listed below and consent to an inspection as a condition of registration. I enclose a registration fee of $35 (refundable if oversubscribed) payable to "HOST THE WORLD".

Name _____

Address _____

Postal Code _____ Telephone _____

Date _____ Signature _____

☐ Cheque enclosed
☐ Money Order enclosed

Mail to: EXPO 86 Host The World Program
P.O. Box 60
Vancouver, B.C.
V6C 2V1

HOW TO MAKE YOUR HOME AN EXPO 86 GUEST HOUSE.