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The Political Economy Of Densification - Looking For Signs Of The Postmodern City: A Case Study Of Urban Transformation In Greater Vancouver

By
Barton Reid

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DENSIFICATION-LOOKING FOR SIGNS OF THE POSTMODERN CITY: A CASE STUDY OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN GREATER VANCOUVER

BY

BARTON REID

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

We are living in a transition period with regard to the way that urban space is being organized. Old patterns are beginning to be replaced by new ones. Because in Canada these changes are being experienced most intensely in Vancouver, this city was chosen as the most appropriate place to conduct a case study into the transformation which is affecting the institutional and cultural logic for the organization and production of urban space.

While the generation of new spatial norms within the local state became the empirical focus for this investigation, several conceptual challenges were also posed because of the reductionist and deterministic nature of the intellectual frameworks that are being used to comprehend change. Particularly in the planning field, a framework was required which avoided these problems. That is why political economy -- and within political economy, one approach to the study of change known as regulation theory -- was chosen to guide this inquiry. From regulation theory three organizing constructs -- a regime of accumulation, mode of regulation and mode of urban development - were used to construct a periodization scheme in order to track the evolution of urban development in Vancouver during the late-twentieth century.

Two patterns were identified. The first one was characterized by low-density suburban development where a regime of land-extensive accumulation prevailed, and the existence a mode of regulation which was governed by modern norms for the organization of space. In Vancouver, this mode of urban development became the dominant institutional logic for the production of urban space between 1945 and 1973. After 1973, this logic was replaced by another one. In contrast to the first mode of urban development, this second pattern was characterized by a regime of land-intensive accumulation, where densification became more prominent. Moreover, there was a change in the mode of regulation, as modern norms for the organization of space were replaced by postmodern ones. In Vancouver, the intermingling of these two

patterning forces has established a hybrid form of urban development which has resulted in the creation of the first medium-density urban region in North America.

Acknowledgments

Like the subject of this study, the process of completing this examination of urban transformation is haunted by the recognition of loss as well as that of duration and change. As with the city, so too with our lives things which once were, are no longer! With gratitude I wish to thank Jesse Vorst and Nick Blomley for their unflinching support. As well, to Kenneth McRobbie and Neil Tudiver: my thanks for your their patience and time, which I no doubt taxed on several occasions. And to others like Robert and Theo who entered surreptitiously to help out.

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Preface

Prologue: The Proustian touchstone

In Remembrance of Things Past, memories triggered by eating the crumbs of a Madeleine cake, lead Marcel, the narrator of this epic novel to attempt the reconstruction of his past and that of the society around him. In this investigation a similar task will be undertaken. Only here the subject will be the present and the future rather than the past. And the experience to be recovered will have to do with socially constructed experiences rather than personal ones. For if Proust wondered whether "the true paradises are paradises we have lost," then one of the main questions posed in this research had to do with how to conceptualize the present and the future.

How to conceptualize the passage of time is important because it affects how we see ourselves and behave in the present and therefore affects how the future will unfold. This is a subject that has not been given sufficient attention when looking at the evolution of the city. There is a strong tendency to over simplify the time frames that are used to make sense of change in the city. Unfortunately this has often pre-maturely closed off alternatives ways of looking at the city.

While this is important for an individual, if he or she is to make proper sense of their life, it is even more the case when motivations and actions of the collective subject are considered. In this case how external reality is represented can have an immense influence on the actions of collectivities and not just memories, as was the case with Proust. How we use categories and memories to breakup time and space can therefore lead to the initiation or avoidance of actions that may alter the future and thereby affect the ability of human subjects to make choices about their future, and by doing so limit their capacity to make their own history.

This investigation into time was spawned by unease over the way that categories related to time were being used to frame our understanding of the future city. The distortions

created by the inappropriate use of certain concepts and codes works in public exercises that were conducted on the future of Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and Vancouver in the late 1980s and the mid 1990s was disturbing. While Terry Eagleton (1996) recently stated that social determinism and the ideology of progress associated with it had long ceased to be one of the defining features of the intellectual tradition of the West, this was certainly not the case when it came to looking at the future of our cities or how planning discourse in Canada was attempting to come to grips with urban change and transformation.[1]

Economic, technological (Graham 1997) and demographic accounts of urban change tended to be overplayed, particularly when planning exercises on the future of the city were conducted, producing dogmas about the future rather than an analysis of alternative scenarios that might be possible. Control over the future of the city seemed to be lost as all influence was granted to supposedly immutable and external forces.

While these exercise succeeded in making people more self consciousness about time, paradoxically, they also served to foreclose rather than open up discussions about alternative futures. Indeed just as the subject of time and the issue of change was being opened to the public for discussion; in terms of actual discourse the ability to conceptualize the future seemed to be diminished rather than enhanced.

Since I was interested in the impacts that densification and the shift to postmodern forms of regulation were having on the production and regulation of urban space the concern about time was no idle curiosity. Could a more useful periodization scheme be devised which would not necessarily replace existing one but show in more detail the impact that these two forces were having on the production of urban space in Greater Vancouver be established that provided real signposts that could be used to measure change and highlight the existence of two different logic's for the organization of space? Moreover, could this attempt to reconstruct the time frames we use to look at the city make use of organizing constructs that would avoid the over generalizations, false uniformity's or the reductions and determinism that usually follow from any attempt to construct a framework for tracking the evolution of the city.

Furthermore, was it possible to go beyond the employment of Code words in this endeavour, such as the new economy or globalization to explain what was happening, since these words seemed to used more as mantras rather than as points of departure for critical evaluation of what was happening. Forecasters like Peter Druckers (1989), were talking about new realities, but rather than these slogans provoking critical and introspection they appeared in the to be used in the literature on urban change more as descriptive slogans rather than as analytical tools which allowed change and the future of the city to be explored. Time, indeed, was lost. An alien and even menacing future was being constructed by self anointed experts (Micklethwait 1996) who were saying that there was nothing that could be done about the future but accept what ever the passage of time brought. This proclamation of the status quo was troubling. The emphatic invocation of time and necessity not only seemed to be compromising our ability to apprehend the future in a non dogmatic way, it also seemed to be hampering our ability to carry forward well thought out actions.

If, in fact, a new epoch was dawning was the invocation of macro economic changes and technological change the complete story or the only way of making sense of what was happening? Were the definitions of the present and the future, so stridently proposed by pundits, to be accepted at face value? Or, by following Proust's example, and by employing some additional mental exertion could the illusionary aspects of many of these prognostications be uncovered and different scenarios be constructed that were more grounded in the study of the interplay between structure and actions rather than metaphysical conceptualizations of change that might enhance our ability to understand the future rather than lose control over it. [2]

More to the point, could a different future be envisaged by critiquing the conceptual framework used to produce most of the current ? For example, did the notion of a post-industrial city or even informational city make sense or capture all the scenarios that were possible. Furthermore, could new labels for dividing up time be used be formulated that could look at phenomenon and structures which were affecting the city that had largely been ignored in the literature? From this there followed a search for a non deterministic framework to describe the

influence that the densification process and postmodern regulation were having upon the Canadian city. Eventually this search lead to regulation theory and the adaptation of some of its organizing constructs to construct a periodizing framework that could be used for the study of the production of urban space.

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[1]Refer to SNC,Vol. 2, Preface, Note 1.
[2]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Preface, Note 2.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 - Opening statement and introductory remarks

How to conceptualize and identify the patterning mechanisms that are transforming urban space in Canada is the main subject of this dissertation. Interest in this subject arose as it became clear that our conceptual grasp of the way that urban space was being restructured was not keeping pace with the manifold changes that were slowly, but steadfastly altering the way that space in our cities was being organized.

Particularly in Vancouver, this seemed to be the case. At an empirical level, three different, but inter-related processes of transformation could be observed. Beginning in the 1960s, investment patterns began to change. Rather than dispersing, capital began to concentrate, producing much denser urban spaces in most cities. In the 1970s this change was augmented by cultural shifts that originated within the middle class. Not only was space becoming denser, it was also being reformatted, as new representations of space were being used to guide the regulation of land. In particular, planning practices were affected by this, as the nature of urban regulation changed in several fundamental ways. Then in the 1970s, but moreso in the 1980s and 1990s, the demographic profile of the city began to change. Existing settlement spaces started to be eroded by new flows of immigration. They were also being broken up by the colonization of the inner city by the middle class. As well, in the late-twentieth century a falling birth rate presented a fundamentally different context for the urbanization process to evolve within. This, in turn, would establish a different demographic context for the evolution of the densification process, and influence the adoption of postmodern norms. As well, this new demographic context would generate a demand for new kinds of urban space, further widening the gap that separates the late-twentieth century city from its mid-twentieth century counterpart.

Separately or together, these were the forces that were transforming the spatial order of the city, and creating the conditions for the postmodern city to emerge in the late-twentieth century. Despite the considerable variation that could be observed among Canadian cities, some clear patterns were evident and these needed to be explored. How to comprehend and map out the transformation of the modern city and the rise of the postmodern city in its place therefore emerged as the central task of this investigation.

The institutional glue which would tie these various strands of the postmodern city together would be the emergence of a new regulatory order. This happened when postmodern norms arose, establishing a new spatial matrix for the organization of space. Increasingly, whether on the philosophic plane -- where institutional regulation and formal intellectual discourse guide the production of space -- or at the sociological level – where representations of social space and internalized social norms become important to the regulation of space – or even at an aesthetic level – where the status differentiation of urban spaces and the use of space as a transcendent symbol becomes significant – a new spatial matrix now seemed to be in command of the regulation of space.

Since the local state[1] established the institutional context for a new form of regulation to emerge it acted as an important political and cultural filter. For this reason the local state occupies a strategic place in the process of urban transformation. This is a controversial point, since most accounts of urban transformation are pitched towards the global arena. Here metaphysical forces, such as globalization, are commonly invoked to explain changes within the city without specifying how the future actually materializes.

The prognostications for the city generated from this vantage point were unsatisfying. Undeniably global forces are important, but the mechanism involved in urban transformation are much more layered and contingent than this perspective lets on. While fully acknowledging the powerful effect of global influences, it does not follow from this that only one future is possible. If this were so, all the major cities in Canada would be moving in the same direction and evolving in exactly the same way. But obviously, they are not. As will soon be shown, it is

only necessary to compare Winnipeg and Vancouver -- or at the national level, the divergence between Montreal and Toronto -- to see that this is not the case.

Even though it was possible to identify over-arching patterns for the organization of space, this does not mean that only one pathway for the evolution of the city exists.While a classification scheme can highlight the influence of new rules for the organization of space, it does not necessarily follow that these rules will be interpreted or applied exactly the same way, in every city. So the adoption of similar rules does not necessarily guarantee uniformity. According to the situation of a city in a specific urban hierarchy, and the makeup of the class structure of each city, a variety of different outcomes are possible.

While global forces may set broad parameters for what might take place, it is only within the domain of the local state that rules are operationalized into signals which directly result in the production of urban space. Here the compromises that are arrived at through struggle and conflict ultimately determin how a specific space is configured. Consequently, there is considerable room for indeterminancy. Especially when looking at the densification process, and the creation of a postmodern matrix, what becomes important to look at, is their mutual interaction. For this is the background context that would eventually bring about the creation of the new institutional organs that would supply the institutional muscle that would be required to set a new trajectory for the organization of space. The history of the Vancouver Planning Department illustrates this quite well, as it is possible to show how the shift towards bureaucratic rule, and later, the shift back to market rule, created the background context for the emergence of two radically different planning discourses. In turn, each of these opposing discourses were linked to contrasting pattern of investment: with land-extensive investment patterns (i.e., low-density suburbanization) articulated to a modern regulatory format, while land-intensive patterns (densification) were articulated to postmodern formats.

Because history is not made without people, subjects as well as institutions can trigger change. So the actions of privotal individuals or that of the collective subject, which become manifest in class bevaviour, has to be examined. For the North American city, the urban

middle-class have been the main agents of change. Their experiences and aspirations became the basis for the articulation of new norms, which would have a profound impact on the professonal discourse that planners would use. As the middle class evolved, and had to respond to the marco-economic and political forces that were impinging upon them, these experiences were distilled into political and economic action, actions that would later determin how the city would be regulated. In the mid-twentieth century this led to the depoliticization of space.[2] In the late-twentieth century just the opposite occurred, as the regulation of space became repoliticized once more.

This happened when a new middle class arose, and when it rebelled against its parent culture, as it increasingly resisted the administration of space by experts, which was quite a departure from the modern era. To the great consternation of bureaucrats, developers and local politicians, participatory formats for public involvement in the decision making process were now necessary if legitimacy was to be preserved.[3] Since this fraction of the middle class was also the bearer of a new sensibility, substantive as well as procedural changes were also forced upon the institutions and agents who were economically or institutionally involved in the regulation and production of urban space.

In Canada the switch-over from one mode of regulation to another took place in a different context than in the United States. The same thing happened with regard to the regime of accummulation which informed the production of space in each country, as a wave of densification washed over every major Canadian city. As a result, the Canadian city started to diverge from the American city. Not only were denser spaces created in the Canadian city, unlike the United States unique spaces arose that were guided by the systematic application of the ideology of the livable city .

Consequently the recognition of differences as well as the uniformities became important to an understanding of urban transformation. This placed a heavy burden on the construction of a new classification scheme for studying the evolution of the city. Rather than avoiding complexity in order to search for common patterns, the opposite would be attempted. A

classification scheme which allowed complexity and difference to be recognized without producing a chaotic conceptualization of urban transformation was therefore needed. This was the primary challenge. Could common patterns be identified without reducing or simplifying the processes of city building to a set of slogans, or a formula that ignored the importance of historical context?

1.1 - Posing the Question and finding a Method

The search for such a framework became the point of departure for this investigation, and the basis for engaging in an empirical and conceptual exploration of the issue of urban transformation. Hence, with all the flux and contradictions that was apparent in this new order; the following questions remained: how was this emerging spatial order to be comprehended? Exactly what intellectual tools were to be used? And what patterns were to be singled out?

Beginning with the conceptual issues, from political economy a conceptual framework which could look at the mutual interaction of economic, demographic, cultural facets of change was found. A framework that could take linear and non-linear trends into account was discovered when regulation school theory was examined. With some modification, this framework could be used as a conceptual compass. Using categories from regulation theory some assessment of the direction of change could be made, one which would allow both the positive and negative consequences of uneven change to be better understood. Also, with some modification the catorgies derived from regulation theory could be used to construct a periodization scheme of urban transformation, one that would be able to shed some light on how the local state mediated the transformation of the city. Finally, with some amendment, this approach could be adapted so that an open-ended reading of urban transformation could be taken, one which would better enable common patterns to be discerned despite the noise and contradictory flow of events that usually accompany any period of transition.[4]

The empirical challenge was to objectively record and establish proof of the existence of significant new spatial patterns. Despite all the flux the changes that could be observed

revealed that the postmodern transformation of the city were neither random or chaotic, but were patterned: with the densification process, the introduction of a postmodern norms for the regulation of space, and a postmodern social ecology emerging as the most significant empirical manifestations of this urban transformation .

To establish the existence and significance of these three aspects of urban transformation a great deal of data had to be gathered and digested. While personal observations were a legitimate and natural starting point, many other types of information were needed to sketch in picture of the postmodern city that was emerging in Greater Vancouver.

In order to understand the effects that postmodernism was having on the landscape it would be necessary to document the subjective impressions that people had of space. One method for accomplishing this was to become a participant-observer in a wide array of organizations, groups and public meetings (held in the early and mid 1990s), to see how politicians and citizens were accepting, modifying or rejecting the postmodern matrix for the organization of space in different ways, within the core and periphery of the urban region (P0-1 to P0-9). Information gained from being a participant-observer was supplemented by an extensive array of interviews, which were conducted over a period of several years with different agents who were responsible for the production and regulation of space in Greater Vancouver (PI-1 to PI-58). Even hermeneutics was employed, as planning documents, texts and the statements that people made about space were analyzed for their meaning.

To measure and tract the progression of the progression of the densification process and the effects of immigration, data supplied by Statistics Canada (SC-1 to SC-55), Canada Mortgage and Housing, The Greater Vancouver Regional District and the B.C. Government (GBC-1 to GBC-8) were important in establishing a database from which a number of a surrogate measures could be constructed to measure changes in the densification process, as well as the creation of distinctive postmodern settlement spaces.

This presented some problems. For example, densification was a new term for which standardized measurements had yet to be created. Consequently, it was necessary to use various

proxy measurements in order to track the progression – as well as regression – of the densification process over time. Hence measurements such as the densification ratio or the proportion of new dwelling units that were constructed as single detached units used as surrogate measures for the densification process. This made it easier to obtain an empirical grip on the progression or regression of the densification process, allowing the uneven and non-linear movement of densification process over time and space at the national, regional and local levels to be easily charted.

Similar problems were confronted when looking at the creation of postmodern settlement spaces. Rather than using proxy measurements, it was necessary to formulate labels which would describe and highlight the postmodern settlement patterns that emerged from studying data provided by Statistics Canada. Using models from the Chicago School as a foil, it was possible to set up a sereis of idealized constrasts were set up to show how modern city was different from the postmodern city in Greater Vancouver. To this end a postmodern typology was created, and new settlement zones such as the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, Zone of Asian Resettlement and Zone of Caucasian Resettlement were named and analyzed against there modernist counterparts.

Meanwhile, significant empirical attributes that could be used to measure the spread of postmodern norms were identified and compared with their modern counterparts. Here a list of eight attributes was compiled which documented strategic orientation points of the postmodern matrix along three dimensions of regulation that were to be looked at. This was carried out so that the impact and spread of postmodern spatial constructs could be gauged and traced over the institutional terrain of the local state at the local, regional and national levels. For the most part this required an extensive and broad ranging review of planning discourse. However it was also necessary to see what developers were thinking and doing. And this is where going through the promotion material put out by the real estate industry proved useful. Hence real estate publications like Real Estate Guide, Condo Guide, Renters Guide and other promotional material (i.e.. PM-1 to PM-6) handed out by developers was looked at over a period of several

years, on a monthly basis. In this regard B.C. Business and Business in Vancouver were other useful information sources that were used.

Since the City of Vancouver was both the incubation ground for the densification process, and the place where the postmodern spatial matrix was first gestated, special emphasis was put on the evolution of planning in this one city.

Consequently, fairly extensive background research of urban issues was undertaken by looking at back issues of the city's two most prominent newspapers -- The Vancouver Sun (VS-1 to VS-524), and the Vancouver Province (VP-1 to VP-57) -- during the modern and postmodern eras. Alternative and local papers such as The Vancouver Courier(VC), The Georgia Straight, The West End Times, The Carnegie Newsletter, The Vancouver Echo (VE), the WestEnder and Xtra West were consulted on regular basis for several years as well. In addition to this, newspapers from other cities, articles from numerous journals and books on the subjects of densification and postmodernism were reviewed, to see if what was happening in Vancouver corresponded to what was taking place in other cities.

Because of the amount of material that was used in this study was so large, much of the commentary and many of the references could not be incorporated in the main text. For this reason another text composed of supplementary notes and comments, as well a bibliographical appendix was produced as an unpublished second volume, and appended to the main text.

Furthermore, because what happened in the Vancouver Planning Department captured the essence of the transition from one mode of urban development to another so well, and provided a model of regulation which has gradually spread throughout the region, a thorough study of the evolution and history of the Planning Department was carried out. This very detailed case study was also useful because it revealed the link which existed between the densification process and the evolution of certain forms of postmodern regulation. Other than collecting the material to establish a profile of the densification process this became the most time consuming part of the investigation since it involved a massive review of the internal documents generated by the Planning Department over a 40-year time span (CV-1 to CV-33;

CVS; CVC0-1 to CVC0-84; CVPD-1 to CVPD-176; CVSP-1 to CVSP-11; CVTPB-1 to CVTPB-12). To supplement this work and provide a broader context for what was unfolding in Vancouver's Planning Department, a literature review of recent planning reports and documents from across the country was conducted to see how extensive the shift to postmodern regulation had become across the country (Refer to plans listed under the lead word of cities and municipalities in bibliography).

Finally, although more attention was devoted to the emergence of this new spatial matrix in the City of Vancouver, it was necessary to look at the entire urban region since the City of Vancouver only covers a limited part of Greater Vancouver. Therefore plans from most of the other municipalities that make up the Greater Vancouver Regional District were looked at. In addition to this, information was gleaned from local suburban newspapers such as the Tri-City News (Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody - TC), The (Richmond) Review (RR), Burnaby News Leader, The North Shore News, The Maple Ridge/ Pitt Meadows News, The North Delta/Surrey News Leader (SND), New Westminister News Leader and The Langley News.

For several years these publication were perused weekly in order to obtain a more nuanced understanding of the differences that existed between the core and periphery of the urban region. So articles in local papers that dealt with the opinions and outlook of suburban and exurban developers, politicians, planners, citizens and consumers within Greater Vancouver were given special consideration since a significant time lag existed between what happened in the City of Vancouver and the rest of the region. Additional insight into this gap was gained by living in one of the most distant suburbs in the region -- Maple Ridge -- for several years. What newspaper articles and personal observation showed was that there could be considerable variation in a single urban region something which many planners, policy makers and academics who live only in the inner city are often unaware of. As a result, rich insights were gained from being forced to live as a suburbanite after having lived as an urbanite for most of my adult life.[5] Although the densification process had spread over the entire region, in

Greater Vanocuver postmodern norms have diffused much more slowly and less uniformly throughout out the same space, with much of this variation accounted for by the uneven settlement geography of the new middle class, which, in turn, affected the constitution of the local state apparatus in each locality.[6]

Even with all this detailed information and data, the questions that were posed about the transformation of Vancouver could not adequately be answered by simply pointing to some of the empirical contrasts that separated the urban form of Greater Vancouver in the late-twentieth century from the mid-twentieth century. Additional conceptual labour was required. Although this empirical information provided irrefutable proof that some important changes had taken place, without a conceptual grounding or understanding why these changes were taking place, only a muddled and incomplete understanding of the total picture could be sketched.

As mentioned earlier, an organizing framework was needed, not one which necessarily generated laws of causation, but one which could identify important patterns such as densification, the spread of postmodern regulation or the emergence of postmodern settlement spaces. Developing such a framework would also make it easier to see the connections between structure and agency, providing additional information on how urban transformation follows a path that varies according to the policies and political mobilizations which mediate the impact of larger macro forces.

For what a detailed examination of Greater Vancouver revealed was that the rules used to organize space had changed, but that the source for many of these changes did not originate from the international and national levels, but from the local level. So it was important to get a handle on what was happening within this sphere. That is why a theoretical framework was needed which could embrace several different levels of analysis, especially one that could identify institutional signficant sign posts at the level of the local state, for this was a precondition for the construction of definable and repoducible patterns of regulation.

So while information on urban change and transformation was being collected a parallel search was undertaken for a theoretical framework that could organize all this data into a system of categories that could be used to create a new urban typology. While not ignoring the larger macro forces, what was required was a set of constructs that could focus attention on the profound impact that actions within the sphere local state could have on the evolution of the city, and take into account the multiple dimensions of urban transformation that could be seen in Greater Vancouver.[7]

One approach that was considered was Regime theory.[8] Although this largely American approach paid attention to what was happening at the local level, this perspective was far too bound up in the political aspect of institutional change, thereby ignoring the other dimensions of change which orginate within the sphere of the local state. Eventually urban political economy was chosen. More specifically, after reviewing several different approaches from within urban political economy one interpretative framework, known as regulation theory, was chosen because it was deemed to be the most flexible and non-reductionist method available from within urban political economy that could be used study the densification and the postmodern transformation of Vancouver.

Three organizing construct were borrowed from regulation theory. One construct was a model of urban development.[9] The two other organizing constructs were a regime of accumulation, and a mode of regulation. When the constructs were recalibrated to analyse the production of urban space, they provided signposts that could be employed to periodize the evolution of urban space in Vancouver, as well as in other cities in Canada.[10]

Over the last half of the twentieth century this framework shows that two dominant patterns emerged.[11] From the mid-twentieth century to the late- twentieth century, in slow-growing, or stagnant cities that did not have a large middle class – such as Winnipeg and Montreal – modern norms and land-extensive development still prevailed. Although some evidence of densification and the regulation of urban space by postmodern norms could be found in Winnipeg and Montreal, their impact upon the production of urban space was much weaker

than it was in Toronto and Vancouver. Meanwhile, in cities such as Toronto and Vancouver (but more especially Vancouver, where the middle class appeared to be larger in relative terms), a new pattern of urban development had clearly taken hold in the late-twentieth century. Because of there articulation international and national flows of capital and labour, a land-intensive regimes of accumulation that was governed by postmodern norms for the organization of space became the defining characteristics of a new urban age in Vancouver and Toronto.

Instead of just focusing upon supposedly immutable technological and economic forces (which post-industrial theory has tended to do), where change is reduced to a few abstractions – such the information revolution, or globalization (Cohen 1996) – a different tack was taken.[12] Although developments such the information revolution and globalization cannot be dismissed, by themselves, these forces operate in an open ended fashion. As a result, they can create more than one scenario. As a consquence, by themselves these abstractions provide little insight into the specific evolutionary course a city may be on. Moreover, the sweeping generalization that come with over-reliance upon such abstractions tend to discount many of the more intangible aspects of change that need to be captured and analysed (Macleod 1997).

Moreover, the emphasis regulation contructs placed upon the operation of institutions provided a unique vantage point for looking at how the articulation of economic, political and demographic forces have created reproducible patterns of regulation over a set period of time. That is why regulation constructs provided an attractive alternative framework from which a periodization of the city could be constructed. Moreover, these constructs established a different analytical space from which variations as well as similarities could be studied.[13]

Because no other urban regions have been so affected by densification, immigration, and the adoption of postmodern norms, Toronto and Vancouver have become emblematic of the new urban order. That is why both cities have been singled out by numerous commentators as alternative models for the North American city.[14]

Initially, Toronto was the leading city. However, over the past ten years Vancouver has gradually taken over from Toronto. Ultimately, this is why Vancouver rather than Toronto was

chosen as the place to conduct a detailed examination of the process of urban transformation. For the present at least, no other urban region in North America has been so profoundly influenced by the densification process, the influx of new immigrants, or the application of postmodern norms to the regulation of urban space, than Greater Vancouver.

This has become more apparent since 1986. While land-extensive development experienced a resurgance in Canada, Vancouver moved in the opposite direction. Rather than regressing ,densification become more intense in Vancouver, as well in several other urban centres in British Columbia.[15] Although densification has also made an unmistakable imprint upon several Ontario cities, since the mid 80s this impact was watered down by the resurgence of land-extensive development.

The reversal that took place in the mid 80s raises several questions which act as footnotes to this study of Vancouer with regard to the applicability of the finding in Vancouver to other urban centres. For example, is what is taking place in British Columbia an aberration? OrcCould the bi-modal pattern of densification that now predominates in Toronto and Ottawa-Hull a more accurate representation of the evolutionary course that other cities in Canada might take? Or is the densification that is occurring in many B.C. communities an augury of what is likely to unfold in the rest of the country over the longer run, as we move into the next millennium? Here the closer examination of the institutions of the local state in each city provide a clue. If a longer term perspective is taken on urban development, particularly if attention is paid to the institutional supports (which are not readily visible to the general onlooker) that play a key role in fostering land-extensive or land-intensive development, the current wave of suburbanization that gained momentum in the mid 80s may end up being an historical blip in the more general evolution of the city, or it could be the inauguration of more contradictory pattern of urban development -- where land-intensive and land-extensive development co-exist in an uneasy equilibrium. Except for Winnipeg, an examination of the institutional supports that allowed land-extensive development to regain momentum in Montreal, and parts of Greater Toronto, may not be sustainable for much longer. If institutional

transformation can be seen as a precursor of what is likely to follow in the longer term, then there a strong signs that the current resurgence of suburbia could be a fleeting and illusionary phenomenon.[16]

By looking at how the regulatory apparatus of the local state is being altered, this most recent surge in land-extensive development may simply turn out to be the last gasp of a mode of urban development whose institutional base is now undergoing rapid decomposition,[17] even though the empirical effects of this institutional deconstruction and restructuring is not yet fully visible in terms of the production of new urban spaces. That is why the third densification wave (that appears to be gathering momentum with the current upsurge in housing starts across the country) should provide important clues to the overall direction present institutional changes will bring. After this cycle has run its course, it should be possible to make more definitive statements about which model may become more representative. Will it be Vancouver, where densification functions as a hegemonic or dominant influence on the production of urban space? Or will it be Toronto or Ottawa-Hull, where a bi-modal pattern has emerged because densification only functions as an ascending influence. Furthermore, it should be possible to acertain whether the contradictory directions the city is moving in may be just symptoms of a transition period, where opposing tendencies are present because of the turbulence and flux that any period of transition generates.

Whether consumers like it or not, a different rationale for the production of urban space may be in place in most cities with the completion of the current building cycle, that began in 1996. In the end, what happens will ultimately depend on the willingness of government to end invisible subsidies - which is beginning to happen because of on going fiscal constraints -- and the willingness of the consumer to buy into unsubsidized forms of land-extensive patterns of development (Litman 1998). If the consumer is willing (or able) to absorb these costs then land-extensive patterns will continue to be reproduced on a large scale. If not: then monumental changes that are now so apparent in Vancouver may spread to the rest of the country. However, it remains to be seen which pattern is most likely to prevail? Does Vancouver represent the

future? Or will the bi-modal pattern now present in Toronto and Ottawa-Hull become the more common pattern.

Which ever pattern becomes dominant, the writing already seems to be on the wall. Hidden costs and subsidies given to the automobile[18] and the single detached dwelling unit are beginning to become visible because of changing tax regimes and thefiscal crisis of local governments, as municipalities are increasingly unable to provide hidden subsidies that were once given as a matter of course. Consequently, the material anchors upon which land-extensive development was organized – the car and the single family dwelling unit – may, at last have to pay their own way. With the call for road tolls, higher gas taxes, development levies, and the elimination or reduction in subsidies for new home construction that has come with the introduction of GST, this, along with the increasing call for equal assessment rates for apartments and single detached units made another hidden public subsidy visible.

As earlier mention, because of the flux created by all these changes, what happens during the present construction cycle should therefore be very instructive. For example, already in Toronto, the pressure on home-builders is mounting, as can be seen in the construction industry's vigorous opposition to development levies and taxes, which now account for between ten to twenty percent to the cost of a new home in Toronto (Toronto Star 1998b; 1998o).

If government and the consumer are not willing to bear these mounting costs, then the recent revival of land-extensive development experienced outside British Columbia may, in the longer run, appear as nothing more than the sunset effect of a dying mode of urban development! If governments and consumers somehow find a way to absorb these costs, then the bi-modal pattern of urban development that can now be seen in Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal, is likely to prevail. If this happens, then the intense densification that is now present in Vancouver will likely be seen as interesting aberration rather the norm for urban development in the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century. But his remains to be seen.

1.2 - Statement of hypothesis

The existence of a new mode of urban development is the hypothesis that will be tested by comparing the rationale that governed the production of urban space in the mid-twentieth century with the rationales that now establish paramaters for the production of urban space. If the first model of urban development was defined by a land-extensive regime of accumulation that was articulated to a modern system of regulation, the second model of development, which began to shape in the mid 1970s, is one that is characterized by the influence that densification and the diffusion of postmodern norms have on the production of space.

At this point an important caveat must be made. This study does not include all the built environment in the city. The locational dynamics of producer spaces are not taken into consideration or focused upon very much. Although some mention has to be made of them has to be made, in this investigation the primary focus will be on what has happened to the spaces of reproduction and consumption, that is to say space that primarily serves residential, retail and recreational land uses. While these spaces take in most of the land area of the city, there is still a considerable amount of space taken up by industrial land uses that are not dealt with in this study.[19]

1.3 - Outline of dissertation and arguments to be made

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. After the introduction, in the second chapter regulation constructs will be presented.

Having introduced the three organizing constructs that were borrowed from regulation theory, chapter three will then move on to a detailed discussion of the densification process. When this is completed, this investigation will examin the postmodern spatial matrix in chapter four. This will be the longest section, because of the historical background that needs to be given if modernism and postmodernism are going to be used as markers for different stages in the development of the city. In chapter five the link between densification, postmodernism and new immigration patterns will be examined by looking at the emergence of new social

spaces. A concluding chapter will follow, where some comparisons between Vancouver and other Canadian cities will be made in order to further explore whether Vancouver or Toronto will emerge as the model for urban development in the future.

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[1] This term was coined by Cynthia Cockburn in her book *The Local State*, London: Pluto Press, 1977. In this investigation the term is used both as a functional and descriptive term. On a descriptive level it refers to the responsibilities that are delegated to Municipal governments in Canada. However, the word is also used in a functional sense. With the focus of this research centred on the production of urban space, all government agencies involved with involved with this function are deemed to be part of the Local State Apparatus. In Canada for instance, although Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation is a Federal Crown Corporation is deemed to be a major agency within the Local State. Similarly, provincial agencies concerned with the production of urban space and the regulation of municipalities such as the Ministry for Urban or Municipal Affairs exists within each provincial government and are also deemed to be part of the local state. However, the most visible part of the apparatus of the Local State is present within municipal government. In Canada this sector accounts for over 20 percent of all government expenditures in Canada each year (See David Siegel, in *Urban Policy Issues*, edited by Richard Loreto and Trevor Price, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990) So even though municipal governments are legal wards of the province in Canada they do wield considerable power over the use of land which creates an arena for relatively autonomous actions with regard to the regulation of urban space. Also see, selections in *The Changing Canadian Metropolis*, edited by Francis Frisken, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

[2]Since the beginning of the modern period the whole focus of government action has been to rationalize the development industry (Bettinson,1975; Lorimer,1978) and since growth was seen as progress in most instances, a strong identity between the development industry and local politicians developed which can be seen by the huge over-representation of people connected to the development industry on local councils and the under representation of the new middle class. Until the new middle class arrived on the scene the regulation of space was viewed as a technical rather than political issue because the direction for the urbanization process had already been formulated and accepted and that was corporate controlled land extensive development. This process was documented quite well in the case of Winnipeg by Rueben Bellan (1977) and Sewell (1993), in the case of Toronto. Only when the new middle class became actively involved and challenged the status quo did space become politicized and usually this happened within the context where densification was actively transforming the built environment.

[3]This even happened with the other organs of the local state that were responsible for the regulation of the physical and social spaces of the city. So while the planning dimension is given the most attention the postmodern sensibility would go far beyond the planning field which was only one specialized form of the police powers of the local state. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 1, Note 3.

[4]For an account of regime theory see a review of this approach in *Theories of Urban Politics*, edited by David Judge et al., 1995.

[5]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 8.

[6]In Toronto a good example of this would be the contrast that can be drawn between Mel Lastman and Barbara Hall, who are both current mayors of Toronto and North York, and are running for the mayor's office of the new City of Toronto. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 7.

[7]This is why the concept of modernism was so attractive as the discourse to use to explain the cultural dimensions of the changes that were taking place in Vancouver.

[8]See Ward (1997) and DiGaetano (1997) for examples of this approach.

[9] In this dissertation the word model of urban development or mode of urban development will be used interchangeablely.

[10] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 11.

[11] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 12.

[12]This does not mean that macro economic forces or technology is of no consequence in this approach. They certainly are. But as mainstream American scholars such as Monkkonen (1988) and more radical urban scholars such as Logan and Swanstrom (1990) have shown, local political developments matter as well. The point to be made is that macro economic shifts and technological changes are mediated by the institutional and cultural webs within the local state which frame how powerful economic forces and new technologies react on the production of urban space.

[13]For even within the space created between these two opposite patterns that were identified, it was possible to locate a wide variety of hybrid forms of urban development that occupied intermediate positions in between the two extremes of land extensive and land intensive development. For example, at one end of the spectrum, there were cities like Montreal and Winnipeg, where patterns of land extensive developments persist. Meanwhile, at the other end of the spectrum, in cities such as Toronto, but more especially in Vancouver, newer patterns of urban development which involve densification play a much larger role in the reconfiguration of urban space. Finally, in between these two extremes, both in terms of densification and the application of postmodern regulation, there were cities such as Ottawa and Calgary which occupy an intermediate position on this spectrum.

[14] Not only does this apply to Canada but to the United States as well, where densification is much more advanced in Vancouver and Toronto than in other equivalent American city. This becomes obvious by comparing cities such as Washington D.C., San Diego and San Francisco where high housing prices and the provision of public transit infrastructure have produced the most powerful expressions of densification in the United States. However, compared to Toronto and Vancouver these developments only appear as a shadow of what can be found in Canada if a comparison of transit oriented urban development is looked at. See Transit Villages by Michael Bernick and Robert Cervero (1997).

[15]For example this can be seen if the housing figures for the first half of 1997 - from January to June are used. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 16.

[16] Of all the Census metropolitan areas these are the only two places where the proportion of single detached dwellings have rapidly declined between 1986 and 1996. Elsewhere the proportion of single detached dwelling units has remained stable or has increased slightly, with some significant increases in the proportion of single detached units recorded in places such as Montreal or Winnipeg where land extensive development patterns have become more firmly entrenched.

[17]This has, in part, become manifest, in the rising level of construction for single detached dwelling units in the late 1990s. For example in Ottawa, during the first quarter in 1997 the number of single detached units constructed went up by 77 percent while townhomes only went up by 5.5 per cent (See Brady 1997).

[18] Refer to SNC,Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 19.

[19] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 1, Note 20.

Chapter Two

2.0 - Urban Political Economy, Regulation theory and the subject of Urban Change

Even though regulation concepts have been chosen as the framework to examine urban change in Canada there are several other approaches to urban restructuring which have emerged within the field of urban political economy that can be used to examine the subject of urban transformation.[1]

Still, no matter which approach we look at within political economy, four themes about change generally surface in the literature and therefore appear in regulation theory as well. These themes warrant some comment when looking at the subject, particularly when we contrast urban political economy with most mainstream approaches that are dominated by sociological theories of post-industrial change.

The first (and perhaps most important) difference has to do with uneven versus uniform change. Whereas post-industrial interpretations have generally viewed change as being an incremental and uniform process of transformation involving one or two processes that generally move towards one set end-,point (Eg. Kasarda 1988) urban political economy has taken a different stance on this issue. More emphasis has been put on the uneven nature of change. Rather than being incremental, change can also be abrupt. During revolutionary or transitional periods, unexpected change can occur and quantum leaps in the institutional dynamic of a specific social order can be experienced. This will become evident when we look at how the densification process has evolved and how the application of postmodern spatial practices have proceeded within Greater Vancouver and Canada as a whole. The second major difference is that urban political economy pays more attention to conflict in the determination of urban futures while most post industrial conceptualizations tend to view change as an inevitable unfolding of some metaphysical process of transformation, which is usually embodied in one or two principles or one vanguard group. Hence conflict, or the existence of anomalous groups are cast as residual or

deviant features of social evolution. This creates a somewhat contradictory outlook on the subject of change, where often as not special faith in the ability of the technocracy to manage and tame the process of change. What is expected is that change will be embraced but the disorder arising from change is possible to suppress. Because of this representation of change, change produces no significant social friction. Change is therefore progress, and progress is always regarded as being benign. While special emphasis is placed on the role played by the middle class in the formulation of modern and postmodern modes of regulation in the framework provided by regulation theory, many other actors are included and the end result of each mode of urban development is viewed as the product of conflict and struggle, with no preset course necessarily guaranteed.

The third point which separates regulation theory and urban political economy from post industrial interpretations of urban change follows from the first and second contrasts, and this has to do with the indeterminacy of change and the role that human agents, or class, plays in the unfolding drama of social change. Since conflict or struggle is always present and human beings are involved in setting the direction that change will take, nothing is inevitable and outcomes can be effected by how people organize and respond to external stimuli such as new technologies, population movements or economic forms of organization. At the same, time there is the acknowledgment that most human beings have to confront a common set of patterned material circumstances which shape behavior and therefore lead to the creation of common individual and institutional responses to certain material circumstances, something which can be used to define certain periods of urban development.

As a result, there can be both a great deal of commonalty and a great deal of variability in the evolution of a city within any single mode of urban development. Again, as we shall see, the densification process has evolved quite differently in Winnipeg and Montreal than in either Toronto or Vancouver. Similarly, differences in the size and political sophistication of the new middle class in each of these cities has affected how postmodern modes of regulation have reconfigured the built environment as well.[2]

Lastly, the fourth point of contrast follows directly from the role that conflict, class and the uneven nature of change has to do with distributional outcomes of urban transformation. When change occurs, there are usually winners and losers. While urban political economy places special emphasis upon this facet of change, this aspect of change is either ignored or played down in mainstream theories. This often produces an unbalanced and distorted perspective on urban transformation. As a result, the social friction which change can cause is often overlooked and questions pertaining to social justice are often not given adequate consideration. This will become apparent when looking at how the shift from modern to postmodern forms of regulation have affected the working class and the middle class in different ways, carving up space as well as creating new opportunity structures for each class in the city.

2.1 - Introduction to Regulation Theory

Having situated urban political economy and regulation theory in relation to mainstream approaches to urban transformation, it is now the appropriate moment to look at where regulation theory lies in relation to the field of political economy of which it is a part. Regulation theory was created by radical theorists because of their growing disenchantment with the standard Marxist interpretation of social change (Jessop 1990). In France, in particular, there was a feeling that organizing constructs for periodizing change such as a mode of production, were too abstract and that more concrete categories were required if the process of economic change was to be better understood. Moreover, the orthodox emphasis upon revolutionary change began to seem too unrealistic and dogmatic. With a new appreciation of non revolutionary forms of change growing, the need to create a more nuanced way of conceptualizing change was required. This point was further emphasized by the growing realization that political and cultural forces had to be incorporated into any explanation of change.

So, rather than being directed to an examination of the revolutionary transformation and overthrow of capitalism (Jessop 1990), regulation theory began to pay attention to how a

system mutates and adapts to change. This required the development of more concrete categories and the use of a finer theoretical mesh to capture more localized processes of change that operated at different geographic scales.

In this way the emphasis shifted from revolution to reform and more focus was now put on how capitalism reforms and modifies itself rather than how it self-destructs. Less attention was paid to the abstract forces which affect capital in general and more analysis was cast at a lower level of abstraction where concrete material processes could be examined in greater detail. More particularly, with regulation theory, special emphasis was put on how specific regulatory structures were maintained or modified in the political and economic systems in the face of change, and how both were integrated with the other to maintain stability or support a new order. The economic and non economic historic and geographic context that set the background for the operation of these patterning forces therefore became more important (Painter 1995).

So in comparison to more orthodox Marxist conceptualization of change regulation concepts were pitched at a middle level of abstraction. In this regard, David Kotz (1990) described regulation constructs as intermediate conceptualizations which were situated below more abstract constructs such as the mode of production. At the same time, however, regulation theory stood above the simple observation of changing trends. For example, in terms of periodizing urban development in this analysis, densification is viewed as something more than the simple appearance of denser building forms or its measurement over time and space. This is simple empiricism. Instead, it is viewed as a regime of accumulation which in turn is connected to other institutional processes which make up a mode of regulation that, when articulated, make up a mode of urban development which can then be used to periodize urban development.

In short, as Bob Jessop (1990) observed, regulation theory looks at "contingent interaction among tendencies and counter-tendencies, "concerning itself with the "actual results in specific conjunctures." As Jessop's remarks suggest, there is room in this explanatory framework for the incorporation of non-economic factors and this will become significant when cultural

transformation is used as one of the boundary markers for delineating a new logic for the production of space.

As with most other constructs in political economy, regulation constructs were originally formulated to analyze processes operating at the scale of the nation state rather than the local state, so some conceptual innovations will be made with regard to the use of regulation constructs in order to analyze what has happened in Vancouver. Additional modification to these categories will be made, because regulation theory was originally constructed to look at the relation between labour and capital and from this vantage point develop a periodization scheme for the evolution of capitalist social formations (Lipietz 1997). However, since our attention will be centred on the local state rather than on the nation state, more emphasis will be placed on analyzing the relations of consumption and the production of the spaces of reproduction and consumption rather than those of production. Consequently the relationship that exists between capital and land rather than between capital and labour will be given more emphasis.

Looking first at the local state, we see that in light of the vast amount of capital that is funneled through the regulatory channels of municipal government -- which is the most salient institutional organ of the local state -- and its capacity to determine the geography of this investment at the micro level, it is odd that more attention has not been devoted to the role that the local state plays in the evolution of our cities. In Canada for instance, between 1985 and 1995, municipalities were responsible for regulating the investment of $1.963-trillion (in nominal dollars) between 1985 and 1995.[3] In addition to this, with municipalities responsible for expenditures of nearly $56-billion in 1995 it is possible to estimate that the local state had control over at least $105-billion each year in Canada, or about 14 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product, with the vast majority of this investment having something to do with the production or regulation of urban space (SC-17a).[4]

These figures, therefore show what a powerful institutional entity the local state apparatus of municipal government is and how it serves as a vital gatekeeper for capital

investment in the built environment. As stated earlier, in a ten year period between 1985 and 1995 $1.936-trillion worth of investment in the built environment was approved by municipal government. As a result about $19-billion worth of investment a year was under their control and in the late 1990s this has now climbed to around $25-billion (SC-17a, Table 3).[5]

Furthermore, the importance of the local state is not only expressed in the powerful regulatory powers that are exercised over the micro organization of capital investment, but also in the role that municipal government plays as an active investment agent in its own right – a role which has grown considerably between 1961 and 1991 wherein expenditures originating from local government have increased nearly 25 times (in nominal dollars) over the past thirty years : from approximately $2.3-billion in 1961 to about $56-billion in 1991 (SC-17a, table three).[6]

As these figures show, the local state is hardly insignificant to the economic life of the nation, and it is a critical if not pivotal institutional mechanism that mediates capital investment in the built environment. The institutions of the local state therefore play a critical role in the direction of capital investment, intervening in how it is patterned over space, and by doing so, affecting the physical evolution of the city. However, because this role has not been adequately taken into account in regulation theory, some of its basic organizing constructs will have to be amended since their primary orientation was to the nation state and the international domain. The change in geographic scale therefore requires that some of constructs that will used be modified. In turn, as earlier remarked, these constructs will be further amended to take into account the relation that exists between capital and land – for this is what densification is basically about – rather than focus on the relation that exists between capital and labour. In addition to this, the other organizing construct that regulation theory uses to periodize urban development, that has to do with the regulation rather than accumulation of capital, will also have to be altered to incorporate the discourse of modernism, since this discourse defines one of the empirical markers that will used in the periodization of the Canadian city over the last half of the twentieth century.

For this reason, it will be necessary to redefine a few basic terms. As a result some concepts will be recalibrated so that the appropriate scale to examine the operation of the densification process and postmodern regulation is set. At the same time, it is recognized that both of these empirical processes are also nested in larger economic and cultural processes that reach up as far as the international level.

The four key concepts used by the Parisian school[7] which Jessop singles out will be modified and then later applied to the study of urban transformation of Vancouver. These four concepts are as follows: first there is a national mode of growth, second, a model of development, and two other conceptual building blocks -- a regime of accumulation and a mode of regulation. Defining each term, Jessop describes a national mode of growth as a pattern "of production and consumption of a national economy considered in terms of its role in the international division of labour" (p.174). Since we are primarily concerned with Vancouver and, to a lesser extent, with what is happening to other Canadian cities, this construct will not be used in this investigation.

Lower down the scale of abstraction, the second term Jessop refers to is a model of development, which is comprised of a dominant paradigm made up of a regime of accumulation and mode of regulation, a concept, according to Jessop (1990, p. 174), that is mostly confined to the work of Lipietz, but has its equivalents elsewhere in the literature. Modified for the purposes of this study this concept will be recast as a mode of urban development when looking at urban development in Canada and Vancouver in particular. Moving down further to less abstract levels, we come to the last two key concepts that will be used to organize a periodization scheme for urban development in Canada. The first is the concept of a regime of accumulation and the second is the concept of a mode of regulation.

In regulation theory, a regime of accumulation refers to the capital-labour relation that forms a stable pattern in the sphere of production, which is reproduced over time. However, this will be modified somewhat because what we will be concentrating on is the other factor of production: that is, the relation that exists between capital and land rather than the relation between capital and labour. Then there is mode of regulation, which is the other conceptual

marker that is used to periodize change in regulation theory. Jessop notes that a mode of regulation refers[8] to the values, norms and institutions which come into existence to help secure and reproduce an existing regime of accumulation. The mode of regulation is therefore made up of the "institutional ensemble and complex norms which secure capitalist reproduction *pro tempore* despite the conflictual and antagonistic character of capitalist social relations" (Jessop 1990, p.174).[9]

When both constructs are combined or become articulated with each other in some way to produce a pattern of development which is reproducible over time an institutional nexus is formed which can be seen as a sign that a new period of urban development has commenced, or a shift in the mode of urban development has taken place. What is significant about all three terms is the centrality of institutional organs and their interrelation when looking at the regulation, production and consumption of urban space.[10] This becomes the nexus for looking at the concrete interplay of the material and non material forces which coalesce into patterns which affect the way urban space is configured.

What is interesting about the interplay of these two patterning forces is how they are nested at various geographic scales and this appears to affect how each works itself out in the production of space at a specific locality.[11] For instance, if we look at the large scale macro-economic and demographic forces at work in shaping the densification process then consider it as a defining feature of a regime of accumulation, there is a greater tendency for these patterning variables to homogenize the production of space. Although modes of regulation are also influenced by universal and large scale macro trends which have non-local origins, compared to a regime of accumulation, local factors appear to play a far more important role in the way that a specific mode of regulation works itself out at a local level.

So different scales of operation separate a regime of accumulation apart from a mode of regulation and can be summarized. If a regime of accumulation places greater emphasis on structural aspects of development, a mode of regulation place more emphasis on agency. Likewise, if a regime of accumulation is concerned with economic processes, a mode of regulation

focuses more on political and cultural processes which have an impact on economic change. Lastly, when a regime of accumulation is compared to a mode of regulation, a regime of accumulation usually exerts a homogenizing influence on the direction that change will take, while a mode of regulation is more prone to be influenced by localized social and political forces which may become a source of variation in the way that cities evolve - although of course, the uneven spatial development of a regime of accumulation can also be viewed as another source of variation.[12]

As many critics have made it known, this regulation theory suffers from several weaknesses. This theory has been accused of being economistic. Despite its formal recognition of non economic factors, it has been taken to task for not paying enough attention to social and political forces that produce change. Finally there are the problems created by the confusion that are results by using a terminology that is still in a state of flux and is used in a variety of different ways by a number of authors. Nonetheless, even with these deficiencies, when modified, regulation theory provides a unique vantage point to organize information on the evolving city that can be used to develop a periodization scheme for the processes and events not normally given adequate consideration in the urban and planning literature.

2.2 - The recalibration and adaptation of regulation concepts

If regulation concepts are used as a lens-and-filter to search for evidence of different modes of urban development in the general literature on postwar urban development in Canada (Bettinson 1976; Bellan 1977; Goldberg 1986) it is not hard to identify the existence of two distinctive modes of urban development, each of which have unique regimes of accumulation and separate modes of regulation which are related to, but nevertheless quite different from what can be observed in the United States.

Recalibrating regulation concepts, the concept of model of development will be turned into a mode of urban development. This concept will be used to develop a periodization of urban development that focuses our attention on the institutional ensemble created by the interplay of

material and non material factors which are responsible for urban transformation. Here it refers to processes operating at the level of the local state, where the primary focus becomes the regulation of the spaces of reproduction.

Next there is the regime of accumulation and mode of regulation. The notion of regime of accumulation will be used to look at land-extensive development patterns and the densification process or land-intensive development patterns. After this is done, this study will then look at how modern and postmodern constructs have operated as modes of regulation within the local state and then examine how modern constructs for the organization of space have tended to create dispersed patterns of investment, while postmodern spatial constructs have tended to aid in the creation of more concentrated patterns of urban investment.[13]

Because this is a major conceptual re-adaptation it is possible to argue that rather than revising an existing theory a new one has been created. Indeed, if these adaptations are looked upon only in terms of the original research program of the French theorists, this might be the case, but if we look at how these terms have been appropriated and used by British and American researchers we find that the use of this terminology has not yet become fixed and is at present still quite fluid. Consequently, this terminology has increasingly been applied to a broader array of phenomena of which this study is simply one example. In this larger context, the changes that have been made to the terminology can be viewed as one contribution to the ongoing evolution of this discourse.[14]

Consequently, when these concepts are applied to the evolution of the built environment in Vancouver during the postwar period two distinct modes of urban development appear. In the first period, which runs from 1945 to 1972, the dominant mode of urban development is marked by land-extensive development and a mode of regulation which is guided by modern norms for the regulation of space. In the succeeding period,which started with a transition period in the 1960s, there was a major switch in the pattern of investment as a new regime of accumulation that was land-intensive in nature took hold. Later on, it became articulated to a new mode of regulation as well. This happened during the 1970s. When this happened a new mode of urban development

was established out of the political and economic nexus that was created, and the production of urban space in Greater Vancouver moved in a radically different direction.

At first glance, particularly if we look outside Greater Vancouver, the claim that we have entered a new era in urban development characterized by the densification process and postmodern forms of regulation may seem counter factual. After all, casual empirical observation still reveals that a massive amount of low density development is still taking place in our cities and much of it is still being formatted along modernist lines.[15] A trip to almost any new subdivision in the country would confirm this. However, dependence on such empirical observation may be deceptive. Beneath the surface, within the institutional apparatus of the local state, fundamental changes are taking place which are not fully apparent and this is where regulation constructs are useful because they draw our attention to institutional structures that may be the precursors to significant transformations we are not yet able to empirically observe or verify.

Hence, even though the purported existence of this new mode of urban development has not yet generated large-scale-patterns of new development in the city which are observable, the institutional program for the formatting of urban space has been fundamentally altered and continues to be modified. Since there is a lag between institutional transformation and the translation of this change into statistically significant increments of new urban space, it may be many years before the full significance of what has happened becomes apparent. That is why relying solely on empirical measurement can even be misleading. And this is precisely where regulation theory is useful. In this regard, regulation constructs can assist us in penetrating this empirical veil because it looks beneath the empirical surface of urban phenomena and attempts to see is happening to the institutional supports that structure the production of space which is what is visible.

Although superficial empirical observation might suggest that land-extensive patterns of urban development continue to be the dominant logic for the production of space, a closer look at the institutions that are responsible for the production and regulations of space show that the

foundations for this type of development are steadily weakening and that, indeed, if we look at Vancouver, empirical proof of its rapid decay can even be documented.[16]

. With the conceptual tools provided by regulation theory a non-deterministic framework for looking at how the cultural, political and economic processes intervene in the production space can be shown. For urban political economists, regulation theory is especially attractive in this regard because it provides one means for incorporating cultural phenomena and alien conceptualizations such as postmodernism into political economy without violating the analytical integrity of the field.

Regulation concepts also provide a vantage point for looking at phenomena in transition. As will be shown in this study, contradictory forces are simultaneously at work, with a new institutional order is being incubated within the confines of an older one that is still in a state of dissolution. Because it is not yet clear how far the institutional features that defined the previous institutional logic will decompose it is difficult to say what exactly will happen. It is possible, however, to look at some of the new articulations being made between the economic, cultural and political spheres and make some calculated guesses and probabilistic assessments of what could and is happening in some cities, such as Vancouver. Regulation theory cannot be used to predict the future but it can enhance our ability to orient ourselves to what is happening. As the Vancouver case study will show, employing regulation concepts may help to increase our capacity to more fully understand the array of possibilities which are opened up by the transformation of institutions - for they focus our attention on how social, political and economic impulses are changing the structures which are responsible for the production and regulation of urban space.

2.3 - Summary

Summarizing what has been said so far: by defining the conceptual space occupied by urban phenomena as that which is primarily centred on the spaces of reproduction, a distinctive periodization scheme can be developed for looking at the evolution of the Canadian city using regulation constructs.[17]

After recalibrating three of the most important organizing constructs used in regulation theory, it will not only be possible to look at the postwar evolution of the Canadian city in a different way but also possible to highlight the philosophic difference which set the approaches taken towards social change in political economy apart from those that can be found in mainstream sociology, where theories of post-industrial society provide the most commonly used framework for looking at urban transformation.[18]

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[1]Refer to *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity* (1993) by Savage and Warde who provide an overview of four different approaches taken to urban change that have emerged in the literature on urban transformation in urban political economy. There are also more recent, but mainstream overview of urban research in this areas. For this see an article by Lisa Peattie (1996) entitled " Urban Research in the 1990s and Richard Stern 1996)," the Study of the City." Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 2, Note 1.

[2]There is an important class dimension to the switch from modernism to postmodernism. Whereas modernism provided representations that had relevance to the urban proletariat and even glorified it, this has been lost in the postmodern city. The working class is not disappearing but its form and shape is being transformed in several fundamental ways as women and pink rather the blue collar sector make up a greater proportion of this class. With the greater polarization and curtailment of work opportunities because of new technologies an urban under class has become part of the postmodern condition in most cities. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 2, Note 2.

[3]Broken down, this amounted to $1.727-trillion for housing, or about $17-billion a year. Similarly the local state was responsible for permitting and directing the placement of $159 billion dollars worth of investment in consumer space. approving and allocating about $1.6 billion dollars a year in this areas between 1985 and 1995 for building on land zoned for commercial uses. Over the same time period $26-billion worth of institutional investment, ($2.6- billion a year) was also approved. (SC-17a, Table 3).

[4]

	Federal	Provincial	Local	Total(rev)	%GDP
1921	$288M	$158 M	$302M	$807M	
1945	$4.289B	$467M	$368M	$3.2B	$12.0B - 27%
1951	$3,1B	$1.17B	$893M	$5.8B	$29.2B - 20%
1961	$6.8B	$3.50B	$2.2B	$10.7B	$57.5B - 19%
1971	$16.9B	$15.1B	$7.6B	$33.8B	$171.5B - 19%
1981	$71.3B	$65.9B	$24.3B	$136.3B	$355.9B - 38%
1991	$160.8B	$159.0B	$55.1B	$287.9B	$675.4B - 43%
1995	$172.3B	$166.2B	$55.5B	$328.9B	$776.2B - 42%
1996	$162.4B	$163.24	$54.6B	$342.2B	$791.2B - 43%

Government Expenditures (Sources SC-17a, Table One and Three; SC-31)

[5] In an economy that produced between $850 and $900-billion in goods and services this means that about 3 percent of the nation's gross national was absorbed by the production of urban space and the activities of the local state, revealing that it plays a significant role in organizing

investment that is particularly concerned with activities that have to do with reproduction.

[6]Now, of course, cutbacks are occurring. For instance in Edmonton this has brought the issue of unifying regional government under one body to the surface again (Pederson 1997; Jeffs 1997) and to plans for the re-organization and down sizing of municipal government. For example in order to save money city council has already agreed to ax more than 400 jobs and the elimination of another 300 is being considered (Jeffs 1997a).

[7]This is one of four streams of thought within regulation theory that Jessop identifies (1990).

[8]Perhaps the closest equivalent to this concept in the mainstream geographic literature on the restructuring of the city Borchert's (1967) concept of material institutional complex. The major difference is that Borchert organizes the organization and consumption of space only around transportation and energy technologies, while, in the case of densification, when constructed as a regime of accumulation, this is only one of three material elements that are considered in this particular examination of urban transformation. That is why Borchert's conceptualization of urban change is somewhat complementary to the one set out in the amended notion of regime of accumulation.

[9]This definition closely follows others, which have been given, like Esser and Hirsch, who have defined the mode of regulation as "the way in which the elements of this complex relationship between production and reproduction are related to each other" (1989, p.419).

[10]Other issues which are brought to the surface by this focus on accumulation and regulation is the interplay that exists between structure and agency, something which will become more apparent when Regulation concepts are adapted to the study of the production and regulation of urban space. As will be shown in the following chapters, the mode of regulation provides a framework for incorporating ideology and politics into the examination of the economic processes which result in the production of space. As will be shown in the study of Vancouver, ideological shifts can and do affect the practices of the four key players that operate within the sphere of the local state with regard to the production and regulation of urban space- these four agents being made up of politicians, developers, planners and citizens. For further comments about this refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 2, Note 10.

[11]Having briefly introduced the terminology used in Regulation theory, and made note of some of the criticism that has been levelled against the application of Regulation theory, it is now the time to look at where and in what way references to the urban fact exist in the current literature on regulation. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 2, Note 11.

[12]Finally, in the Regulation School literature there are two other lower order constructs that need to be introduced which act as modifiers to a regime of Boyer (1990) for instance, has divided up contemporary capitalist development into three different types of regimes according to whether these regimes are defined by extensive or intensive accumulation regimes of accumulation and whether or not the are also based on mass consumption. Intensive and extensive accumulation refers to the ratio of capital to labour. When the ratio of capital to labour remains low, increased growth is generated by adding greater amounts of labour. This matches Marx's description of absolute surplus. When the ratio of capital to labour begins to rise, a regime defined by intensive accumulation emerges. Likewise, this idea corresponds closely to Marx's idea of relative surplus value (Marx 1976, pp.429-438). Other modifiers such as the presence or absence of mass consumption are also used. Thus Boyer has further subdivided regimes of accumulation according to whether or not production is organized around mass consumption. Hence a regime of intensive accumulation can develop with or without mass consumption. As we shall shortly see, these ideas can also be applied to land rather than labour developing a periodization scheme for the Canadian city.

[13]In this regard it is interesting to note how Savitch (1996) has constructed a conceptualization quite similar to the notion of mode of regulation which we will be using. Rather than speaking of a mode of regulation Savitch has written about changing social paradigms where the relation between means and ends changes and the perceptions that people have of space become altered and therefore organized differently

[14] As Bob Jessop has remarked regulation theory is a "continuing research program rather than an already established monolithic theoretical system" (p.154) see "Regulation theories in retrospect and prospect" in Economy And Society, Vol. 19, No 2, May 1990.

[15] See "Enforced Intensification Will Not Succeed", Clayton Housing Report, August, 1992, in Vol. 11, No. 2.

[16]As regulation theory can show between aloof abstractions and simple empirical description, these middle range conceptualizations can serve as useful antidotes to over reliance on raw empirical data and the seductions created by trying to determine what the future will be like by only extrapolating from existing trends. For as Max Dublin (1990) has explained in *Futurehype: The Tyranny of Prophecy*, this can be more deceptive than informative when addressing future change

[17]For more recent discussion and an overview of on going developments in regulation theory consult Jessop (1995), Painter and Mercer (1985), Hay (1985), and Macleod (1997). Although it was not possible to obtain a copy, Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory (1977, by Sage Publications) edited by Lauria has been cited in the recent literature as good source to track new developments in this field.

[18]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 2, Note 17.

Chapter Three: Densification

3.0 - Definition of densification and opening statement

Densification refers to a pattern of investment that results when capital investment in the built environment becomes more concentrated. This is usually reflected in rising land values. Since this process is a multi-faceted economic process of spatial transformation it can appear in a variety of guises, such as rising building permits and higher rents for the use of space.

Because densification increases the capacity of land to extract rents and thereby absorb capital, it has a very important impact on the way the built environment is constructed and configured. Normally this involves an increase in population density but gentrification shows this is not always the case.[1] While densification often has a great deal to do with increasing population densities it is not identical to it. However, in most cases they usually complement one another. As will be shown, changes in population come into play as just one of three different material variables which mold and define the densification process. Besides population, the other two variables that shape the densification process are the urban land market and the provision of transport and communications infrastructure.

There is as a consequence, an economic, demographic and technological or institutional[2] dimension to the evolution of the densification process. The interaction between each of these dimensions and their relative strength concerning each other will play a key role in determining the range and intensity of the densification process in a particular locality over both time and space. When viewed as a defining empirical feature of a regime of accumulation it is possible to see how the interaction of these forces make densification a complex process of change with regard to the transformation of urban space. The economic dimension of this transformation is most clearly represented in the operation of the urban land market. Shifting rates of immigration, or in increases or decreases in the rate of natural population growth, and life cycle changes in the general population constitute the main demographic dimension which affects the demand for sparsely or densely configured housing forms. Finally, the technological dimension

surfaces in the effect that the construction of new transportation and communications infrastructure have on the creation of land-intensive or land-extensive patterns of capital investment in the built environment.

When these three elements are looked at in relation to each other from 1945 into the present two patterns of accumulation appear. From 1945 until the middle of the 1970s these three elements were locked into a program for accumulation which supported land-extensive patterns of development across the country. At the economic level this became apparent in the reconfiguration of the urban land market. The deflation in property values that was triggered by the Great Depression is the starting point for the incubation of a land-extensive regime of accumulation. Over the next 40 years, property values fell in relation to income. As a result, favourable economic conditions existed for large increases in the per capita consumption of urban land.

Similarly, there was a significant increase in the natural rate of population growth and a resumption of large-scale immigration. This increased the demand for more space extensive urban development, as can be seen in the demand and consumption of single detached dwelling units at this time.[3] And last of all, but not on the scale which was present in the United States, there was a massive reallocation of resources into road infrastructure after the war. As Pitman has stated (1997), cities that became entirely auto oriented tend to consume two to three times more space than those that remained configured around multi-modal systems of transportation systems. While all Canadian cities, with the exception of Toronto, begun to dismantle their public transit systems and reduce investment in public transit, there was not the same massive infusion of resources into the construction of highway and freeway infrastructure that facilitated the suburbanization of the city.[4]

By the end of the 1950s, with the sole exception of Toronto, every streetcar line in the country had been dismantled. With the dissolution of the streetcar the main form giver of the streetcar era disappeared, and the city became more amoebae-like as the public transportation infrastructure that had given a definable form to the city, even in the period of *laissez-faire*

development, was now dismantled, removing the last significant barrier to the unencumbered advance of land-extensive development by the late 1950s. Not until the late 1960s did the material and institutional base for this pattern of development begin to unravel as the first of two distinct densification cycles appeared. The first lasted from the mid 60s to the mid 70s. Property values rose and demographics that were favourable towards densification affected the entire country and not just a few localities. As a result, the demand for apartment units surged everywhere, fueling the first densification wave that washed over every major city in the country,[5] radically altering the urban fabric of each city. The second cycle began in the mid 80s and has still not yet run its full course in Vancouver but has ended in Toronto, where now a third cycle of densification may start to form.[6] Unlike the first cycle, this second wave has been much more localized and uneven in its progression.[7] If the 1996 population and dwelling figures for Canadian cities are studied this becomes apparent. According to Statistics Canada, (SC-18), only four of the 25 Census Metropolitan Areas in the country -- Toronto (4,263,000), Vancouver (1,831,000), Ottawa (1,010,000) Victoria (304,287) -- plus a number of smaller cities located in B.C. [8] have felt the impact of this second wave of densification in a significant way.[9]

Thus Toronto led the way between 1984 and 1989, but the pattern of densification followed a bi-modal pattern with a great deal of land extensive development occurring co-determinously with significant land intensive development at the same time. But with the recession of 1989, Toronto was overtaken by Vancouver as the lead city. Unlike Toronto, the densification process here was dominant rather than ascendant, which meant that all areas of the region were heavily influenced by the densification process and not just the core area of the region.

As said before, because the first round of densification was generated more by internal than external demographic and economic factors, this first wave was much broader in its geographic extent than the second one. Consequently, denser urban environments were created in nearly every major city across the country between 1965 and 1975, since every city rode the same wave. This would change when the second densification cycle began in the mid 1980s. Unlike the

first cycle, this time capital investment would be much dependent upon the migration of international of capital and labour. Since these flows were quite uneven a bifurcated pattern of urban development ensued. [10]

In declining cities such as Winnipeg and Montreal,[11] the gradual detachment from the national and international flows of capital and labour have depressed the local real estate market, reversing the inflation in property values that had brought densification to these cities in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As a result, by the 1980s, land-development patterns in both cities were reversed, especially in Winnipeg. Consequently land-extensive development patterns in Winnipeg and Montreal became more deeply entrenched. In the case of Winnipeg, this pattern became as powerful as it was in the late 50s and early 60s, taking the residential land market back to a place it had occupied before the first densification cycle had begun in the early 1960s.[12]

In ascending cities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, a different trajectory was followed. Because of differences in the international flow of labour and capital, local property markets would be reconfigured quite differently from Montreal and Winnipeg. So when a second densification wave began in the mid 1980s, cities such as Montreal and Winnipeg were almost passed by entirely because of the restructuring in the urban system that had taken place since the 1960s. As a result, wide differences arose in the level and pattern of the densification process in each city. Moreover, unlike the 1960s and 1970s, it would be Vancouver and not Toronto that would be most profoundly affected by this densification densification wave, a wave which ended in Toronto in 1989 which the onset of a major recession but one which has continued to swell in Vancouver even as a third of densification wave may emerge in Toronto, Ottawa and Calgary as signs of housing boom grow stronger in the late 1990s.

Not only was the second densification cycle more localized and uneven in Canada; in each period a different urban centre became the lead city for this process of transformation. For example, as said before, during the first cycle Toronto set the pace for densification in the country. And this shows up in the way that the three material elements which shape the

densification process were configured in Toronto in relation to other cities. While resistance to freeway construction was as strong in Vancouver, renewed investment in public transit was much more in evidence in Toronto in the 1950s and 1960s. As land prices started to escalate, Toronto rather than Vancouver had the highest housing prices in the country. Similarly, Toronto had become the largest destination point for new immigration in the country. So when interest rates started to explode in the late 1960s,[13] this, combined with higher energy prices in the early 70s, amplified the supply-and-demand impulses that favoured densification in Toronto much moreso than was the case for Vancouver.

This would change when the next surge took place in the 1980s and 1990s as the three elements responsible for shaping the densification process would be reconfigured in each city in such a way that the strongest impacts would be felt in Vancouver this time around rather than in Toronto. Also, historical events that affected these variables would play out differently in each period and in each city. While the energy crisis abated and interest rates started to fall in the second cycle, the fiscal crisis increasingly emerged as a new barrier to the further progression of land-extensive development in the 1990s especially, undermining the economic and institutional foundations that once unproblematically supported land-extensive urban development across the country. That is why it is possible to make some speculation about the possibility of a return to more land-intensive regimes from the land-extensive ones that reasserted themselves in many Canadian cities during the 1980s. This resurgence in land-extensive development may only be a temporary aberration. With the multitude of countervailing forces now in operation there presently a great deal of flux. On the one hand, there is a move toward de-regulation. On the other hand, fiscal retrenchment by local government may over-ride any additional support given to land-extensive development by this de-regulation. That is why what happens in the next construction cycle (that began in 1996) should be revealing. Nowhere will this be more the case than in Ontario, where hidden subsidies and favourable taxation regimes that have supported land-extensive development up to now may not survive the current restructuring of local government. In this regard, only time

will tell how far the dissolution of modern regulation will compromise the ability of developers and home buyers of land-extensive development. For if CMHC (1997i) is correct in its assessment of demand conditions, the years between 1996 and 2001 may represent the last surge in household formation that are generated by favourable demographics. After this time, the impact of new residential construction on the city is expected to diminish and the inertia created by the existing stock of housing should increasingly colour the way that the future city will be configured. To a certain extent, this can already be seen in the growth in capital expended on renovation in comparison to new construction, as investment in renovation has occasionally overtaken new investment in residential construction since the 1980s.[14]

As a result, a better idea of the shape of things to come should become more apparent as the configuration pattern that will shape investment in residential construction will be met by new circumstances that force both the consumer and the builder to behave differently from the way that they did in the 1980s. With these new developments, a better idea about the permanence or transitory nature of the reversion back to land extensive patterns of development in the 1980s should become clearer after the new cycle of construction that began after 1995 -- when housing production declined to 30 year lows in production – runs its course. Unlike the housing boom that began in the mid 1980s, this time around many of the conditions that favoured land-extensive development will not be present or as strong as they were in the 1980s. Especially concerning the development of greenfield sites there is likely to much more off-loading directly on to developers and therefore to the consumer, which raises questions about the capacity and willingness of the consumer to absorb these previously subsidized costs.[15] For already vociferous complaints about the burden of development cost charges by developers indicates that this is having some impact upon the market.[16] Likewise, but most especially in Toronto, the next cycle of housing construction should reveal what, if any, major impact low grade formats for densification such the new urbanism (Gabor and Lewinberg 1997)[17] will have on the production of urban space. For exurban Toronto this may be very significant, since billions of dollars are projected to be spent on this type of development over the next decade. If it does have a

significant impact on the production of urban space it will not be detectable by looking at the proportion of single detached dwelling units, but should appear in other measurements such as statistics on net residential densities that are collected by local municipalities.[18]

Even though governments such as the Province of Ontario have loosened up regulations for suburban development, planners and politicians at the local level have tightened up many regulations on land use to initiate containment strategies. Here the most recent cases in point would be containment strategies recently adopted for in Calgary, Ottawa and Montreal.[19] If they do have some impact, this should further limit or water-down the progression of land extensive development patterns in the next building cycle.[20] Again however, it will be in the implementation rather than adoption of formal plans that make proclamations about denser development that will be the significant thing to look for. So even though densification has been put forward as one of the defining characteristics of the next urban epoch, at an empirical level at least for the time being, in most cities in the country -- with the exception of Vancouver, Victoria and Ottawa, and, to a lesser extent, Toronto and Montreal -- densification remains an important but clearly secondary (rather than dominant) characteristic that is re-organizing urban space in these various urban regions.

When looking at densification it is also helpful to be aware that it is happening to other countries as well. With The Economist recently stating that: "Cities in industrialized countries have enjoyed a renaissance . . . (since) . . . The Populations of the West's largest cities, in long term decline for half a century, stopped falling during the 1980s and are now starting to rise again,"(p.3); densification has now been recognized as one significant characteristic, along with others, that now defines the urbanization process of Western cities during the last moments of the twentieth century. In the United States, Leftist academics like Neil Smith (1984; 1996) have tried to explain why this is now happening by referring to the existence of a rent gap. Meanwhile, more mainstream analysts have put less emphasis on the operation of the property market and have focused more on how the diffusion of new energy and transportation technologies are changing investment in the built environment. Borchert (1991), for instance,

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the city (CMHC N.D., p.26).[66] For this reason, any change in the proportion of single detached units will reveal whether or not the residential spaces of a city are becoming more or less dense over time.

As will later be shown, the construction of new single detached dwelling units can even be used to gauge the intensity of land-intensive or land-extensive development at any point in time. For example in place where single detached dwelling units make up more than 55 percent of all newly constructed units, the overall proportion of an urban region's housing stock will generally rise, indicating that densification is only a secondary and emergent phenomenon. 55 percent is used as an approximate cut off line since between 3 to 6 percent of all new housing units are simply replacement housing, having no affect on the overall composition of house types in the city. Conversely, any time the production of single detached units is well above 55 percent it can be assumed that a land extensive regime of accumulation is the dominant force shaping residential investment in the city, although this may change in the coming decades if the denser subdivisions touted by the advocates of the new urbanism take off and become the norm.[67] In addition, any time the production of single detached units falls below 55 percent this can be taken as a sign that the densification process has intensified and become an ascendant force with regard to residential investment since the proportion of a region's housing stock will begin to decline over time, if the production of single detached units remains below 55 percent of all new units constructed each year. Lastly, if the production of single detached dwellings falls consistently below 35 percent then this can be read as a sign that densification has become a dominant force in the production of urban space in a particular locality.

Looking at table two, with densification ratios ranging between 2 and 2.5, in 1961, the proportion of the housing stock made up of single detached dwelling units was very high in both Vancouver and Winnipeg, revealing that each city was then securely locked into land-extensive regimes of accumulation.[68] With 70 percent of all dwelling units in Winnipeg made up single detached dwelling, and 71 percent in Vancouver, the proportion of single detached units in both cities was well above the national average. The extent of low density developmentat this time

can be assessed by making comparisons with Toronto and Montreal. For example, in Toronto only 56 percent of the housing stock was made up of single detached units. And in Montreal, in 1961 this percentage went as low as 19 percent. Even if the national average is looked an indication of the degree of land-extensive development can be gained since this average includes small town and homes located in the country. As a result the average for large cities would have probably been at least five percent less than the national average. Even so, in 1961 the percentage of single detached dwelling units in Winnipeg and Vancouver was nearly 10 percent above the national average, which then stood at around 65 percent. What these figures illustrate, is that among the largest urban centres in the country both Winnipeg and Vancouver were the sparest settled centres in the country at this time. Since that time a great deal has happened.Vancouver is the third largest city in the country but it is now rapidly becoming the densest city in the nation. For Winnipeg it is a different story. In 1961 it was the fourth largest city, but is now only the eighth largest urban region. Even though Winnipeg was far less dense as Toronto or Montreal, in 1961 it was still the densest city in the West in 1961. Now, however, among the larger cities it is the least dense city in the West.

However with the divergence in densification ratios and the different reconfiguration of the property market in each city this would soon change. Between 1961 and 1971 the percentage of dwelling units made up of single detached units fell faster in Winnipeg and Vancouver than for the nation as a whole. As the figures in table two show, the proportion of single detached units fell by nearly 6 percent across the nation but during this first surge in densification, it fell by 9 percent in Vancouver and 7 percent in Winnipeg. This indicated that the first wave of densification affected these two cities more than the nation as a whole, as the percentage of single detached units declined from 71 to 62 percent, in the case of Vancouver, while it fell from 70 to 63 percent in Winnipeg. Since the first densification wave affected Vancouver more than Winnipeg residential densities gradually surpassed Winnipeg. In this regard 1966 is a watershed year as the number of single detached units in Vancouver reached parity with Winnipeg then fell below it.[69] This that time each city has moved further apart. While

Winnipeg's population has thinned out, the opposite has happened in Vancouver.

What these numbers show is that both cities were strongly influenced by the first densification wave; however with the proportion of single detached units falling by 10 percent in Toronto, the greatest impact of this first wave was experienced in Toronto, where the proportion of single detached units fell from 56 percent to 46 percent of the regions housing stock between 1961 and 1971.

If these steep declines are correlated with changes in the densification, what also becomes obvious is that more than economic influences were at work in shaping the first wave of densification. While the densification ratio started to rise in the 1960s, it still was falling in Winnipeg at a time when the proportion of single detached dwelling units were rapidly declining. And even in Vancouver, although property values were rising quickly, the densification ratio only stood at 2.5. Even though densification was taking place – the densification ratio was still a considerable distance from the historic benchmark figure of four- - that historical precedent was the level at which denser spaces started to be produced on a significant scale. As the next section will show, there is an explanation for this that has to do with demographics rather than the reconfiguration of the urban real estate market. For demographics as much as changes in the urban land market played an important role in shaping the first densification wave.

As with the densification ratio, the convergence of house types in Winnipeg and Vancouver would be fleeting. This would become more obvious in the 1970s. For example, between 1971 and 1981 the densification ratio for Vancouver rose from 2.5 to over 7, passing well beyond a ratio of four, the benchmark figure indicative of a more intense form of densification. Although the densification ratio for Winnipeg rose from about 1.8 to 2.3, this was not enough to permanently establish a new regime of accumulation (table one, p. 49). By 1981, each city occupied a qualitatively different position regarding residential investment. Naturally, the presence of two different regimes of accumulation became increasingly obvious in the growing divergence in the proportion of percentage of single detached dwelling units located in each city.

Still, between 1971 and 1981 the proportion of single detached units fell by four percent in Winnipeg and five percent in Vancouver. What was significant at this time was that for the first time the proportion of single detached units in Vancouver fell in line with the national average, while Winnipeg continued to hover above this average, almost closing the gap, as the percentage of single detached dwelling units in Winnipeg came to within two percentage points of the national average before moving upwards in the 1980s.

Table Two[70]

	V	WPG	T	M	Canada
1961	71%	70%	56%	19%	65.3%
1971	62%	63%	46%	26%	59.4%
1981	57%	59%	40%	27%	57.0%
1991	50%	61%	45%	31%	56.9%
1996(e)[71]	43%	62%	46%	32%	53.2%

From 1981 and 1991, the influence of the urban land market would become more important in the divergence in the proportion of single detached units, as densification accelerated in Vancouver while it decelerated and then went into reverse in Winnipeg. Now that the densification ratio for Winnipeg began to decline, the number of single detached dwelling units began to slowly rise rather than fall. Consequently, the number of single detached units rose from 59 percent in 1981 to 61 percent in 1991.

Meanwhile the opposite occurred in Vancouver. Here the rate of decline in the proportion of single detached units increased over the 1970s, as the proportion of single detached dwelling units fell 7 percent – from 57 percent of the region's housing inventory in 1981, to 50 percent, in 1991, at a time when the progression of the densification process across the country

had almost come to a halt. As table two shows, for the nation as a whole the proportion of single detached units only fell by one-tenth of a percentage point in the 1980s, compared to 6 percent in the 1960s and two-point-five percent in the 1970s. [72]

Estimates for 1996 (table two, p.61) show that since 1991 the densification process has accelerated again. Mostly because of what was happening in British Columbia, the proportion of single detached dwelling units in the nation fell by 3.5 percent. In the 1980s, one of the main reasons for the slow progression of the densification process was the striking reversal in the production of single detached units in the exurban part of Greater Toronto as a bi-modal or split pattern of development emerged, with the core of the region (centred within the boundaries of the old Metropolitan Corporation of Toronto) still experiencing intense densification, while a powerful countertendency built up steam in the fast-growing exurban parts of the region, outside metro Toronto. This graphically shows up in the contrast that emerged in the composition of the housing stock between Metro Toronto and the exurban regions from 1986 to 1995. While the proportion of single detached units making up the housing inventory of Metro Toronto fell by 1.4 percent – from 34 to 32.6 percent of the total housing stock – in the exurban regions the proportion of single detached units rose from 62 to 63 percent.[73]

Being the largest and most dynamic housing market at the time, this naturally skewed the national figure as did the temporary dip in the production of denser housing in Vancouver in the first half of the 1980s, as the speculative bubble in real estate prices burst, sending prices on a sharp downward trajectory until the mid 1980s, which explains the brief dip below the benchmark level of four, when the densification ratio sank briefly to 3.8 in 1986 (table one, p. 49). Between 1991 and 1996, the progression of the densification process would accelerate again, but this time Vancouver rather than Toronto would eventually become the lead city for the production of new housing. Meanwhile, in the exurban parts of Toronto there would be a resurgence in land-extensive development while significant densification took place in the core of the region. However, since 1991 low-density development in the exurban part of Toronto has slowed considerably.[74] This can be seen in the dramatic slowdown in the rate of increase in the

proportion of single detached units in the Greater Toronto area between 1991 and 1995. Unlike the period between 1981 and 1991, when the proportion of single detached dwelling units rose by 5 percent between 1991 and 1996 the increase continued but it slowed to a crawl as the proportion of single detached units only rose by 1 percent, with approximately 46 percent of the entire housing stock in the Greater Toronto region made up of single detached dwelling units in 1996.

In Vancouver, the progression of the densification process increased much faster than the nation, as the densification ratio moved further upward past the seven mark. As the estimate for 1996 in (table two, p. 61) reveal, the proportion of single detached units in Greater Vancouver declined by seven percent, moving from 50 percent to about 43 percent. If present trends continue for the remainder of the decade, Vancouver will experience the greatest rate of decline in the proportion of single detached units over the regions entire history, as the rate of decline in the proportion of single detached units may reach 14 percent. Supposing this happens, then between 1991 and 2001 the proportion of single detached dwelling units in Greater Vancouver will fall from 43 percent to around 35 percent of the region's housing stock. Providing the pace for densification in Montreal and Toronto continues as it has in the 1990s, by 2001 Greater Vancouver could become the densest urban area in the country and may soon, if it has not already become the densest urban region on the continent.

With the proportion of single detached dwelling still continuing to rise to 62 percent in 1996 from 61 percent in 1991, and the densification ratio remaining relatively stationary around the benchmark figure of two, land-extensive development will remain the dominant regime of accumulation in Winnipeg for the rest of the 1990s, as the figures for the first half of 1997 show the production of single detached units was around 68 percent, compared to 31 percent, over the same time period for Vancouver (SC-35). As a result, since 1981 the gap between the nation and Winnipeg has grown from 2 percentage points to 9 percentage points by 1996 (table two). At the opposite end of the spectrum, the gap between Vancouver and the nation has grown in the opposite direction. Since they were last equal in 1981, the gap has grown by 10 percentage points – with Vancouver below rather than above – the national average.[75]

So it remains to be seen what will happen to cities across the country as the next construction cycle builds up momentum. Although Winnipeg will probably maintain its current trajectory, it is in the exurban areas of Toronto, which now, by itself, constitutes the largest single new housing market in the country, that some surprises could be in store. Hidden subsidies that functioned as an invisible institutional support for the extension of land-extensive development have now become visible, and are now being challenged across the country but nowhere moreso than in Toronto, because of the restructuring and fiscal off-loading of the provincial government of Ontario. While many subsidies that support single detached dwelling units are likely to remain in place many that existed in the previous cycle will no longer be available.[76] Even though planning regulations have been loosened up to allow more land-extensive development on the periphery of Greater Toronto, cutbacks in infrastructure financing, tax pooling, and added development cost levies may override the support given to land-extensive development by the de-regulation of planning that the Progressive Conservative government brought in.[77]

Nevertheless, once the next construction cycle has completed its course it should become clearer whether the bi-polar pattern between the core and the fringe that originated in the 1980's is just be an aberration or a distinctive regional manifestation of the densification process peculiar to Toronto. Indeed, it could well be that this may become the model for densification that most other cities (which do not regress entirely to a land-extensive pattern of investment) in the country's larger urban centres, since both Ottawa and Montreal[78] exhibit the same bi-polar pattern.[79] Although this is a possibility, it is still premature to make any final judgement about one dominant regime. Because of the unique circumstances that govern and affect the production of urban space in Vancouver, within the larger national context it may well turn out that Vancouver, rather than Toronto, is the anomaly. But this remains to be seen, since much of the flux is symptomatic of a time of transition. In this regard, it is important to keep in mind that it took nearly 20 years before a dominant model for land-extensive development was established as a norm for the entire country. So there is no reason why this should not be the case

with regard to the incubation of a regime for land-intensive development, as will now be illustrated by looking at the transitional periods both regimes of accumulation.

3.1.2 - The Great Deflation: 1930 to 1945

As the previous comparisons reveal, there is not a direct-one-to-one correspondence between the movement of the densification ratio, changes in population density and shifts in the housing composition of each city. As already stated, the time lag created by historical inertia accounts for much of the divergence that can be observed. Time lags and distortions are also the result of building cycles that may not correspond exactly to the time in which shifts take place in the densification ratio.[80] Finally, since the urban land market is just one facet of densification and densification itself, in turn, is just one aspect of a mode of urban development, there is an important institutional angle that needs to be considered when looking at the evolution of the densification process. This becomes easier to see if the time lag created by the incubation of two contrasting modes of urban development that have shaped the Canadian city in the late twentieth century is more closely examined.

Although this chapter is primarily concerned with regimes of accumulation rather than modes of regulation-- and so the material rather than social and political variables which shape the production of urban space --at some point these two spheres cross over and affect each other. There is no iron clad law which says that this has to happen. The only link is that of contingency and historical circumstances. Both have autonomous origins, but they started to interact, each began to affect the evolution of the other, hence the beginning of an institutional nexus that can be described in terms of a mode of urban development. The process of articulation, which created a mode of urban development, is far from seamless. As the shift to a land-extensive regime of accumulation governed by modern norms illustrates, there was a considerable time lag between shifts in the densification ratio and the production of different kinds of urban spaces. For this to happen on a large enough scale to become significant, these market signals had to be absorbed by the institutions of the local state in order for a pattern to be established. There is a necessary interaction between the housing market and local institutions, since over

time these institutions mediate the translation of economic signals into programs for the re-organization of urban space.

Once again, this highlights one of the strengths of the approach taken by political economy to the study of the city, since one of the chief aims of this study is to understand how change is far from being a seamless progression or an inevitable trajectory, since the powerful economic, demographic, and technological impulses that shape a regime of accumulation are filtered through the institutional matrix of the local state, creating conditions for the acceleration, slow down or mutation of the forces that shape the production of urban space. [81]

Although a great deal of discussion about globalization fills the literature on urban change and transformation, the local state has often been ignored. Even thought the evolution of land-extensive and land-intensive regimes in Canada may appear inevitable and preordained facts, if the role played by the local state is recognized and the historical record is examined, the contingent nature of the evolution of the city in the twentieth century becomes more understandable. For without the two incubation periods that created the institutional foundations that supported these two regimes of accumulation, the changes unleashed by the economy, new demographic influences, and changing technologies, would probably have led to quite different outcomes: both in terms of the massive suburbanization that took place after 1945 and the densification that emerged as a major force in the mid 1960s. For example, the reconfiguration of the urban property market in the 1930s sharply lowered densification ratios. If this had not occurred, the massive suburbanization that came about after 1945 would not have been feasible. Likewise, if there had not been an institutional framework to support these latent economic impulses, the range for the extension of land-extensive development would have been much more constrained than it was. Without legislation like the National Housing Act or the activities and programs initiated by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the institution of many hidden subsidies, the potential for land extensive development to realize its full potential for expansion would have been greatly curtailed.

The same can be said about the densification process as well. Without the deliberate

efforts made by the state to create a large and powerful group of development corporations (Bellan 1977; Bettinson 1975) and the creation of new tenure forms, such as strata title ownership (only introduced in the U.S. in 1961 and in B.C., in 1966) -- the shape of the densification process in Canada would be quite a different from what it is now.

Indeed, if a finer-grain analysis of the local state is made, in part, it is possible to show how the presence of different institutional contexts for the progression of land-extensive and land-intensive development in various cities accounts for much of the uneveness in the progression of land-intensive development in Canada, when a comparison is made to the land-extensive period of development. Unlike the land-intensive regime of accumulation, where the regulatory framework for densification was molded by anarchist tendencies triggered by the growing influence of the market and anti-war sentiments that challenged all forms of bureaucratic rule by centralized authority -- whether it be a large corporation or the central state -- the regulatory regime for land-extensive development was heavily influenced by the regimentation and standardization that came from a societal context where preparation for war and the advance of bureaucratic rule made the central government a major player in the production of space.

The Depression and the war had greatly increased the influence and power of the federal government. Because of its wealth and influence, the federal government was able to set the agenda for a uniform and standardized set of norms to govern and promote the suburbanization of the city across the entire country. However, with the rising influence of the provinces in the 1960s, and the later retreat of the federal government in the late 70s and 80s, this uniform institutional context did not exist to the same extent, when postmodern norms for the regulation of land-intensive regimes of accumulation developed. So not only have polarized flows of capital and labour made the progression of densification more uneven in the country than its antecedent land extensive counterpart, different institutional contexts for the incubation of modern and postmodern regulations, which supported land-extensive and land-intensive regimes of accumulation also explain why land-extensive development evolved in such a

uniform and consistent manner during the modern period between 1945 and 1973, as well as the contrasting unevenness of the densification process that commenced with the beginning of the postmodern period of regulation after 1973.

That is why the institutional framework that supports the second mode of urban development in Canada is much more fragmented than the first one that supported land-extensive development. Moreover, the fiscal crisis of the state has limited the ability of the federal govement to influence urban development in the way that it did in the 1950s and 1960s. Particularly since the 1980s, compared to the unambiguous unfolding of land-extensive development after 1945, the shape and progression of land-intensive development has been much more uneven because of this. This shows up in the polarized densification ratios, as regional rather than national trends become pronounsed in the diverging proportion of single detached dwellings that can be observed in the country's largest cities. From 1945 until the mid 60s, when a period of transition appeared, the densification ratio of every large city generally followed the same trajectory, producing spaces that were quite similar across the country as the densification ratio fell in every city and the proportion of single detached dwelling units occupied by the nuclear family unit increased rather than decreased.[82] All this would change in the postmodern period, as the previous comparison between Winnipeg and Vancouver and the emergence of a bi-polar pattern of densification in Toronto so clearly show.

Looking more closely at these two transition periods, beginning with the changes that were brought about by the application of modern norms to the regulation of a land-extensive regime of accumulation that became the defining pattern of residential investment after 1945, the incubation for this regime of accumulation lasted approximately from 1925 to 1945, or about twenty years. As a result, 15 to 20 years elapsed before the full effect of decline of the decline in the densification ratio that occurred in the early 30s was translated into a regulatory language and set of practices which allowed the economic and social conditions for land-extensive development to be realized in the production of urban space on a mass scale. To illustrate this point we need only look at Winnipeg and Vancouver again to see how long the lag was between

the fall in the densification ratio and resultant changes in the population density and housing stock of each city.

With the densification ratio for Winnipeg falling from 4.64 to 2.196 and Vancouver's falling from 4.329 to 2.196 between 1931 and 1951 (table one, p. 49) this time was clearly a watershed period for the property markets of both cities. Yet, in spite of the dramatic shift from a land-intensive to land-extensive regime, the absence of an institutional mechanism to support this new regime, along with the retardation of the building cycle that came with the depression and the war, the new economic signals given off by the reconfiguration of the property market were muffled for nearly twenty years. Not until the 1950s would changes in the configuration of the property market result in the actual production of considerably less dense urban space. For this to happen, the housing industry, which had largely ceased to exist because of the depression and the war, had to be reconstituted. New financial tools for the purchase of homes would have to be created. And of great importance, modern city planning would have to be re-instituted so that suburban development could be rationalized and the government's liability for the mass market it created in mortgages financing protected (Bettinson 1975; Harris 1996). Only after this economic and institutional framework was put in place did the suburbanization of the city -- sparked by the fall in the densification ratio -- move full speed ahead. For even into the late 1940s, as Miron has noted, materials shortages severally restricted the amount of new housing that could be undertaken (Miron 1988,p.168-9).

In the Labour Gazette (May 1951) for example, statistics compiled on housing expenditures showed a modest increase in housing expenditures occurring as the Great Depression was beginning to dissipate in the late 1930s, with 15.7 percent of total capital expenditures in 1939 devoted to housing. But even this modest level of expenditure evaporated as the level of housing expenditure decreased from 15.7 percent, in 1939 to 1.28 percent of all capital investment made in 1942. As a result, not until 1945 -- 15 years after the market had been reconfigured -- did the mass production of less dense suburban environments become the norm. And it wasn't until 1949 that the full impact of land-extensive development was felt, since it took

this long for prewar levels of investment in housing to be reached, as investment in housing during the modern period rose to 18.2 percent of all capital investment (Labour Gazette May 1951). Thereafter, the rate of investment in housing would rise further, and plateau around 25 percent of all fixed investment (Miron 1988,p.194).[83]

So while the great deflation initially led to the decline in the densification ratio, a long incubation period was required for the construction of the necessary institutional supports that were needed for the sustained mass production of housing. Thus, between 1931 and 1936 the average price of a house in Canada fell by 24 percent, but it wasn't until 1946 that housing prices would recover to their 1931 level, and housing production would begin to rise significantly (Historical Statistics of Canada 1983, Table S323-325).[84] The deflation which took place was extensive, deep enough and strong enough to take every city in the country down at the same time. However, there was some variation: in cities in decline, such as Winnipeg, prices deflated more than in ascendant cities like Vancouver. Whereas house prices fell by 45 percent in Winnipeg between 1931 and 1941, in Vancouver they only declined by 32 percent.[85]

Besides the great deflation there were other factors that also set the stage for the great take off in housing production after the war. On the supply side, as we have seen, deflation had reduced the cost of land. However changes on the demand side would also play a role in what was to happen. Here two important factors would come into play. First there was the effect of the war. Because of rising employment and enforced savings that came with the war economy a huge pool of savings was created. Moreover, the unrest that came with the previous demobilization after World War One worried the government. This, combined with the concerns about unemployment and that the housing shortage, had become a trigger for returning veterans-- who protested the shortage by occupying buildings like the Hotel Vancouver (Wade 1994) -- led the government to use housing as a shock absorber and anchor to keep unrest in line, since a population paying mortgages would have less time or energy to foment trouble. So not only did the federal government's postwar housing strategy address the critical housing shortage that resulted from 20 years of underinvestment, as well it also dealt with the increased demand for

housing that came from the urbanization that was induced by the war. Moreover, it was also one way to discipline the population and a useful way for tapping into the huge pool of savings that had been built up during the war. By this means, the production of housing became a favoured counter-cyclical tool for the management of the economy. Besides these reasons, a huge demand for more land-extensive development was given an unexpected boost by the anomalous situation created by the great post-war baby boom. For the first time since the beginning of the industrial revolution, there was a dramatic and sustained surge in the natural fertility rate.[86]

This would be reflected in labour force participation figures. In spite of a booming economy, women were expected to leave the workforce and devote most of their energies to child-rearing. As a result, the percentage of the population involved in the workplace declined rather than increased until the early 1960s, with the percentage of the population in the labour force steadily falling from 40 percent between 1941 and 1945 to a low of around 35 percent in the early 1960s, before it began to rise during the transition period between the modern and postmodern periods, reaching 52 percent in 1989, as women became integrated into the labour force once again (The Globe and Mail 1997R).

Everything from realigning gender roles in the work place, to a massive increase in the birth rate (hat was related to this realignment) would support the great suburban housing boom which the great deflation had provided the initial impetus for by reducing the cost of land. The opportunities established by these material conditions might not have been realized without the creation of a supporting mode of regulation. From the mid 40s into the early 50s, most of the formal aspects of this mode of regulation were put in place through the enactment of National Housing Act in 1944 (Bettinson 1975), and the establishment of Canada Mortgage and Housing in 1945. This transformed the regulation and production of space from a *laissez-faire* mode to one that was corporatist in orientation. All of this was done deliberately to build up and rationalize the building industry so that the mass production of housing could go on without too much fear of devaluation or default by the consumer. With this accomplished, housing could also be used as a counter cyclical device to even out the oscillation of investment and therefore

regulate unemployment to a certain extent. Consequently, modern city planning was revived as well to facilitate these various related goals. Together, all these changes created conditions with for the production of urban space that closely matched Fordist models for the organization of production. Largely because of this, in the modern era urban government closely mirrored the dominant corporated model. As a result, in more ways than one, Ford and General Motors were shaping the physical and institutional spaces of the modern city.

Thus, by the early 1950s the basic foundations for a new mode of urban development -- characterized by a land-extensive regime of accumulation and modernist regulatory norms – was brought into existence. While property values had recovered to their 1931 levels by 1946, except for a brief inflationary surge around 1950 (as declining densification ratios show) until the early and mid 1960s this era would primarily be defined as a period of land extensive development since shelter costs generally lagged behind wage increases.[87]

The articulation of this new regime of accumulation with a complementary mode of regulation would be accomplished by the late 1940s, and would herald the production of one of the most standardized and homogeneous built environments ever constructed. Thus, from a low point of 11,827 units in 1946, housing production rose to 135,000 units in 1956, then to 160,000 units in 1966 and to over 230,000 by 1976.[88]

But even as the affordability of this space-extensive form of urban development was steadily improving, signs of change were beginning to loom on the horizon. As far back as 1952, portents of what was to follow appeared when shelter costs started to move dramatically above the consumer price index for the first time.[89] While it would be over a decade before these rising price increases would outstrip wage increases this can be seen as a portend of the reconfiguration of the property market that was to come with the great inflation that would create the material basis for a new regime of accumulation, which was land-intensive rather than land-extensive.

3.13 - The Great Inflation: 1965 to 1975 [90]

Around 1965, the supply-and-demand factors that had been responsible for keeping the densification ratio around the benchmark figure of two started to reverse direction as rising inflation eventually led to the institution of wage and price controls in 1974 and rent controls around the same time.[91] As well, soaring land prices and escalating interest rates undermined the material basis for the unproblematic extension of land-extensive development. After a long period of stasis and gradual decline, the densification ratio began to rise precipitously. One symptom of the crisis would be declining home ownership. After home ownership peaked in 1961 when the level of home ownership rose to 66 percent of all households, by 1971 the ownership rate had dropped to 60 percent (Miron 1988). Since 1971 there has been some modest recovery in the level of home ownership, with the percentage rising to 62 percent in 1981; however this is still below 1961 peak. Furthermore, especially in places like Vancouver, this modest increase has only occurred because of a change in tenure form and the move into denser housing units, since 20 percent of all housing in Vancouver is now strata title units which would indicate that nearly half of all ownership units in Vancouver are not single detached dwelling units and that nearly half are not held in fee simple ownership – the dominant tenure form during the modern era (table three, p.81). Accordingly the movement from fee simple to strata title forms of tenure can be seen as the one of the most important regulatory features of the postmodern era, since this insertion innovation would play a key role in eliminate the bottleneck to further densification by making it possible to experiment with new housing forms as well provide legitimacy to denser housing because it could now be owned rather than rented.[92] Here a very close link between postmodern regulation and densification developed.[93]

This would even be reflected in zoning regulations, particularly in Vancouver, where Comprehensive District zoning made it easier to institute denser mixed use developments spread from out from the City of Vancouver to the entire region with changes to the Municipal act by the provincial government in the mid 1990s (Ito 1997).

As with the formulation and application of modern norms, this did not happen without certain setbacks and considerable resistance. The permanent shift from land-extensive to land-intensive development in Vancouver that was triggered by the great inflation also provoked a powerful social and political reaction to the first wave of densification in Vancouver as well as across the country. Particularly, in those cities where the property market had been changed the most, initially this change provoked a powerful social and political reaction to the first wave of densification that flowed over the country's cities. Although much of this had to do with problems of afforability, equally significant in the reaction to densification was the aesthetic reaction to built environment that was being created. Here the flaws of modern formats for accommodating denser environments rose to the surface.

As a result, modernism lost much of its allure. On a variety of levels its legitimacy was called into question, because it was unable to create suitable environments for the denser spaces that were produced when the pattern of residential and commercial investment shifted and started to concentrate rather than disperse further out into the suburbs. Rather than greenfield sites, the redevelopment of existing built-up areas became the focal points for a great of new investment. This, combined with affordability problems, created a massive upheaval that prompted both mainstream (Bourne 1967; Lithwick 1970) and radical academics in Canada (Drache and Clement 1985, Chapter 25; Roussopoulos 1982; Pickvance 1976) to pay a great deal of attention to the city. This happened across a wide variety of disciplines and led to the creation of a distinctive urban discourse on the city in Canada. Researchers and academics tried to make sense of the densification process that was now unfolding. For example, in *High Rise and Super Profits* the authors caught the reigning sentiment when they remarked that:

> Housing in Canada absorbs about 40% of a working person's wage. With land prices skyrocketing as it becomes more and more scarce, the price of housing has become the single most inflationary item of the consumers budget (as a result) . . .the logic of urban scarcity make it economically necessary to build up rather than out. That way, a greater number of people can be more profitably housed on less land. In fact, in metropolitan centres between 1968 and 1970, three times as many apartment units have been built as have single family dwellings. (Barker et el. 1973, p.3)

As already stated, the shift from land-intensive development was further complicated

by the inability of modern regulation to deal with the turbulence and new formats that were required to made denser environments more acceptable to the middle class which once again moved out of its dormancy to become an active political force within the local state. While modern norms proved to be ideal for the regulation of land-extensive development this was less so when development shifted from a land extensive to land-intensive regime of accumulation - particularly when redevelopment took place on sites occupied by the new middle class or on land in which it had developed an interest. The situation was further aggravated by the limited aesthetic repertory of modern built forms. Since modernism in Canada relied on either the single detached dwelling units for land-extensive development, or the construction of high-rise development for the land-intensive development that took place in the 1960s, modernism did not have the capacity to adequately respond to the challenge posed by densification.

Many people were alienated from the environments that were created because of the strong set of associations between low-rise suburban environments and the good life and, conversely, the opposite association that existed between pathology and density that existed in both the popular and academic mind during the modern period, something that was further exacerbated by the negative symbolism that all high rise development would take on during the counterculture.

On several fronts, the weaknesses of modern philosophic, social and aesthetic practices for the regulation of space were brought out and exposed by the densification process. The sudden eruption of high-rise apartments across the country therefore provoked resistance to the entire framework that been responsible for the social and physical organization of space that had been in force since 1945, as the proportion of new housing stock made up of apartments rose from around 20 percent in the early 1960s to about 40 percent in the mid sixties, (1965) and then over 50 percent by the late 60s, when the first wave of densification crested. As this happened, so too did the resistance of the middle class to all forms of modern regulation.

The reaction that rose against the further spread of high-rise office buildings and apartment was not entirely negative. Their appearance also sparked the first experiments in

postmodern planning, as alternative formats for accommodating density began to be explored. Similarly, the other key material artifact of the modern city -- the automobile -- was also challenged for the first time. As a result of this, there was a slowdown in freeway construction and an increase in the resources devoted to the provision of more transit infrastructure.

Also, a search for new house types was begun. Housing forms located between the extremes represented by the single detached home and the high-rise apartment buildings were experimented with. Long before the current popularization of neo-traditional planning or the new urbanism, architects in Canada such as Barton Myers and Jack Diamond had began to explore how denser housing could be accommodated through infill construction and medium rather than high-rise formats that were organized around the street rather than the highway and which also paid more attention to the existing urban fabric, putting the campus format -- best exemplified in the new university campuses that were constructed in the 1960s, such as York University, The University of Waterloo and the University of Regina or publicly sponsored urban renewal such as the Raymour complex in Vancouver, the Jeanne Mance project in Montreal or Regent Park in Toronto (Hodge 1986, p.101), or private redevelopment, the most famous of which was St. James Town in Toronto -- into disrepute.[94]

Instead of this format alternative, postmodern format that involved mixed-use and medium-rise buildings aligned to existing urban streets were experimented with. Unlike modern formats, this new aesthetic order gave priority to the street rather than the highway, defining one of the key aesthetic principles for the postmodern organization of urban space that attempted to revive a form of urban space associated with 19th-century modernism, which typified the streetcar city and the *laissez-faire* period of development in the history of the North American city.

As well as this aesthetic shift, the modern regulation of space was challenged at the philosophic and social level also. Questions about the nature of urban space were raised. When land-extensive development predominated, most new housing construction took place on place on greenfield sites and it was possible for planners to view space as some blank slate or abstraction

that they could manipulate at will, molding it to fit into a technocratic notion of efficiency and uniformity, as standardized spaces formatted around the mass production of single detached dwelling units or high-rise apartment units and the automobile became mirror images and symbols of Fordism. However, this became much more difficult to do so when real estate investment shifted to already developed sites -- especially when these sites were occupied by a new middle class, whose opposition to redevelopment was further reinforced by aesthetic considerations, as it rebelled against the format taken by this development. There was also a philosophic dimension to this as well, as the new middle class reacted strongly to its exclusion from the decision-making process that created the program to be used to redevelop an existing space.

Not surprisingly, sharp cultural clashes arose as the first wave of densification lead to the intrusion of apartments into already built-up areas, setting the stage for the legitimization crisis that modern planning was to experience between the late 1960s and the present, as the middle class rebelled against the modern city at every level of its regulation, but most stridently at the aesthetic level, where high-rises became a lightning rod for a broader reaction that took shape against all forms of twentieth-century modernism, particularly bureaucratic rule and the corporate control of the economy. On the philosophic plane, for instance, this entailed a strong challenge to bureaucratic rule in both the public and private sectors. On the social level, this resulted in the deconstruction of modern notion of deviance and normalcy.[95] (Gutstein 1975; Ley 1974; Vancouver Urban Research group 1972; Lorimer 1972; Granastein 1971; Clarkson 1972; Caufield 1972; Sewell 1970; Lorimer 1970; Roussoupolos 1982).[96]

In addition, the great inflation and the pressure for densification created by this set in motion a number of institutional adaptations and responses that would become important for sustaining densification in Canada. Just as the National Housing Act and Canada Mortgage and Housing had established the institutional supports for the suburbanization of the city after 1945, in a similar way two institutional innovations heralded the beginning of postmodern regime for the regulation of urban space. The first change had to do with amendments that were

made to the National Housing Act in 1973. In turn these amendments provided the funding and rules for the creation of a vibrant non-profit and co-operative sector from 1973 until 1993 that became central features of the livable city program for the postmodern transformation of the city. The second important innovation had to do with the introduction of strata title legislation in the middle of the 1960s.[97] It would not become significant in the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city[98] during the 1970s, but would become pivotal to the densification process in the 1980s (during the era of the urban spectacle).[99]

In Vancouver, the link between these pieces of legislation and the production of urban space would be far-reaching, their relative dominance denoting the existence of two quite different phases in the postmodern transformation of the city. As table three (p. 81) shows, the diffusion of strata title units has been highly uneven – not only within the country but even with in a single urban region, such as Vancouver.[100] If national comparisons are made, the divergence between Vancouver and the nation becomes striking. Whereas only about 4 percent of all dwelling units in Canada were made up of strata title units in Greater Vancouver they made up 20 percent of all units. The divergence becomes even greater where densification in the region has been the most intense or where middle class resettlement has become extensive.[101]

In the Core area of Greater Vancouver (figure three, chapter five, p. 403) where densification was the most intense, the proportion of strata title was over 30 percent (table three, p. 81), nearly nine times the national average. And within the core, in local areas such as the Downtown and Fairview, where densification and the middle class colonization of urban space have been even more intense, the proportion of strata title units have approached 50 percent of all dwelling units, or twelve times the national average.[102] Not surprisingly Vancouver has the highest level of strata ownership in the country (Lo 1989). Thus, in 1996 condominiums accounted for over 55 percent (CMHC 1996) of all new housing units in the region and up to 62 percent of all new housing units constructed within the City of Vancouver (VS-351).[103]

Canada Mortgage and Housing (1994, p. 31) projections on housing starts show that this

extremely uneven diffusion of strata title units has continued into the 1990s. In the projections that were made cities and even provinces experiencing the most intense form of densification such as Vancouver and British Columbia the production of strata title units between 1993 and 1995 was projected to be around 48,883 or about 56 percent of all new strata title units constructed in the nation even though the province only accounted for about 13 percent of the country's population. The for Vancouver was just as great. With 28,000 strata title units projected over this time period, Vancouver was expected to account 33 percent of the national total, even though it only had 7 percent of the nation's population.

At the other end of the continuum there are cities such as Winnipeg that have a densification ratio that is below two, so land-extensive patterns of development are deeply entrenched here. In places like this, the level of new condominium construction has been very low. As the figures for Manitoba reveal, CMHC forecasts only 454 new strata title units for the province between 1993 and 1995. Since most of these units would be constructed in Winnipeg, from this one can infer that less than one half of one per cent of the national total of new strata title units projected be built in Canada[104] would appear in Winnipeg, a city with a third of Vancouver's population and around two percent of the nation's population. While the proportion of strata title units in Vancouver was nearly over-represented by a factor of five; Winnipeg was under-represented by a factor of 40.

With densification ratio hovers around or above 2.5, cities such Calgary and Edmonton, occupy an intermediate position between the extremes represented by Winnipeg and Vancouver. This shows up in the construction of strata title units for the province of Alberta where, as in Winnipeg, the vast majority of strata title units are located in either Edmonton or Calgary. Here the same CMHC projection forecast that between 1993 and 1995 7,550 new strata title units would be built in Alberta, or approximately 9 percent of the national total. When the sizes of Edmonton and Calgary are factored into this projection both cities lie reasonably close to the national average of 4 percent.[105]

Although the fact that strata title legislation provided the legal and institutional

mechanism for densification to proceed since the mid 1980s in Toronto and Vancouver, it is surprising to note how little recognition has been given to the impact that this tenure form has had on the production of space. Unlike the first wave, in which the production of rental units surfaced as the most important manifestation of the densification process, when the second wave emerged it would be strata title tenure house forms rather than rental units that would become the preferred tenure format for the production of denser housing.

While the great inflation reversed the trajectory of the densification ratio in most large cities, changing demographics and renewed interest in public transit also set off changes that also could impede or facilitate the extension of the densification process. Moreover, as this brief outline of the two waves of densification and the possible beginning of a third wave in places like Toronto may show, the shift from one regime to another can be a long and drawn out affair, and may work itself out in idiosyncratic ways in different cities. Moreover, as table one and two reveal, it is a process that does not just go on in a linear fashion. Even where it is most strongly expressed, such as in Vancouver and Toronto, there is an ebb and flow to the progression of the densification process that is tied into the independent movement of the building cycle. Moreover, as Winnipeg the densification process can even be permanently reversed. Likewise, where it is not dominant, the examples of Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa reveal that land-extensive and land-intensive regimes of accumulation can co-exist within a single urban region.

As the history of modern city planning has shown, the incubation of a new mode of urban development can be a long and drawn out affair. That is why it is not yet possible to make a definitive statement about the evolution of the current mode of urban development. Nevertheless, a simple comparison of what was absent in the previous mode of urban development, but now present in the current one, does reveal that some distinguishing patterns have emerged which set the urbanization that took place in the mid-twentieth century apart from what is now taking place in the late-twentieth century. While densification may not be dominant in every city, it appears as either an emergent or localized phenomenon in most large cities or as an ascendant force in the reshaping of urban space because of the that demographics

have upon the shaping of the densification process and the role that the provision of transportation and communications infrastructure can have on the concentration of dispersion of investment capital. Likewise, the spread of postmodern spatial norms can be viewed as another sign of the emergence of a new age with regard to the production of urban space. Still, it is not clear what final shape the current mode of urban development will take across the country. Keeping this in mind, the impact that population and demographics, and later, the impact that the provision of transportation infrastructure have had on the evolution of densification process can now be looked at.

TABLE THREE[106]

Strata Title Units As A Proportion Of Total Housing Stock

	Canada	Metro	C. of Van	Outer City	Core Area	CBD	Fairview
1981	1%	8%	6%	2.5%	9.3%	-	16%
1991	3%	15%	12%	4.5%	21%	6%	35%
1996	4%(e)	19%(e)	19.5% (e)	8.6%(e)	31%(e)	48%(e)	41%(e)

3.2 - Two: The Impact of Population and Demographics on densification

As encapsulated in the reconfiguration of the local property by changes in the densification ratio, even though economic influences are viewed as the single most important variable that shapes the densification process, the fact that the densification process in Vancouver was actually first triggered by demographic rather than economic factors indicates
34 that the densification process is a complex process which does not just move in a unilinear fashion and that other forces are at work in shaping it. The interplay of non-economic factors are important too.[107] While changes in the property market partially absorb and reflect changing demographic patterns and different strategies for the provisioning of transportation

infrastructure, it is still necessary to look at these other two key material variables separately.

Demographic influences can be broken up into three different categories of effects: those caused by changes in population growth, immigration patterns and shifts related changes in the life cycle of the population. With the exception of immigration, unlike economic changes or shifts in transportation and communications technology the influence of demographics is easier to project into the future. Moreover, as already mentioned, demographic influences work themselves out more in a cyclical rather than linear fashion over time. Because many of these movements are long-term and predictable, this has led some analysts to link demographic movements too closely with other phenomena, or to assume too much stability in the way demographic tendencies unfold.[108] In some cases this has led to a form of demographic determinism which has been as equally distorting as the economic and technological determinism which has surfaced in interpretation of urban transformation.

Therefore, some care has to be taken when using population projections to predict other occurrences – not only because there are two other variables which affect the densification process that need to be considered, but also because of the different way that these variables affect each other when they become articulated with one another. As will be shown, economic influences which affect the property market and demographic influences that affect the demand for sparser or denser housing forms do not necessarily move in sync with each other. Contradictory impulses can be a work at the same time. The densification process does not simply progress in a linear fashion, it is also shaped by counter cyclical forces. As a consequence, in certain articulations, demographic forces, amplify or counter act existing economic impulses that and even over ride them in some instances, either supporting land-extensive or land-intensive patterns of development.

Demographic influences have even acted as a trigger for the densification process in some conjunctures. At other times, they have acted as breaks, modifying or, mediating changes created by shifts in the densification ration – amplifying or muffling existing economic tendencies in land development. For instance, in Winnipeg, this can be shown by looking at the

great surge in apartment construction that took place between 1961 and 1971. Although the densification ratio (table one, p. 49) was still dropping in Winnipeg between 1961 and 1971, the large drop in the proportion of the housing stock made up single detached units during this time (table two, p.61) indicates that demographic influences played a very important part in triggering the first wave of densification in this city. As well, demographic rather than economic impulses appeared to have functioned as the initial triggers for the densification process in Vancouver. This can be illustrated by looking at the West End, where the first large boom in postwar apartment construction took place at time when the densification ratio was falling, but a surge in the number of seniors into the neighbourhood counteracted this general fall. Interestingly enough, this neighbourhood became the birthplace for the first wave of densification in Greater Vancouver. Not surprisingly there is a link between the first mini boom in apartment construction and the fact that the West End was rapidly aging because of the migration of seniors into the neighbourhood. This created a regional anomaly in the 1950s, since the proportion of seniors living in the West End was rising steeply at a time when the general population of the region was getting younger.

For Vancouver as a whole, the influence of demographics can best be outlined by looking at the work of David Baxter (1994; 1997).[109] His work provides the most comprehensive and complete analysis of the relation that exists between demographics and the demand for different types of housing in the region. From his analysis of housing it is possible to distill the correlations that exist between life cycle shifts in the general population and the demand created for denser or sparser forms of housing.[110]

Except for a brief inflationary surge in 1949 and 1950, because densification ratios in Vancouver were falling until the mid 1960s, the general trend was for housing prices to fall relative to income. Furthermore, since single detached dwelling units were the most desired housing form it is hardly surprising to see that the demand for this type of low-density accommodation increased significantly when the densification was falling. This shows up clearly in rising home ownership rates between 1941 and 1961. As a result, the percentage of

households in Canada owning their own housing increased from 57 percent to 66 percent in this twenty year time span.[111] Naturally this was also reflected in an increase in the proportion of single detached dwelling units. For instance, in the City of Vancouver, the percentage of single detached units rose from 52 percent of the entire housing stock in 1941 to 55.9 percent in 1961,[112] before the first densification wave would start to bring the proportion down to the low 30s where it now rests, as the densification ratio began its steep ascent in the mid 1960s.[113]

However, as the example of the West End shows, there were periods when this correlation was counteracted by opposing demographic influences. Although the densification ratio in Vancouver continued to fall after 1954, the production of apartments started to increase. While some modest increases in land and shelter prices did take place during the 1950s and early 1960s, wages generally stayed one step ahead of this price rise. Therefore, changes in the property market, by themselves, were not sufficient to explain the upward swing in apartment construction. Similary the same can be said about Toronto and even Winnipeg. However, if we look at the West End example and correlate the national surge in apartment construction with the movement of the key age cohorts most likely to live in apartments (those 65 years and older and those you are between the ages of 15 and 24 years), a demographic rather than economic explanation of the first surge in apartment construction can be made.

For this reason, it is possible to link the first postwar surge in apartment construction to the sequential expansion and contraction of these two age cohorts. Consequently, the first postwar apartment boom corresponds quite closely to the expansion of the seniors population that took place in the early to middle 1950s. Soon after, a much larger and longer lasting surge in apartment construction took place from the early and middle 1960s that continued into the early 1970s. But this time the demand for denser accommodation was created by the dramatic rise in the 15-to-24 year old age cohort rather than the seniors cohort. Because densification ratios were generally falling until the mid 1960s, demographic rather than economic factors were clearly the initial trigger for the beginning of the densification process until the late 1960s -- at which time escalating land prices started to kick in, lifting densification ratios upwards across

the nation and not just in Vancouver.

Life cycle changes therefore became the first important trigger for the densification process. The impact this had can be assessed by looking at the size of each age cohort and a measurement known as the household maintainer rate. The household maintainer rate shows what the likelihood is of an individual forming a household in a particular age cohort. It also can be used to examine the demand structure for sparser single detached units and denser multiple dwellings units that are generated by each age cohort.

In his research on the housing market in the Greater Vancouver area, Baxter has shown that the two age cohorts most likely to maintain apartment households stand at opposite ends of the age continuum. As already mentioned, one group is made up of the 15-to-24 year old age cohort and the other, the seniors age group 65 . For example, using 1961 figures, Baxter found that the 15-to-24 age group had the highest probability of maintaining an apartment unit, with 50 percent of all households in this age cohort housed in apartment households. The next highest take up of apartment units was accounted for by the 65-plus cohort, with 36 percent of all households in this age group made up of apartment dwellers in 1961.[114] The movement of these two age cohorts can therefore be used to chart the one of ebb and flow of one of demographic influence on the densification process.

Looking in more detail at the movement of these two age cohorts the contention that demographic rather economic influences were likely the most important initial triggers for the densification process can be shown by looking at what happened to the 65-year-old and over age group between 1951 and 1956. Statistics show that the number of seniors grew at a faster rate than the adult population as a whole at this time. While the adult population grew by 2.6 percent a year during this time in Vancouver, the 65 plus age cohort grew by 3.6 percent.[115] However, after 1956 the rate of increase in the seniors population began to trail the growth in the adult population. In a period which has been stereotyped as the baby boom era where the level of family formation was high, it is important to recognize that important countertrends were also present, and that this had an important effect on the production of denser housing

units due to the brief surge in non family households made up of seniors at a time when housing was still becoming relatively more inexpensive.[116]

While this growing seniors population may have triggered the densification process this age cohort was not large enough to maintain the momentum for the continued production of denser housing units. The slack created by the slow down in the growth of the seniors population in the late 50s was soon taken up by the 15-to-24 age cohort, that now started to grow much more rapidly than the 65 plus age cohort in the early 1960s.[117] With this age cohort becoming the fastest growing segment of the adult population during the 1960s, it grew by 6 percent a year compared to 3 to 3.5 percent for the adult population as a whole.[118]

Since Vancouver's West End was the crucible for these changes. this showed up in the high levels of apartment construction. As growth in the seniors population levelled off, and the number of young adults increased, the proportion of larger apartment units constructed declined, while the number of studio and one bedroom units grew dramatically as a percentage of the total housing stock. Moreover, the much larger size of this young adult population produced the largest and most sustained apartment boom in the city's history, with the construction of new units exceeding 3,000 units a year in the late 1960s.[119]

Thus, if the densification ratio and demographic movements are compared, it becomes clear that demographic and economic cycles can ran counter to each other. This happened from the mid 1950s until the mid 1960s. While declines in the densification ratio would have encouraged the production of sparser single detached dwelling units, in part this was counteracts by a growth spurt in the number of seniors and then later, the growth of young adults. Conversely, when demographic and economic influences moved in sync with each other – as was the case in the mid 1960s – they amplify each other. When this happened, not surprisingly, record levels of apartment construction were recorded in the West End, and elsewhere in Greater Vancouver, and across Canada in the late 1960s.

In the 1970s, these economic and demographic influences would diverge once again.

However, unlike the 1960s, this time demographics would act as a drag rather than as an amplifier with regard to the densification process. This happened because the age cohorts that grew the fastest in the 1970s were those located between the 15-to-24 and 65-years-and-above age groups. Growing much fastest than either of these groups this mature adult population was situated in the key family-formation period of the life cycle[120] where the demand was greatest for single detached dwelling units.[121]

Unlike the 1950s, in the late 60s and 1970s the densification ratio was rising rather than falling. Now the situation was the reverse of the late 50s. This time internal demographic shifts were counteracting the rise of the densification ratio rather than its fall. In turn, the effect of this demographic profile was further amplified by the introduction of additional government subsidies.[122]

Table two shows this (p.61). In the 1970s the rising densification ratio should have brought about a sharp decline in the the production of single detached units. On the contrary, more single detached units were constructed in the 1970s than the 1960s. This shows up in national housing figures. Whereas the proportion of single detached units declined by around six percent in the 1960s, in the 1970s the downward trajectory of single detached dwellings, as the rate of decline was halved. Rather than falling by six percent the proportion of single detached units fell by less than three percent (table two).

So even though the densification ratio within Vancouver continued to rise during the 1970s the production of new single detached dwellings did not experience a corresponding decrease. On the contrary, for the two reasons just cited, the dramatic rise in the densification ratio did not significantly curtail the production of new single detached units. In relative and absolute terms, more single detached units were produced during the 1970s than in the 1960s. This explains why the largest number of single detached dwellings ever produced in Greater Vancouver occurred during the 1970s, rather than the 1950s or the 1960s – the time periods most often associated with the unimpeded expansion of the modern postwar suburb. What this

strongly suggests is that the first densification wave was set off by demographic rather than economic triggers. As this example shows, when demographics are brought into the picture the relationship between the densification ratio and the production of denser housing is not necessarily linear. That is why the largest number of single detached units ever produced in Vancouver occurred in the 1970s -- when the densification ratio was rapidly climbing rather than falling.[123]

However, just as the market for denser accommodation that was generated by younger adults began to flatten out in the 1970s, the growth rate for the 65-plus-age cohort began to turn around again, after declining all throughout the 1960s. In the future, unlike the first densification wave, this segment of the population (and not young adults) will become increasingly influential over the evolution of the densification process.[124] For unlike the 1960s when young adults provided the fastest growing market for denser accommodation, [125] in the future (SC-8b) it will be this seniors and growing singles population that will become more important for internally generating more demand for denser housing units.[126]

Another important difference that sets the second wave of densification apart from the first in Vancouver is the presence of postmodern rather than modern norms.[127] Also this time the land market was influenced by the existence of an absolute rather than relative shortage in the availability of land, further intensifying the densification process in the 1990s in a way that was not felt in the 1960s.[128] This, along with a lower birth rate and a larger and quite different immigration pattern were also other factors that set the second wave of densification apart from its predecessor in the 1960s.

So, in addition to shifts in the life cycle of the population, changing immigration patterns have had a profound impact on the evolution of the densification process in Vancouver. For not only has the overall impact of immigration increased due to the decline in the natural birth rate, the impact of immigration on the production of housing has also changed because of the origins of most immigrants has changed since changes were made to the immigration act in 1967. For Vancouver this resulted in the flow of immigration becoming Asia rather than Euro-

centric. Furthermore, when the federal government created a new business class of immigrant in 1986 the social status of immigrants became much higher (Lapointe and Murdie 1996). One result was that the local residential real estate market became articulated with global markets for the first time in a significant way.

These factors, and the fact that Vancouver has attracted a disproportionate share of well-to-do Asian immigrants, has led to the creation of a the Zone Of Asian Resettlement (figures four and five, pp.404 and 410; table eight, p.465).[129] While suburban enclaves have formed in other urban regions, nowhere is it as extensive as in Vancouver. As a result of this, part of the core housing market and the property market in some inner suburbs of Vancouver are now being shaped by international rather than local forces. From abroad capital has been funneled into selected suburban neighbourhood in the City of Vancouver as well as the inner suburbs, and this has resulted in a silent but massive displacement of the indigenous middle-class and working-class population that once occupied this space.

What this review of the impact that demographic variables have upon the densification process reveals, is that process of transformation involved with densification is not a mono-causal one. Demographic as well as economic factors can play an important part in the evolution of the densification process. The difficulty here is determining the exact effect that these related (but autonomous) economic and demographic impulses have in fueling and shaping the densification process. Because the economic and demographic aspects of the densification process are often so intertwined, it is not always easy to disentangle and separate them, particularly when they camouflage each other, which often happens when they move in sync with one another.

It is more easy to see the separate impact that each variable has when market and demographic forces are out of sync with each other -- as was the case in the 1950s and early 1960s. When this occurs it is easier to see how demographic influences washed out or blunted the impact of lower densification ratios. However, when demographic and economic variables moved in sync with each other during the mid-to-late 60s, producing the first wave of

densification that swept across the country, it is much more difficult to see the impact that each variable has in shaping the densification process since existing trends are only amplified.

Lastly, another difference has to do with the different rhythms and geographic range of each impulse. For example the movement of the densification ratios for Winnipeg and Vancouver show that market impulses vacillate more in a linear up-and-down fashion compared to demographic shifts, which are more stable. Compared with the evolution of the property market, as the convergence of birth rates across the country indicates,[130] with the exception of immigration and population migration, demographic are more uniform across space and time. For this reason, demographic patterns can be projected into the future with some degree of accuracy, and that is why predictions about urban form based upon demographic changes have become so popular in some academic circles, but more especially with real estate interests, which crave certainty and are looking for a means to exploit knowledge about the future.[131]

3.3 - Three: The impact of communications technology and the provision of transportation infrastructure on the densification process

Up to this point, the focus has been mostly on how changing economic and demographic circumstances have affected the evolution of the densification process. However, when looking at the impact that the provision of new communications (The Globe and Mail 1997b, p. C2; Rogue 1996)[132] and transportation infrastructure have on the densification process there is a change in emphasis. Instead of primarily looking at demand factors, the emphasis switches more to the supply side of the ledger since the impact that the provision of transportation infrastructure has on the demand for denser or sparser house types is not as direct or as certain as the two other variables. Generally the construction of this infrastructure serves to redistribute rather than create a demand for denser or sparser housing in a particular locality.[133]

And this can work in both directions. On the one hand, the provision of more transportation infrastructure can bring more land within the range of development -- indirectly lowering the cost of land and, by doing so, encouraging more land extensive patterns of

development.[134] Conversely, on the other hand, investment in public transportation makes it possible to concentrate denser forms of development by increasing the accessibility of certain locations, creating grooves for capital to flow into which focus rather than disperse development. Sometimes, but only under special circumstances, the provision of urban transit infrastructure can act as an important trigger for densification but this usually only happens when favourable economic and demographic conditions are present.[135]

Compared to the reconfiguration of the property market or changing demographics, the provision of transportation and communications infrastructure affects the densification more indirectly. Because of this, in terms of causation it more often acts more as a dependent rather independent variable in shaping the densification process. There are also powerful institutional, cultural, and psychological forces that come into play when any attempt is made to alter travel behaviour. Investment in highways and public transit can produce wicked or unintended effects.[136] As a consequence, using rapid transit to induce densification can be a hit or miss proposition if the other factors are not in sync with its provision.[137] Investment in transit infrastructure in Canadian and American cities[138] suggest that only when the densification ratio for a city is increasing or when it is positioned at a high level does the provision of public transit infrastructure become an influential structural element in the densification process (US. Congress 1977).[139]

This works in the opposite direction as well. If more freeways rather than public transit systems are built in a fast growing city, more room for land extensive-development will be created, reducing the cost of land, thereby facilitating more low density sprawl. But even here there are limits: if land and housing become too expensive, as it has in freeway oriented cities such as Los Angeles, land-extensive development will encounter severe limits which the addition of more freeways can not resolve. Consequently, even in freeway oriented cities like L.A. some densification has occurred.[140] Moreover, because of the congestion and pollution that has come with over reliance on one form of transportation one of the most ambitious public transit projects has been initiated in L.A. (VS-340).[141]

In Canada the impact of investment in transportation infrastructure can be shown by looking at how investment in transit infrastructure has affected urban development in cities with different densification ratios and different transportation investment strategies.[142] Although there is not a perfect one to one correspondence between these two elements, it is possible to observe differences in cities which have low (with readings between 2 or 2.5 or below), intermediate (between 2.5 and 3.5) and high (4.0 and above) densification ratios. According to how high or low the ratio is in each city different land use patterns have emerged from the investment in transit and freeway infrastructure.

Where substantial investments have been made in new transit infrastructure, in cities with low or medium ratios, little change has resulted in the urban morphology of the city so far. The best example of this would no doubt be Montreal. Since the 1960s probably more money has been spent on Montreal's subway system than on any other in Canada. Yet this investment has generated very little development outside the city's downtown. This can probably be attributed to a flagging economy and slow population growth, that, in turn have resulted in declining densification ratios that appear to have canceled out the economic opportunities created for densification by this massive investment in transit. Contradictory transportation strategies for Montreal may have also been a factor.[143] In Toronto, a complete halt on all new major freeway construction resulted from the shift to public transit in the early 1970s. This did not happen in Montreal. Instead, significant expansion of the freeway system was carried out at the same time that a large investment was being made in public transit, canceling out much of the potential for transit investment to shape densification in the city.[144]

With hundreds of millions instead of billions of dollars in new investment made in other cities with low or intermediate densification ratios, here as well, the impact has so far been slight. For instance, since the late 1970s Ottawa has spent $450 million on a 31 kilometer busway system[145] and in Calgary and Edmonton each have spent about $500-million on light rapid transit systems, yet only slight or modest amounts of capital have been attracted to the transit zones that have been created.[146] For example, ambitious plans were made in Edmonton to

create several regional town centres in Clairview to the North East, and in Mill Woods to the South East, but these plans fell by the way side as the real estate market collapsed with the end of the oil boom in the early 1980s.[147] Calgary did the same, taking up and then abandoning ambitious plans for concentrating development along its LRT lines. But with the steadily improving fortunes of the city in the late 1990s, new interest is now being shown in reviving plans for the concentration of development into the city's transit corridors.[148]

However, if we now look at Toronto and Vancouver -- two cities which have high densification ratios but which have also adopted transit oriented programs, that have resulted in substantial sums being spent on public transit infrastructure -- quite a different story emerges. Here strongly articulated transit investment corridors have emerged which have dramatically altered the urban fabric of both cities. Although the real estate market in Toronto has weakened considerably since the late 1980s substantial residential development continues to take place near the city's subway corridors. Furthermore, billions of dollars of transit oriented investment are expected to occur along a new subway line under construction along Sheppard Avenue in the Toronto suburb of North York.[149]

For example, in the case of the Sheppard line over seven billion dollars worth of new investment by 2011 are projected to take place along this new transit corridor. 94,000 employment positions are predicted and enough residential development to house 67,000 people is predicted to occur along this new corridor by 2011, generating between 250 to 400-million dollars a year in new property taxes according to North York Mayor, Mel Lastman.[150] Even though these figures may be overly optimistic, they do nevertheless give an idea of the amount of investment that can be triggered by investment in public transit infrastructure under the right circumstances.

How transit investment will affect the densification process as a possible third investment wave for denser development begins to gather force in the late 1990s -- remains to be seen,[151] as the real estate market recovers from the deep recession of the early 1990s. Until recently, Toronto provided the best example of transit oriented development in North America. But as Pearl and Pucher (1995; 1998) have noted, governments in Canada have withdrawn more

support from transit than the United States since the mid 1980s even though ridership levels and investment opportunities were better realized in Canada. And nowhere is this retreat more obvious than in Toronto where riders are covering eighty percent of the cost of transit -- a level far above any other system in a developed country (Toronto Star 1997h).

For Ontario, in particular, this is significant, since opportunities to reshape urban development may be lost when the next cycle in the densification process resumes if additional funds are not made available for investment for additional transit infrastructure.[152] Because of provincial off loading and the fiscal crisis of the state ambitious plans to expand Toronto's rapid transit system have been abandoned. So far only in Ottawa has local government retained its commitment to extending the city's fixed transit infrastructure, with the regional district recently approving a $130-million expansion of its transit way with or without the assistance of the province.[153]

Except for Vancouver, cities in Alberta may be the only place in Canada where there is a good chance that a significant amount of new investment in public transit might be forthcoming. If this does happen, it could play an important part in further shaping the pattern of investment when the next production cycle for new housing, which started to gather steam in 1996, gathers its full momentum. With Calgary repositioned as the undisputed headquarters centre for Western Canada over the past ten years, and if the densification ratio for the city continues to rise as it now doing,[154] this, along with the new transit infrastructure that is planned, may lead to the creation of linear investment corridors that are now distinctive parts of the urban morphology of Vancouver and Toronto.[155] Just as with Ontario, whether this potential is realized or not will largely depend upon the provincial government (VS-319; VS-330; VS-344). However, unlike Ontario, the chance of something happening is much greater because the Government of Alberta is no longer bound by deficit constraints. Unlike Ontario there are now surpluses that might percolate into additional allocations for the expansion of public transit (Laghi 1997).[156]

While Toronto provides a good example of how investment in public transit

infrastructure can shape the densification process, Winnipeg provides an example of what a diametrically contrasting transportation strategy can do.[157] In contrast to both Toronto or Vancouver, since the 1970s the bureaucracy has gradually been implementing a freeway strategy that was formally cancelled by city council in the 1960s. With the aid of the province, massive additions to the road system have been made within and outside the city limits. Meanwhile, the long sought-after transit system has become a mirage. While about $50-million has been allocated to further expansion of the road system, the light rapid transit corridor has been completely stricken form the 1997-2001 capital budget and only about $2M has been allocated to new initiatives in transit (City of Winnipeg 1996). The same bias can be seen in the new master plan for transportation released in 1998. While hundreds of millions of dollars are given over to roadways in the "TransPlan" bus shelters are the only definite fixed capital expenditures that is mentioned when future transit infrastructure is discussed (City of Winnipeg 1998). Meanwhile, an elaborate discussion is given over to how this deficit plagued city can create an institutional mechanism that would ensure that dedicated funding long sought after for a $260-million freeway could be secured. If the estimates of the Manitoba infrastructure council are correct, this expansion would take place in a context inwhich the city has already incurred over a $500-million deficit with regard to the maintenance and repair of the existing road system.

This freeway strategy has sparked so much dispersed investment that it is not only the core of the city that is now suffering from capital flight but the entire city.[158] A dysfunctional pattern of land-extensive development has taken root in Winnipeg because of this. With no investment in additional transit infrastructure, and the lowest operating costs for running an automobile in the country, it is hardly surprising that Winnipeg is just behind Edmonton in having the most automobiles per capita and that its transit system is beginning to falter as the system of land use spawned by continued freeway-investment makes it more difficult and expensive to service the population with public transit.

While Winnipeg is setting aside just $2-million for new transit, Vancouver will spend over $800M in the next five years on further expanding its transit system. In spite of high debt

charges, which will absorb over twenty per cent of the city's revenues by just after the year 2000, the engineers and technocrats who control the city still remain committed to this unsustainable and harmful path. In this regard, it is no accident that Winnipeg's low level of densification can be connected to an institutional culture where, modernism remains the chief guide for the regulation and production of urban space. Like densification, postmodernism only exists in Winnipeg as a localized force in the patterning of space.

Because modern norms still are the defining mode of regulation for Winnipeg in an era that is now postmodern, the modernism that defines spatial practices do not have the same effects as they first did in the 1950s or 1960s. In the 1990s, this matrix persists in Winnipeg but only as a deformed and archaic remnant of its former self. No longer progressive the maintenance of this system has become regressive and reactionary. The persistence of the modern spatial matrix in Winnipeg has therefore given the institutional culture of the city a senile and deformed countenance, which stands out as a melancholy metaphor for the political, cultural and economic stagnation of the city.

With such contrasting strategies for the provision of transportation infrastructure in place for the past thirty years it is hardly surprising that ridership levels in each city have been turned inside out with regard to each other over the past three decades. Whereas transit use in Vancouver was nearly twenty-five per cent below the national average in the early 1960s, in Winnipeg the per capita use of transit was well above the national average. By the 1990s the position of each city had almost been completely reversed. Whereas per capita transit use in Winnipeg was once 20 percent above the national average in the 1960s, during the 1990s it has probably fallen below the national average.[159] Meanwhile the opposite has happened for Vancouver. Over the past twenty years it has gradually approached the per capita average for transit use in the nation. In the late 1990s it now probably exceeds the national per capita use of transit.

Divergent densification ratios and opposing transportation strategies[160] over the past thirty years have completely altered the shape of both cities. Even into the early 1960s the

legacy of the streetcar era was still clear to be seen in the organization of space in Winnipeg. During the mini boom that preceded the first national wave of apartment construction, in the 1950s, and even into the first wave of densification, during the 1960s, new apartment construction still followed what was still then one of North America's most strongly imprinted linear pattern of development. Suburban apartment construction in Winnipeg even preceded that of Vancouver, with the apartments that were constructed along Portage Avenue in St. James eclipsing construction in the core, which came in second place instead of first, in terms of new apartment construction, from the early 1950s until the late 1970s.[161] So even into the middle of the 1960s the distinctive spoke and wheel pattern of development that was ingrained into the city during the streetcar era was still structuring the shape of the city. However, since that time this concentrated linear pattern of development has almost been completely extinguished in Winnipeg, making the core irrelevant to the majority of people who live in the city.

In contrast to Winnipeg, since the 1980s Vancouver has succeeded in reviving a hybrid spoke and wheel pattern reminiscent of the streetcar city because of the investment that has been made in public transit. As a result, four distinct transit corridors and several smaller one within the City of Vancouver have re-emerged to shape the city (figure one).[162] As a consequence, densification has created a concentric and linear pattern of medium density urban development, casting considerable doubt on the over generalized edge city speculations of Garreau (1991) or the deterministic forecast about the end of the city and the rise of exurbia predicted by futurologists such as Lessinger (1991).

Unlike the amorphous and diffuse pattern of urban development forecasted by Garreau and Lessinger, a much more concentrated and patterned node and spoke format for the organization of urban space has begun to emerge in Vancouver (figures one; seven; eight B). The most important spine begins in the City of North Vancouver (City of North Vancouver 1992) and runs along Lonsdale Avenue down to Burrard Inlet where a ferry system called Seabus connects this corridor to downtown Vancouver,[163] and to Skytrain, which runs along an old streetcar right of way into Burnaby, where the most intensive development (other than the downtown) is

taking place around Metrotown (Ito 1995; VS-406c). Skytrain then continues into New Westminister, ending in Surrey.[164] Although development has been lackluster in Surrey planners expect that Surrey will be able to eventually become the region's second downtown -- far surpassing what can now be seen in Burnaby's Metrotown -- if the plans for Surrey are realized.[165]

There are three secondary spines that are also beginning to emerge (diagram Two). One starts along the South Shore of Burrard Inlet and then continues along the North Shore of the Fraser River, following the route of the West Coast commuter train that began service in 1995. With plans a foot for the creation of a new town centre at the terminus of the line in Mission (65 kilometers east of downtown Vancouver) and the recent designation of Haney as a regional town centre a there is a good chance that a transit oriented investment spine will appear along this corridor, as already there are modest signs that this new commuter rail line is beginning to act as a magnet for capital (Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows June 25,1997).[166]

Another development spine may soon emerge along Broadway and the Lougheed Highway corridor where plans for an LRT line terminating in the eastern suburb of Coquitlam are moving ahead (diagram One). Here as well a plan is beginning to be prepared for the creation of another high density development corridor, with Burnaby preparing a redevelopment strategy for the industrial land which exists along the proposed transit line.[167]

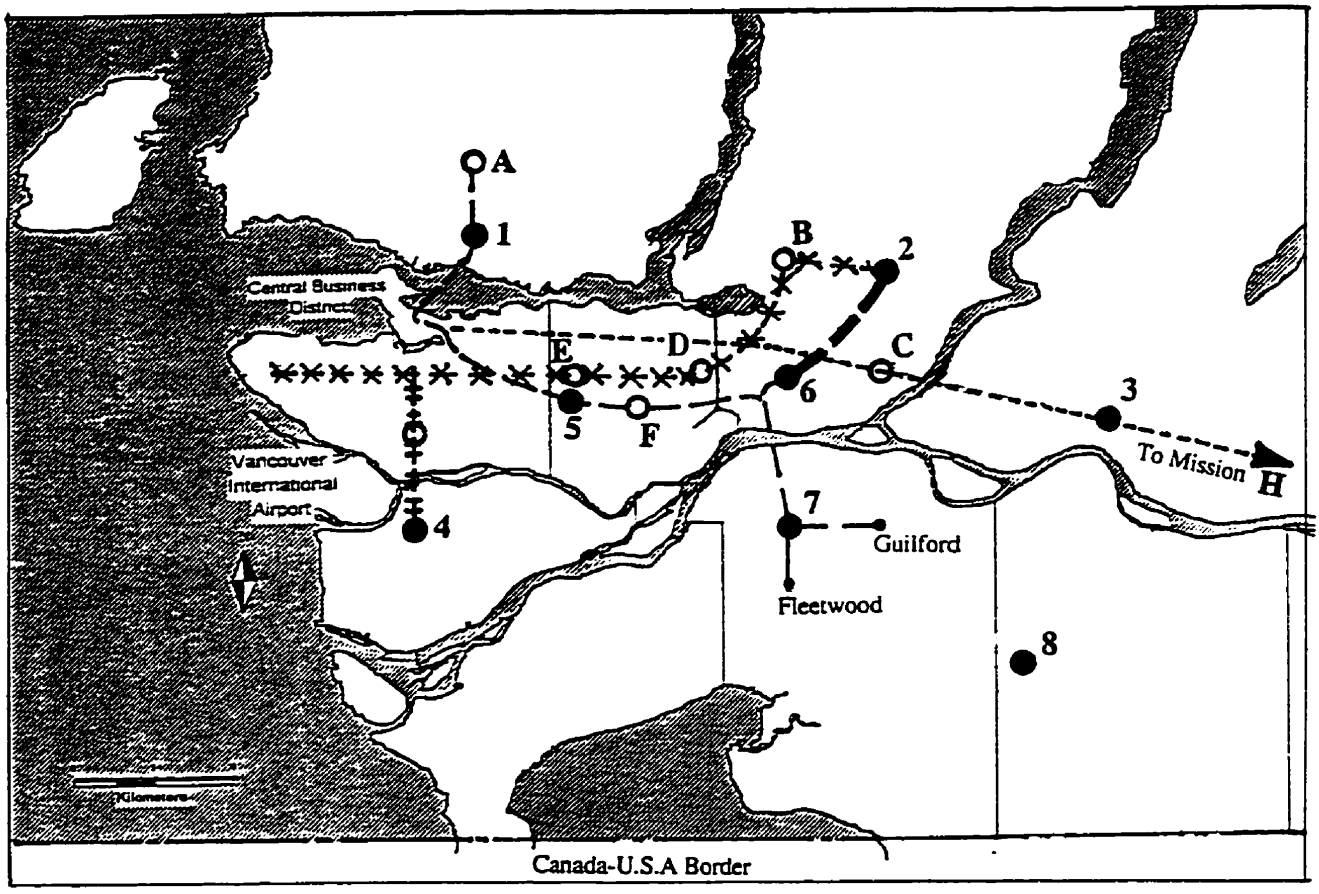
Lastly, if a transit line is extended south from the City of Vancouver to Richmond[168] another development corridor that once existed but was largely erased in the 1950s and 1960s is likely to re-emerge and should closely follow the old streetcar line that once ran to the fishing port of Steveston, in Richmond. Once this happens the string of higher density enclaves that were planted by the earlier line that follows from Granville and 12th Avenue to Kerrisdale and then Marpole before ending in Richmond should become part of a fourth major transit oriented development corridor.[169]

Thus with very high densification ratios, favourable demographics and heavy investment in public transit in Vancouver one of the most successful reintroductions of a spoke and

wheel pattern of urban development has been re-introduced into North America. If development continues along its present trajectory and the province of B.C. maintains its commitment to transit then it is quite possible that Vancouver could become what Stockholm (Cervero 1996) is to Europe - and transform itself into the most transit oriented city on the continent. Meanwhile on the opposite end of the continuum there are cities like Winnipeg, where low or declining densification ratios, slow population growth, along with constant net out migration and a freeway oriented strategy for public investment have turned what was once Western Canada's densest city into one of the most sprawled out and amorphous urban region's in the country. Perhaps only what is taking place in New Brunswick (Forbes and Forrest 1997) can rival what is now taking place in Manitoba, as the rural population of the province is rising while the percentage of the urban population is declining because of the decentralization that has been not allowed but encouraged to take place in Winnipeg .

On the otherhand one of the most dynamic transit oriented investment corridors in North America has appeared in Vancouver. This is one reason why Vancouver rather than Toronto now stands at the forefront of transit lead urban development in North America.[170] Unless the cutbacks initiated by province of Ontario are ended, the impact of new transit infrastructure on the pattern of development will probably remain muted as the next layer of urban investment is added on to what already exists in Toronto. However, for Vancouver, the story is quite different. Here there seems to be little doubt that transit will play an even more decisive role in shaping the pattern of investment in the next investment wave (VS-168).[171]

Figure One Transit System and Nodal forms of Densification



Legend

Transit Corridors

- LRT
- West Coast
- Broadway Corridor
- Coquitlam Centre/newst
- Richmond Corridor

Note: The highest density of transit corridors are located in zones allocated for compact growth.

— Re-emergence of the Linear city

● regional town centres

1 Longsdale
2 Coquitlam
3 Haney/Maple Ridge
4 Richmond
5 Metrotown
6 New Westminister
7 Surrey Town Centre
8 Langley City

○ local town centres

A Lonsdale
B Port Moody
C Port Coquitlam
D Lougheed/North Road
E Brentwood
F Edmonds
G Kerrisdale
H (Mission)

3.4 - Densification at the local level

Having studied the economic, demographic and technological variables that shape the densification at the international, national and the regional and local levels it is possible to locate differences in the evolution of the densification process by examining how these three processes have been responsible for uneven evolution of the densification process within Greater Vancouver. Not only do significant differences exist between the United States and Canada and between different cities in the same country, such as Winnipeg and Vancouver, but if the separate municipalities that make up the Greater Vancouver Regional District are compared and even individual neighbourhoods within a single municipality are compared and contrasted noticeable difference become observable. As a result, there is not just one geographic configuration for the densification but several. In particular, three basic patterns stand out and deserve additional comment because they are replicated in more than one community in Greater Vancouver and because they also exist as defining characteristics of the densification process in other cities and even countries, for that matter - as the earlier comparison and contrast that was made between Canada and the United States attempted to show. So even within a single urban region, where densification has become the dominant restructuring force, there can be considerable variation and unevenness in its progression with several unique and unusual permutations to the densification emerging that need to be acknowledged. Therefore, according to which part of Vancouver is studied different stages, levels of intensity and divergent formats for the densification process can be located (figures nine B; thirteen A to D).

The most noticeable expression of densification would no doubt be the cluster of high-rise rental units and high-rise strata title units that are concentrated in the downtown peninsula. Here the most advanced stage in the transformation of the built environment by the densification process can be seen (VS-351; VS-314; Fabish 1996; Building Canada 1997a). This transformation has also established a physical environment that has produced a number of over lapping micro social spaces that make up a larger entity: an entity that can be referred to as the

"collage city," where a variety of singles oriented sub-cultures exist. Rental and strata title units are the two types of tenure forms that predominate (table two). Rental units are concentrated in the West End, which has the largest stock of rental units in the region. Here densification developed in an incremental but rapid fashion in a pre-existing neighbourhood made up of single detached units. In the downtown, where the region's largest concentration of high-rise strata title units now exists, the pace of development has been even more rapid. Unlike the West End, most of this residential development has taken place on land formerly zoned for industrial and commercial land uses.

Then there is a second pattern, where classic forms of gentrification have taken place as a result of the colonization of the transitional area around the Downtown peninsula by the new middle class (Ley 1996; Mills 1989; 1991; Jackson 1984). In contrast to the first pattern, this second configuration developed in direct opposition to the first one. With much more emphasis placed on conservation of existing structures and the clear preference shown for medium-rise rather than high-rise structures. Although there are some rental units and single detached homes, that are held in Fee Simple, the majority of units are either medium-rise co-operative units or medium rise wood frame strata title units. Socially, this area is more homogeneous than the first area because it has largely been settled by the new middle class. As with the high-rise zone, located in the Downtown peninsula, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement that has emerged in the City of Vancouver is the most extensive and intense expression of medium rise format for densification in the region, if not the country (table three).

The predominance of this pattern of development is clearly revealed if building permits for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement are broken down into high, medium and low-rise layers of development. For example this shows up in statistics on new housing construction, if data from 1997 is used. With over fifty percent of all new housing construction in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement made up of medium-rise development (figures nine-B and thirteen-C, chapter five), the level of medium-rise construction in this zone figure stands well above the regional average of 36.8 percent for medium-rise housing. Consequently, what is revealed is that

even though medium-rise housing construction is the most common format for new construction in the region the even greater bias towards medium-rise construction in this zone shows that this zone still remains the cradle and epicentre of a pattern of medium-rise development that has become the predominate form taken by densification in Greater Vancouver: with low-rise development, represented by single detached units, coming in second place - accounting for nearly 30 percent of all new housing units constructed in 1997 – after which high-rise units follow, in third place, accounting for around 21 percent of new units.[172]

Finally, there is a third settlement zone that has emerged in Vancouver, where a third pattern has arisen mostly in areas that are zoned for single detached dwellings. At the same time, as with the two other zones, the most sophisticated and extensive examples of this low-rise densification can be found in the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver. In an analogous fashion, the this format has become intertwined with the creation of a number of distinctive social spaces in the region – the first having to do with the creation of a Zone of Asian Resettlement and the second, smaller pockets of development oriented towards seniors (figures eleven A and B; CVCO-48) and the creation of adult communities, where children are discouraged from living by the way the units are designed or by the bylaws of the strata title council although this is strictly illegal). With this low impact, low-rise form of densification, fee simple tenure currently predominate in those areas settled by middle class Asian immigrants. There are, however, a significant number of strata title units for adults and seniors who tend to favour attached bungalow or townhouse accommodation rather than medium rise or high-rise strata title units – although these exist as well. In addition to these house forms, there is also a significant stock of rental units; however, they exist by and large outside the formal housing market and make up an ever growing part of the informal economy with regard to the region's housing market. This type of accommodation is most extensive in the City of Vancouver. Estimates suggest that there at least 25,000 such units with only about 3,000 existing as legal suites within a single detached unit. While this form of densification is camouflaged to a certain extent by its illegal status other forms of low-rise densification are more obvious in the

sub-division of larger lots into smaller lots, which has probably produced thousands of new single detached units in the City of Vancouver alone (figure 10-C). Then there is infill housing and the demolition of smaller and older single detached units and their replacement by new units which have much larger site coverage. Many of the units are designed so that they can easily be turned into miniature apartment blocks to help pay for the house or to raise revenue by an absentee owner. As with the other two formats, because the most sophisticated and varied formats of this kind of densification are found in the City of Vancouver, this is the place where the most controversy over this form of densification has arisen and where, as a result, the most complex zoning regimes have evolved to facilitate or address the problems and opportunities presented by densification that has taken this low-rise form (McAfee 1987; Ho 1989; Petite 1991; VS-170; VS-173AA; VS-256; VS-328a).[173]

Moving outside the City of Vancouver, the replication of these three patterns can be seen in a number of different areas in the region. The closest counterpart to the high-rise format found in Downtown Vancouver and would be the Uptown and Downtown areas of New Westminister (VS-291; VS-174); VS-112b), where rental and high rise development has evolved incrementally in the Uptown area and Downtown New Westminister, where high-rise development has surged, with construction taking place mostly on former industrial land. Other suburban examples of this format exist in the City of North Vancouver, Ambleside, in West Vancouver, and Metrotown (Ito 1995), and in Burnaby, the area around Edmonds Station. Unlike the other two format this high-rise format is the most localized and is largely situated around the region's transit corridors or on former industrial land (VS-406).

While the most extensive and sophisticated example of densification formatted along a medium rise format are located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (figure seven A), where medium rise house forms have been contoured as co-operatives, lofts, and medium rise luxury strata title units, which probably make up the largest and most extensive ring of such dwelling in the country (table three),[174] nonetheless, there are upper and lower-middle class counterparts to this zone in the suburbs. Example of this would be the redevelopment of

Maillardville in the suburb of Coquitlam, the neighbourhoods that surround downtown Port Coquitlam, Steveston (VS-137; DaSilva 1997; 1997c), in Richmond, and in the cities of Langley and White Rock.[175]

Then there are suburban counterparts to the third format. Unlike the other two formats these are dispersed throughout the region, the variant of this pattern that is oriented to adults and seniors becomes most obvious in the profusion of gated-communities in the outer suburbs (DaSilva 1997b; Brady 1997). However the most extensive suburban concentration of this type of densification outside the City of Vancouver remains within the Zone of Asian Resettlement that extends into the inner suburbs and part of Surrey. Thus Burnaby and Richmond have undergone very extensive low rise densification in areas zoned for single detached dwelling units. This also applies to secondary suites, where Burnaby has always had a high concentration of units because of Simon Fraser University. However it is Surrey, which now probably rivals the City of Vancouver, since over 12,000 secondary suites have already been identified by the municipality (Surrey/North Delta 1997)). What is interesting to note about this phenomenon is that the spread of secondary suites and the creation of new provincial legislation (GBC-3 1994) to accommodate it and new zoning schedules to control and discipline it reveal, the extent of the decay of RS-1 Zoning, for single families - the most extensive and prominent regulatory feature of the modern era associated with land-extensive development - something that can be dramatically illustrated by looking at changes in the City of Vancouver's Zoning Map. For instance in the early 1970s, about seventy percent of the city was shaded white to represent areas that were expected to abide by the single family housing code; however (CVPD-30a), by the late 1990s (CVPD-135a; CVPD-83), about half of this area was now shaded gray to designate areas where secondary suites would be allowed and at least another thirty percent was rezoned to RS-5 and 6 schedules to control site coverage because of the reaction to large homes and the denuding of the existing landscape (CVC0-48; CV-27; VS-113; VS-143a). Nevertheless, with housing prices so high, and incomes remaining stagnant while housing prices continued to climb for most of the 1990s in Vancouver, the pressure to densify areas zoned for

single family dwellings has greatly increased and has become a generalized concern that is affecting nearly every municipality in Greater Vancouver (VS-206; VS-87abc; VS-80).

In one way or another, all three formats have been shaped by how the local property market, demographic forces, (which for simplicity's sake can be taken to embrace the emergence of the new middle class - although, as will be shown in the next chapter - it is an autonomous force in its own right that is more connected to the postmodern transformation of the city rather than to the densification process per se.) and finally, the provision of transportation infrastructure and the related land use changes that have followed from its provision. How these three forces have interacted with each other at the neighbourhood and city wide level within the context of the existing zoning legislation largely explain the format and stage of development taken by the densification process in any specific locality. That is why the impact of densification process on Vancouver will not be identical to that of Toronto, Montreal or Winnipeg. But in each case, as earlier pointed out, the configuration of the demand and supply forces which shape the property market will be the most important background influence.[176] While demographic forces are the raw material of this process and provide the ultimate bedrock for the evolution of the densification process, demographic influences usually take second place to market forces.[177] And then finally transportation infrastructure enters into the picture as an important geographic modifier of the market that is created by the interaction of the two preceding variables.

Furthermore, how these three material variables shape the densification process vary over time as well as space. Consequently it is a process which can add different building layers on to the same space. Whereas young adult were the most important age cohort when the first wave of densification swept across Vancouver in the 1960s; from the mid 1980s onwards mature adults (i.e., families with children no longer at home) and a growing population of affluent seniors have played a more important role in the demand for denser units during the second densification wave that arose in the mid 1980s. These same groups are likely to play an even more critical role when and if a third wave of densification sweeps the country after the

bottoming out of the production cycle for new housing units in 1995. Even in cities, such as Winnipeg, where densification is highly localized, it has been these seniors that has provided the market for the small but limited construction of new condominium units in the city and the only signs of densification in a city otherwise totally affected by land-extensive pattern of development (CMHC 1994B; 1995). In this regard the transformation of the City of White Rock exhibit how influential this fast growing market has become, something that is now widely acknowledged in regional and national studies that attempt to project future housing demand (Baxter 1989; Foot 1996; CMHC 1997i). Here the presence of the most concentrated number of seniors in the region, where the number of seniors now exceed the metropolitan average by three hundred percent, is strongly linked to the densification that has taken place here, as it can be for a great deal of the production of denser housing in the City of Langley and Abbotsford.[178]

Finally, as already mentioned in the previous section, densification has flowed into the investment grooves established by the construction of new transit corridors in Vancouver. If past trends are any indication of future investment possibilities the provision of additional transit infrastructure is likely to play an even more important role in shaping the configuration the investment geography of Vancouver over the next decade. Since Skytrain opened in 1986, per capita, probably more investment has been poured into the investment corridor created by this infrastructure than any other transit system in North America. With two other transit corridors planned and a third possibly going to Richmond,[179] up to four transit corridors may emerge. If this happens, the transit orientation of additional investment in the production of urban space will climb far above the high levels of investment that already exist. Accordingly, if these transit oriented investment spines emerge, a 21st century version of the streetcar city will come into existence within the next twenty years (diagram one). As said before, if this happens, Vancouver will move into a league of its own, surpassing Toronto to become North America's interpretation of the rail centred city of which Stockholm would be its closest equivalent in Europe (Cervero 1996).[180]

So what is noteworthy about the historical evolution of Vancouver is how each of the

three material elements that shape the densification process kicks in to produce different types of environments. Far from being a linear or uniform progression the evolution of the densification process in Vancouver shows itself to be quite variegated over time and space, particularly if its outward diffusion form its place of origin in the West End of Vancouver is examined .[181]

Having briefly described the present geography of densification in Greater Vancouver it is now the appropriate time to review its history. Because no other neighbourhood has been affected by this process as long as the West End (or so profoundly transformed by it), a short history of the West End can be used to encapsulate the stages of development the densification process has gone through for the region as a whole (figures six A and B). However, since the West End is also the geographic point of origin of the densification process as well, what has happened here takes on additional significance as a result of this. At present about 40,000 people occupy nearly one square mile that make up the West End, which lies adjacent to Vancouver's downtown. Although the beginning of the postwar transformation of the West End begins in the early 1950s, prewar traces of this process of transformation stretch as far back as 70 years ago, when the first significant surge in apartment construction took place in the 1920s. In part, it was fears about density, social decay, and falling property values (believed to accompany the invasion of apartments into single family districts) that thrust Vancouver out of its *laissez-faire* period of development into the modern era, when RS-1 zoning was created in the late 1920s, to make the areas of single detached units inviolate from the invasion of denser types of land use. So for Vancouver at least, there is an ironic twist to what happened. With the West End turned into the only high density residential area of the city, it had to be cordoned off from the rest of the city by a number of protective zones that were meant to cushion areas zoned for single family dwellings from salubrious influences of high density, thereby preventing the further degradation of property as well as the moral fiber of the community. It would not be until the early 1980s that this association was completely laid to rest by planners and the more informed public. Regardless of the motivation, the designation of the West End as the only area in the region zoned for high density residential development established the regulatory

parameters for the total transformation of the West End in the 1950s into the densest residential neighbourhood in the region - since even into the middle of the 1950s the physical makeup of the West End was still predominately defined by single detached dwelling units.[182] However, by 1997, this once common house type had become an endangered artifact of the Victorian city. Presently about one-hundred houses remain from the thousands that existed here in the 1950s,[183] or about point zero five percent of the entire neighbourhood's housing stock (compare this figure to table two), of the 100 or so blocks that make up the West End one block, now known as Mole Hill (Petrie 1995) has survived as the only intact block of single detached that has not yet succumbed to the high impact densification that completely transformed the West End between 1957 and 1970 (McAfee 1967; 1972).

Over the next forty years this predominantly low rise neighbourhood of single detached dwelling units would be transformed into Canada's most famous high-rise precinct. From the ultimate bourgeois suburb (Gibson 1972; Robertson 1977), it had been turned into its symbolic opposite, becoming identified with the jet set (Forbes 1970; VP-18). It became for some a symbol for glamorous high-rise living and in retrospect, an early premonition of the urban spectacle that was to follow as a program for city building in the 1980s, when the postmodern city mutated into its current market - and entertainment - driven form. Unlike most other contemporary high rise apartment areas, no subsidies were given to make private redevelopment occur on the massive scale that took place here (Gaylor 1971). Rather it was the quest for beauty and leisure, not child rearing and work that became apparent in the West End. The evolution of the zoning protocols that were used to regulate the production of space in this neighbourhood as far back as 1956 (CVPD-1).

Thus not only has the West End been affected by the densification process longer than anywhere else in the region, it has been the neighbourhood most radically transformed by the densification process. For this reason the physical evolution and an examination of how planners have attempted to cope with densification in this neighbourhood reveals a great deal about the about the institutional context for the evolution of the densification process for the

region as a whole. In this fashion the West End functions as both a symbolic marker and as a regulatory touchstone for the interaction and articulation of densification with the postmodern spatial matrix that was later to come into existence but already foreshadowed by developments in the West End in the 1950s and 1960s.

From a regulatory perspective, the modernist bias against density and the early postmodern aesthetic reaction to high-rise living produced a great deal of ambivalence about the West End in the public's mind as well within professional planning discourse (VP-16a; VS-33). Although at times the West End was portrayed in a glamorous light, more often than not, it was regarded with unease and suspicion by planners and citizens. Particularly for the new middle class, which first came into existence as an identifiable social group in the late 1960s, the West End became an object of derision and ridicule. Functioning as a lightning rod for the postmodern reaction to the way that the modern regulation tried to accommodate the first densification wave, the West End provoked the search for an alternative format for the production of denser spaces. Although in a negative way, it nevertheless acted as a catalyst for much of the experimentation in Vancouver that took place with medium-rise formats. In this way it helped give birth to the formulation of a postmodern alternative that at first set itself up in antithesis to everything the West End stood for. Indeed, for most of the first phase of the postmodern transformation of Vancouver the West End was held in low regard by planners and citizens alike. Only in the 1980s, with the revision of the postmodern aesthetic and the creation of a new economic base for the core area of the region did this change. Rather than being reviled in postmodern discourse, as it was in the 1970s, in the 1980s, but more so in the 1990s (Durning 1996), it has become a symbol for the livable and sustainable city rather than its antithesis -- even receiving the seal of approval from the doyenne of postmodernism herself -- Jane Jacobs.[184]

Last of all, because no other neighourhood in Vancouver has gone through every phase of development in the evolution of the densification process the West End stands out as an end point that can be used to provide a series of benchmarks for calibrating the different stages in the transformation of the built environment brought about by the densification process. Using

the changes that occurred in the composition of the housing stock of the West End, as the percentage of the housing stock moved from a position where one-hundred percent of all dwelling units were made up of single detached dwellings to the current state, where only point zero five percent are single detached, four distinct stages in the physical transformation of the built environment can be identified and used as markers of the densification process elsewhere in the region.

The first stage can be described as one of emergence. This stage in the evolution of the West End began in the second decade of the twentieth century and continued into the 1920s and 1930s when purpose built apartments became a noticeable but subsidiary part of the built environment. The ascendant stage began in 1940s and 1950s. This stage of development began when the construction of purpose built multiple dwelling units regularly replaced single detached units. Simultaneously, a low grade form of densification was taking place with the conversion of large houses into boarding houses, but this was a very weak (if not questionable) form of densification, since the capital put into these conversions was probably minimal and the value of this residential space was probably depreciating rather than appreciating. Nonetheless, as the ascendant stage progressed single detached units were gradually replaced by apartments, preparing the way for the next stage. The third stage can be described as one of dominance. As the word suggests, this stage began when apartments became the dominant house type, accounting for at least fifty percent of all dwelling units in the neighbourhood. This stage began in the 1950s and lasted into the early 1970s.

There is fourth and final stage. It can be described as one of maturation because it is a stage when apartment living clearly become hegemonic, with small and incremental changes occurring rather than rapid changes in the physical composition of the built environment. For the West End this happened in the early 1970s when new zoning was introduced in 1973 (CVPD-35) to slow down the rate of change. As a result, over the past 25 years physical changes to the West End have been modest and gradual. This state was even further emphasized when the zoning bylaws for the West End were amended in 1989 (CVPD-77; CVPD-89).[185]

For the City of Vancouver and the larger urban region these markers can be used to map out and situate the progression of the densification process and its stage of development over time and space because of the limited repertory of built forms provided by modernism until a postmodern framework was put in place with the experimentation that took place in Vancouver in reaction to what was happening in the West End. These developments only became statistically significant in the 1980s. However, until this time densification was primarily made visible by the construction of apartment suites and units which were constructed as rental rather than as strata title accommodation.[186]

In the case of the City of Vancouver, 1954 marks the beginning of the ascendant phase for the evolution of the densification process in the city. Largely because of the redevelopment of the West End the number of new apartment units constructed in the city surpassed the number of single detached dwellings that were being added each year. Just as with the West End, a stage of dominance was achieved when the composition of the housing stock shifted to a predominantly denser form in 1971, when the percentage of single detached units fell below fifty percent for the first time.[187]

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With the exception of Kerrisdale, South Granville Street and the Marpole area, until the late 1960s, the majority of new apartment construction in the City of Vancouver was confined to The West End. However, by the early 1970s, apartment construction was beginning to filter into the transitional - and mixed use neighbourhoods that surrounded Downtown Vancouver. By the middle of the 1960s apartment construction had also leap-frogged across the zone of single detached homes that made up the non core area of the City of Vancouver and had started to become significant in many of the inner suburbs (City of Burnaby 1969).

Looking at the region now (rather than the city) 1962 can be pointed to as a watershed year in the progression of the densification process at the regional scale. Only in the early 1960s does apartment construction appear as an emergent phenomenon. During this year the number of apartments constructed in the suburbs doubled, moving from 628 units in 1961 to 1147 units in 1962.[188] Forty years after the West End had entered into this phase and nearly ten years after the City of Vancouver had reached this point, the production of denser housing was now becoming a significant force in the production of urban space across the region.[189]

Because of a wave of densification swept over the entire country from the mid 60s to the mid 70s, the pace of change quickened in Vancouver. Barely five years after the production of denser housing had emerged, by the mid 1960s it had already entered into an ascendant stage of development.

Close to the late 1960s four large satellite zones for apartments had come into existence in the Suburbs: two on the North Shore, one by Ambleside beach in the City of West Vancouver and the other across the harbour from downtown Vancouver, in the City of North Vancouver. The two remaining satellites were located to the east, in the Midtown section of New Westminister and the Central Park area of Burnaby. In fact densification became so intense here that it caught up with the City of Vancouver

So by 1971 not only was densification physically altering the City of Vancouver, it was now also transforming the physical morphology of the inner suburbs of Vancouver as well. And by 1991, twenty years after this happened in the City of Vancouver, densification had become

dominant for the entire urban region, as the percentage of the housing stock in Greater Vancouver made up of single detached units fell to fifty percent. Since 1991, the process has accelerated so that by 1988 the number of single detached units probably accounted for less than 43 percent of the region's housing stock (See table two). With regard to the proportion of denser housing units, now only the Montreal urban region exceeds Vancouver. During the 1990s Vancouver moved past Toronto as it had Winnipeg in the 1960s moving further up the ladder in terms of the production of denser urban spaces. Moreover, if present trends continue it is not improbable that Vancouver may come close to exceeding the number of denser units in Montreal by 2001 or soon thereafter. What marking off these stages of development and the examination of housing statistics show is that Vancouver is the only large city in the country to switch unequivocally over from a land extensive to land intensive pattern of development. Rather than being a secondary restructuring force with regard to the production of space, densification has now become the main force behind the reconfiguration of urban space in this region.[190] In fact densification has become so intense in Vancouver that it has begun to spill out past the commuter zone.[191] For this reason, unlike the exurban fringe of Toronto or Montreal, densification shadows the larger hinterland fringe of Vancouver, affecting the production of space in places such as Abbotsford, Squamish or even Kelowna, more than a five hour drive away.[192]

The intense nature of the densification of Greater Vancouver is suggested in population figures as well as housing statistics. Using population figures from the 1996 Census (SC-18) comparison between cities within the region and without show just how quickly things have changed.[193] Although densification now dominates all parts of Greater Vancouver the most recent population figures for the City of Vancouver indicate that it still remains the epicenter of this process. Largely because the city is completely built up, it could not grow as fast as the region, but it did grow faster than the national metropolitan average for all Census Metropolitan Areas between 1991 and 1996, even though growth in these other cities included all new greenfield development, which was not the case for the City of Vancouver.

Thus, between 1991 and 1996 the population of the City of Vancouver grew by eight point

nine per cent, or over sixty-two per cent of the metropolitan growth rate, which was fourteen point three percent.[194] This hides the fact that the City of Vancouver still grew fifty percent above the average for all metropolitan areas in the country and nearly exceeded the growth rate for the entire Toronto region, which only grew by nine point four percent from 1991 to 1996; or Ottawa region, which grew by only by seven point three percent and Calgary, which grew by just nine percent. This is further amplified when just the core areas of each urban region are compared.[195] While the City of Toronto only grew by two point nine percent between 1991 and 1996, the City of Montreal declined by point-zero-one percent and the City of Ottawa increased by only just over three percent; the City of Vancouver grew by nearly three times the rate of its closet rival, which in this case would be Toronto or Ottawa.[196]

What is even more interesting when looking at the latest population figures is what is happening in the inner suburbs of Vancouver, particularly Burnaby and New Westminister. Burnaby, which is almost completely developed, grew by twelve point eight percent between 1991 and 1996; and New Westminister, which is completely developed, the population grew by thirteen-point-two percent. Like Vancouver, what is noteworthy about New Westminister is that it is experiencing such a high growth rate in population even though it is completely developed. This means that all growth involves densification of one sort or another. What is more is that population growth in New Westminister and some other suburban communities are already exceeding the 2021 projections set for denser growth for the areas designated as part of the compact urban area by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (July 1996).

In New Westminister, for example, currently approved or proposed developments are expected to take the city's population up to 84,000 - or 5,600 above the GVRD (July 1996) assignment of 78,783. What is more intriguing about this is that the realization of this development would take urban densities in New Westminister past those of the City of Vancouver for the first time. At present urban densities in New Westminister are only 71 percent of those of the City of Vancouver, but if all the predicted development that is forecast for New Westminister takes place urban densities will exceed those in the City of Vancouver by a slight

margin.[197] Meanwhile if Burnaby simply complies with GVRD assignments then urban density in this suburb will approach the density reached by the City of Vancouver in 1996.

More intriguing still are the population projections for White Rock, the City of North Vancouver and the City of Langley. None of these cities are in the area designated by the region for more compact growth yet they are growing faster than regional projections. It is important to note that this growth is land-intensive rather than land-extensive, and that it is occurring on the fringes of the region rather than in the core. For example the GVRD projected that the population of the City of White Rock would grow to 17,997 in 2021; however by 1996 the population has already reached 17,210. Similar densification is taking place in the City of North Vancouver where projections for 2021 look as if they will be exceeded by several thousand. And what is more interesting is that while some municipalities are resisting the goals set by the region for densification other suburban localities like Richmond are demanding room for more densification than what was allocated to them in the regional plan (VS-203a).[198] All this can be taken as further evidence of the generalized nature of the densification process in Greater Vancouver and a sign of its intensity, with the core areas, the suburbs and the exurban areas are all participating in this restructuring.[199]

3:5 - Variations on a theme: How densification in Vancouver corresponds to what is transpiring in other North American cities - looking at variations in the real estate markets of Edmonton, Winnipeg and Seattle and San Francisco in relation to Vancouver.

If residential densities and population are left aside and the capitalization of property and the flow of investment capital is just examined, the West End also shows how the physical change in the built environment corresponds closely to the reconfiguration of the local property market. Except in some cases of gentrification, where the middle class are able to take advantage of the existence of a rent gap (Smith 1984), rising rather than falling property values is the conditions that set the precondition for the reconcentration of investment capital in the built environment rather than its dispersal. How steep the price gradient is between core and the periphery can therefore serve as a marker for the direction that investment capital is liable

to move in the city. Property values on the periphery are higher than the core will usually indicate that powerful centrifugal market forces are in operation – indicating that residential capital is dispersing to the periphery of an urban region rather than concentrating in its core.

So when core residential property values soar above the metropolitan average this is a strong sign that densification will probably signify the that urban space is being restructured by densification. Conversely, when residential property values in the core are far below the regional average and peripheral values are above the metropolitan average this is more likely to indicate that land-extensive rather than land-intensive patterns of investment are predominate. Plus, in urban regions like Toronto where there are high values in both the core and the exurban periphery, a bi-modal investment pattern has emerged, where land-intensive and land-extensive development co-exist. To a great extent, it is possible to speculate that these differences in the configuration of the property market in each city (or a country, for that matter) will reveal why densification is more intense in some Canadian cities than others. Consequently even with the resurgence of land-extensive development in the 1980s, in 1997, powerful economic impulses were still propelling at least at least half the towards densification: with about 35 percent of the housing market operating in a market setting where the densification ratio was around the benchmark reading of four and where 15 percent of the market was in an intermediate position - with densification ratios somewhere between three and four existing in cities such as Hamilton, Ottawa and Calgary (Zehr 1998). Even with the return In addition, they may show why densification is more extensive and intense in Canada than it appears to be in the United States, since residential property values are generally much higher in the core areas of more urban regions in Canada than they appear to be in the United States and that the price gap that exists between suburban, exurban areas and core areas is not as extreme in Canada as some past measurements of both countries have shown them to be in the United States (Goldberg and Mercer 1986).

Again, regarding Canada's largest cities, the only exceptions that really stand out are Edmonton and Winnipeg, with the gap much more in evidence in Winnipeg than it is in

Edmonton if differences between core, suburban and exurban housing prices are compared. For example in a Summer survey of housing prices by ReMax the average value of a home sold in the core area of Edmonton was approximately $104,000, or about 7% below the region wide average, while the average selling price of a home in one of the region's largest exurban communities, Sherwood Park, was $145,000. Not surprisingly the dispersion of residential construction is much more pronounced in Edmonton than it is in Calgary, where property values are much higher in the core area (Edmonton Journal 1997b).

However, as stated before, the most obvious exception to the core periphery gap is Winnipeg. If there is a twenty-nine percent difference between the core and the periphery of Edmonton, the gap between the core and the periphery in Winnipeg is much greater. While the average selling price of a MLS listing for Winnipeg in 1996 was approximately $90,000 and the median value of a new home in the suburban part of the city was about $135,000, for vast areas of the core house prices averaged around $30,000 with some average neighbourhood prices nearly falling to $20,000. Instead of a difference of twenty-nine percent the price gap between the core and the periphery in Winnipeg was over four-hundred percent. Moreover, while the gap between average core area residential property values were slightly less than ten percent in Winnipeg the gap was around three-hundred percent (CMHC 1997h; Winnipeg Real Estate Board, July, 1997). Indeed, in a walk through the West Broadway Neighbourhood a house was spotted that was selling for as low as $14,900. While the price gap in Edmonton indicated that investment was dispersing, the relatively small gap between the core and the regional average meant that the inner city was still a viable place for capital investment. In contrast to this, the chasm that exists between core and suburban values in Winnipeg discloses a market that can neither support any new construction nor even any major renovations of the existing housing stock. With housing values falling by 30 percent in two large inner city neighbourhoods (the West End and Point Douglas) between 1991 and 1996 while the average price in the city rose by five percent, this combined with systemic red lining (PI-56) indicate that the real estate market in much of the inner city has gone wild and is now so weak that regular institutions that

normally stabilize and protect property values have abandoned much it. This not only undermines the market integrity of much of the inner city housing stock, but also its use value as well, since the only rational action for an owner not living in a unit is to milk a housing unit for as much rent as possible without engaging in any maintenance or repairs. What can only follow from this is rapid decay and obsolescence of the existing of the housing stock and its eventual abandonment. Signs of this are already appearing in the inner city as some sites are reverting to prairie.

Nowhere else in Canada are such conditions found. Even if there was no red-lining, which would mean that at least a property could be insured, the fact that prices are so low that the market actually serves to repel new investment. Even with a below market construction costs of $60 a square foot, any new construction in much of the core would immediately be penalized and discounted by at least fifty percent if not more as soon as the investment were made. What is so disturbing is how closely Winnipeg's inner city in now beginning to parallel that of Detroit's. Perhaps no where else in the United States has a large urban centre been so severely affected by capital abandonment and dispersion. With bottom-end prices in some of the worst neighbourhoods in Detroit – such as the Martin Luther Area – going for about $15,000 Canadian, the difference between the lowest neighbourhood values in some core neighbourhoods in Winnipeg is not that far above the worst that can be found in Detroit (Refer to SNC, Vol.2, Chpt. 3, Note 168). And as already pointed out, there are some houses on the market in Winnipeg which actually fall below this floor. It therefore comes as no surprise that what denser accommodation is being built in Winnipeg is following the American pattern, where investment in denser housing tends to be located in the periphery rather than the core of the urban region. And this is where most of the very limited condominium construction in the city can be found.

Although Winnipeg is an extreme case in point some of the core markets in Edmonton and Montreal are problematic as well.[200] However, these are cities where land extensive development is ascendant. The difference is that land extensive development in these places

has not yet reached the level of dysfunction that is now so apparent in Winnipeg.

Because of their long touted commonalties, comparing Vancouver with Seattle provides another vantage point by which the unique situation of Vancouver with regard to the densification process can be seen. Except for New York City, Chicago, San Francisco or Miami Beach - where significant densification is taking place in the core of the urban region, in places like L.A. and Seattle, the more common pattern is for densification to take place in the periphery of the region. In this regard Seattle appears to occupy a middle position, with housing construction and housing price levels for various parts of the region indicating that a bi-modal pattern of investment – similar to Toronto's, but much weaker in terms of the strength of investment in the core -- is taking place. Still, if the three internal variables that shape the densification process are examined for Seattle, despite some reconcentration of capital, Seattle is still basically an urban region where land-extensive development is dominant and land intensive investment plays a secondary role in the shaping of the urban morphology of this region.

That is why the a comparison between these two cities is useful: because they are situated so close together, the presence of two quite different regimes of accumulation is registered unmistakably in the way difference that can be observed in the land market of each city and the construction that has resulted. unavoidable. Consequently, when Seattle is compared to Vancouver the impact of two quite different regimes of accumulation reveal differences between both cities that may at first almost seem counter intuitive, but which closer inspection indicates the presence of contrasting spatial logics for the organization of investment. This lies in the recognition that structurally, Vancouver and Seattle are really two different kinds of cities. Rather than moving closer together, as some observers are wont to imply (Pivo 1996), they are, in fact, moving further apart. Both in economic terms and the logic that governs the allocation of investment into the construction of the built environment both two very different evolutionary trajectories can be discerned for each city.

Despite the revival of investment in the core, the overall picture for the whole region is

more mixed pattern than is the case for Vancouver. Unlike Vancouver, the City of Seattle ($192,952) does not have the highest property values in the region. While the urban core has the second highest values it still trails far behind the East Shore where values hover around $270,593.[201] So not only can the densification be mapped out by observing shifts in house forms and population density; to a certain extent, the intensity and geographic configuration of the densification process can assessed by looking at the difference in property values between the core and periphery of an urban region.

Thus, until the land-extensive regime of accumulation was reversed in Vancouver during the 1960s, the West End stood out as an isolated island of land intensive development in a sea of land-extensive development where investment was geared towards the expansion of the suburbs rather than the reconcentration of residential capital into the core. The shift upward in property assessments for the West End in the 1950s was a harbinger of what was later to follow. Therefore, the West End was the first large sub market in the core to break decisively with the cycle of declining or stagnant property values that had been created as a result of the reconfiguration of the urban land market when the great deflation took place in the 1930s.

Accordingly, during the late 1950s and early 1960s the West End was the only large built up area of the city where assessment values were rising dramatically rather than remaining stable or declining. Changes in assessment values show that the West End was even out competing the downtown for new investment.[202] However by the middle of the 1960s densification was no longer just confined to the West End. During the late 1960s property values in the downtown started to increase dramatically. In addition property values and residential investment in the transitional area surrounding the downtown peninsula started to rise, setting the stage for the eventual transformation of this area of discard into a Zone Of Middle Class Resettlement. As a result, at present and unlike Seattle, nearly all property in the city, except for a few small pockets, is now well above the metropolitan average region and well above property values recorded in the exurban periphery, in places like the District of Langley, Surrey or Maple Ridge.

What has happened to Strathcona over the past forty years is quite instructive. In the 1950s this area was slated for urban renewal because of very weak assessed values. However, by the 1990s the average value of a home in Strathcona stood eleven per cent above the metropolitan average and approximately thirty per cent above average values present in peripheral locations such as Maple Ridge and Surrey.[203] Because of zoning, and the location of this neighbourhood in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement densification has not taken the high rise format that is present in the downtown peninsula but has become manifest in the incremental gentrification of the neighbourhood. That is why, in spite of densification, this gentrification has ensured that there has been no dramatic increase in the population of the neighbourhood.

To conclude, even though densification is far more significant in Canada it would be inaccurate to say that densification in North America is primarily a Canadian phenomenon. Again comparing densification ratios helps to point this out. In some American cities the property markets are configured to support the production of denser built environments. If the other attributes which shape and promote densification are put in place this favourable market context could translate into the production of denser environments. Using three as a benchmark densification ratio to mark a field of transition between land-extensive and land-intensive development an estimate for house prices in 1997 shows that the densification ratio in Canada (3.1)[204] stands just slightly above this benchmark figure while the United States (2.7) rests below this figure (Rhodes 1997).[205] Although there is no one-to-one correspondence between this ratio and the built form of the city, if a comparison is made with the United States, there seems to be a correlation between higher densification ratios in Canada and the production of a lower number of single detached units. This can be pointed to by looking at the most figures for new housing construction. For example in the third quarter of 1997 the annualized level of production of single detached units in the United States (G/M 1997zl) was over eighty percent compared to about sixty percent for Canada (G/M 1997zq). This does not mean that densification does not exist in the United States, only that it is an emergent

phenomenon in the United States rather than an ascendant one, unlike Canada where it has been ascendant. Not only is densification considerably weaker it also manifests itself in a different physical and geographic format, something which is only partially revealed by comparing densification ratios but which becomes more apparent when looking at the production of different house forms, such as gated-communities, and where they are located. For example, the dominant locational propensity for strata title units in the United States is on the exurban fringes rather than in the core of the urban region, which is more common in Canada, with Winnipeg being one notable exception to this (Mckenzie 1994).[206]

These differences come into clear relief if Vancouver is compared to San Francisco rather than Seattle, since this is the city where the property market, the provision of transportation and demographics have created the most favourable configuration of densification in the United States. Even though the City of San Francisco has a densification ratio of four point five and is now the most expensive urban real estate market in the United States in terms of price it remains considerably below Vancouver. While densification has reached a level of dominance in the City of San Francisco, unlike Vancouver this does extend to the entire region: in the case of Vancouver, densification is dominant throughout the entire region; it is only ascendant or emergent in the rest of the Bay Area.[207] Even in the core of each region the densification ratio of San Francisco pales besides Vancouver's. Hence the densification ratio for a single detached home in the City of Vancouver hovers around fifteen and a high-rise condominium (with two bedrooms) stands around eight, with even the cheapest accommodation -- a low-rise two bedroom condominium -- only takes the densification ratio down to four. When compared to San Francisco, it is only the cheapest accommodation in Vancouver that comes close to the densification ratio for San Francisco: where the average densification ratio has been estimated to be around four point five (CMHC 1997a).[208]

Moreover, if we look at housing figures for greater San Francisco and not just the city proper[209] (except for the Silicon Valley) the densification ratio drops dramatically in the adjacent counties that surround the city. Across the bay, in the City of Oakland, for example,

the densification ratio falls to three and then declines to two point nine in places like the Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa area, in the North East quadrant of the region. [210] Again, this may be one reason why so little development has taken place around BART. Even though it has been in operation for nearly 30 years, hardly any suburban development has taken place until very recently. Contrast this with Vancouver, where development has mushroomed along Vancouver's Skytrain, although the system has only been in operation for ten years. [211]

Thus, Vancouver is not alone when it comes to the densification process. But with the highest densification ratio on the continent, since probably no other city in North America is so rapidly being reconfigured into a late twentieth century version of the early twentieth century street car city, Vancouver does hold a unique position that is bound to cause the city to diverge further away from the standard North American pattern.

It is therefore somewhat misleading to draw Vancouver into the urban field defined by Portland and Seattle when looking at how the city is evolving. Naive notions about a larger regional entity called Cascadia -- an entity based upon propinquity and climate -- can only distract attention away from the more fundamental forces that are transforming Vancouver into a city quite different from Seattle or Portland. Although there are some signs of densification in Seattle and Portland, it is of an entirely different order than what can be found in Vancouver. While there are some philosophic similarities between the type of postmodern regulation which govern these three cities, quite different demographic and economic influences are at work which make the similarities that exist between Vancouver, Seattle and Portland misleading. Indeed even the attempt to establish some equivalence between Portland and Seattle may be overplayed. Whatever the case may be for Portland and Seattle, one thing is clear about one of these three cities: Vancouver is travelling in quite a different direction than either Seattle or Portland (Reid 1992, Summer/Fall pp. 14-17; VS-318).

If the social ecology of each city were compared the similarities that could be drawn between Vancouver and any other North American cities Miami would be the most appropriate choice rather than Portland or Seattle. The same would apply to densification, where Toronto

and San Francisco have more in common with Vancouver than either Seattle or Portland.

If international comparisons are to be made (no matter the geographic scale that is used) Vancouver stands out as being unique in the North American context. Furthermore, if other comparisons were to be made, besides Miami, Vancouver is closer to San Francisco[212] or Washington D.C. than it is to Seattle or Portland. And even within Canada, the densification of Vancouver appears to be morphing the region into a different configuration from what can be observed in Ottawa and Toronto – the other two major cities where densification now acts as a powerful force in the production of urban space. Regardless of the level of comparison, for Vancouver what is clear is that it is now the only city in North American where the densification process operates as a dominating force with regard to the re-organization of urban space.

If it has not already happened, Vancouver will very soon become the first North American urban region to be transformed from a low density into a medium density metropolis. And if current trends continue (which, of course they are not likely to) it is even possible to speculate that within the next ten years Vancouver might become the densest urban region on the continent.

3: 6 - Concluding remarks and observations

In closing, this detailed examination of the densification process show that substantive differences exist between each mode of urban development, and that if the political, social and cultural contexts for the reproduction of land extensive (suburbanization) development and land intensive (densification) development are compared, a great deal of unevenness emerges in the second mode of urban development when comparison are made to the first, which requires some final explanation before moving on. As already mentioned, in terms of spatial practice, in Canada modernism was midwifed by the federal government which had the motivation, organizational capacity as well as the will and resources to create a powerful building industry and a centralized systems of rules and regulations that were generally uniformly followed across the country, allowing large as well as small development corporations to serve the new mass

consumer market for single detached dwelling units that was also created by the freeing up of the credit market. In true fordist fashion the production of space was controlled by a central agency like CMHC, which was able to standardize urban development, something that would be critical to the creation of the uniform and standardized urban spaces that defined the modern period. This would change in the postmodern era. For this reason, there probably is a great deal of symbolism behind the name change of Central Mortgage and Housing to Canada Mortgage and Housing which later occurred in the postmodern period.

At this time the provinces were too underdeveloped to challenge the Federal Government's *de facto* management of the city. As well, they lacked fiscal and human resources to offer any challenge to the intervention of the Federal government or the ability to suggest an alternative vision.[213] However, with the relative decline of the federal government, urban policy making has become much more fragmented, not only because the federal government has largely vacated the field, but also because the provinces are now the dominant policy players on the urban scene. This, along with the divergence that can be seen in the three material variables that shape the densification process, account for most of the current polarization that characterized urban development at present.[214]

Thus with regard to the property market, globalization and the free trade agreement (Little 1997l; G/M 1997zb) have probably served to widen the wide variation that can now be observed in the different real estate markets of Canada's larger cities, since the flow of labour (VS-361; Little 1997K) and capital is logically connected to the relative strength or weakness of the real estate markets of each city.

Also, part of this polarization has to do with the existence of a new class configuration in the city during the postmodern era. For example there is the case of the new middle class. It did not exist as a significant force in the city during the modern period but now plays a critical role in the densification of the core areas of most Canadian cities. However, because of the centralization of decision making functions and the concentration of knowledge workers into only a few select cities, geographically, this class is quite unevenly distributed across the country.

This can be shown by looking at the production of strata title units in general but more specifically by looking at the inner-city where the production of condominiums corresponds fairly closely to the reconcentration of the middle class into the inner city just as the high production of single detached units in the 1950s and 1960s corresponded to the dispersion of the working class and the middle class to the suburbs.

As tables two and three indicate, with the exception of Montreal, the variation between the national proportion of single detached units was relatively low compared to contrast that exists with regard to the production and location of condominium units. Again, what this further suggests is a uniformity during the modern period which is absent in the postmodern era, something that is even further emphasized if the production of strata title units in the core residential areas of each region are compared. For not only does the concentration of these units in the core generally signify the that the middle class is centralizing in the core it is also an expression of densification and as table three shows this tenure form and house type is much more unevenly distributed across the country than single detached units. Recent figures on the location and amount of strata title housing being produced in each city further confirm this. For example the Winnipeg market only absorbs 10 new strata title units per month, and most of these are located in the outer suburbs (CMHC 1994b). But in Calgary, with the housing market starting to boom the level of construction will be moving up to at least 250 per month by 1998 (Calgary Herald 1997M), with a large proportion of these units located in the inner city. Lastly there is Vancouver, where it has not been unusual to see the production of over 1000 strata title units a month (CMHC 1997) with a disproportionate number of these units centralized in the core of the city. Even if differences in population size are taken into account the polarization of urban space that is symbolized in the location and production of condominium units stands as a stark reminder of how much the production of urban space in our cities is diverging when comparisons are made to what was going on in the 1950s and 1960s.

Finally the uniformity of the first mode of urban development and the polarization that is present in the second emerges when looking at the demographics of the Canadian city

VS-361). As with the other examples Winnipeg and Vancouver provide the best example of this contrast. During the modern era the baby boom provided a fairly uniformity base for population growth across the country and the same general stimulus existed for the demand of land-extensive housing forms in child-centered suburbs that consisted of single detached dwelling units. Even though immigration level rose to new highs during modern period, nonetheless most population growth was generated internally because of the unprecedented reversal of a long term trend of declining birth rates during the 1950s and part of the 1960s.

This changed after the mid 1960s when the birth rate started to its rapid descent, and high levels of immigration were maintained even in years of high unemployment.[215] Unlike the internal birth rate that produced a more uniform rate of population growth, the growing influence of immigration during the postmodern period also played a role in fueling the polarization of urban development, where again Vancouver and Winnipeg were to stand at opposite ends of the continuum, since immigrants tend to go overwhelmingly to only a few select cities, with Toronto and Vancouver alone accounting for a huge and disproportionate segment of this immigrant population (VS-361). Likewise, since 1986 this polarization has been even more accentuated by the federal program to attract immigrants with capital. With the disproportionate number of the these business class immigrants ending up in Vancouver, Vancouver's real estate market is now articulated to some of the most expensive residential markets in the world, creating additional inflationary pressures, most particularly in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. As a result displacement has become a generalized feature of much of the core area of Vancouver over the past ten years. Meanwhile the reverse was the case for Winnipeg. Although Winnipeg did not gain from this class of immigrant the real estate market of the core was probably stabilized by the influx of blue-collar and pink-collar immigrants who regularly came to the city to work in many of the city's traditional industries such as clothing. However, during the 1990s, this immigration fell steeply and this was probably one factor in the near collapse of parts of the inner city real estate market during the 1990s. Although this decline has stopped and a slight improvement in immigration to Winnipeg has occurred, the

difference that can be observed with regard to immigration profile of each city mirrors the same contrasts that can be observed with regard to the way the real estate market is constituted in each city and the difference that can be seen with regard to investment in transportation infrastructure. Even though Winnipeg and Vancouver stand out as extreme cases in point with regard to urban polarization, the striking differences that can be observed in each city only highlight the fact that milder forms of this polarization exists elsewhere in the urban system.

Whether the current polarization in the mode of urban development persists as a permanent or transitory characteristic of this second mode of urban development remains to be seen. However after the next building cycle it should become more apparent what trajectories most cities will follow and what format for densification is likely to become dominant in each major urban centre across the country.

So far what the data for the years between 1981 and 1996, (tables one and two) has shown, is that the resurgence in the land-extensive development that took place in the 1990s (Peck 1995; CHMC 1997g), has moderated and that statistically at least, after almost coming to a halt in the 1990s - and keeping in mind they are skewed by what happened in Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 and a significant overall decline in the production of housing - is that densification has picked up some momentum again.[216] At the same time, they also reveal that the polarization that first emerged in the late 70s and early 1980s has, if anything, become more deeply ingrained. The increasing divergence between Winnipeg and Vancouver over this time period shows this to be clearly the case. While the densification ratio for Winnipeg has remained around the benchmark figure of two, the ratio for Vancouver has soared above the already high reading that was recorded in 1991 and now stands well above seven. The same polarization is evident in the construction of housing between 1991 and 1996. Whereas the decline in the proportion of single detached units has accelerated in Vancouver[217] the proportion of single detached units in Winnipeg has continued to increase.[218]

Between the two extremes of land-extensive and land-intensive development that Winnipeg and Vancouver most clearly embody, a third pattern has appeared since the 1980s. In

Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa a bi-polar pattern of urban development has emerged, in which land-extensive and land-intensive regimes of accumulation co-exist in the same region. Montreal and Toronto provide the two best examples of the emergence of this hybrid pattern of investment, with Toronto weighted more towards land-intensive development overall in contrast to Montreal where it is weighted more towards land-extensive development because of the relatively smaller share of residential capital going into the core of the region.

Land-extensive development also strongly reasserted itself in Calgary and Edmonton during the 1990's, but this has only happened recently and may pass with the rapid escalation in housing prices. Although both cities produced a higher proportion of single detached units in some years than in Winnipeg, during the 1990s, this is only a recent pattern while the land extensive pattern that presently exists in Winnipeg is much more deeply ingrained. For example while housing prices in Winnipeg were languishing near the bottom with regard to other large urban centres in the late 70s and early 1980s, Calgary had the second highest housing prices in the country (Won 1997).[219] While land-extensive development has been the dominant pattern for residential investment for nearly a generation in Winnipeg, it has only just reasserted itself in Calgary.

Hence, Winnipeg and Montreal are the only other major cities where a long term trend towards more land-extensive development appears to have become permanently established. Although land-extensive patterns became dominant in Edmonton and Calgary in the 1990s as well, and even exceeded Winnipeg, if the relative number of single detached units is used as a measure this resurgence of land-extensive development may be of only limited duration. Recent escalation in housing prices in because of the oil boom in these two cities and the increasing demand for strata title units appears to be establishing a new market context that will likely result in the proportion of new single detached falling from the high levels experienced earlier on in the 1990s as a new cycle of housing production begins. For example, many times in the 1990s the proportion of single detached units constructed in Calgary exceeded 80 percent, but there are signs that this high level is beginning to drop. Even though CHMC is predicting that the

highest number of single detached units ever produced in Calgary will be started in 1998, they will only make up 75 percent of the new housing stock, down over 10 percent from the relative peak experienced a few years earlier when the percentage of single detached dwellings produced at times approached 90 percent. If housing prices continue to climb in Calgary (Calgary Herald 1997K) there are likely to be further decreases in the proportion of single detached units. Although this is not captured in the figures on housing types, densification probably manifests itself in the concentration of more single units on each hectare of land (Pommer 1997b; BIV 1997c; VS-217).

Despite the dispersion of investment and the relative underinvestment in the core, even Edmonton shows some signs of a turnaround, and a slight resurgence in land intensive development. Evidence of this potential is present in the Planning Department's initiation of a study of its mature suburbs. Low-intensity forms of densification have already led to the adoption of postmodern zoning regimes to control site density, height and design features of new construction (Edmonton Journal 1997c). Furthermore, if the ambitious plan for resettling downtown Edmonton is realized further impetus to densification will be given with the possibility of a bi-modal pattern of investment appearing that resembles a trend that can now be seen in Ottawa and Toronto (City of Edmonton 1997).

Elsewhere on the Prairies even in smaller centres like Saskatoon - rising housing prices may limit the progression of land-extensive development in this city, as housing prices have soared past Winnipeg's. Meanwhile Regina is likely to move more in step with Winnipeg than Saskatoon or Calgary, with housing prices even lower than Winnipeg, and up to thirty percent of all new residential development taking place outside the city limits (Regina Leader Post 1997a). Regina is also experiencing the growth of large Native underclass in the city (Winnipeg Free Press 1997zc), and the overall settlement pattern is quite similar despite the difference in the size of the cities in question. Still, although Regina appears to be a smaller scale version of Winnipeg even in Regina the harmful subsidies that exist for land-extensive development in Winnipeg do not exist. Indeed, there are subsidies being provided for inner-city infill, so there

are some important differences in the institutional culture of each city that of which we should take note.

With subsidies adding up to as much as $9,000 dollars for the construction of a new suburban home, there is a stronger institutional bias exerted towards the support of dispersed development in Winnipeg - even if it is compared with Regina (Winnipeg Real Estate Board 1997). Unlike most large urban centres where the developer and consumer have to contend with the burden of development cost charges on every new unit of housing in Winnipeg they face an array of subsidies instead, even though these subsidies are being supported by some of the highest taxes and one of the largest municipal debt burdens in the country. With additional road infrastructure being built while the existing backlog on the maintenance of existing infrastructure is rising, and large parts of the core's housing facing cannibalization and capital abandonment the existence of these additional supports for the extension of land extensive development are not only archaic but are dysfunctional enough to even threaten the integrity of the entire urban region because of the vicious cycle of dispersion which the uneven tax structure and the construction of more highways has allowed to take place in Winnipeg. Not only is the core area of the region threatened by this dispersion and bleeding out of capital investment that has resulted from this state of affairs; so too, is the periphery of the region, where urban sprawl now threatens many productive economic activities that also sustain the regional economy (E.g., Winnipeg Free Press 1997zd). Devaluation, abandonment and dispersion on a scale only seen in the most besieged American cities like Detroit may well be Winnipeg's fate unless the province intervenes and by formally limiting development or by pooling over the entire capital region will so that the push forces of dispersion this cycle are at least broken.

However, as the earlier analysis of price differentials between the periphery and core show, with the most inexpensive housing for any large city in the country, and perhaps the sharpest divergence in price between the core and periphery the configuration of the property market in Winnipeg is quite hostile to the reconcentration of capital into the core within the foreseeable future. With the second highest rate of automobile ownership and the operating

costs for operating an automobile in the country, the two material artifacts that define and make land extensive development possible - inexpensive and subsidized single detached dwelling housing and inexpensive automobile travel and stagnating transit, suggest that land extensive development will become more entrenched in Winnipeg over the next building cycle.[220] As a result of this, the tale of urban development in Winnipeg and Vancouver is indeed a tale of two cities with regard to densification and the polarization that is symbolized by the trajectory that each city has taken.

[1] Sometimes population density can rise without densification, at least as it is defined here. This happens when overcrowding occurs. Here, in some cases the market value of a property can actually decrease as the population increases, but this points to a different economic dynamic, since what happens here has more to do with the devaluation and destruction of urban space rather than its production. Also quite a different class dynamic appears to govern the way each process unfolds. In Canada, at least, densification has been tied into middle-class resettlement in the inner city while massive disinvestment and the devaluation of the market value of urban space often operates in a different context, where urban underclass formations play a much larger role in the settlement geography of the city.

[2]The institutional realm takes in communication and transportation policies and expenditures since they are heavily mediated by the actions of the local state.

[3] See Table 2.2 in *Canadian Family Policies* by Marueen Baker (1995) where there was a reversal in a one hundred year old trend for the crude birth rate to decline in Canada as there was a significant rise in birth in the 1940s and into the 60s as births per 1,000 population rose from 22.4 in 1941 to 27.2 in 1951 only falling back below the 1941 level by 1971.

[4] See Table 7-5 (p.176) where the number of express lanes per capita was four times greater in the Unites States than in Canada in Goldberg and Mercer, *The Myth of the North American City*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

[5] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt.. 3, Note 5.

[6] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 6.

[7]This can be shown by looking at the most recent statistics on new housing construction. Using the number of single detached dwelling units as a measure of land-extensive and land-intensive accumulation the unevenness of the densification process can be seen by looking at construction figures for the first half of 1997. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 7.

[8]This has happened in Abbotsford (136,400), Kelowna (136,541), Vernon (55,359), Pentiction (41,276), and Nanaimo (85,585) but has probably become the most intense in the recreational hinterland of Greater Vancouver and on Vancouver Island (See VS-182a) Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 8.

[9]In some instances densification can even reshape the functional economic geography of a region by raising the price of land too high. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 9.

[10] Although national expenditures on residential development are probably the best means for tracking the broad investment cycles in residential development that fuel each densification wave there can be considerable variation among cities because of regional economic conditions. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 10.

[11] Because the 1996 census is not out yet provincial figures can be used as a surrogate for what is happening in the cities since this is where most new housing units are created, particularly in Quebec, Manitoba and B.C. where Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver dominate the urban profile of these provinces. Refer to SCN, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 11.

[12] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 12.

[13] For example five year mortgage rates moved from under 8 percent in 1965 to over 10 percent in 1969 then up to approximately 12 percent in 1974 before tumbling down to around 10 percent for a number of years during the period of wage and price controls in the mid 70s skyrocketing to 21.75 percent in August 1981. These approximate figures were supplied by The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce in an advertisement on mortgages - See Globe and Mail, May 7, 1996, P. A7.

[14]Again, if the value of construction which local government needs to give approval to and regulate is considered the influence of municipalities can be appreciated. For example, in 1997 the value of new housing in the construction sector was worth $18.5-billion - up 17% from 1996. And non-residential construction was up to $12-billion, up nearly 25% from 1996. In total the value of construction in 1997 was at a seven year high, reaching 3$6.5-billion. The all time high, so far, was in 1989, when the value of construction reached $40-billion (see Eric Beauchesne, "Housing Outlook for 98," in The Ottawa Citizen, February 4th, 1998).

[15]Curiously enough as assessment values in the core of Winnipeg fall the city is still using it's limited resources to encourage more greenfield rather than infill development. By giving new homes a $2,000 tax break in the first year, then 50% in the second year and then 25% in the third year, the city is taking credit for the sudden surge of new home construction within the perimeter highway (Maxwell 1997). See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3. Note 14.

[16] For example, the following fees are charged for a single house in the following municipalities located in Greater Vancouver: Surrey $16,530; Langley Township, $15,984; Port Coquitlam, $15,984; Maple Ridge, $10,708; Coquitlam, $7,209 Proposed $12,750 (VS-161). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 15.

[17] Gabor and Lewinberg define the new urbanism as a system of rules and regulations that incorporate ecosystem planning associated with the planning discourse that arose on sustainable development in the late 1980s. In design terms this involves reducing reliance upon the automobile and by creating more permeable communities with a finer mesh of cross cutting streets, mixed land uses, integration of the natural environment and public spaces that are open to all and have a sense of place. Thus developments have changed and an integrated approach involving planners, landscape architects, architects, engineers and scientists has developed in order to elaborate a master plan. Generic zoning for this kind of development has already been adopted by Markham and is being considered for Oakville. This new zoning has also been tailor made for specific projects in Exurban Toronto such as Oak Park, Morrison Common in Oakville and Montgomery Village in Organeville. Here the shift from land use and density controls to built form can be seen. Of note, one of the principles formally listed by Gabor and Lewinberg is Intensification and housing diversity where they state that medium and higher density areas should be integrated with lower density areas and that a general increase in permitted densities in all zones be allowed.

[18] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 17.

[19]Developers have responded vociferously to the end of these subsidies but they are likely face more up front costs because of the off loading and a reduction in municipal grants. What will happen to the overall pattern of investment in the production of urban space may be pivotal: CMHC forecasts predict that the uptum in the market that is now beginning will be the last where demographic influences provided a decided push to increased household formation before tapering off at the tum of the century (See CMHC 1997i). However, unlike the last upsurge, between the boom years of 1986 and 1991, in the housing market when municipalities and provinces subsidized massive infrastructure projects to support the resurgence in land-extensive development, this most recent boom will be taking place in a climate of fiscal reduction, which is likely to result in the creation of less infrastructure to support land-extensive development. If this happens the third identification wave that will be generated from this upsurge in housing construction may not be as localized as the second one which took shape in 1986. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 18.

[20] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Note 19.

[21] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Note 20.

[22] Here, especially, the link between transit infrastructure and the reconcentration of capital was to captivate American planners in the 1970s, because in the North American context Toronto provided the only model for the successful realization of an alternative development path organized around public transit rather than the freeway (U.S. Department of Transportation 1977).

[23]In terms of physical appearance as well the production and formatting of denser residential land uses, high - medium - and, low impact formats can be identified. Low impact densification would have to do with such things as the creation of secondary suites, the subdivision of land zoned for single detached dwellings into smaller lots or the creation of duplexes and two storey row housing. Medium formats would indude townhouses and condominium complexes which are usually less than five storeys tall. High impact formats would refer to dwelling types which are above five stories. Moreover, as one move from low, medium to high impact formats the

intensity of the densification process can be expected to increase.

[24] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 23.

[25]This is not to state that the high tech sector is therefore insignificant. According to Stats Canada the projection for privately initiated Research and Development is expected to be $8.6B in 1997 (SC-36). Moreover in some areas like telecommunications and some high tech media niches Canada is a net exporter. As Professor Moss Kanter points out in her recent book, *The Frontiers of Management* , the intangible assets for high tech clusters to appear are clusters of concepts people, then clusters of competence, the makers who turn ideas into products and then the connections - alliance that boost the capabilities of individual firms (Brethour 1997). According to Peter Leach, president of Communications and Technology Ontario, a public/private research body there are at least four high technology clusters in Canada - Ottawa, Mississauga, Waterloo. Vancouver is mentioned as one place with potential but still hasn't developed the critical mass to be considered a cluster.

[26] According to estimates supplied by Business Week Magazine (The New Business Cycle by Michael Mandel pp. 58-68, March 31,1997) the high-technology sector employed 9.1-million workers in the United States. 3.8-million were employed in the core industries of the high tech sector: Computers, software, and communications. 1.8-million were employed in associated industries, i.e.. high-tech sales, repairs, management consulting and temporary agencies and 3.8 -million were dispersed throughout the rest of the economy as programmers, network technicians etc. Moreover, in 1996 dollars the output of the high-tech Sector had increased from $215.7-billion to $420.3-billion (p.68). Since the mid 90s the high-tech momentum of the high tech sector has surpassed that of the automobiles and housing sectors.

[27] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 26.

[28] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 27.

[29]One of the main differences for the size, complexity and composition of the high-tech industries of Canada and United States as to do with Industrial-military complex. Unfortunately this sector is now shrinking and Montreal has been the largest base for this sector in Canada. One result of the shrinkage of the $100-billion dollar per year market in the United States has been the consolidation of defense oriented companies. With the recent $11 billion merger of Lockheed and Northrop, the last big mergers in this sector have probably taken place and now there are only two large players in the aircraft field Lougheed and this newly merged company This new merger will encompass 20 formerly independent companies with about $36-billion in annual sales, with investments of between 2 and 2.5-billions dollars each year, employing 230,000 workers of whom 75,000 are scientists.

In Canada, the headquarters of this company is in Montreal where 700 people are employed, as well as in subsidiary locations in Halifax, Winnipeg, Kanata, Toronto, Victoria. Last year about 25% of Lockheed's orders came from outside the United States. The big prize Boeing and Lockheed are going after now is the $170-billion Joint Strike fighters.

[30] But this only generally only applies to Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

[31] Largely, this also seems to apply to fractions of the middle class fractions who are anchored in producer services as well. For, along with changing immigrant patterns and the rising number of elderly people it is changing middle class settlement patterns in the city that has acted as the most important social and demographic catalysts for changes that can be seen in the production of residential spaces in the North American city since the 1970s (See Brian Milner Globe and Mail, July 4th)

[32] The computer animation sector is one good example of this. In Vancouver, for instance, Mainframe Entertainment Inc. employs 170 people in a nine storey office building in downtown Vancouver in order to produce Reboot, a popular animated children's show for TV (VS-158). Then there is a proposal to use inner city industrial land to construct three movie studios and 400 Live/work studios on a 17 acre site put forward by the IBI group for Trillium Corporation, a demand which exists according to the proponents of the development since they claim that Vancouver is the largest metropolitan area used for making movies after LA., New York and

that this activity locally employs 9,000 people (See Gold, 1996a and also look at VS-173a for a look at similar developments in Yaletown) Also See VS-290 and appraisal of this industry now worth more than 500 million dollars which is concentrated in the core of the city. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 31.

[33] Just as Canadians have developed international expertise in the redevelopment of inner cities, Americans have developed an international reputation for the production of grand exurban spectacles along the periphery of the city. Not surprisingly, this competence is now being exported to places like Latin America where theme parks, gated communities and shopping malls which mimic the American model are now sprouting all over Latin America. Also see Ada Louise Huxtable, who notes " Surrogate Experience and synthetic settings are now an acceptable, even preferred, way of American life," in "Living With the Fake, and Liking It," in The New York Times, March 30,1997, Section 2, where structures such as New York, New York - a new hotel and casino in Las Vegas - opened in January 1997 and City Walk in Universal Studios are discussed.

[34] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 33.

[35]For example Florida's tourist industry alone was worth more $38-billion U. S. in 1996. And in 1995 1.3-million Canadian tourists spent $1.73-billion in the state (See Jim Loney, "Canadian boycott of Florida off to slow start, April 2, 1997, p. A12). In a more recent article in the Summer edition of Canadian Social Trends, 1997, by Warren Clark (Bruce Little, 1997d) figures from statistics Canada which shows the number of overnight trips from those over 25 to 35 increased from just over 40 per 100 to a peak of 93 trips per hundred to the United States and from 8 percent overseas to 23 overseas respectively. Thereafter from 65 to 75 the numbers drop off- probably due to mobility and health problems as the number drops to off to around 75 percent to the United States and then to about 25 percent for the 75 and over cohort. In the most recent upsurge, however, there has been a growing polarization between the younger and older segments of the populations.

[36] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 35.

[37] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 36.

[38] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 37.

[39] For instance the larger presence of an urban underclass. For comparisons between Canada and the United States see The North American City (1986) by Goldberg and Mercer.

[40] For example, in the first two settlement zones in the City of Vancouver estimates reveal that nearly half the units are made up of strata title (See table three). Meanwhile Mckenzie's analysis (1994) of strata title development in the United States shows that it is the exurban periphery which appears to attract most of the new strata title units.

[41] There are high, medium and low-rise formats for the densification of the landscape to take. In Canada high rise and medium rise landscapes are more common than in the United States,

[42]The situation in San Francisco may be changing, while densification in the city proper has long been dominant this has not been the case for the region as a whole. Only now is it possible that densification in the region as a whole may be entering an ascendant stage of densification, although this is not certain yet.

[43]And if we look at the location of strata title units in each country, densification also appears to be more evident in the exurban rather than core areas of American cities than is the case with Canadian cities. Also refer to SNC 42, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 42.

[44] Rents do not often move in lock step with rising land prices. For example, using 1970 as a base, when the densification ratio surged forward for the first time between the mid 60s and 70s, rent increases trailed significantly behind the cost of new housing. This can be seen if the rent component of the CPI is compared to cost of new owner occupied housing. While the rent index only rose from 85 in 1966 to 111 in 1975, the average cost per square foot of a single detached dwelling units moved from 80 to 167 percent of the 1971 base line in the same time span. See Table S326-335 in the Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd edition, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply

and Services, 1983.

[45] Indeed this is what has happened in one of the tightest local rental markets in Vancouver - the West End. Recent conversations (Spring, circa 1996) with one Russian immigrant, a gay man who had recently moved to Vancouver, and Mr. During (a tenants rights activist) all spoke about the emergence of the same trade offs for people wishing to remain in the West End. For Russians and Gay men doubling up is a common option which is used. As Mr. During, (who lives in the West End) also observed: one other consequence of this was that the majority of tenants in the West End ended up paying a disproportionate amount of their incomes on rents. This seems to have effected a trade off in consumption. As one clerk at Capers (an upscale delicatessen) speculated, there are quite a few consumers in the West End but most of their money is going into to rent, so there is not a great deal of discretionary income left over from the local population available to support places like Capers.

[46] A complex indice could have been devised but the information and resources were not available to do so. For example it is not only the relation of income to housing price that determines the ability of the consumer to consume residential space. This is also determined by interest rates, the level of downpayment required, taxes and utilities, which can significantly affect the carrying cost of home ownership. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 45.

[47] To construct these densification ratios statistics average and median household incomes and the average price of new housing for both Vancouver and Winnipeg were correlated to produce the following densification ratios for each city. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 46.

[48]These densification ratios are loose approximations based on Multiple listings figures for 1997 and 1995 figures on medium incomes. For Single Detached dwelling units in Vancouver the densification ratio is probably greater than 9. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 47.

[49] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 48.

[50]In this way, it is possible to make a connection between the creation of two quite different market configurations and the production of much denser and sparser urban spaces. If historic comparisons hold then densification ratios of 4 and 2 can be used as benchmark figures when tracking the movement of the densification ratio, with four signifying the existence of a market configuration more likely to result in the production of denser development. Conversely, ratios around 2 would signify that the market is working in the opposite direction, favouring land extensive rather than land intensive development.

[51]See figures supplied by N. D. Lea Associates in appendix.

[52]With the densification settling around 4 after the speculative bubble of the late 1970s burst in Vancouver the densification ratio in Vancouver was three times that of Winnipeg in 1981 and two times that of Winnipeg in 1986, the variation in these ratios, reveals that a much more land intensive market configuration was now shaping the production of urban space in Vancouver, While the densification ratio in Vancouver fell briefly to around 3.8 in 1986 it still hovered around 4 rather than two, as was the case for Winnipeg, before moving upward again to approach 6 in 1991 and move well above 7 by 1997 (CMHC 1997e).

[53] For example in the figure taken from various census data by N. D. Lea Associates (1966) the urbanized area of Winnipeg is 50 percent denser than Vancouver, with 7,88 people per square mile in Winnipeg compared to 5,100 in Vancouver even up to 1961 densities in Winnipeg would be 25 percent higher in Winnipeg.

[54]For example, looking at 1941 census data, there were 7,800 people per square mile in Winnipeg as compared to 5,100 for Vancouver. However the situation would be reversed by 1986 by which time Vancouver had become the denser city.

[55] See Jeffery Patterson, "Transport to Work: Eight Selected Cities." in Sustainable cities 3, Summer 1992, Institute of Urban Studies and Statistical Canada, Cat. No. 93-304.

[56] IBID

[57]While methods for measuring density vary a great deal in a recent article mentioned in the Vancouver Sun the GVRD was reported to have found that between 1979 and 1996 densities on

the Burrard peninsula had increased 10% – from 81 to 86 people per hectare – and south of the Fraser River densities had doubled – increasing from 19 to 36 people per hectare in the same time period (VS-365).

[58]With the 1996 Census (SC-18) Quebec City has surpassed Winnipeg, making it only the eighth largest city in the country.

[59] See Jill Wade (1994, p.52, Table 11).

[60] See Tanner, Winnipeg Free Press, January 12,1997. Without artificial inducement to concentrate capital into the core through such programs such as the Winnipeg Core Area Initiatives no counter weights exist to the rising tide of land extensive development-a situation made worse by the fact that core programs lead to over building which resulted in the abandonment of many older heritage buildings and a decline in the assessment value of many structures in the commercial core.

[61]While this may only be an anomaly the comparison between Winnipeg and Vancouver over these two time periods does show how intense land extensive development is in Winnipeg and how intense land intensive development is in Vancouver. In 1997 this imbalance between suburban and exurban growth seems to have been corrected as construction figures for the first half of the year show that the City of Winnipeg accounted for 84.7% of all housing starts. Meanwhile Edmonton is another city with a struggling inner city. Not surprisingly this shows up in the configuration of residential investment. For example in the first half of 1997 only 56.9% of the region's housing stock was located in the City proper versus 88.4% in Calgary where densification is more influential. Even in smaller Prairie urban centres exurban sprawl can be identified by the fact that only 75.5% of all new housing construction in Region was in the city proper and 69.4% in Saskatoon - for the first half of 1997 (SC-35).

[62]Except for Calgary (and perhaps Saskatoon) urbanization in the Prairies is beset by the presence of a growing Native underclass which has played a role in the dispersion of investment from the core to the periphery. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 60.

[63]Something that also entails entirely different ways of thinking about the challenges presented in each city. A fact policy makers in Winnipeg have not yet come to terms with.

[64] As Whistler and White Rock in Vancouver and the Silicon Valley in California (The Economist March 27,1997) reveal this displacement is also occurring in exurban areas that have bee staked out by the new middle class, creating problem for service workers or low income people who happen to live in these areas, with the property market magnifying the income polarization which has accompanied the so called new economy.

[65]This threatens commercial as well as residential capital in the core. For example from 1991 to 1995 the value of office buildings in the core fell by 20 percent and on some there has been a 50 percent drop and from 1997 to 1998 the total assessed value of office buildings in the core is expected to drop by 141 million from the 1997 assessment of 759 million. And some expect that it may take as long as ten years for values to approach the level they obtained in the late 1980s. Since 1991 vacancies for class C space have shot up from around 7 percent to 20 percent in 1997. However class A has fallen from 10 to 5 percent but in downtown Winnipeg there are only 6 to 8 such buildings in clustered mostly around Portage and Main. Net rent for these buildings is 12 to 16.50. Class B such as the Cargill Building have vacancies of around 10 percent, here net rents (excluding taxes and operating costs) vary between 8 and 12 dollars. Class C like the Mall Centre or the National Bank Building on Main Street ask for a net rent of between 6 and 8 dollars, with operating costs between 9 and 11 dollars the same as the class B category but less than the 10 to 12 for Class A (See Murray McNeil, 'Vacancy rates high in downtown offices, " Winnipeg Free Press June 7,1997). Although downtown Vancouver also experienced a dip prices and vacancies have not fallen so dramatically and are now rising. The Malaise of downtown Winnipeg is also expressed in the need to hire a Vancouver Planning firm (Jay Wollenberg) to devise a strategy for Portage Ave once more (See Nicholas Hirst, " A boost for downtown" May 24,1997 where the removal of the barriers at Portage and Main, downtown first policy for all government agencies, pedestrianization of streets, appropriate taxes and capital works

programs are some of the recommendations mentioned) See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 63.

[66]With the construction of monster homes, subdivisions on existing lots and the increasing popularity of neo-traditional development statistics on single detached dwelling units are increasingly able to conceal low intensity forms of densification as single detached dwellings begin to consumer less land or begin to house more people. This can be see in controversies which have erupted in areas zoned for single detached dwellings in the City of Vancouver and in New Westminister (See Applebe 1997 and McManus 1997) Even where land is very inexpensive, such as in Winnipeg, good example of this weak form of densification can be found. For example when the price of lumber rose sharply, the 30 percent rise was compensated by the use of narrower lots. As a result between 1993 and 1994, the price of a new home only went up by about by one per cent despite the fact that the cost of constructing a house, without the land had gone up by 4 percent (See Winnipeg Housing Outlook Spring 1994). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 64.

[67]Another form of low impact densification which is not registered by simply looking at the proportion of single detached units is the production of secondary suites. For example in Surrey, Vancouver largest suburb administrators estimate that up to 12,000 single detached units have secondary suites (See Surrey/North Delta August 27,1997, "Sour new for suite owners " - surcharge of $358 will be put on such homes). This low key and most often an illegal and hidden form of densification. Where housing prices are higher it is hardly surprising to find it to be more common. In Vancouver, for instance, there are estimated to be 3,000 legal secondary suites and about 20,000 illegal ones. In BC. secondary suites are estimated to make up around 20% of the province's housing stock or about 100,000 units (See Cities examine ruling banning family only suites," by Frances Bula, in the Vancouver Sun, September 24,1997, p. B2.). Refer to SNC, 65, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 65.

[6]6 For the City of Vancouver see CVPD-135 where housing starts for the city and the region are given.

[69]In this regard 1966 is a significant year for both Vancouver and Winnipeg, as this was the year when the composition of the housing stock of each city converged with the other. With single detached units making up 67% of each city's housing stock for a brief while they over lapped with each after This would not last long, By 1976, the number drops to 58.3 percent for Winnipeg and 56.7 percent for Vancouver. What this revealed was that Vancouver was now becoming denser than Winnipeg and was beginning to move in a different direction in terms of the production of urban space. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 67.

[70]Source: Statistics Canada - Cat. Nos. 95-325/95-388/95-337/95-337/93-942/93-738/Census Canada-1961 Census Canada Vol. 11 Housing, Part 11 and SC-17 and figures supplied by CMHC from the local Montreal and Vancouver research offices. and a study called The 1996 Metro Toronto Housing Study-Appendix A. that was produced by the Corporation of Metropolitan Corporation of Toronto in 1996. While the figures between 1961 and 1991 should be accurate although some variation is possible because of the different sources and ways of measurement each agency that was consulted used, these figures are basically unproblematic. This is less the case for the 1996 figures since statistics Canada has not yet released standardized measurement of single detached units for the 1996 census. As a result some extrapolation and estimating had to be done. Still the percentages listed in Table Two should closely follow the eventual figures which will be released by Census Canada over the next year. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 68.

[71]According to the 1997 Canada Year Book (SC-17) the percentage of single detached dwelling units was listed at 56.2% while more recent figures obtained from household data suggest that the percentage may be as low as 53.2, which is the percentage used in the chart (SC-30). Regardless, what it reveals is that the densification process gained some momentum between 1991 and 1996. What the Table also shows is how polarized the process has become across the country and indeed even within single urban regions.

[72]Again B.C. and not just Vancouver would be the major exception to this. As provincial figures

show, with the proportion of British Columbia's stock of single detached dwelling units dropping from 62.5 to 55.2 percent between 1986 to 1995 (SC-17). So densification was not just isolated to Victoria and Vancouver but moved out from its origins in these two cities to affect most of the province.

As the following figures show, even though the percentage of single detached declined significantly across the province there was a great deal of variability. (See VS-182a). Also refer to SNC. Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 70. Most new residential construction is now made up of strata title or single detached units. From a level of housing construction of around 3,000 units in the early 1980s production is now around 1,500. With the second highest housing prices in the country ($233,000 for a single detached dwelling) a great deal of development has moved up island to Courtenay, Comox, Duncan and Nanaimo. Still the population of Victoria is expected to grow by 113,000 over the next 25 years and 15,000 new housing units are expected to be constructed in the suburban parts of the region over the next 10 years. According to stats Canada the population of the island is now 650,000 and 700,000 and is expected to grow by 221,000 in the next 20 years (VS-198). Also see British Columbia Housing Statistics, April, (1997b) for cities between 49,999 and 99,999 where the range of single detached housing units constructed in the first quarter ranged from 40% to 82% compared to the national proportion of single detached units for communities between 30 and 100,000 of 54.4%, and some communities like Squamish with a population under 10,000 which only generated 5% of its new units as single detached dwellings or Salmon Arm where only 43% of all units were single detached. Similar figures exist in Vernon where 50% of all unit were single detached, 47% for Campbell River.

[73]For instance in metro the percentage of the housing stock made up of single detached units declined from 34 percent in 1986 to approximately 32.6 percent in 1996. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 71.

[74]As the percentage of new housing starts made up of single detached dwelling units fell from 72 percent between 1986 to 1991 to 63 percent from 1991 to 1991.

[75]Further evidence of this extreme variation in development pattern which Winnipeg and Vancouver represent can be observed in recent construction figures for new housing across the country. For instance, over the past several years 65 to 70 percent of all new dwelling units purchased in Canada have been made up of single detached units. However, in Vancouver around 50 per cent of all new units constructed each year have been made up of strata title dwellings (CMHC, 1996). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 73.

[76] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 74.

[77] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 75.

[78] Of course, it is possible that Montreal's current pattern of land extensive development may be modified. For example this could happen because of government initiatives. For instance, with the recent announcement by Serge Menard, the provincial minister for Montreal, the province pledged that it would no longer subsidize infrastructure in the non core area of the region. If the government takes this pledge seriously it is possible that the current growth in land extensive development patterns may be slowed down and perhaps even reversed. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 76.

[79]This dynamic can even be seen in the core areas of each urban region, although it is really in the redevelopment of the suburbs and denser greenfield development that the real differences in densification and population density will show themselves in the future. Still if we look at the core area of Vancouver, we still see that the percentage of single detached dwelling units in the City of Vancouver is much lower than for both the province and the nation and that this gap is accelerating over time. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 77.

[80]Although the densification ratio dropped this did not affect the reconfiguration of the built environment since the housing market experienced a long term decline for nearly a decade and a half. Thus the 1929 peak in new housing construction of 64,700 units was not surpassed for 17 years again until 1946 when the number of new units that were constructed reached 67,700. This also shows up in the rate of single family dwelling construction. Thus in 1921 24,400 single

detached units were produced. This rose to 31,000 in 1928 when single detached units made up 52 percent of all new residential construction compared to 75 percent in 1921. By 1954 single detached units increased to 33, 400 units. However, this time, they made up 78 per cent of all new units, revealing the existence of a more land-extensive mode of urban development. These high percentages would continue into the 1950s, when the number of single detached units produced each year peaked at 96,830, accounting for 66 percent of all the new housing units added (See Historical Statistics of Canada P. 510 R133-139 listed in bibliography under statistics Canada).

[81] Indeed, because of this Canada may have allocated too many of its resources to housing-something which is certainly paradoxical in light of the on going discourse on the housing crisis which has been going on since the end of the Second World War. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 79.

[82]As already mentioned, in the suburban era between 1945 and 1965, property markets and demographic influences shaping the regime of land extensive accumulation were also more uniformly expressed because the forces shaping this mode of urban development mostly originated within the country. This has since changed. Now foreign capital and immigration appear play a much larger role in the production of land-intensive urban space. Cities such as Vancouver and Toronto, which are advancing the most are more closely tied into international flows of capital and labour, while cities like Winnipeg and Montreal, where older development patterns persist, appear to have become more detached from these flows.

[83] In the 1990s housing investment across Canada declined dramatically from the levels seen in the 1960s through to the 1980s. For example, in 1996 investment in the housing sector was only 7.7 (or 33.9% of 138.2 billion) per cent of all capital investment, a far cry from the 1950s and 1960's when housing accounted for around 25 percent of all investment (See Bruce Little, "Companies plan 5.2% increase in capital spending, February 27,1997 in The Globe and Mail. This can also be seen in the very low sale of new housing units. For example, on average between 1987-1990 125,100 new housing units were purchased a year. However, between 1991 and 1994, this number dropped down to 102,700. Of this, 101,800 units or approximately 80 percent of all units were single-detached between 1987 and 1990. This number fell to 75,300 or 74 percent of all units between 1991 and 1994 (See CHMC Consumer profile: Buyers of New Homes, 1996, by CMHC Market Analysis Centre).

[84] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3 Note 81.

[85] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 83.

[86] See Table 2. 2, p.46 in Maureen Baker (1995) *Canadian Family Policies*. In answer to this point: the number of children per adult women soared from about 2.8 babies in 1940 to around 4 in the mid 50s where it stayed at that level for nearly a decade. See chapter V, P.42 in Borderlines by Roger Suave, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. 1994.

[87] Again this is reflected in the declines experienced in the densification ratio during this time. For instance, if the rent index is compared to the consumer price index statistics provided by (Canadian) Labour Gazette show that the rent index had only moved five points above the base of one-hundred established for the year 1939. In 1947 the index spiked upwards to 115, reaching 137 in 1950. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 85.

[88]Refer to Sewell 1994, 1993; Miron 1994; Doucet and Weaver 1991; Humphrey 1975.

[89] This price increase probably also had to do with the increased consumption of residential space as the size of houses grew and standards were upgraded. See Miron, pp. 174-190 (1988).

[90]1975 is a bit arbitrary, for house rapid house inflation continued in some cities after 1975 and wage and price controls were put in place in 1974 rather than in 1975.

[91] For example real mortgage interest rates rose from 3.2 per cent in 1966 to 6.1 in 1971 and land rose from 133 of the 1949 level in 1966 to 187 in 1971 (See George Fallis, Table 5 in " Post-War Changes In The Supply Side Of Housing," in John Miron's *Housing Progress in Canada since 1945*).

[92]In the modern period a few private co-ops were built but they were rare. For example during the 1950s and 1960s a handful were built in the West End of Vancouver.

[93] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 90.

[94] See Alex Murray, Canadian Forum, May 1972 and Bruce Kuwabara and Barry Sampson, Diamond and Myers: The form of reform," in City Magazine, September 1975.

[95] For example in both Ontario and B. C., during the 1990s new planning legislation promoting more intensive land use was introduced, although in Ontario much of this was repealed with the passage of Bill 20 in 1996. See Draft Report on planning and development Reform in Ontario, December 18, 1992 by the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario and Growth Strategies Act Draft Legislation: Updating British Columbia's Planning System, January 1995, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, British Columbia. For an account of the history of the second middle mobilization that took place in the Canadian city refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 92.

[96] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 93.

[97]Although the first strata title units were not well received by the middle class this aversion would later be turned into a wild embrace by the late 1970s, as the spread of strata title units became synonymous with the middle class resettlement of the city and the exurban parts of the urban region. In the 1980s densification also become synonymous with the spread of strata title units as strata title units rather than rental units as they became the most important vector for the densification process to proceed along.

[98] Why strata title and co-op tenure forms are considered postmodern rather than modern regulatory mechanism's has nothing to do with their legal status but more to do with their sociological significance with regard the occupation of space and promotion of certain house forms in the city. Because of the strong link between density and urban pathology established by modern regulation and promotion of the nuclear family as the ideal social formation in the city modern modes of regulation privileged Fee Simple tenure forms and single detached. Similarly the emergence of alternative social formations, the need to densify and reappraisal of the previous link that modernism had made between density and urban pathology, and experimentation with new consumer formats not organized around the form of the nuclear family, was challenged if not put into question by experimentation and adoption of postmodern tenure forms which created a space for these alternative to develop.

[99] For example in terms of social status, until quite recently tenants were not allowed to vote in municipal elections and when they did restrictions were put in place. See Richard Harris and Geraldine Pratt, 'The Meaning of Home, Home ownership. and Public Policy, in *The Canadian Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, edited by Bourne and Ley, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993. With taxation benefits British Columbia homeowners are given rebates on their property tax by the provincial government. Similarly in most city's taxes on residential land, but in particular single detached dwelling units, are discounted. With non residential and apartment land uses forced to subsidize the ownership of single detached dwelling units. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 96.

[100]This was the year that Strata Title legislation was adopted in B. C. in 1966 but it was not until 1970 that the first strata title unit was registered in the City of Vancouver, making up an insignificant part of the housing market until into the late 70s. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 97.

[101]If building statistics on new strata title units are further disaggregated internal differences in the evolution of the densification process can be charted within Vancouver. In addition to the connection that can be drawn between the intensity of the densification process in any one area and the number of strata title units there is also another connection that can be drawn out which shows the relation that exists between areas of middle class settlement and the growth of strata title tenure forms. For example, since 1991 the core area and the Central Business District, in particular, densification has been more intense than in any other part of the urban

region. This shows up in the increase of strata units in the Core Area and the Central Business District when comparisons are made with the city as a whole and the urban region. While there were rapid gains in the number of strata title units in the region and city, as proportion of strata title units rose from approximately 15 to 19 percent the region and from about 12 percent to 19 percent in the city, the rate of increase in the number of strata title units in Core Area was double that of the region and the city, as the proportion of strata title unit increased by at least ten percent in the core and by an astounding 42 percent in the Central Business District alone, as the proportion of strata title units in the Core Area of the city increased from 21 to 31 percent and from 6 to 48 percent in the Central Business District (Table 3). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 98.

[102]In large measure the uneven diffusion of strata title units reflects the uneven diffusion of the densification process since the 1980's. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 99.

[103] See CMHC New Housing Report December 1996 Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley. In this year single detached units made up 34 per cent (4,759) of all new housing stock and condominiums 56 percent or 7,802 units out of a total of 13,917 units. Furthermore, in the City of Vancouver strata title units probably accounted for around 80 percent of the net addition to the city's housing stock because most single detached units added each year to the city are replacement stock. for example in 1996 21 percent of new units in the City of Vancouver were single detached dwelling units (or 887 of 4,255 units). Thus if these units are subtracted about 80 percent of net additions to the housing stock are made up of condominiums. Another interesting point is how large the housing market in the City of Vancouver is compared to the metro area. Although the city is already built up if made up 30 percent of all new housing production in 1996, far ahead of its nearest competitor Surrey, which only produced 19 percent of all the regions housing stock (2,718), followed by Richmond, with 8 percent or 1,142 new units.

[104] Again this is most clearly reflected in low housing prices with housing values in most core tracts less than 50 percent of the metropolitan average. See Footnote 104 for more detailed information on the relative weakness of the inner city real estate market in Winnipeg.

[105]In this regard both during the 1990s Montreal and Toronto occupy interesting positions to each other, appearing as hybrids of the extremes in the in regimes of accumulation that are present in Winnipeg and Vancouver. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 102.

[106]Sources: While some of the percentages are fairly exact the 1996 data and all the percentages for Fairview are estimates (e) based on extrapolations using data on house types for local areas supplied by the City of Vancouver (CVPD-68; CVPD-123) and Canada Mortgage and Housing data and Lo (1996) article on strata title units. In this Table the Core Area refers to both the first and second, which have traditionally constituted the non suburban part of the city and the first two settlement zones which will be described in Chapter Six. Also, in terms of local areas the CBD refers to the Downtown local area, this area along with the rest make up 7 of the 22 local areas that make up the City of Vancouver.

[107] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 104.

[108]For a recent look at Canadian demographics from a general perspective where they complex and intermeshed cyclical flows of population are shown in a Canadian context see "Canadian Population" by Wayne McVery and Warren Kalbach (1995).

[109]Although David Baxter dominates the work now being carried out on demographic trends in Vancouver other people have carried out similar studies and arrived at most of the same points that Baxter has. For instance in a study commissioned by the GVRD (June 1969) Josephine Rekart noted that increasingly household formation is becoming separate from family formation. Thus between 1971 and 1986 the population increased by 27.9% while the number of households increased by 54.9%.

75.5% Husband and wife groupings were found to live in ground oriented units versus 28.4% in apartments. With regard to one person households', in 1986 the largest percentage of this group was made up of people over 65 then the 15 to 24 age cohort. And that despite the rapid growth of single person households from 19% in 1971 to 27.6% in 1986 two person households were still

the norm and model for most households.

[110] Baxter has carried out detailed studies for the Greater Vancouver Regional District and numerous municipalities in the Vancouver Urban Region.

[111] See John Miron,*Housing in Postwar Canada*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988, (pp. 167-172).

[112]These figures show fee simple tenure and the production of single detached dwelling units were defining feature of this mode of urban development, one that was characterized by modern regulation and land extensive development which characterized urban development between the 1940s and the mid 1960s. However, if we look at the production of housing in more detail some important counter trends are discernible within this larger cycle of housing construction if the bulge in apartment construction that took place at this time is examined.

[113] Miron (1988) Table 50 P.161

[114] Baxter,1989, p.45-46

[115] Baxter, 1989,p.36

[116] Thus in metropolitan Vancouver the seniors' population increased by 18 percent between 1951 and 56 versus 13 percent for the adult population as a whole become the most dynamic group with regard to household formation. See Baxter 1989, p.36

[117] Thus after experiencing a small decline between 1951 and 1956 the population of the 15-24 year old group went from 15.5% of total adult population in 1956, peaking at 23.5% of the total adult population in 1971. Whereas the 65 plus age cohort represented a larger share of the adult population than the 15-24 year old age cohort in 1956 by 1971 there were 75% more people in the 15-24 year age cohort than in the 65 plus age cohort. See Baxter 1989,p. 36.

[118] Baxter,1989, p. 36.

[119] Thus between 1951 and 1958 4,796 units were constructed, 47 percent more than all purpose built apartments constructed between 1900 and 1950 in the West End (See table 8 - Apartment Zoning and Suburban Centres, Report No. 3, City of Vancouver) The great surge in apartment construction took place in the mid to late 60s when the 15-24 year old age cohort was peaking as the number of people between the ages of 20 and 34 increased from 25.2 percent to 40 percent of the population of the West End while the percentage of the population over 65 decreased from 23.6 percent of the population to 18.6 per cent even though this age cohort still was growing in absolute terms. Not surprisingly it was when building permits for 14,552 units were issued between 1961 and 1971 or nearly 65 percent of all apartment units existing in 1971. This boom well surpassed the surge in new units constructed in the 1950s when the 65 plus age cohort was the fastest growing component of the population, when the number of new units added each year peaking at over 1100 units in 1956 whereas the peak number of new units created in the next surge that followed because of the influx of young adults would go past 3,200 units, in the late 1960s. See figures and graphics supplied in Gray et al., Patterns of Neighbourhood Change: The West End of Vancouver, May 1976.

Hence the proportion of young adults (that is from the ages of 20 to 34) actually decreased between 1951 and 1961 an the percentage of seniors peaked. Whereas the percentage of young adults decreased marginally from 26 to 25,2 per cent between 1951 and 1961 the percentage of seniors increased from 19.5 to 23.6 percent of the entire population, This situation would be reversed in the 1960s as percentage of seniors declined to 18. 6 percent from the 1961 peak of 23.6 per cent while the percentage of the population made up of young adults moved from 25. 2 percent to 40 percent of the population (See Gray et al., 1976).

[120] Hence the 25 to 34 year old age group grew from 18.8% of the adult population in 1971 to 22.8% by 1986 and this group was much more inclined to buy single detached dwelling units with the headship rate for single detached dwelling units standing at 28% in 1961 for this 25 to 34 year old age cohort versus only 4% for the 15 to 24 year age cohort in 1961. See Baxter, 1994, Figure 20, p. 20.

[121] After 1971 the percentage of the total adult population represented by the 15 to 24 year old

age cohort began to decline, moving from 23.5% in 1971 to 18.9% by 1986 in metropolitan Vancouver. See Baxter,1989, p.36.

[122]Of course there would be a payback in increasingly mortgage defaults, as happened with the AHOP program of the 1970s and more recently, in the 1990s, in new regulations which allow only a 5 percent downpayment rather than the more traditional 10 to 20 percent that was once more common, making purchasers much more vulnerable to swings in interest and mortgage rates.

[123] For instance an all time high in single detached dwelling unit construction was reached in 1989 when nearly 10,000 units were completed hence during the 1970s and 1980s more single detached units were constructed than in the 1950s and 1960s, even though land prices were much higher. For example 40 percent more single detached dwelling units were constructed in the 1970s than in the 1960s. See City of Vancouver, Housing Completions and Construction Activity, April, 1994.

[124] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 121.

[125]Also, besides numbers, this rising seniors' population will likely have a greater impact on the densification process because of their market power. Unlike the young adult cohort of the 1960s this group has substantial equity capital that it will be able to apply to the consumption of more elaborate forms of housing. For this reason also this older group will have a much greater impact upon the housing market than their younger counterparts did in the earlier boom which was also sparked by favourable demographics in the 1960s. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 122.

[126] This time around it will be the expansion of the seniors' cohort rather than the 15 to 25 year old cohort which will fuel the demand for denser units as the percentage of the adult population of 65 and older expected to rise from 15 percent of the population in 1991 to 21 percent by 2021, comprising the largest age cohort in the entire population. See Baxter,1974, figure 3, p.4. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 123.

[127] See Rose, Villeneuve and Golgan, "Women Workers and the Inner City: Some Implication of Labour Force Restructuring in Montreal, 1971-81 in *LifeSpaces*, edited by Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 124.

[128] A few other observations about the unique characteristics of Vancouver's urban land market are in order at this point. Unlike most urban regions on the North American mainland both the absolute and relative scarcity of land make Vancouver unique. For this reason, to a certain degree, the constraints placed on land use resemble those experienced by Dutch cities than the situation typical of the rich and extensive land bases which most urban regions in North America take for granted. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 125.

[129] For example the proportion of new immigrants arriving from Asia in Vancouver has moved from 11 percent in the period prior to 1966 to 39 per cent from 1966-1975, 61 percent from 1976 to 1985 and 74 percent from 1986 to 1991 compared with, 3, 22, 44 and 51 percent for each comparative span of time in Toronto and 4,16, 37 and 46 percent for Montreal versus national averages of 4, 21, 42 and 50 percent (Lapointe and Murdie, p.12).

[130]This is even occurring on a global scale. Recently the US Census Bureau and an article in the Wall Street Journal (Feb. 10,1997) published statistics which showed that since 1985 there has been a dramatic decline in population growth.Instead of growing by 90 million people a year, as some had projected, the world's population only grew by 79 million, and it looks that population growth will continue to decline since it peaked at 86 million in 1994. Between 1985 and 1996 the world's fertility rate has dropped from 4.2 children to 2.9. In 27 developing countries the rate has dropped to 2.2 and in Europe it is 1.5, with 15 developing countries having more deaths than births. The world's population is expected to peak at around 7 billion people before it begin a gradual decline after 2030 (See *Tri-City News*, September 14,1997, editorial).

[131] See Business in Vancouver, March 23, 1993, p.15)) David Foote's (Report on Business Magazine, June 1991 p.49); and Terry Steele, (Real Estate Marketing Magazine, September

1994), Key players in this new demographic work would be David Baxter, but the most well known demographic based analyst would no doubt be David Foote. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 128.

[132] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 129.

[133] This point was made by a study conducted by the US Department of Transportation that was released in August 1977. Entitled Land Use Impacts of Rapid Transit: Implications of Recent Experience. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 130.

[134]Indeed this may be one of two contradictory processes that might eventually result from the establishment of the West Coast Express Commuter Line to Mission (figure one) as this line has extended the commuter shed to areas with far lower land prices and even to localities outside the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 131.

[135] For example, regarding the inner city this can be seen in Detroit and in the lack of development around BART stations in the suburban area's of San Francisco. While more development has begun to take place this is only happening after the system has been in place for over twenty year and although development around transit stations has increased it is still rather modest. This can also be seen in San Diego where many key sites have remained under developed such as Santee, where a 6 kilometer extension was place to encourage development See Vancouver Sun (VS-214) Glenn Bohn, " San Diego transit a model for B. C." June 11,1997.

[136] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3. Note 133.

134 This point was made by a study conducted by the U.S. Department of Transportation that was released in August 1977. Entitled Land Use Impacts of Rapid Transit: Implications of Recent Experience. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 134.

[138] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 135.

[139] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3 Note 136.

[140]However the pattern taken is generally different than in Canada with the core of the region densifying less than the periphery, whereas in Canada it is just the opposite. With the exception of San Francisco this is the case for most cities in the State of California where the economic impulses for densification are at their strongest. For example the medium price of a home in California rose from $182,496 to $192,814 between July of 1996 and July 1997 - increasing by over 6%. however in Orange County the increase was 7.7% while in the core of the region, LA.. county only experienced a .9% price rise in the same period. Meanwhile, the medium house price in the San Francisco area rose by 8.5%, according to a report issued by the California Association of Realtors (Calgary Herald 1997i).

[141] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 138.

[142] The Stress put on land extensive development can be gauged by the difficulty governments are now having in maintaining let alone extending the network of roads needed to serve a land extensive system of urban development. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 139.

[143]While Montreal has the most extensive subway system on the island, elsewhere accessibility is clearly freeway oriented. This shows up in poor service and high prices for transit in Montreal largest suburb, the City of Laval, where ridership has dropped by 5 million since 1991 although it has started to turn around with an increase of 2% so far in 1997. During this period $14M more was spent by the city on transit yet it has the highest transit fares in Quebec, with nearly $3 dollars being charged for a ride (See Montreal Gazette 1997c). Also refer to SNC 140. Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 140.

[144] See Barton Reid, " Planes, Trains and Automobiles, " in *City Magazine*, Vol. 11 No. 1 Summer and Fall 1989 where the provincial government was planning to build a new bypass around Montreal while having spent billions on new transit lines in Montreal during the 1980s. On the otherhand, in Toronto hardly any new highway construction took place in the 1980s while some modest expenditures on LRT systems resulted out with ambitious plans laid for massive transit expenditures in the 1990s (See Peter Howell, Transit Plan falters, Toronto Star, April 8, 1991). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3. Note 141.

[145] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 142.

[146] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 143.

[147] Refer back to citations for Edmonton and Calgary in footnote 133.

[148] For example a Shawnessey Centre Study has been undertaken to look at how development might be concentrated along the southern leg of the City's LRT system (See Shawnessey Centre Project in City Vision, City of Calgary, Spring 1977). The re-institutionalization of a new transit oriented linear pattern can be seen in Calgary Transportation Plan and more recently in the Fish Creek Growth Area Management Plan, December 1996 where transit oriented development is being integrated into new suburban planning. Like Vancouver a modest effort is being made to shift future modal splits and to shift capital expenditures from road to rail. Thus the A.M. transit share is expected to increase from 18% in 1991 to 21% in 2024. And with capital investment between 1994 and 2024 2.2 billion will be spend on roads while $1.8-billion will be spent on new transit infrastructure (See Calgary Transportation Plan).

[149] This has lead to some controversy since financing the expansion of the Sheppard line was to be partly taken care of by transit levies on land around the stations. The Mayor of North York, using the boom along the Yonge Street line, in the late 1980s, as a model, projected that $73M could be raised by levies, but a more conservative estimate by Metro has stated that only 11M will be raised by 2006 and the Maximum raised will only amount to 50M over a long time span (Toronto Star 1997,j).

[150] See Bruce Campion-Smith, Sheppard line wins reprieve under plan, in The Toronto Star, June 12, 1996.

[151] A recent news release by Statistics Canada (SC-21) paints a rather bleak picture of the future in this regard. While level of transit use are rising in large centres they are falling in smaller centres and are not generally keeping pace with population increases even though there may be absolute increased in transit use in some cities. The decline, rise and tentative decline of transit in Canada can therefore be measured in per capita use figures. In 1945 120 rides per capita was recorded, this fell to 110 in 1950, 75 in 1955, 60 in 1960, 55 in 1965 and 43 in 1970, rising to 55 in 1975, 57 in 1980 peaking at 59 in 1985 and falling to 58 in 1990. For example in 1987 there were 1.475-billion transit riders in 1988 the peark year for transit use this peaked at 1,511-billion, falling to 1.478 by 1990, 1.434 by 1991, 1.383 by 1993 to 1.366 in 1995 and 1,349 in 1996. With these decline the per capita use of transit fell from 51 per capital in 1991 to 46.2 in 1995 to 45.5 in 1996. Meanwhile between 1995 and 1996 operating costs increase 4.6 percent from 1.465 billion to 1.532 billion in 1996. During the past decade the use of the automobile has increased. In 1990 there were 13.1-million registered passenger vehicles versus 10.3 in 1990 and the average distance traveled increased from 96,930 kilometers in 1996 versus 65,800 in 1980. As well the number of passenger cars per 1,000 population increased to 445. According to Stats Canada Toronto had the highest transit use at 155 rides per capita in 1996 but this may not be correct since the decline in transit use in Montreal has been far less steep than it has been in Toronto since 1990.

Figures supplied by the Canadian Urban Transit Association, in correspondence indicated that per capita use of transit was higher in Montreal. (September 24th, 1996).

In 1995 ridership levels for Toronto were 388,152,000, Montreal 335,572,000, Ottawa, 71,669,185; Edmonton 37,157,545 and Calgary 56,300,900.

(P.S..- Except for Montreal where cutbacks may just be starting it appears that the absolute drop in transit use may have ended as ridership levels in cities with weak transit use such as Regina have turned around despite cutbacks. For example, despite continuing cutbacks in service, ridership levels in Regina have begun to turn around. Ridership levels peaked in 1985 when there were 9.5 million riders. This fell to 6.7 million by 1992 but has recovered somewhat since then 6,8 million rides recorded in 1995 (See Regional Leader Post, editorial, March 1st, 1996)

[152] A sign of this happening is evident in rising housing prices within Toronto. For the first time in eight years multiple bidders have appeared in the housing market taking house prices above

the listed price. In February of 1989 an average home cost $236,000 in Metro Toronto, in February 1997 it had moved up from $207,000 from $198,786, a month earlier in January (See Tom Wong, Homes Buying Bonanza," in The Toronto Star March 11, 1997). If very strong markets remain in place within the year 1989 prices could be reached once again in Toronto.

[153] See Mohammed Adam, " Regional committee backs transitway plan: Taxpayers may pick up tab for $138 M road," in The Ottawa Journal February 6,1997. Transportation committee voted 6-4 to go ahead for the west end link to connect with Kanata.

[154]Housing values have risen sharply in Calgary over the past year and along with Toronto, Calgary is expected to account for around 25% of all new housing units expected to be produced in 1997 - or about 38,000 units (See Zehr 1997, September).

[155]See Les Sillars "enthusiasm wanes for public transit and Edmonton renounces its green ant-care stance, in contrast to Calgary," in Western Report September 1997. Additional comments see Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 151.

[156]Both Calgary and Edmonton have recently completed new transportation plans which call for modest expenditures on extensions to their LRT systems. For Edmonton it is hoped that transit will move from 34,3% to 36.2% of all AM trips downtown and from 42,4% to 47.1% for university and post secondary trips. However transits' share of all work and education destinations in the AM period is expected to decline from 17.8% to 17.2% according to current trend lines. Bike and walk modes are expected to decline from 5.9 to 4.6% a scenario quite different from Vancouver. So far the only expected extension is likely to occur in the South West. (See "On the Move" by Brenda Bouw May 28,1997, The Edmonton Journal).

[157] In Winnipeg the continuing construction of a freeway system has produced a vicious cycle of land extensive development which now threatens the very integrity of real estate market of the core area of the city and the economic viability of the city's transit system deficits rise as expensive new freeway like tentacles stretch further out into North and Eastern parts of the urban region, creating incredible sprawl.

By contrast in Vancouver, the shift in emphasis from a freeway to public transit system may be producing a virtuous cycle of increasing transit use and denser land uses which promises to make the provision of transit services more economical in the long run. This can be illustrated by looking at the changing urban densities of these two cities and transit use. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 3, Note 154.

[158] The best recent example of the continuation of the WATS strategy can be seen in the completion of a bridge in Charleswood and in the Kildonans. For example see Kevin Rollason (1997a) in "Traffic Plan Raises Fears," in The Winnipeg Free Press April 14,1997.

[159] Because of the rapid decline in the Alberta debt there is much more room for the provincial government to support new transit initiatives than elsewhere in the country. For example, in figures supplied by the Alberta government for the 1997 budget show a dramatic decline in the overall debt and in interest payments. In 1995-96 the total debt was $6.223-billion with interest on the debt of $1.456-billion. However estimates show that the total debt will decline to $2.613 billion by 1999-2000, with the interest in on the debt falling to $1.07- billion. At the same time, after a drop in program spending during the early and mid 1990's expenditures are expected to rise again, climbing from $12,277 in 1996-97 to $13,053 by 1999-2000 as the total spending rises from $13.6 to $14.1-billion (See "Alberta keeps hold on purse," in The Globe and Mail April 23,1997, p. A5.). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 156.

[160] This can be seen in the on going trend to put as little money as possible into Winnipeg Transit system while augmenting its freeway system. See Aldo Santin, Rapid transit idea braked, in the Winnipeg Free Press February 28,1996. The modest 74 million dollar expenditure was to have been split between equally between the province and the city but the only component to be constructed is a transit mall, a questionable transit innovation of the early 70s which has been shown to be of very limited utility for both retailing and transit.

This has become particularly evident since the late 1970s. Beginning with the St. Vital

Bridge, then a new bridge over the Red River in the North End and in the mid 90s the opening of the Charleswood Bridge all the river crossings shown for the inner suburban beltway have been completed with some of the freeway links between each bridge completed as well. Meanwhile with each five year capital works plan Winnipeg's modest bow to transit, the busway to the University from the downtown is deferred.

[161]For example between 1951 and 1961 approximately 1,172 apartment units were constructed in St., James, far ahead of the downtown precinct where only 499 units were constructed and Fort Rouge, Winnipeg's equivalent to Vancouver's West End, where only 1,040 units were constructed.. While this revealed a different pattern of densification, one more in common with Toronto than Vancouver and also symbolized how much more decentralized Winnipeg was becoming, the fact that most of this construction was aligned directly along Portage avenue reinforced the linear pattern of urban development which the river and the streetcar had imprinted upon Winnipeg during its boom years. The same pattern would continue into the mid 70s as other corridor such as Henderson Highway, Corydon and Grant Avenues were transformed into a wall a apartment slabs. Still even from 1962 to 1975 St. James accounted for approximately 2,745 apartment units, while 2,404 units were constructed in Fort Rouge and approximately 1,522 in the downtown. The dispersion which has since taken place can be seen in the construction figures between 1987 and 1995. Except for the surge in units in the downtown that came about as a result of subsidies provided by the Core Area Initiatives only 271 units were produced in Fort Rouge and no units in the St. James corridor. Instead the few apartment units that have been built have been scattered all over the city's periphery, with Fort Gary (370) and St. Vital (265) accounting for the largest increases (CMHC 1997, Manitoba, April, p.13)

[162]Minor corridors are mostly located in Vancouver, along Broadway, West Fourth and Commercial Streets.

[163]The development spine along Lonsdale in North Vancouver might even be consider a fifth corridor. However because of the ferry connection to Skytrain can be thought of as part of the LRT spine. While a great deal of development has already taken place along this spine in the North Shore there is still a great deal of room for more development. For instance in less than ten years it is possible that up to 10,000 additional people will be living in the area bounded by 4th Street, the waterfront, St. Georges and Chesterfield Avenues, taking the population of the City of North Vancouver 8,000 people over the cap of 42,000 that was set, as up to 8,500 new housing units may be added to this area, with up to 5,000 unit possible on the versatile site alone (See Ramsay and Lebowi, "Lonsdale Lowdown," in The North & West Voice, March edition).

[164] Except more the Metrotown area in Burnaby more LRT related development has taken place in New Westminister than anywhere else. This pattern looks like it will continue into the next century, since about 600 million dollars worth of projects are in the pipeline. This is expected to add 35,000 more people to the city by the year 2021 4,000 more people than projected in the GVRD's Compact Growth Strategy. There is a downside to this as low income housing and facilities catering to low income and under class population may be displaced, as they have been in Vancouver such as the "methadone clinic and other social agencies which attract non-New Westminister Residents, could go, and take wit them such enterprises as the Paramount Gentlemen's Club, where nude women cavort in private booths for paying customers," (Gerry Bellett, in "Royal City making big comeback," in Vancouver Sun April 21,1997 or VS-174)

[165] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 162,

Thus between 1986 and 1991, the once sleepy City of New Westminister experienced the most intense densification in the entire suburban zone, nearly eclipsing Metrotown in terms of new dwelling units constructed between 1986 and 1991 - which is the place most people seem to point to in order to illustrate the effect that the provisioning of transit infrastructure has had on capital investment and the densification process in greater Vancouver. Hence for the Metrotown area: between 1986 and 1991 the number of multiple residential units constructed in the area

designated, as Central Park, which is the survey zone for the Metrotown area of Burnaby used by the regional office of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for the purpose of collecting statistics, 1535 new units were recorded. Following close behind was New Westminister, where around 1,550 units were constructed in the same period. And since that time the number of units produced in New Westminister has probably surpassed Metrotown. Statistics were taken from raw data sheets located in the files of the Regional office of Canada Mortgage and Housing. Corporation, May, 1996. Furthermore, in addition to Metrotown (which is expected to have over 26,000 residents and 6 million square feet of commercial space by 2001 - See Condo Guide "Burnaby" July 4,1997) and New Westminister, since 1991 the area around the Edmonds been transformed into a third node where intensive redevelopment can now be seen. With the Edmonds Town Centre adopted by Burnaby city council in September 1994 the way has been prepared for the eventually residential capacity of the area to reach nearly 15,000 housing units on the 708 acres of residential land contained on the site. If Surrey does not take off in the next few years signs of construction indicate that, other than New Westminister, this may be the most dynamic area for new residential construction around Skytrain in the suburbs over the next 10 years. See Edmonds Town Centre, City of Burnaby, September 1994. Also along the first transit corridor substantial development has taken place along Lonsdale Street in the City of North Vancouver. For example currently 6 developments are forecasted for the lower Lonsdale area, with one industrial site of 16.88 hectares the largest under consideration (See "North Van Core Issues: Shipyard site key to redevelopment in Lower Lonsdale" by Deana Lancaster in the North Shore News February 23,1997.

[166] For instance in Pitt Meadows proximity of the commuter train has already affected the attractiveness of nearby residential areas. See "Home buyers drawn to rapid transit centres," in Real estate Weekly, September 20, 1996. Things may even begin to move in Maple Ridge as more ambitious plans for a real town centre seem to be afoot, especially with the new commuter line and the designation of the area as a regional town centre (See Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows New 1997a).

[167] See Draft Brentwood Plan prepared by the Planning and Building Department of the City of Burnaby in 1996 where a plan to develop a 400 acre site along the proposed Lougheed Corridor by Willington where 5,700 residential units in the core area of the scheme and 2,000 on the periphery are proposed, housing a total of 13,700 people.

[168] Refer to SNC, Vol. Chpt. 3, Note 165.

What is interesting about Richmond, but not entirely surprising in light of its location by the airport, the region's high densification ratio, its transition in the 1960s into an executive suburb of sorts and the massive Asian immigration of the late 80s and 90s is that large sections of this suburb were upzoned in the late 80s in anticipation of a transit line which never came. Although it was taken off and then put on the list it still rests on the bottom, in terms of implementation, and is not likely to even be started until the second decade of the next century - yet massive growth has taken place. That is why it is expected that the population for the Richmond OCP will have to be raised by 35,000 over its previous level with most of this increase going into the city centre where 42,000 residents are expected to live. Even more impressive is the increase in employment which is expected. Here projections show an increase from 103,000 jobs in 1996 to 178,006 jobs in 2020 (In large part because of the airport and high tech industries. that have concentrated here) (DaSilva 1997).

This stands in decided contrast to the District of Maple Ridge (1995) and its Vision 1995 plan where population levels exceeding the regional assignment were accepted. In this case there is a major difference, while the excess assignment in Richmond will further land intensive growth if the projection for Maple Ridge are accepted this will probably do more to extend a more land extensive rather than land intensive regimes of accumulation with regard to the production of space here.

[169] For example Richmond is currently preparing a transportation plan for its regional town centre. In 1994 there were 27,000 residents and 33,000 jobs in the City Centre. by 2011 this is

expected to increase to 60,000 residents and 48,000 jobs. A finer network of roads is proposed to break up the large grid, as well as a loop bypass system and of course the proposed rapid transit line (See City of Richmond, City Centre Transportation Draft Plan Summary - insert contained in The Review February 26, 1997).

[170]In the United States Washington DC. and San Francisco provide the two best examples of transit oriented development, however when their size and the massive level of investment that has taken place in public transit in these places is compared to Vancouver the relative difference in investment becomes quite substantial (See Bernick and Cervero 1997) Also Refer to SNC, Vol.. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 167.

[171]Montreal will be interesting to watch, as well, if pronouncements about a containment strategy for Montreal in terms of new infrastructure and announcements about new transit investment turn out to be more than rhetoric a more land intensive pattern of development may take stronger hold here when the next investment cycle begins. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 168.

[172]Refer to SNC., Vol. 2, Bibliographical appendix, CHMC. 1997j.

[173] So not only does the impact of immigration have to do with the raw number of immigrants entering each city, which by itself became very significant with regard to the evolution of the real estate market in each city; this evolution is also coloured by the origins and class status of the immigrants moving into each city. And qualitative variations in the immigration profile of each city become as significant as the quantitative variation in the number of immigrants entering each city. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 169.

[174] For example while the core are of Vancouver has been massively transformed by the densification process, it was only in the 1980s that this process began to intrude into areas zoned exclusively for single detached dwelling units. See Barbara Petite (1991).

[175]Of course this variation also has to do with variations in the regulatory regimes of each neighbourhood and city within the region. As already noted, a regime of accumulation only moves ahead within a context set out by a mode of regulation. Hence tracing the evolution of zoning in each locality also become important in understanding the diffusion of the densification process within Greater Vancouver.

[176] For example the average price of a single detached dwelling units ranges from around $196,000 in Maple Ridge to over $587,000 in the Western half of the City of Vancouver, a gap which is nearly equivalent to the one that exists between Winnipeg and Vancouver. Not surprisingly, these price differentials show up in demand for different kinds of housing in each area, affecting the composition of new housing and what type of people move where. Thus Maple Ridge has one of the highest rates of construction for single detached dwelling units while Vancouver has one of the lowest rates. Similarly, Maple Ridge also has one of the region's youngest populations, as it has become a preferred location for migrants who wish to start families. Also refer to SNC. Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 172.

[177] Refer SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 173.

[178] See statistics provided in The Corporation of The City of White Rock, Official Community Plan By-law No. 1478, December 1995. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 174.

[179]For example Richmond is currently preparing a transportation plan for its regional town centre. In 1994 there were 27,000 residents and 33,000 jobs in the City Centre. by 2011 this is expected to increase to 60,000 residents and 48,000 jobs. A finer network of roads is proposed to break up the large grid, as well as a loop bypass system and of course the proposed rapid transit line (See City of Richmond, City Centre Transportation Draft Plan Summary - insert contained in The Review, February 26, 1997).

[180] The North Fraser/ South Burrard Inlet corridor, made up of the West Coast Express may be the weakest investment corridor to develop since service is still irregular and commuter use is still below projections, with daily ridership of 6,500 versus 10 to 11,600 predicted for the system when it was initiated in 1995 . Still it is estimated that this has removed 2,000 cars from the

road. (See Glenn Bohn, "West Coast Express loses nearly $16 a rider," in the Vancouver Sun, February 20,1997) Although the system is quite recent and its use may still below projections there are signs that the system is already having some impact on development. This can be seen in the consideration which is being given to plans to redevelop parts of Mission. Similarly, the late redesignation of Haney as a regional town centre will certainly spur further development of this emergent corridor. As well developments around the Hammond station shows that the market may already be responding to the commuter line. This may be a factor in some of the development in Port Moody and Port Coquitlam as well.

[181] If we look at the West End we see that its transformation was double sided, Not only was the physical environment radically transformed; so too was the social space of the West End. Not only did it become epicenter of the densification process it also become the epicenter for the postmodern transformation of social space. Not surprising few residential neighbourhoods have been so extensively written about in the Canadian urban literature. Canada. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 177.

[182] See Vancouver Archives RG 9 Series A1-1 Vol.. 22 File #2 File for letters written about introduction of zoning and RG 9 Series A-1 Vol 22 File # 3 where economic reasons for redevelopment. For protests over zoning see RG 9 Series A-1 Vol 21 File #6 where the modernist bias towards apartments is recorded, with one letter stating that the West End had become an eyesore and comment that apartments were not conducive to home life. Also see Vancouver Province, October 21, 1926, " Interim zoning prepared.

[183] And even now the largest concentration of intact homes in the West End has been threatened. Only one of the more sophisticated mobilizations against densification in the 1990's has prevented the loss of these units. See Blair Petrie (1995) and Nelson Park Site Land Use Study Report, City Clerks Office, City of Vancouver, November 23, 1995 Dept. file No

[184] Urban Reader, 'The West End,' Vol. 10, No. 5 1982.

[185] Interview with City of Vancouver Councillor Gordon Price April 19, 1994

[186] See Ralph Perkins, "What's Happening in the suburbs of Greater Vancouver" in *City Magazine*, Vol 14, No. 3, Summer 1993.

[187] For example, in 1954 1,144 single detached dwelling units were constructed, however, this only represent 50.3% of all new units constructed and in each year after this the percentage of single detached dwelling units would decline by as much as 65% of the 1954 level in 1960 as only 505 single detached units were constructed. Meanwhile the number of apartment units has risen. So by 1960 only 30 % of all new units constructed were single detached family dwellings, with this percentage declining further to only 317 units in 1970 or only about 7% of the 4537 new units completed that year. See City of Vancouver, Planning, Housing Completions and Construction Activity, April 1994.

[188] See City of Vancouver, Planning Department, Housing Completions and Construction Activity, April 1994.

[189] See Ralph Perkins, *City Magazine*, Summer 1993.

[190] This can be illustrated by comparing the progression of the densification process in the inner and outer suburbs of Greater Vancouver. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 186.

[191] Other, more recent statistics even indicate that the densification process has leaped beyond the boundaries of metropolitan region and has begun to shift the mode of urban development in adjoining cities such as Abbotsford, which is a fast growing city of over 100,000 people lying just outside the boundaries of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, some 80 kilometers East of the City of Vancouver. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 187.

[192]Interestingly enough here there is more land to build large scale neo-traditional communities that, in Canada, at least, have the potential to create efficiencies to serve and better protect the natural environment and even create higher population densities. than the traditional suburbs (See Berridge, Lewingberg and Gabor, 1996)w. In fact the first large neo traditional community in the Lower Mainland may be constructed around Sumas Mountain where 100

million has already been committed to infrastructure to develop a community for 10,000 people by a Vancouver base company called Beautiful Development Corporation on a 850 acre parcel of land which a consulting firm Ekistics is currently developing. Many of the lots will be, 3,500 square feet compared to 7,200 square feet - hence half the size of regular single detached projects - doubling the population while maintaining this house type associated with land extensive development. Prices are expected to be around $195,000 the current price of an upper priced townhouse in Abbotsford. Other smaller examples of neo-traditional small lot developments exist in Parklane's Clover Valley Station in Surrey. However, there is some resistance to this development. For example in Mission a ratepayer's association has gone up in arms over 3,000 square foot lots, so as with all aspects of densification the transformation is one usually marked by conflict and struggle although usually less in working class areas like Mission. Thus in a discussion paper entitled The Context for change and Growth in the Fraser Valley Regional District by David Baxter four population scenarios were given- the low one being for additional growth of only 129,000 people by 2021 or an increase of 59.5% under the highest growth scenario about 360,000 people additional people would live in this district adjacent to the Greater Vancouver Regional District. So far for the lower mainland is expected to be 3.3 million indicating a growth rate of 57.8% over the 1996 population. Baxter also expected population growth and then commercial and industrial growth will follow as the areas infrastructure does not currently making attractive as a major employment centre. He also mentioned a new bridge across the Fraser to Maple Ridge. (See Risdon," Special feature - Fraser Valley" in Business in Vancouver , June 24, 1997.

[193]One good case in point would be to compare Vancouver's polar opposite - Winnipeg. Within the City of Vancouver, which is much smaller in size and slightly smaller in population but is built up whereas Winnipeg retains huge areas of undeveloped land, CMHC figures for each city tell the story and outline just how intense densification is within the City of Vancouver. Hence, in Winnipeg, from January to the end of June. in 1997, 785 units were started (way up from 1996). Most of these units were single detached units constructed on greenfield sites, Meanwhile, in Vancouver, just from January to the end of April- in the first quarter rather than the first half of 1997- the production of new units reached 1371, nearly twice the level of Winnipeg, Sub-dividing the construction of new units further we also find that 673 of these new units in Vancouver were located in the first two settlement rings that only comprised 20 percent of the city's land mass. Yet as we can see, the number of units added over the first quarter here equaled 86 percent of the total units produced in Winnipeg during the first half of the year (See Winnipeg Free Press, July 10,1997 P. B8 and CMHC, 1997a).

[194] In absolute numbers the GVRD grew by 230,000 people, up 14.3% but less than 16.1% recorded in the previous five years: with Surrey leading with almost 60,000, up 24.2% to 304,477, Vancouver coming in second with 42,000 people up by 8.9% to 514,000. Richmond grew by 22,000 people, up 17.6% to 148,867. Burnaby gained 20,000, up 12.8% to 179,209. Provincially BC. also had the fastest growth rate at 13,5% to 3,724,500 (See GVRD,1997).

[195]If we examine data for the federal riding for each core area what has happened in Vancouver is even more dramatic. Although the riding of Vancouver Centre takes in the downtown peninsula and the Western half of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement grew by over 11 percent between 1991 and 1996 while Winnipeg North Centre declined by 5.4 percent. Meanwhile Ottawa Centre grew by 1.2 percent and Ottawa Vanier by 2.0 percent. In Toronto the two most central ridings grew as well Rosedale by 8.3 percent and Trinity-Spadina by 0.1 (SC-18).

[196]Again, what these figures reveal is that densification is also taking place in the City of Toronto and Ottawa but that is it is much less intense than what is happening in Vancouver.

[197]In 1996 there were 3,208 people per square kilometer in New Westminister and 4,545 in the City of Vancouver. By 2021 Vancouver's density is expected to rise by another 20 percent to 5,400 per square kilometer while New Westminister's is expected to rise to 5,600 per square kilometer, a 75 percent increase in density, thereby becoming the densest municipality in the

region.

[198]For example Richmond is now revising its 1989 plan to take into account the new regional plan. However the mayor wants 8,000 more people than the regional plan allocates to Richmond by 2021, with most of this extra capacity placed in the suburbs town centre and smaller nodes of densification such as Steveston, to a lesser extent the Terra Nova and McLennan areas - it seems. With a population of 150,000, 70,000 more people, or a 50 percent increase is expected on a land base which is mostly already fully developed because of the constraints on land extensive development created by the Agricultural Land Reserve. While current zoning allows for a population of 212,000 the city wants this to be increased to 220,000. 42,000 of the new residents or 60 percent of the increase would be in the regional town centre while the remaining 28,000 would be located in the three areas previously mentioned (See VS-203a).

[199]For example between 1996 and 2021 Vancouver (20% increase in density projected, GVRD, July, 1996) Burnaby (33% increase in density projected) and New Westminister together will grow from 684,000 to 985,930, a 45% increase over a large piece of urban territory which is already almost completely developed so most of this growth will be the result of densification and even at this it is not unreasonable to assume that all these projections might be exceeded by 2021.

[200]Even before the seemingly dramatic deterioration in the Real-estate market, after 1991, a quick survey of housing prices in the inner City of Winnipeg revealed the weakness of the housing market in this inner city compared to Toronto, Vancouver or Montreal. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 196.

[201]Prices listed in the real estate section Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 9, 1997. Refer To SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 197.

[202] This had become apparent in the early 1950s when a strategy for encouraging high rises in the downtown was adopted. In 1956 a new zoning bylaw was created which allowed new apartment units to go beyond the previous limit of 6 stories. Regardless, by 1953 the West End had already become an anomaly in the inner city of Vancouver. As D'arcy Marsh stated in "West End Starts Unique Comeback," Vancouver Sun March 30, 1953 'Tall apartment buildings of ten stories or more, will start rising over English Bay within five years. This established the beginning of an architectural revolution unique to Vancouver with regard to apartments that made the West End unique in Canada.

Indeed from the early 50s and into the mid 1960s the West End would be only area that experienced sustained investment. During this time land assessments in the West End grew rapidly and even came close to rivaling commercial values then present in the downtown. Thus between 1939 and 1960 the assessed value of property in the West End rose from around 21 million to above 80 million, a four fold increase at a time when property values elsewhere in the city were either stagnating or declining. For example the land assessment of one apartment block in the West End rose from $7,500 in 1932 to $75,000 by 1961 (albeit in one of the choicest sites in the West End - See Norman Macrae, Historic West End Again Mecca for Plush Living, Vancouver Sun, August 12, 1961; also See a report entitled Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No. 3 prepared by the Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board in 1962 September 7th) While assessment values for land had fallen on the East Side of the downtown had fallen between 1950 and 1960 and remained constant in the core, there was a very significant increase in the value of property to the West of Burrard Street, in the West End. (p,10).

[203] Thus the average price of a home in Strathcona in 1991 was $271,000 compared to $244,539 for the metropolitan Region, or 11 percent above the average for the region. (Statistics Canada 1991).

[204]This ratio was based upon a national medium income of $49.000 (SC-34) and an estimate of what the average multiple listing would be in Canada in 1997. In this case $155,000 was chosen. Although it is not a medium but average figure which probably has inflated the Canadian

figure, the distortion would not be enough to erase the essential fact that the densification rate in much higher in Canada and that it is above the benchmark figure of three which historical precedents in Canada at least, reveal that economic impulses are being generated which promote densification as an ascendant force rather than one that is emergent, as is the case in the Unites States, where the densification ratio hovers just below the benchmark figure of three.(SC-30;Report on Business-Canadian Real Estate Association citation for housing prices in 1995,p.38).

[205]This densification ratio is lower than four which has been used to signify a point where the property market firmly entrenches itself into a land intensive mode, however, for the purposes of this comparison a densification ratio of three has been used as a benchmark indicating the movement towards this state rather than its achievement. For indeed, in Canada as a whole densification is still only an ascendant rather than dominant force.

[206] In the United States the lowest densification ratios were recorded for Anchorage with a Median income of $58,6 00and a median house price of $122,000 producing a densification ratio of 2.1. Next was Bakersfield with a ratio of 2.2; followed by Modesto 2.7; Riverside-San Bernadino 2.5;; Las Vegas, 2.6; Denver, Phoenix, 2.2; Tacoma 2.8; Bremerton, 2.5 L.A. area 3.1, Honolulu, 3.8, San Diego, 2.9 with a median income of of $48,600 and a median house price of $165,000 Ventura County with a median income of of $61,100 and a median house price of $191,000 and Orange County with a median income of $63,200 and a median house price of $194,000 creating a densification ratio of 3.1 for both counties compared with a densification ratio for L.A. County and Long Beach where the median income was approximately 49 and the median house price was $158,000 and Riverside-San Bernardino, where the median income was approximately $45,000 and the median house price was $110,000 creating densification ratios for each area respectively of 3.2 and 2.4 (Rhodes,1997). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 55.

[207]Compared to a median income of $64,400 for San Francisco and a median house price of $288,000 in Vallejo the median income figure was $51,800 and the median housing price was $150,000, nearly half the price of San Francisco (Rhodes 1998,p.G.1).

[208]Source: figures supplied Experian National Association of Home Builders to The Seattle Times, July 27th (Rhodes 1997). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 204.

[209]The difference is further highlight by the fact that densification ratios in the City of Vancouver are considerably higher which amplifies the intensity of the process since San Francisco accounts for less than 15 percent of the regions population while the City of Vancouver accounts for 29 percent of the region's population and over 35 percent of all the new housing stock produced in the region.

[210] thus if the suburban counties which surround the City of San Francisco are examined the economic impulse for densification weakens considerably compared to Vancouver. For example in Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco the densification ratio falls to 3.0. By Canadian standard this would indicate that powerful economic pressures are now being exerted for the production of denser spaces and this is actually happening to a certain extent; but again these ratios are not as accurate as indicators of the economic potential for densification because, unlike Canada, mortgages are deductible, something which substantially lowers the carrying cost of home ownership despite the presence of equivalent housing prices in each country. Consequently the densification ratio used to measure the part of the densification process in Canada tends to overestimate the real economic incentives or disincentives for buying into denser or sparser dwelling units when applied to the United States because of this mortgage deduction. Another reason is the greater number of single detached units which probably inflates the reading for the densification ratio from what it would otherwise be if a common measure based on the cost of each household's consumption of land were used, since the production of single detached units is higher in the United States than it is in Canada

[211]This is a rather belated development. In the case of Vancouver large amounts of capital was almost immediately attracted to the transit corridor while in San Francisco it has taken nearly

thirty years before any significant suburban development has taken place and what has occurred pales besides what is happening in Vancouver (Bernick 1997; Cervero 1988).

Washington D.C. is another city which is instructive to look at because of its similarities to Toronto in the 1960s and 1970s rather than San Francisco, where more medium rise rather than high rise development has been constructed. Furthermore planners in Washington were more inspired by the Toronto model (U.S. Government Department of Transportation 1977; Padron 1989; Lemon 1984) But outside these two cities, if we leave aside Miami, New York City and Chicago, densification mostly remains a low key affair which is more present along the periphery of the urban region rather than in the core.Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 207.

[212]Again, as with San Francisco although this may soon be changing as densification is becoming more important in the evolution of these cities (During 1996; Abbot 1994). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 209.

[213]With the downloading of the federal government this situation has been reversed. Devolution from the federal domain now means the provinces are in control of job training, social housing, and even aspects of immigration policy (See Greenspoon 1997).

[214]The increased fiscal capability of the provincial government can be seen in the rapid rise in their level of expenditure in relation to the federal government. This can be illustrated by looking at the percentage of the gross domestic production made up of provincial expenditures since 1945. In 1945 provincial expenditures accounted for $467-million in nominal dollars or about 4% of the gross domestic product that then measured $12,167-billion. This rose to 4.6% in 1950, 6.5 % in 1955, 7.1% in 1960, 8.4% in 1965, 13.4% in 1970, 10% in 1970, 15.6% in 1975,15.6% in 1980 and 19.3% in 1985 or a total provincial expenditure of $97.818 (SC-17a, Table One). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 211.

[215] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 211a.

[216]For example between 1991 and 1995 the value of residential building permits granted by local governments in nominal dollars amounted to $982-billion out of $1.329 trillion dollars expended on construction or 61% of all expenditures of construction compared with the period between 1985 and 1990 when expenditures on housing amounted to $917-billion out of $1.615-trillion dollars or about 58 per cent of all construction. Of course if inflation is factored into these figures the decline in residential construction that occurred in the first half of the 1990s becomes even more sharply defined(SC-17a, Table 24).

[217]Price figures from May of 1997 were used (CMHC 1997c, Table 19) and an approximation for a medium income for Greater Vancouver was created by using figures supplied on the median income of individuals from metropolitan areas from The Daily, July 25,1996 (SC-17b) to look at the relative individual level then make an approximation by using medium income figures supplied for each province in 1996 (SC-30).

[218]As table two shows, the national figure has been steadily declining. But the fact that it is was still above 50 percent in 1996 for the country as a whole could be interpreted to mean that densification, as measured by the proportion of single detached units, is still a secondary force, and that no proof of the existence of densification as an ascendant force in the reshaping of the city could be gleamed can be filtered out of these statistics, making densification, at best, a secondary and somewhat localized force for the reshaping of urban space, and something which does not merit using it as an empirical description of one aspect of the new mode of urban development which has been described.

However this changes if the large number of rural households is taken into account and removed from consideration. According to the most recent estimates, in 1996 rural households accounted for 1.695 million of the 11.413 million housing inventory that existed in Canada. Making up 15% of the housing stock, 82.6% of these homes were made up of single detached units. Moreover they accounted for the production of 126,000 units between 1991 and 1996 or 14% (SC-30; SC-24).

Similarly, for urban areas under 30,000 in population the percentage of single detached units

making up the housing stock of these communities was 63.4 % and 54.4% for Cities under 100,000 versus the national average of 53.3% that can be estimated (SC-30).

[219]Thus between 1980 and 1983 the average house price was over $100,000 in Montreal compared to $50,000 for Winnipeg (Wong 1997).

[220]Unlike Calgary but like Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Regina this is complicated by the fact that a large Aboriginal underclass has formed in the inner city and probably acts as a barrier to the reconcentration of capital in the inner city. In the case of Edmonton the report of Scott McKeen (1997) who writes" The North Side gang has become the terror of a community. At least that's what some people in northeast Edmonton say. The reality is perhaps less dramatic but just as troubling. Can society ensure the myth doesn't grow into a real monster," These Aboriginal gangs are concentrated mostly in Winnipeg but there are concerns that they have spread to Regina as well. Except for Calgary, this adds a distinctive socio-economic profile to the urbanization of the Prairie city and to the social ecology which may take shape here as underclass patterns not evident elsewhere in Canada become embedded in these two large and two small inner Prairie cities. While only 1.7% of Calgary's population is identified as being of Native origin, the percentage is 5.4% in Winnipeg and 3.5% in Edmonton, Regina 5.8% and Saskatoon 5.7% (table 7.7 in Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996). There is also a correspondence between presence of this impoverished population and high crime rates that, along with low levels of investment in the inner city and stagnant if not falling housing values, suggest that an underclass formation in these inner cities have begun to gestate. This is further confirmed in statistics on violent Crime where Winnipeg has become the homicide capital of Canada of Canada's larger cities over 500,000 (Winnipeg Free Press 1997d), while Regina has probably become the leader in this category for cities with less than 500,000. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3, Note 217.

Chapter Four: Postmodernism

4.0 - Introduction: Defining the new middle class and its relation to modernism; introducing the concept of regulation and an historical overview of case of the postmodern transformation of Vancouver

After having looked at the material variables that are responsible for shifting investment patterns, it is now the appropriate time to look at how non-material and institutional factors enter in to the picture and affect the transformation of the city. If we look at the behaviour of the new middle class what becomes unmistakable is the presence of a major cultural shift and the appearance of new spatial norms, which would be used to quide the regulation of the late-twenthieth century city. Having seen how densification emerged as a major structural force in the late-modern era (that is in the 1960s) and went on to become one of the defining features of the urbanization process in the postmodern era, it is now the time to see how the genration of postmodern spatial norms have affected the production of urban space and created a dividing line between the mid-twentieth century and late-twenthieth century city.[1]

One: the connection between the middle class and modernity

The evolution of the middle class in general and the evolution of modernism is not only central to the history of urban regulation in the twentieth century but also to the understanding of the 300 year old tradition of modernism that, within Western culture, has acted as a compass to show people where they are situated in the world and a mirror to represent who they are. However the correspondence is not a simple one. As the account of the switch from modern to postmodern forms of regulation will show, the middle class is composed of layers and fractions that have played different roles in evolution of the various phases of modernism. As the Vancouver case study will show, this even applies if we only restrict ourselves to the

contemporary permutations created by the interplay of the various middle class factions in the city. Far from being a simple process of cause and effect the postmodern transformation of the city is one defined by the articulation of a multitudinous array of influences.

In Vancouver, for instance, at this moment at least four different middle class fractions are involved in various facets of the postmodern transformation of urban space. There is the traditional middle class, which is anchored to the ideal of the nuclear family and the material culture of suburbia. The new middle class that is set in a diametrically opposed direction. Rather than flee the city for the suburbs this new middle class has shunned the suburbs and embraced the city. Within this new middle class there is a domestic and non-domestic faction, which have affected the evolution of postmodern regulation in different ways. Lastly, with the recent the arrival of an Asian middle class in Vancouver, the postmodern transformation of space has been further complicated because this foreign middle class operates within a cultural framework that has produced a hybrid modern spatial matrix rather than a postmodern one that is followed by the new middle class.

Because the new middle class are the subjects who act as the social force behind the incubation and transmission of postmodernism norms, what separates it apart from the other two factions become critical to understanding how postmodern regulation is evolving, since it links the material conditions of this class to the cultural representations it creates, and from this the regulations that it devises to shape and represent urban space in the city.

Compared to its antecedents, three attributes set this new middle class fraction apart from its predecessors. The first had to do with the changing division of labour. The growth of the information economy and the central role that the university played in the incubation and enlargement of this class is the first defining attribute of this class fraction. With these two developments the demand for more independent intellectual workers was created. The second attribute that set the new middle class apart from other middle class fractions had to do with ideology and the modernization process. Unlike the previous generation, which had come of age when bureaucratic rule and the militarization of society were moving forward and defining the

background experiences that would shape middle class attitudes and representations of the external world; the new middle class came of age in the 1960s. This was a time when market rule began to assert itself and the forces opposing the further militarization of society began to germinate into a sustained social movement that would contribute to the end of the Cold War and the denouement of an arms race that had lasted for nearly a century.

While the rise of market rule would become observable in the rise of self employed workers, privatization, some de-regulation and the extension of the market into areas that were previously out of bounds to it, the growth in anti-militarism would surface in the anti war movements of the 1960s and this culminate in the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, in 1989. This brought to a conclusion a cycle of nearly continuous militarization in the West that had lasted for nearly one-hundred years, from the 1880s to the 1980s. With this force significantly reduced, one of the most powerful background forces that had shaped twentieth-century modernism was laid to rest for the time being. Both metaphorically and figuratively this was important because militarization had played a role in the transformation of the engineer rather than the artist into the icon for the modern era.

Finally, the new middle class was set apart from it parent culture by the creation of a different material culture. Whereas the previous middle class generation had come of age at a time when fertility rates had been reversed and were approaching historic highs in the advanced nations of the world, the new middle class came of age when fertility rates began a dramatic descent. Not only would gender roles begin to change as a result of this: with this change time and resources for the development of a different kind of consumer culture would become available, one that was based more upon superfluity rather than necessity, self-actualization rather than social solidarity, individual differentiation rather than social conformity and the pursuit of desires over needs (Kettle 1984; Levitt 1984; Ricard 1994; Owram 1996; Crosariol 1997; Frank 1997; G/M 1997cc)).

Thus the opportunity structure opened up by the expansion of the information and entertainment economy and the socialization provided by the university provided the first

point of departure for the new middle class from its other fractions. The second major point of departure had to do with ideology and sensibility that was generational in nature, as the new middle class came of age and was shaped by experiences that had to do with the expansion of the market and the decline of the influence of militarism. Finally, the large expansion of this class and the decline in the material demands that were made upon it because of a dramatic decline in the birth rate created the mass for the rise of a new consumer culture that first became evident during the counterculture, creating different ways for this class to separate itself from others while also creating even more varied opportunity structures that could be seized.

Within this new middle class two distinct fractions arose. The first fraction that dominated throughout the 1970s was a domestic one. The second fraction came into its own later in the 1980: this would be tied into to a shift in the postmodern regulation of the city, as the program of the livable city, articulated by the domestic fraction of the new middle class was displaced -- but not eliminated -- by that of the urban spectacle, with which this non-domestic fraction would more closely identify.

In either case, both fractions were unified by their revulsion toward the material culture of the suburbs: its narrow family centric organization, which was anchored around the nuclear family, the suburban bungalow and the bureaucratic rule which life in the suburbs symoblized. The domestic fraction of this new middle class made up the most influential fraction of the new middle class in the 1970s, and constituted the political base for the application of a program to transform the city that can be described as the ideology of the livable city. However, as earlier pointed out, in the 1980s a non domestic-fraction arose which challenged the dominance of this domestic fraction that was more closely associated with the notion of the urban spectacle.[2] Part of this non domestic fraction was made up of the children of the first generation of the new middle class, commonly known as the Generation X cohort. However, this non domestic fraction was also made up of various sub-cultures that gained more prominence in the 1980s and 1990s. Here, no doubt, the gay and bohemian sub-cultures would become the most visible manifestations of this non-domestic fraction, as the metaphor of the artist rather than that of the engineer,

would become the icon that would stand for the new age, as these two previously marginalized and frowned upon middle class sub cultures became the standard bearers for a second phase in the postmodern transformation of the city, one which was more centred around lifestyle than reproduction issues and, as a consequence, one which was more commercial and less communitarian in its orientation and behaviour.[3] Besides these groups, there were a growing number of middle class individuals who left the suburbs and joined this material culture in the city or exurbia as they left behind the child rearing phase of their lives and retired earlier - possibly taking up alternative or solo careers.[4]

Finally, a fourth middle class fraction appeared. This faction resulted in the creation of yet another layer of settlement to the middle class colonizationof the City of Vancouver. With the subsequent transformation of the social space of the city, these four layers of settlement, but most particularly the third and fourth fractions of the middle class have transformed the City of Vancouver into a bourgeois city. In turn, this development has set off a chain reaction, fueling the internal migration of middle class and non-middle class populations. The change that has occurred can be seen in the property market, as it has been remolded to absorb these middle class migrations. As a result, distinct settlement zones, which did not exist in the modern period, have appeared. Consequentley, a distinct postmodern social ecology has evolved since the middle of the 1970s. This would become more obvious after 1986, when as a large influx of middle class Asians joined the three indigenous middle class fractions to create a thick layer of middle class settlement in the core of the region. Unlike Toronto, a greater percentage of this stratum decided to settle in the core rather than the periphery of the region (Toronto Star 1997zc; CMHC 1996c),[5] creating a Zone of Asian Resettlement out of the suburban part of the City of Vancouver and the inner suburbs of Richmond and Burnaby, with a penumbra zone at the edge of this zone established for the less affluent member of the Asian community, who were not necessarily middle class.

However, if we look beyond Vancouver and observe the broader social and historic context for middle class involvement in the regulation of the city, the pivotal role that an older

middle class fraction played in the creation of the modern city becomes as unmistakeable as the part played by the new middle class in the postmodern transformation of the city. Each middle-class stratum was formed out the occupation structure that was formed with the changing division of labour that was created by shifts within the economy. In turn they functioned as incubators and carriers of various forms of modernisms of which twentieth-century modernism and postmodernism would become the most influential in shaping the regulatory of the city. The first movement happened in the 1880s. However, in Canada it only became influential after the turn of the century with the rise of the progressivist movement. The second movement happened in 1960s with the counterculture.

Just as with the densification process, the diffusion of postmodern spatial practices are quite uneven. But in this case it is not the configuration of the property market that is important but rather the evolution of the middle class -- its size, concentration, and its ability to articulate its own interests and mobilize itself to obtain them -- that affect how postmodern regulation will evolve in a particular city. Consequently, if the material conditions that established the basis for the emergence of postmodernism are to be understood, the link that exists between the various phases in the development of modernism and the middle class must be sketched in since this forms the backdrop and point of departure for the development of postmodernism.

Broadly speaking, there are three determinants that set this new stratum of the middle class apart from previous middle class generations. First of all, in historical and functional terms, the location of the new middle class within the social division of labour set it apart from the traditional middle class, who as a merchant class appeared as an important class in the 16th century with the revival of trade and the rise of the nation state. Within this division of labour they occupied a middle position between the aristocracy, the peasantry and an emerging working class. There was also a smaller middle class fraction located in a nascent professional sphere that was largely dominated by law, medicine and theology, which existed on the basis of patronage and served the only large bureaucratic structures that existed at this time - the emerging nation-state and the Church. As with all middle class fractions this social stratum

exercised a certain degree of independence over its own work conditions (Jessop 1985; Charcedi 1976). Unlike the new middle class, who work entirely in the symbolic sphere, except for the small cluster of professions that served the nation-state and the Church, the middle class was primarily made up of a small merchants and industrials, who were dependent the use of economic rather than cultural capital to define its class status and to make a living (Bourdieu 1984). Its outlook was therefore coloured very much by a natural antipathy towards the state and church, even though it was dependent upon the regulation provided by the state, because of the threat that these institutions posed to its existence and the tax burden and restrictions these organizations placed upon the market since this was the era of mercantilism (Mann 1986; 1993). Not surprisingly this social group became the seed bed for the *laissez-faire* doctrines which were to come into vogue in the early and middle part of the 19th century.

Until the late 19th century this group mostly defined the occupational profile of the middle class until a new stratum started to rise. However, unlike its 19th century predecessors this new stratum would be shaped by an entirely different relation to the state and large bureaucratic organizations. Composed of professionals rather than shop keepers, its well being depended upon the cultivation of its cultural capital. Entrepreneurial skills that were the trademark of middle class shopkeepers and small scale industrialists were out of place in the bureaucracies that would provide employment opportunities for this new middle class stratum. Success was now dependent upon the expansion of private and public bureaucracies and the accreditation provided by bureaucratic institutions, the most important of which would become the university.

Unlike traditional professionals, specialized rather than general knowledge would increasingly define their range of competence (Holmes 1982; Perkins 1989; Friedson 1986). This also meant that expanding bureaucracies would be the material bedrock for the existence of this new stratum since it was the only sphere which could provide the employment opportunities for the social workers, engineers, city planners and nurses that appeared after the middle of the 19th century. Furthermore, unlike their merchant counterparts, they would be involved in the

regulation of society rather than in the production of wealth. Their authority and prestige would also come out of the power that was delegated to them by the bureaucracy rather than by their store of economic capital. This created a large cleavage between these fractions of the middle class as the advancement of this first professional stratum would often revolve around constraining the chaotic order fostered by the *laissez-faire* capitalism that was so congenial to the small merchant class that made up the largest portion of the middle class until well into the twentieth-century.

Furthermore, especially in the 1980s, as the ancestry of engineering (The Napoleononic Wars) and nursing (the Crimean War) in particular, would reveal, there was also a strong link between the rise of these specialized professions and the shift from the commercial state to the military state. For this was the time that the first large-scale arms race would begin, as well as the first version of the Cold War that would linger into the late 1980s, as proxy battles for position in the international hierarchy amongst the superpowers, first through colonization and then later through open conflicts, particularly between Britain and Germany. Together these developments would further inculcate the need for centralized decision making, and the importance of asserting order and conformity -- attributes that would become defining features of the modern regulation of the city in the 20th century.

Hence dependence upon cultural capital is one characteristic that separated the new middle class apart from its commercial counterparts. But this alone would not separate it from its other professional counterparts that came of age in the industrial age. This demarcation would be established by a sharp cultural rift that formed between this older professional class and the newer one which had came into existence in the 1960s, which would have to do with fundamental changes that were taking place in culture itself, as the function of art began to change. As the essayist Susan Sontag noted: "Art is a new kind of instrument, an instrument for modifying consciousness and organizing new modes of sensibility (1966,p.296)." This new middle class would be molded by the rise of market influences to a greater extent than its predecessors. Also in contradiction to its predecessors, this new middle class would also be shaped by an

attitude of growing hostility and mistrust towards modern forms of bureaucratic rule - something which its older counterparts had closely identified with and to think they had aligned themselves.[6] Even though this embrace of market influences did not signify a regression to the laissez faire period for the new middle class it did revive some attitudes that had more income with its 19th century rather than 20th century predecessors. The modern corporation was without importance but the attitude towards it and the work relation to it changed in several fundamental ways. Once more, but in a context where large corporations predominated, the value of entrepreneurial behaviour rather than the values of organizational man would become more highly valued. As individualism and subjectivity became more valued in the postmodern order that accompanied the shift from Fordist to Post-Fordist methods of production, (Piore and Sabel 1984) flexibility and initiative became more cherished in the upper echelons of the work force. With this the artistic sensibility began to replace the engineering one.

This new sensibility even started to percolate into large corporations, affecting white-collar middle class and even blue-collar technical workers but not pink-collar workers, who perhaps became even more regimented rather than being allowed to partake in the fruits of greater autonomy that was increasingly required of while collar and specialized blue-collar workers in order to cope with the faster turnover of products, new information technologies (G/M, 1997zb) and increased competition in non standardized areas of the economy. Considering the rate of technological change, intensified competition, outsourcing, and the need to become more flexible because of the new uncertainties that de-regulated markets and technological innovation were creating because of the rise of market rule, a much larger space for entrepreneurial activity was established.

As a result, subjectivity became more important as creativity and self motivation (rather than surveillance) became critical to the successful performance of work in this upper-tier segment of the work force. These new conditions in combination with the cultural divide that was first opened up with the counterculture stood opposed to the formality and the

centralization of authority, the objectification of external reality and social conformity that characterized the practice of almost every important profession during the modern period.

In comparison to the other layers of the middle class that have been mentioned two characteristics have so far pointed to as distinguishing attributes of the new middle class: its occupation in the division of labour - where cultural rather economic capital became the currency which provided the basis for its employment and, secondly, the presence of a cultural divide which in part, had something to do with the shift from Fordist to Post-Fordist modes of production, but is also related to a virulent reaction against private, public and military forms of bureaucratic rule during the counterculture. In this regard, when looking at the new middle class Bourdieu would remark that:

> The most indeterminate sectors of the social structure offer the most favourable ground for the operation which, by transforming old positions or creating new ones ex nihilo, aim to produce areas of specialist expertise. And the emergence of this new petite bourgeoisie, which employs new means of manipulation to perform its role as an intermediary between the classes and which by its very existence bring about a transformation of the position and dispositions of the old petite bourgeoisie, can itself be understood only in terms of changes in the mode of domination, which, substituting seductions (read postmodernism) for repression (read modernism), public relations for policing, advertising for authority, the velvet glove for the iron fist, pursues the symbolic integration of the dominated classes by imposing needs rather than inculcating norms (Bourdieu 1984, pp. 153-4).

The suspicion of large bureaucracies and the stress on individual initiatives are classic petite bourgeois traits that have more in common with the merchant middle class of the 19th century than it did with the order seeking behavior and conformity more typical of the first generation of modern professionals who viewed large organizations as one means clean up the wreckage created by *laissez-faire* society. Hence for the new middle class, values associated with the exploration of differences, self-exploration rather than acquiescence and entrepreneurialism rather than obedience to organizational norms became part of the new petite bourgeois ethos that arose during the 1960s. This new perspective would challenge the conformity that governed the corporate behemoths which had commanded both the economy and the production of culture during the 1950s when modernism reigned supreme.[7] For as Bourdieu observed:

The new petite bourgeoisie is predisposed to play a vanguard role in the struggles over everything concerned with the art of living, in particular, domestic life and consumption, relations between the sexes and the generations, the reproduction of the family and its values. It is opposed on almost every point to the repressive morality of the declining petite bourgeoisie whose religious or political conservatism often centres on moral indignation or moral disorder, and especially the disorder of sexual mores" (Bourdieu 1984, pp. 366-7)

Other than vanguard sections of the emerging information economy such as Hewlett Packard,[8] this new attitude would first become pervasive in the rapidly expanding cultural industries. The space created by this industry for this postmodern perspective would increasingly influence the outlook of the middle class. For as this industry grew in response to the extension of mass culture a distinctive and relatively autonomous popular culture for the new middle class arose that would provid jobs and influence. This would establish an economic base for the new middle class. Moreover, the ideological control of this sphere would give this class influence out of proportion to its numbers. This development would set the new middle class apart from its predecessors. Unlike the previous two characteristics the effects of sheer demographics would come into play with regard to the differentiation of a new middle class. Consequently, a huge new middle class market had come into existence during a period of superfluity rather than scarcity. Because of the purchasing power of this new middle class, there developed new consumer markets that were able to evolve outside the strict controls of administered capitalism.

This first became apparent in the entertainment and cultural industries, where new products were being developed for an affluent youth market that craved novelty and difference rather than conformity. With the baby boom and the rapid expansion of university education (Levitt 1984; Anderson 1995; G/M 1997Za) a critical mass was achieved for the birth of a new consumer market which stood opposed to the mass consumer markets that had defined the modern era.

Not surprisingly, the university played a central role in all of this since it was the incubation ground for this new class fraction. Not only did it help to incubate new consumer markets that were connected to the counterculture, the institution itself became a critical battle

ground in the struggle for the assertion of more freedom by this emerging new middle class. Here the informal collegial model and the bohemian or artistic mode of living associated with the university became established as an acceptable venue for the organization of work and everyday living.[9] At best, during the modern period, this way of life was only considered acceptable because it was only regarded an adolescent and transitory phase in the life cycle of the middle class. But with these changes bohemian modes of living became a permanent fixtue of middle class life, defining the way it would attempt to live, long after it left the university. The informality and open endedness of this way of living would eventually become a catalyst for the elaboration of new patterns of consumption. So much so in fact, that even large corporations began to incorporate these subversive practices into its own domain in order to make inroads into this growing and lucrative market.[10]

But in doing so, in a paradoxical way, the evolution of the university into one of the chief centres for the counterculture eventually resulted in this oppositional centre being integrated into the operation of the everyday economy. What was once considered to be subversive now became part of the mainstream. This, combined with the retreat of the state and recognition of the role that the university could play as an incubator of new products and generator of economic economic growth resulted in the increased commofication of all aspects of university life during the 1990s, providing yet another example of the rise of the market and the decline of bureaucratic rule. (Eggertson 1997).[11]

This extension of the market affected all realms of existence. The art world was affected as well. With the rise of Pop Art[12] representations of reality that reflected the growing power of the market appeared. Like the university, institutions once separated from the market were now increasingly incorporated into it. This would become a distinguishing aspect of postmodernism which would draw the attention of social theorists such as Walter Jameson (1984). For clearly this new sensibility was one that directly contradicted the tenets of modern art, which sought to establish its independence of the market. For modern art critics such as Clement Greenberg (Hall and ULanov 1972, p.157) the resistance to commodification and mass

culture would be viewed as one of the primary functions of modernist high-art. During the postmodern period, however, the maintenance of this distinction would begin to dissolve.

This market was further stimulated by the fall in the birth rate amongst the new middle class, allowing it to devote more of its resources to new and experimental forms of consumption than its predecessors. In this way the new middle class arose as an important economic force. However, with the exception of segments of the information economy, it would not be within the sphere of production but rather within the sphere of consumption that its economic impact would be most felt. This would be reflected in impact that this class would have in the broader field of social and aesthetic regulation that would define the postmodern era, as the creation of new consumer spaces would lead to the creation of specific types of space in the postmodern city. In turn, many of these space would come to symbolize the petite bourgeoisie attitude of this class towards consumption as well as to the organization of work. Hence in the very way that this urban would refashion space it is possible to chart the move away from the engineering mindset that governed the outlook of the middle class during the modern era and gave this class broader entry to more emcompassing concerns, which included other classes, since the modernist sensibility established a bridge to sphere of production which, by its very nature, therefore embraced the concerns of other classes. But with the replacement of the engineering mindset by the artistic mindset that occurred with the shift from modern to postmodern representations of reality, a more limited world view be constructed. Despite it claim to inclusiveness and difference the advent of this consumer based world view would have a deleterious impact upon the symbolic place occupied by the working class in the postmodern city. With the shift from the productivist orientation - associated with twentieth-century modernism - to the consumerist one – of postmodernism – the common ground which the engineering mindset had created would dissolve and with it the positive or even benign representations of the working class in the new postmodern spatial order.[13] In this new field of representations the working class would disappear rather than become a symbolic reference point. Compared to the modern era, working class representations of the city would largely

become invisible in the new field of representations generated by the postmodern spatial matrix.[14]

In the work sphere the first outlines of this attitude can be traced as far back as the 1950s when Peter Drucker advanced a different concept of the worker that was the direct opposite of that advanced by Taylorism, which dominated how large corporations, organized along Fordist lines, viewed labour. However this perspective was largely ignored until the 1980's in North American and only became popularized during the postmodern era (Micklethwaite 1996). The only exception to this would be a few companies in the high technology sector such as Hewllet Packard, which foreshadowed what form postmodern systems of urban governance would take in the private corporation (Castells 1996).

As a result the shift away from bureaucratic control and the encroachment of a market logic, which was able to hide much of its corporatist baggage by the camouflage that the petite bourgeois outlook provided, created an opening for the market to invade new areas and intensify its hold over the life experiences and expectations of the middle class in a variety of different ways during the 1960s in both the sphere of consumption as well as in production.[15] Thus in addition to demographic the emergence of the new middle class as a distinctive consumer class is the third characteristic that would define this class and separate it from it other middle class counterparts. As E. P. Thompson observed (1963), the formation of the English working class had as much to do with changes in consciousness as it did with structural factors (i.e. economic positions) and this certainly applies to the emergence of the new middle class as a distinct fraction in the 1960s and the role that it would play as in the city as a carrier of postmodernism, something which would allow this class to define itself in relation to other fractions of the middle class but more important to assert, in a symbolic and even physical way, its independence from capital, while distancing itself from other classes in the city that were lower down in the social order.[16]

These change would have a dramatic effect upon the production and regulation of urban space. In Vancouver and elsewhere bohemian areas in the zone of discard acted as satellites for

ideas that were flowing through the university, translating these ideas into spatial practices made these areas important battle grounds in the struggle to deconstruct modern spaces and refashion them into postmodern ones. These neighhourhoods would be the places where the first manifestation of the new urban sensibility would find concrete expression in the production of new kinds of spaces and the formation of non standardized consumption that would be defined by the ethos the craftsman or artist rather than that of the engineer. Not surprisingly these bohemian zones also became the location for many of the new cultural and entertainment industries that were being germinated in this postmodern matrix. In the 1960s and 1970s, in Vancouver, places like Gastown, and West Fourth Avenue would become economic centres for this new type of postmodern consumption.[17]

To review what has just been said about the new middle class: as a social class the new middle is defined by three key attributes. First, it is a class that is shaped by its use of symbolic capital and its concentration in the ideological apparatus of the state - in both the public and private sectors wherever images, information and entertainment were being produced - or in the high-technology sectors where this class was connected to this cultural nexus as either producers or consumers of images and programs. This quality set it apart from the middle class fractions whose status is base upon the possession of economic rather than cultural capital. Secondly, the new middle class emerged as a historic formation which came of age during the counterculture, which provided with a separate social space where an independent social identity could be constructed for itself, as it separated itself from previous middle class formations and mainstream capital through the adoption of artistic modes of living and working. Thirdly, again, because of the counterculture, the middle class was able to establish considerable autonomy for itself in the consumer sphere. Here it was able to create a vast array of specialized niche markets for itself, which it could control, establishing itself as a separate consumer class which would translate into a new urban geography, of which gentrification became the most visible symbol. In addition to the emergence of the new middle class, a separate consumer class as well as a functional class - as determined by its place in the division of labour created by the

emerging information economy – in key cities this class was also able to establish itself as a political block within the local state where, as it will be shown, it would occasionally assert formal control over the apparatus of the local state.[18]

Two: the nature of regulation

Because two very complex and, in one case, multi-dimensional empirical attributes have been used to distinguish one period of urban development from another the classification scheme that will be used to examine the city cannot be regarded as monads – to use Leibniz's phrase -- where everything is bracketed by the term or classification that is used.[19] Such a conceptualization of time is metaphysical. Although this way of understanding and bracketing time is more often found in post-industrial theories it is not entirely absent in political economy either. However because of the emphasis that regulation theory places upon the articulation and nesting of phenomenon, much of this essentialism can be avoided. Indeed, there are no essential essences that are postulated as defining features of each period that will now be looked at; rather, ther are only a changing sequence of patterned relations. In this way the periodization of the city will be based upon the study of relations rather than the positing of essences. Although any attempt to divide the evolution of the city into distinct periods often reduces the complexity of urban change and transformation into into a single essence that is defined by some inevitable trajectory or predetermined conceptualization of the future, to a certain extent this reductionism is possible to avoid if a looser terminology involving the notion of regulation is used. it its possible to avoid much of the reductionism that invariably accompanies any attempt to classify cities over time. To capture the difference that can be observed between different epochs of urban development. In this study, regulation will not be conceived of in judicial terms, when writing about the operation of a mode of regulation. For it is not the existence of a law or its application that will be used to set one phase of the urbanization period apart from another but, rather, the existence of a different spatial matrix or cultural field.

Words like field and matrix rather than law or rule more accurately convey the sense in which the conception of regulation will be used to periodize urban development. What will be studied is how an associations of cultural attributes and their articulation with each other and the material realm generate patterns that define a period of development rather than the search for some central rule of causation and determination. In this case observation of urban transformation lead to the singling out of densification as well as postmodern regulation and their articulation with each other as the two empirical variables around which a more analytical framework could be constructed to look at how the city was changing. By this means regulation can be used as an analytical construct that can incorporate a wide array of different cultural phenomena without reducing the evolution of city to one single trajectory or end point. So even when densification and postmodern regulation are employed as the defining attributes of the new mode of urban development we live in, considerable room is left for the consideration of anomalies and variations since there is no one mold any city necessarily has to fit into, even though they are under the influence of the same patterning forces that shape urban space.

At the same time this does not mean that concepts like a regime of accumulation or a modes of regulation are simply analytical abstractions that bear no correspondence with the external world, or that the time frames they establish are completely arbitrary or chaotic either. Even though these organizing concepts are analytical constructs rather than empirical entities -- they do provide an organizing framework that can be used to search for empirical processes that produce important patterns in space that can then be used as a basis for periodizing development -- in this case densification and postmodern forms of regulation. To reiterate what was earlier stated in the preface and in the introduction, the time frames that are being presented should be seen more as organizing constructs which provide markers for locating significant patterns, which might not be immediately apparent or their full significant immediately visible. What makes this method for periodizing the city useful is that it offers a way to identify significant patterns and locate strategic moments when action can be taken to gain more control over the future of a city, at least, that is, in terms of the actions that can be

taken within the sphere of the local state with regard to the production of space. Stating this the concept of regulation can be further specified.

Since a conception of regulation will be used to separate one period of urban development from another, the notion of regulation will be used in its broadest rather than narrowest sense. the notion of regulation will therefore embrace more than the creation and enforcement of rules by administrative bodies. Though this legal and philosophic dimension of urban regulation is not ignored there are other two other levels that will also be considered. The concept of regulation therefore goes far beyond rule making and the formal construction of laws and regulation that govern space. Regulation will also deal with representation of physical and social, how space is perceived and therefore used as a result of its perception.

Regulation therefore has to do with patterns of perception and land use which affect how decisions about the production and consumption of space are made. Although the local state is the main arena for the application of this form of regulation it is not only bureaucrats and administrators that enforce and conduct themselves in accordance with the rules that are generated from out of specific spatial matrix but the consumers and producers of space as well. Consequently institutional and cultural attributes are viewed as one form of regulation which established demarcation points in the evolution of the city. In this expanded concept of regulation, there is an economic, political and technological base to the term and it is assumed that soomer or later changes that occur here will result in significant physical changes in the formatting of urban space. As a consequence one type of regulation may emanate from a field but it will have many sources and be shaped by several dimensions according to whether an action or idea comes from a politician, a developers, a citizen or planner. How these practices are articulated with each other or become meshed together will be what ultimately shape the form of regulation that guides production, perception and use of the built environment.

That is why it is more accurate to think of regulation in terms of a spatial matrix or a cultural field rather than as a string of instruction, a recipe for the fabrication of space or the generation of rules for its use. While there are common attitudes to space which make it possible

to speak about a mode of regulation there is also considerable room for different permutations to develop within one mode of regulation if regulation is thought of in terms of a spatial matrix where different combinations and levels of spatial practice can be articulated separately or in concert with each. As a consequence, postmodern regulation is not some monadological entity that seamlessly weave space together into one pattern but a spatial field where several different spatial weaves can emerge. Like densification, postmodern cultural practices can therefore produce a *melange* of different spaces: this depending upon what elements of the matrix are active in a particular locality at a specific time and which are inactive. And it is at this conjuncture that the analysis of the new middle class becomes critical to understanding postmodern spatial practices. Far from being regarded as abstract categories in this framework regulation become something quite concrete in both space and time with each city having its own unique institutional and regulatory history that becomes expressed in the geography it constructs for itself.

This becomes more apparent when the concept of spatial regulation is broken up into the three main dimensions that are deemed to be most significant in terms of the operation of a mode of regulation.

First, there are spatial practices that appear as philosophic constructs. Of the three types of spatial constructs that will be looked at, these are the most formal and abstract. In Henri Lefebvre's (1991; 1996) discourse on the production of space these constructs were identified as conceived spaces. For the most part these are the constructs used by intellectuals and administrators to make sense of and mold space. The most concrete example of this would be the formulation and application of zoning codes. Bureaucrats are the most obvious participants in this form of regulation, but they are not the only ones. A wide variety of actors can be invovled in the construction of new spatial constructs since this is a formal intellectual activity. For instance, when postmodern discourse is examined public intellectuals like Jane Jacobs rather than professional planners have been more important as catalyst for change (Jacoby 1987; Saunders 1997) However, for spatial constructs to become effective in reshaping space at this

level it is usually necessary for them to be absorbed by the spatial professions that work within the armature of the local state – the most noteworthy of these practitioners being engineers, planners, architects and landscape architects.

There is a second level. Here spatial constructs move at a social rather than institutional level. Hence, the sociological rather philosophical dimension of reality is addressed. Unlike philosophic constructs, this dimension of regulation exerts its influence on a more informal and unconscious plane. For good reason Lefebvre defined this place as the realm of lived spaces, or the domain of everyday life, since this is where people interact in space according to an internal and external sociological compass that defines social norms and expectations about the perception and use of a particular space. Since social identities and social norms are so closely bound up with this aspect of regulation, it can be quite fluid and hard to pin down.

The third and last dimension of regulation is the aesthetic one. When moving into this dimension of regulation, social space and abstract spatial discourse are left behind for the symbolic universe and the consumer realm. As with the philosophic dimension, these spatial constructs are focused around the organization of physical rather than social space. Unlike the philosophic dimension, however, the motivations for organizing space are usually quite different. While the philosophic dimension is usually embedded in professional discourse the aesthetic domain is one where class becomes an important consideration since spatial forms are consciously used to convey social status or transcendence. For good reason LeFebvre referred to these spatial constructs as spaces of representation. For at this level, symbolic rather than functional concerns are what propel the actions of actors who are working along this dimension.

The three distinctions that have been made are both analytical and real. Philosophic representations of space obviously have more political content since they are often encoded in formal regulations that usually are an expression of the formal exercise of state power. Meanwhile the sociological dimension most often manifiests itself in the behaviour of individuals and so is often the hardest to pin down, but it can be shown to exist nevertheless,

although it often only becomes emerges from the unconscious to the conscious state when the social margins of society or its subcultures are studied. In the postmodern era this has become less so since the principle of difference rather than conformity exerts more influence over the social realm, particulary in the second phase of the postmodern transformation where these different spaces have not only become normalized they have also become commodified. As a result subcultures and behaviours that were once never acknowledged or discussed are used to excite consumption or as the raw material for marketing new experiences in the city because of the importance of the urban spectacle and its link to tourism. Finally there is the aesthetic dimension, where each class that resides in the city attempts to symbolically appropriate space by reshaping space or by placing artifacts that are significant to it in strategic locations. Presentation is therefore important. Here the relation between the developer and the consumer becomes central, with some of the clearest examples of how this dimension of regulation affects the production of space expressed in how a space is marketed.

As well as the existence of these three separate dimensions to the regulation of space there can also be distinct phases in the evolution of a mode of regulation, when some attributes that define it play a stronger influence in shaping space at one time and less at another. With regard to postmodern regulation, in Canada there are two distinct spatial programs that have appeared so far.[20] The first program was that of the livable city. In Vancouver this program was formalized into a set of goals and then codified into the regulation of space through the implementation of new zoning protocols and plans at both the city (CVPD-36) and regional levels (Gerecke 1974; Lash 1976; Rashleigh 1992).

A second progam was formulated in the 1980s. Unlike the livable city program a formal declaration can not be pointed to which sets out its agenda, only a series of actions and the new attitudes reveal the existence of this second program, the program in question being that of the urban spectacle. This second program emerged in the 1980s as the direct participation of the state in the production of urban space began to wane and tourism became more important to the economy of the city. With fewer constraints placed upon the market more polarized landscapes

have resulted as the commodification of space has become intensified and more market driven in comparison to the 1970s, when a certain animus was shown towards the market and the state was an active participant in the production of important public spaces. This was the time when there was a significant expansion in non-commodified spaces such as non-profit housing and consumer co-ops. This stands in marked constrast to the second phase, where space has become more privatized or quasi public rather than public. Although some some communal spaces are still being created, as the rise of community gardens (PI-49) and the struggle to preserve testify to in the case of Vancouver, these examples are increasingly becoming more the exception rather than the rule. This also reflected in the importance of the marketing of space, as image making and marketing become more important as the domestic orientation that governed the use of space in the livable city era is replaced by commercial concerns because of the rising importance of tourism and the increased focus placed upon the creation of glamourous spaces (Page 1996).

To summarize what has been said about postmodernism so far, the discussion about the middle class and the meaning of regulation and short overview illustrate that postmodernism is a complex term. As the next section will reveal, not only does it involve considering three different dimensions of spatial practice, in addition to this, it also involves studying two quite distinct phases of its development. Hence not only are there different dimension to postmodern spatial practices there are also different phases in its evolution which need to be taken into account. In Canada the first phase was most dominated by the domestically oriented fraction of the new middle class and the ideology of the livable city. The second phase, that evolved out of the first, started to surface in the 1980s as the new middle class became more conservative and as a non domestic fraction of the new middle class became more influential, creating new the demands and requirements that would displace the communitarianism of the first period with the corporatism of the second, and substitute much of the ideology of the livable city with that of the urban spectacle.

Three: Historical Overview

Some recognition has to be made of the existence of two other modes of urban development that have shaped the city in the twentieth century needs to be made before focussing upon the postmodern city.[21] Of the three periods, which it is possible to divide the urban development up according to this regulation framework, only the second period - the modern era - is entirely contained within the twentieth century. The first period, which is that of the *laissez-faire* city, started to emerge between the 1840s and the 1880s, and lasted well into the 1920s. The third period, the postmodern era, which is the focus of this study, only emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century and will presumably carry on sometime into the twenty-first century.

As with the modern and postmodern periods there was a regime of accumulation that corresponded to the era of *laissez-faire* regulation. During this time investment in the built environment was shaped and patterned by the advent of new transport and communications technologies such as the telephone, the elevator and the streetcar. Because of the influence of large railway and land development companies a powerful synergy between urban land development and streetcar development was established, which lead to the production of denser urban spaces that were remarkably patterned despite the fact that this was a period of laissez faire regulation. Although most Canadian cities were more commercial rather than industrial entrerpots, they were, nevertheless, organized along much the same lines as the industrial cities.

Even though this was not an entirely accurate description the patterns of urban development were roughly the same, since investment in both types of cities was shaped by the streetcar, which, in turn, lead to creation of a very dense node of commercial and industrial precinct in the inner city -- although, because of the commercial orientation of most Canadian cities this lead to the creation of large warehouse precincts rather than manufacturing plants. Yet, as with the industrial city, the concentration of capital became so great that it displaced residential development in the core, establishing a new type of urban space, which is now

commonly referred to as the Central Business District. While the Central Business District of Chicago became the archetype for this production of the market and subway and streetcar line, the first example of this urban form probably emerged in the city of Manchester during the 1840s and 1850s, hence it has since been usually referred to as the world's first industrial city (Gwyndaf 1996).

In the Central Business District the most notable aspects of 19th-century modernism became visible, as space for huge crowds of strangers was fabricated with the construction of huge new consumer emporiums, such as department stores and train stations. Because of the concentration and centralization of urban functions in the core street life became very intense, arousing the interest of French commentators like Baudlelaire and later Walter Benjamin (Buck-Moss 1990) who tried to capture the essence of 19th-century modernism in their vignettes of street life. While this was the cause for inspiration for some, to other intellectuals, who were to formulate modern spatial norms, the street, along with high urban densities, would inspire horror (Ellen 1997). The street was to be a conduit for the movement of people and not a social space that housed the disordered elements of the city. Density and the street were archaic and pathological breeding grounds which urban reformers hoped to eliminate. In Canada, probably no other city was probably so profoundly imprinted with the urban morphology of the 19th century city as Winnipeg. Not surprisingly this was also the time in which it experienced its greatest period of growth. Like Chicago, it was entirely the product of the railroad and had risen from out of nowhere on the Prairies to become the nation's third largest city during the laissez faire period (Bellan 1978). The distinctive star-shaped pattern that came with this development was further accentuated by the trails which later became important thoroughfares since they ran parallel to the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and converged in the city centre where the two where the two waterways merged.

The legacy of this extremely concentrated form of development even lasted into the middle of the 1960s in Winnipeg, which has made its decline and erasure even more dramatic than would be the case for most other North American cities. Even up to the late 1960s the

downtown still acted as a powerful magnet, something that was symbolized most graphically in the place occupied by Eaton's downtown department store in the retail geography of the city.[22] Hence as late as 1969, stories were still being written about Eatons that claimed that one half of all the retail trade in the city not related to automobiles or food purchases was being conducted in just this one store: a level, if it accurate, would have been something unparalleled anywhere else on the continent at the time.[23]

Between the first and second periods there was an interregnum that lasted from 1930 to 1945. In terms of the switch over from a laissez faire mode of regulation to one that was modern this was both a transition as well as incubation period.[24] However most of the significant changes that took place were largely invisible to the public because they took place within the institutional sphere and had little immediate impact on the organization of the city until after 1945 because of the drop off in construction that resulted from the Great Depression and the Second World War. Nonetheless, it was during this time that the fragmentation, segmentation and dispersion of space was codified into the zoning ordinances. Although zoning was first adopted by some local governments in the 1920s and 1930s these institutional supports only became influential in the 1950s, when planning departments were established to provide the organizational muscle to enforce this new spatial order.

The radical nature of these changes were camouflaged since the most important element of this new mode of regulation had to do with a much larger macro-economic agenda undertaken by the federal government after the war. As the throne speech in 1944 made clear when it stated "the post-war object of our domestic policy is social security and human welfare. The establishment of a national minimum standard of social security and human welfare should be advanced as rapidly as possible."[25] Consequently, the creation of a social net and job creation to prevent social unrest was a top priority and the re-organization of the city was to be one means for bringing this about. In this way the reshaping of the city and the introduction of modern regulation was subsumed and largely rendered invisible as a specific urban policy, covered over by this larger Keynsian strategy for the maintenance of employment and the preservation of

social order. Combined with the existence of a severe housing shortage, this strategy would make housing a critical economic lever.This housing policy would also mold the behaviour of the labour force, disciplining it and making it accept bureaucratic rule, since entry into the housing market demanded stability and conformity to economic and social rules upon which this system of production rested.

But in order for the city to operate as this flywheel in the accumulation process extra financial instruments had to be created which would allow for the standardized production and mass consumption of housing. Again, these actions were not articulated as a specific urban policy but came out of a larger employment and investment strategy that sought to even out the movement of the business cycle. Because this policy was framed within this broader economic discourse the urban element was hidden. Consequently the most important aspects of modern regulation and land-extensive regulation were largely invisible, which made the dispersed development that appeared after the war appear as a natural process rather than as the final product of a complex web of institutional supports that were heavily dependent upon hidden subsidies and the maintenance of a certain form of standardized consumption for its expansion and reproduction (Clarke 1966; Bettinson 1975; Harris 1996). In this regard, Canada occupied an intermediate position. Where the institutional support for this type of development was deeper and more extensive, as in the United States, more dispersed development took place. In turn, where it was weaker than in Canada, such as in the United Kingdom, less suburbanization took place (Stretton 1978 ; Hall 1988).[26]

In its fully developed and mature form, the era of modern regulation lasted from 1945 to 1973. As already stated, because modern regulation was seamlessly integrated into the regime of land extensive accumulation that was put in place as part of a larger macro economic strategy by the federal government very little if any opposition developed to this new order. The two main physical artifacts that anchored this mode of urban development - the single detached home and the automobile - therefore became the cornerstones of a rapidly expanding domestic economy. Until the oil and inflation crisis put a brake on the consumption of these artifacts, the

urbanization process itself would act as the fuel that would stoke the fires of the economy. With the urbanization process anchored around the single detached housing unit and the automobile the physical morphology of the city became much more amorphous as the highway and the freeway, rather than the streetcar, established the physical pattern of investment that would take place.

The period of postmodern regulation begins in the early 1970s when the economic, social and aesthetic viability of this urban form was challenged by the emergence of a new middle class. At the philosophic level, the years between 1972 and 1976 mark the formal arrival of postmodernism.[27] However, at the sociological level and aesthetic levels of regulation, this shift was already well advanced by the mid 1960s. As with the modern regulation, the movement from one stage of development to another did not take place in one neat step. Like all the other modes of urban development, postmodern regulation required an incubation and transition period, which we may still be in, where different modes of regulation co-exist. Even with regard to modern regulation, where the war and depression created an unusually sharp demarcation point between one type of urban development and another, closer study of the evolution of modern regulation shows that before it emerged in mature form it after 1945, it had been gestating for twenty-five years, undergoing major setbacks and advances before its dominance was confirmed. This flux and uneven evolution would show up in the planning profession in Canada, which, after the great progressivist surge in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, would succumb to the depression, and completely disappear by the 1940s, requiring the assistance of the Federal government to re-establish itself (Gunton 1991; Gerecke 1976).

Thus modern regulation underwent a fairly lengthy transition period. And this helps to put the transformation of the postmodern city into a broader perspective, for only about twenty-five years have elapsed since this form of regulation began to surface. If a parallel can be drawn with the evolution of modern regulation then it is possible that we are still in a period of transition with regard to the movement towards the postmodern city. As the previous discussion

about the switch from land intensive and land extensive development in the chapter on densification illustrated; there is a transition period that seems to overlap each regime of accumulation and mode of regulation where attributes from each mode of urban development co-exist with each other. However, while both modes of urban development may co-exist they are generally not in equilibrium with each other. One is usually becoming stronger while the other is progressively becoming weaker and more fragile.

Although using overlapping time frames in any attempt to periodize development may seem somewhat heretical, this unorthodox conceptual addition to the periodization scheme does help explain why the presence of contradictory movements in the evolution of the city are particularly strong at certain times. In addition such a framework, makes it possible to place more attention on the lag that exists between the formulation and adoption of new regulatory principles for the production of space and their materialization into distinctly new layers of urban tissue. As here there is a difference between the formulation of a new spatial code and its widespread application. For it is only when regulatory norms and are produced on a sufficient scale to become a defining feature of a mode of urban development that it becomes possible to define a period of urban development by its effects. When developing a typology for the city, that is why there is usually never a one-to-one correspondence between the creation of a new mode of regulation because of the operation of different ideological, political and economic cycles that all need to be articulated with each other to form an institutional nexus for the reproduction of one pattern of development. This also implies that blockages and gaps will exist as a matter of course in any transition period. Since these articulations are carried out at the local level, this suggests that a great deal of variation is possible between cities in any particular period of development.

This would seem to be especially the case for postmodern regulation. Because nothing on the scale of the Great Depression or the War intervened to wash away previous institutional practices the shift has been longer, more uneven and more gradual. In part this had to do with the class dynamics of postmodernism and the subsequent resistance by other classes to its

dictates. The current flux and ambivalence may also have to with present makeup of the federal system of government. The weak and underdeveloped state of municipal and provincial government made it possible for the federal government to put forward one program to guide the development of the city and the economy. Now, because of the current fiscal crisis and the waning influence of the federal government in relation to the provinces the introduction of a uniform system of regulation becomes much more difficult. The polarization that can be observed may also be related to the growing importance of market rule. Compared the time when bureaucratic rule predominated, which was the case when modern regulation was introduced, the context governing the introduction of postmodern regulation has been defined by the market rule, which, by its very nature, create more chaotic and uneven development. Unlike the application of modern regulation, where the identification with bureaucratic norms shaped and prepared the way for the near uniform adoption of modern regulation across the country after the war, in the postmodern era the advance of postmodern spatial norms has been much more haphazard because of the growing influence of the market, waning influence of the Federal Government and the existence of competing interests that now exist but were not present or so powerful, when modern regulation was introduced.

Then there is the simple fact of institutional inertia. When modern regulation was introduced there was no powerful building industry or well entrenched and massive bureaucracy that needed to be rejigged to change the direction of urban regulation. However, with world class development corporations, provincial urban ministries, and large municipal bureaucracies the gaps and blocks that exist within the bureaucracy itself can be a powerful conservative force. As the diffusion and adoption of postmodern regulation in the City of Vancouver illustrate, the presence of bureaucratic structures that were once absent, itself can act as a powerful constraint. For example within the bureaucracy postmodern regulation first made its debut with the establishment of the Social Planning Department in the late 1960s. City Planning only shifted from a modern to postmodern regulatory order in the mid 1970s and the Police Department, which plays a very important part in the regulation of the use of space, only

experienced this transformation in the 1990s. Nearly forty years after the postmodern transformation of the civic bureaucracy had begun it is still incomplete. For the regulation of space this will only happen when the greening of the City of Vancouver's Engineering Department is completed, as this Department remains the last important bastion of modernism in the civic bureaucracy.

All these reasons can be cited for the failure of postmodern regulation to far become the univeralizing spatial discourse that modernism became after the war. Compared to the effortless move to modernism, the progression of postmodernism regulation has been more incremental and tumultuous. A generation after its first introduction as the new standard for planning in Toronto and Vancouver, powerful popular resistance to the extension of postmodern regulation remains. Accordingly, the progression of postmodern regulation has been more contested by opposing social formations more than modernism ever was.[28]

Thus, twenty years after the formal advent of postmodernism, modernism still remains a powerful force. However it has become progressively weaker in many cities, and is now wheezing and gasping rather the breathing easily as it once did. This is reflected in the contradictory policies of the federal government and the provinces, where supports for both modes of regulation have been simultaneously instituted. While the postmodern regulation of the city was given considerable impetus with the amendments that were made to the National Housing Act in 1973, at the same time, the Federal Government also put additional institutional supports in place for the modern city.

This ranged from general policies which provided grants to homeowner wishing to buy single detached homes such as the Assisted Home Ownerhsip Program, to other initiatives which made it easier to buy homes by reducing the minimum donwnpayment required from ten to five percent. As well land banking programs were established to reduce the cost of land so that suburbanization could continue. In addition to these general programs the Federal Government became more involved in more locaized programs such as The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative,

which evolved into a classic scheme of modern urban renewal with a few postmodern flourishes made to give it some legitimacy.

In the same contradictory way, provincial intervention proved often to be as contradictory, with transit rapid systems constructed while attempts were made to complete or add on to existing freeway systems. This has even happened at the municpal level, in cities following in the rear of these changes, such as Winnipeg, a great deal of money was spent trying to renew the core, while equally large sums were spent undermining these efforts by the willingness of the politcians to allow the administration to expand a freeway system that was supposed to be cancelled or to subsidize new housing in the suburbs while beginning yet another program for the renewal of the downtown. Conversely, Winnipeg has changed its tax assessment system to equalize the mill rate charged to various types of dwelling, which undertaxed single detached units while overtaxing apartment units, a measure that may slow down suburbanization. As well, in Winnipeg and other cities, there has been a move to shift more of the tax burden away from commercial to residential land uses which should encourage more land intensive development.[29]

With the advent of the fiscal crisis of the local state in the 1990s these contradictory measures may be eliminated, as the full impact of this crisis forces every level of government to deal much more carefully with the costs of urban development,[30] economic necessity may bring an end to this ambivalence, forcing governments to look more closely at where it revenues are going and where they are coming from. In this process, most if not all of the hidden subsidies that presently subsidize land-extensive development should surface. With growing fiscal pressure, and the push from the right end of the political spectrum, and the demand for more sustainable development from middle class reformers from the left end of the political spectrum – who are using ecological rather than economic arguments to pressure local government to reconsider the way it is doing things – may give government no choice but to look at urban development more closely in terms of cost accounting. As this happens many of the hidden subsidies that still support land-extensive development should become more visible and

therefore more vulnerable to challenge by a wide assortment of groups with different agendas (Pitman 1997; Vickrey 1994).

For these reason the current fiscal crisis may well do for postmodernism what the Great Depression and the Second World War were able to do for modernism: eradicate most of the vestiges of the old regulatory order. If this occurs this should become apparent over the next five year as it will be possible to see how the impact of fiscal downloading starts affects the organization and operation of municipal government and whether this affects the economics of land extensive development in a significant way, since the full impact of these changes will be felt just as the next upward cycle for new housing, which began in 1996, gathers full steam, and with it, the demand for more infrastructure to service this development.[31]

So even though at a formal level - it is possible to date the beginning of the postmodern era by point to specific changes that were made to the modern regulation of the city by 1973, in the future it may well be that, the period between 1973 and 1995 will be viewed as the interregnum between modern and postmodern eras just as the time between 1930 and 1945 has been with regard to the incubation of modernism. Although the postmodern interregnum would be slightly longer than the modern one, approximately 25 years instead of 15 years, there are mediating circumstances which can be referred to which can be used to explain why switch over to postmodernism from modernism has taken longer than the switch over from *laissez-faire* regulation to modernism - the clearest reason being elimination of capital investment in the city for 15 years - if this particular is shown to hold in the future, when it will be possible to look at whether or not there is a real parallel.

For unlike the *laissez-faire* city, where pre-modern forms of regulation were swiftly erased by two consecutive and powerful body blows given to pre-exisiting forms of urbanization by the depression and war, the birth pains of postmodern regulation and the death throes of modern regulation were marked by three chronic but not necessarily lethal turning points, which weakened the hold of modern regulation yet did not finish it off as a dominant force as was the case for the *laissez-faire* regulation of the city. The three points that can be pointed to are:

first, the oil crisis, which had more of an ideological impact than practical one, but did highlight the fragility of the pattern of city building. More important, was inflation, which built up steam from the late 1960s, setting off the first inflation crisis in the mid 1970s, when wage and price controls were introduced, and a second one, in the early 1980s, when the consumer price index was rising around 15 percent a year and when interest rates spiked at over 20 percent.[32] Last of all, there was the fiscal crisis of the state. With this shock, there came the cutbacks and reconfiguration of government which is still underway. This began began with the election of the federal Conservatives in 1984 but culiminated in the federal budget of 1995 and the election of the Progressive Conservatives in Ontario, but only now is really affecting the local state in a fundamental way. Despite all of this, unlike the modern intergnum, no cities went into default. Unemployment went up, but investment in the built environment did not completely dry up in as it did in the modern interegnum. On the contrary, because inflation rather the deflation has most defined the postmodern interregnum, investment in the built environment increased by significant amounts at numerous times rather than decrease or nearly disappear altogether, as was generally the case between 1930 and 1945.[33] As well, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the postmodern transformation of the city, like the densification process, would proceed in a much more uneven and polarized fashion compared to the across-the-board shutdown and restarting of investment that affected every city in the country because of the overwhelming and inescapable impact of depression and war (Little 1997m).

Regardless, whether in later years the period from 1973 to the present will be regarded as a transitional moment with regard to the beginning of a new mode of urban development, the fact remains that in the last quarter of the twentieth century, a fundamental shift in the production of urban space took place, creating a third development that can be marked out by looking at the interconnection between patterns of investment and the different nature of spatial regulation that existed in each of these three periods. What is also interesting to note is how the emergence of postmodernism has involved the ressurection of many features and form giving elements that were associated with 19th-century city: for instance, the revival in public transit

use and bicycle transportation, the re-emergence of street life, growing attempt to build neighbourhoods like they were before the war, which can be seen in the spread of the new urbanism (Watson 1997) and even the consideration that has now been given to eliminating modern zoning formats and the search for other remedies to deal with the problems posed by the regulation of space. Also, because, this new sensibility was informed by a reaction against uniformity that was engendered by bureacratic rule, market forces were given more room to operate. One consequence of this was the beginning of a new period of eclecticism with regard to the production of space.

However, in portraying the evolution of Canadian urbanization in the twentieth century as the march through three different modes of urban development, it is always necessary to temper the linearity which is inherent in any periodization scheme and remember that especially in periods of transition there is a great deal of indeterminancy in at play in the final shape that any mode of urban development.

That is why the modern modes of regulation in Canada are similar but not identical to those found in the United States. Furthermore, as already alluded to this explains why there is currently a great deal of variation in in the postmodern transformation of the city. This even applies to the modern period. Even though this time has been described as one characterized by its uniformity across the country it is only necessary to see how Vancouver,Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal -- the four largest cities during the modern period, evolved in slightly different ways, to see that even in this period of standardization the exact same path was not followed by each city, something exhibited in the different the level of freeway construction, the scale of private and public urban renewal in each city and the lose ends of development left over the previous wave of speculation which remained a legacy of the *laissez-faire* period of development, with subdivisions laid out in the earlier part of the century still organizing land uses well into the 1960s because of the slower growth of cities such as Winnipeg (Smith 1973) and the fact that its most rapid pace of development occurred during this period rather than in the

modern period, as was the case for other Prairie cities where the pre-modern legacy of urban development was much more modest.

This was even observable on a regional scale. For example, on the prairies the construction of large self contianed subdivisions did not really take off in Winnipeg until the early 1970s while they had already become the mainstay for urban development in the other larger prairies cities as far back as the mid 1950s. Not until Southdale began to grow rapidly in in the early 1970s (Although it was started in the late 1960s) did the first fully modern neighbourhood whose focal point was the school appear in Winnipeg. Until Southdale the closest approximation to this standardized format was the sub-division of Windor Park that was constructed in the middle of the 1950s; but that neighbourhood was only a half-baked version of the neighourhood format that was being built elsewhere in the Prairies where this format for the organization space became the building block for the modern suburb in Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Calgary

In the case of the City of Vancouver, the evolution of the Planning Department shows how conflict laden and contingent the struggles to regulate and produce modern as well as postmodern landscapes would become. As will later be shown, even though modernism became the dominant spatial logic in Vancouver after 1945, the Planning Department was only partially successful in modernizing the city. Before the pre-modern, Late-Victorian landscapes of Vancouver could be erased, time literally ran out for modernism, as implementation of the plan for comprehensive transformation of Vancouver was started too late to be able to be implemented. Without knowing it, a watershed had been passed in Vancouver, and the time had come and gone for planners to reformat space according to modern norms in a systematic or comprehensive fashion.

Delays in implementing the Twenty Year development plan of Sutton Brown meant that when the speed up of the implementation of the plan was attempted, a new social formation, which had previously not existed, the new middle class would be able to block the implementation of the plan while setting out an alternative to replace it. The ambitious plan of

Sutton Brown to modernize the city was therefore shut down before it had much of a chance to alter the built environment.

Closer examination of the circumstances which lead to the demise of the plan reveal that the duration of time that would define failure and success, in this regard, was very short. Indeterminacy and contingency therefore played an important role in determining what the final outcome for Vancouver would be, since the vagary of change and bad timing was all that intervened between the limited and incremental modernization of Vancouver and its full scale and comprehensive transformation. This also explains why the 1928 Bartholomew Plan, with its much more modest agenda for the rationalization of the city, ended up having more impact on the evolution of the built environment than the Sutton Brown Plan that was first formulated in 1954 but entered the public realm when the three component parts of the Sutton Brown plan that were formally presented to the public in three separate documents in 1956 (the downtown plan), 1957 (urban renewal) and 1958/59 (the freeway plan).

Once again there was nothing that was predetermined about this final result. For instance had Sutton Brown worked more effectively with the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board [34] they might have bought into his vision and the direction the city would have taken might have been quite different.[35] The same applies to the B.C. and federal governments. But this did not happen. Or the agreements were made too late. As a result, the massive freeway system, which was to be the cornerstone for Sutton Brown's three part plan to modernize the city, fell apart, while the rationalization of the city's arterials recommended in the Bartholomew Plan was almost entirely completed[36] (Pendakur 1972; Leo 1977; PI-25).[37]

Yet, if Sutton Brown had been able to bring the province and the federal government on board just one or two years earlier, the evolution of the city would have taken a sharply different course.[38] What this sequence of events reveals about urban change in particular, is that like space, time is not some fluid and frictionless ether where anything is possible. When it comes, the production of space time and space do not exist as empty frames of extension and

duration where there is no friction or inertia. As the money required for the implementation of the Sutton Brown Plan would indicate, space is not simply empty extension.

Rather, space is a concrete entity with many layers, requiring the mobilization of energy and resources to reshape the way it is configured. This is a physical fact. However there is also a social fact that relates to the same point. In additional to physical inertia and resistance there is also the potential for social inertia and resistance to block or modify change. Just as physical space is layered with the accretions of former investments and the existing natural configuration of space existing as immobile elements in the makeup of space, all inhabited spaces are also layered by human interests and associations.

A similar analogy can be made with regard to time. Only here it is not physical mass or the layers of associations and attachments which may limit the ability to reshape space, but the irreversibility of time, its sequenced development and the layered interests that operate at any one instance in time that cannot only not only block decisions that have to do with the reconfiguration of space but also created of breaks in time at certain critical conjunctures, where opportunities can be seized to move in different direction or further reinforce a path already chosen for the regulation of space. The fact that time cannot be undone or reversed becomes important during pivotal conjunctures, just as the simple presence or absence of a freeway or of a social formation that happens to be attached to a particular place will affect how successful the regulators and producers of new spaces will be in achieving their goals. In a similar way, the same applies to time. Thus, a decision made at a critical conjuncture in time may have the capacity to reverberate into the future and set limitations on what can be done. That Sutton Brown was not able to implement his plan within a certain time meant that the window of opportunity for the realization of the scenario he had attempted to embed into the regulation and production of space was permanently foreclosed and that other alternative would have a brief moment to seize the moment and shift the direction of the city that was entirely opposed to what he had envisaged for the city. That is why not doing something can have as dramatic a

consequence for the city as actually doing something, a point any competent and wise bureaucrat knows instinctively.

Although the Sutton Brown plan did not progress very far the ambitious nature of the plan the spin it would have put on the future development of the city can be illustrated by looking at the enormous sums of capital that were going to be marshalled to reconfigure the space in the relation to the relatively small size of Vancouver. When Sutton Brown, announced his plan, the City had less than 400,000 people,[39] the implementation was expected to cost over $600-million dollars in 1956 dollars. Translated into 1993 dollars, even with a conservative estimate, this would have represented a capital expenditure over three and a half billion dollars (SC- 12).[40] The significance of this number can be appreciated by comparing this proposed expenditure to what the most powerful modernist of them all, Robert Moses accomplished. If the difference between the population of Vancouver and New York is taken into account, on a per capita basis what Sutton Brown has proposed for Vancouver would have been roughly equivalent to the $60-billion dollars (in 1993 dollars) that Robert Moses had spent on the modernization of New York City.

This element of chance and contingency applies to the postmodern transformation of Vancouver as well. Although, postmodern spatial practices are now ascendant within the region, there is still powerful resistance to its application in non middle class areas. While modern regulation has been gradually weakened, it has not been entirely eliminated. Sutton Brown's strain of modernism was clearly defeated but as recent struggles and vacillations over the implementation of the region's densification strategy so clearly show, other forms of modern regulation still persist, creating a cultural divide in the spatial culture of the region.[41] As with the modernization of Vancouver, its postmodern transformation is not something that is pre-ordained or whose final shape is already settled. Nor does the passage of plans or the enunciation of formal declarations make this any more the case.

For example, in the case of the City of Vancouver, the approval of the *Central Area Plan* (CVPD-112), *CityPlan* (CVPD-141) and the City of Vancouver's new *Transportation Plan*

(CV-26) have established a direction for the second stage of the postmodern transformation of the city to proceed along. However, they have also activated fault lines, which have the capacity to derail or deeply alter these plans. As what happened with regard to the formal regulation of the city during the modern era, the current postmodern regime will ultimately be shaped by the trade offs and struggles that will take place between bureaucrats, politicians, developers and citizens and the way these plans for the future, which are the equivalent to the three components of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan, are articulated with the interests of these groups. The same applies to the region and not just the City of Vancouver. At present the *Livable Region Strategy* (GVRD 1993a) and *Transport 2021* (GVRD 1993b) act as the regional counterpart to the postmodern strategies set out in the three main plans that govern strategic planning in the City of Vancouver.

Until they become integrated into the actions of these players, these plans exist only as one of many potential futures in the making, a philosophic catalyst and guide only; that is, until a certain critical mass is realized with regard to the sequence of strategic decisions which make it hard to reverse direction on a strategy that has been chosen and a critical mass is realized in the investment of new infrastructure or its blockage, that makes it hard to shape space in a different way. Ultimately, the more favourable strategic decisions that are agreed to (favourable time conjunctures) and the more investments that are made (strategic investments), which follow the recommendations of the plan, the more weight these plans will have in setting the trajectory for the future. But even if these specific plans are not followed this does not mean that the mode of urban development created by the articulation of the densification process and the emergence of postmodern spatial matrix will not play a decisive role in the reorganization of space in Vancouver, since this represents only one level of the transformation of space.[42] In this regard the big difference will be that the particular script currently followed by planning professions in the City of Vancouver and the Regional District will be amended or rewritten by the other major players who have a voice in the regulation of space.[43]

Hence, just as with the previous mode of urban development specific historic conjunctions and not the direct imprint of abstract macro forces will set the conditions for articulation of the densification process and postmodern regulation which constitutes the most important institutional context for the current mode of urban development in Greater Vancouver. Just as modern regulation and land-extensive development became inextricably linked to form a distinctive institutional nexus for the production of urban space during the modern era, a similar articulation has occurred with regard to densification and postmodern regulation in Greater Vancouver. The difference is that outside Vancouver and, perhaps only in Toronto, the same linkage exists in other cities, but it is much weaker. Leaving aside the substantive difference between each mode of regulation, which have to do with eight characteristics that can be singled out at the philosophic, sociological and aesthetic level of regulation, this, in addition to the social polarization that is best symbolized in the emergence of a new middle class and that of an urban underclass, and near absence of any representation of the urban proletariat in the representations of space that are being constructed for the postmodern city, may turn out to be one of the structural differences that will set the modern era of city building apart from the postmodern one within which we are currently situated.[44]

What will now be looked at is the history of these two modes of regulation and the attributes which set them apart. Though the City of Vancouver will be used as the primary focus for this case study, because the city has acted as the incubation ground for both the densifcation process and postmodern norms for the organization of space for the entire region, a great deal that has happened in the city is now being duplicated a generation later, in one way or another, elsewhere in the region. Thus the politicization of space which set the precondition for shift to postmodern forms of regulation in the City of Vancouver between 1967 and 1973 is now occurring in the suburban and exurban areas of the region.

In this regard the civic elections that were held in 1987 can be seen as a counterpart to the volatile politics that took hold of the City of Vancouver from 1967 into the middle of the 1970s. With the 1987 elections a strong reform agenda in suburbs of the region emerged for the

first time.[45] Although what has happened since that time appears somewhat muted in comparison to what took place in the City of Vancouver between 1967 and 1973 -- nonetheless, there are important parallels between those tempestuous years in Vancouver and what is now going on in the suburbs of the region, as it is here, rather than in the City of Vancouver, that the most important battles between postmodern and modern agendas for the region are currently being waged. As with Vancouver, there has been a see saw motion in the advance of reform in the suburbs, with urban reformers suffering setbacks in large suburbs like Surrey and the District of Langley in the 1996 elections while reformers in places like the District of North Vancouver and Port Moody have made major advances.

However, with the new provincial legislation and the impetus given to regional government overall institutional support for postmodern norms is growing stronger and modernism may experiencing its last faltering gasp for life as a significant mode for regulating space in Greater Vancouver. However nothing is certain, even as this speculation is being made, a powerful conservative backlash to the further spread of postmodern regulation has created a sharp cultural divide in the spatial culture of the region. With Surrey, the District of Langely, the City of Coquitlam and Maple Ridge remaining the last influential bulwarks for modernism, their resistance to region and the investments they make in new infrastructure still have the capacity to dramatically alter what the final postmodern configuration for the region will be.[46]

Before looking more closely at the spatial attributes that characterize the postmodern matrix a few additional terminological issues have be dealt because of the use of two distinct intellectual discourses to engage in the study and periodization of the city -- one being the discourse on modernism and the other that of political economy. Regulation theory was already been taken care of in chapter two. But some additional discussion about the nature of modernism is required since any reference to terms associated with it necessarily inserts the examination of urban transformation into this larger discourse as well. For even when postmodernism or modernism are used in a very limited way - in this case to refer to a field of spatial practices or simply as a descriptive label that provides signposts that can be used to mark off contrasting

periods of development in the city – it is impossible to completely avoid the larger set of associations that echo and shadow any use of these terms. For when writing about twentieth-century modernism or postmodernism within this larger discourse that exists on modernism what becomes clear about the two periods that we are looking at is that they are but singular manifestations that exist in a much larger cultural field – one that spans a time frame which covers 300 years of flux and social transformation and not just the short time span that will be the focus of this study . With this said it is now possible to go on to a more precise examination of postmodernism by situating it within the larger template of modernism, the experience of modernity and the relation that these two cultural phenomena have to the modernization process.

4: 1 In Search of a definition

There is no one single definition of postmodernism. However, over time, the term has mainly been used in three different ways since it was first coined in the first part of part of the twentieth century. In her book *Post-modern and the post-industrial: a critical Analysis,* Margaret Rose (1991) traces the use of the word back to the early 1930s when postmodernism was first used as an aesthetic term to describe a style of poetry that arose in reaction modern verse. According to Rose, the term also surfaced occasionally in other contexts. For example Arnold Toynbee used the term to describe a new era in a book he published in 1930. Later on several references to postmodernism were made in a number of sociology texts written by C. W. Mills in the 1950s and Etzioni during the 1960s. However, it wasn't until Charles Jencks popularized the word as an aesthetic term within the field of architecture that the term gained common currency among a wide variety of disciplines.

As this was happening a philosophical formulation to the use of the word was emerging in the work of Lyotard (1984) and Hassan (1984) during the 1970s as well. This considerably

broadened the frame of reference for postmodernism, giving it a new range and breadth that made it an umbrella term that was used to signify dramatic changes which were taking place throughout the entire universe of culture. Within the broader template of modernism strong and weak versions of the significance of postmodernism were advanced.

At one extreme, theorists like Lyotard and Hassan would state that postmodernism constituted a radical negation and transcendence of modernism. Meanwhile, other theorists like Marshall Berman (1982) and David Harvey (1989) took a more moderate position on this issue, interpreting postmodernism as the one facet of modernism or the next stage in the evolution of modernism rather than its negation. Especially for theorists such as David Harvey, postmodernism therefore represented the beginning of a new phase in the historic development of modernism.

Finally, in the 1980s the word started to be used as an historical rather than cultural construct. Within the field of political economy, for instance, the best example of this would be Walter Jameson's (1984) use of postmodernism to describe the beginning of a new stage in the evolution of capitalism. In this endeavour, Jameson tried to show the link that existed between Late Capitalism and the development of a new cultural logic which he labeled as being postmodern.

Subsequently, over the past sixty years postmodernism has been used as an aesthetic term, a philosophic term and as an historic construct. It has therefore been used in a variety of ways. Originally it was used as an aesthetic term and is still used in this way in various discourses such as architecture. Later on, with the work of Lyotard and Hassan, postmodernism entered philosophic discourse and became an important term in the discussions that developed about the state of modernism. More recently, it has been used an historic construct.

Because postmodernism will be examined as a form of urban regulation, all three uses of the term will be used at some point in this study. However, the main use will be as a historic construct. As such it will be used in two way: one descriptive and the other analytical. Although each way the term is used as a historic construct is not identical, with regard to what each refers

to, there is considerable overlap. For example, the use of postmodernism as an analytical construct is tied directly into the emergence of a new spatial logic rather than a set of events that happened to occur at one time. As an analytical historic construct, the postmodern era therefore refers to the articulation and merging of the densification process with the regulatory norms created by the formation of a postmodern spatial matrix and the generation of a new spatial logic from out of this articulation which changed the way space was regulated and produced from the modern era. This is the analytical perspective in which postmodernism will be used as an historic construct.

In this instance the use of the word approximates the way that Frederic Jameson and David Harvey have used the term as a means to convey the idea of a new cultural logic. Because a one to one correspondence exists between late capitalism and postmodernism is not assumed to exist, nor is the presumption made that postmodernism is a totalizing force that is able to encompass everything under just one totalizing cultural logic, the notion of a cultural logic is used in a looser way than Jameson employs the term. Even though postmodern constructs of reality are increasingly being integrated into the apparatus of mass culture and are therefore becoming more pervasive, the perspective on postmodern regulation taken in this study is that even though it is becoming more pervasive as a totalizing cultural formation at present it still primarily exists as representation of the external world by the new middle class and therefore does not encompass all representation of the city, even though it may have become the dominant one because of the strategic position occupied by the new middle class in the ideological apparatus of the state.

At the same time, postmodernism is recognized as being something more than an unconnected series of phenomena. That is why the existence of cultural logic takes its cue from the work of David Harvey rather than Fredric Jameson. Here, postmodernism is meant to refer to a looser constellation of causes and effects that are generated from an identifiable cultural field or matrix, rather than as an all encompassing, or fairly rigid and narrow structural framework where the rules and commands that exist for the organization of space are already

largely determined, as would be the case with regard to the way a DNA molecule shapes a living organism. In both cases, chance and mutation are important parts of the evolutionary process. If a comparison between the organization of an organic entity and urban space is made, unlike an organic entity, subjectivity, at both the individual and institutional level, can play a decisive, if not critical role, at certain critical conjunctures, in affecting what the outcome will be, making the process of spatial formation much more open ended and indeterminant than can properly be conveyed by using a biological metaphor.

To be more precise, in this study, the existence of a cultural logic is conceptualized as the production of several articulations that are reproducible over time, creating identifiable effects that can be used to set one period of urban development apart from another. It is not a single pattern or a unified code that can only manifest itself in one spatial pattern. Instead the idea about the existence of a cultural logic for the organization of space is tied into the existence of a mode of regulation, which is a structure that can produce a wide variety of different environments that are similar but not identical. At the same time, while there is room for significant variation, a loose structure defined by the presence of a number of distinctive cultural norms exists, which means that spatial variation is not purely random or a result of coincidence or chance - although these facets of change can never be underestimated or ignored when looking at the evolution of urban space.

Instead the conjecture put forward is that postmodern regulation is defined by a series of articulated and patterned responses that were triggered by three events that occurred at different scales, but were nevertheless related to each other. On a continental or global level, two events sparked the shift from modern to postmodern forms of regulation. The first and most important event was the shift from bureaucratic to market rule. The second event was the emergence of a new middle class. In all Western countries, but most particularly in North America, this middle class fraction emerged because of two processes. The first had to do demographics and the decision to expand the university system (Owram 1996; Kettle 1984). In

turn, the subsequent expansion of the university in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in quantum leap in the number of middle-class individuals who were socialized in this institutional context.

For example, between the late 1950s and the present the population of Canada increased by approximately two hundred percent while the number of university students increased by a factor of five, to nearly half a million. The second reason has to do with the arrival of the counterculture and the ideological movement that resulted from the displacement of the engineering mindset for an artistic mindset.[47] This combined with the critical mass that was achieved with the growth in the university population, created a new class fraction with the ideological resources and the economic and political clout to challenge modern rule, in all of its guises and not just as a spatial practice.[48] There is a third factor, which has to do with the emergence of more specialized division of labour, that is: reshaping the second generation of the new middle class. This development is affecting the evolution of postmodern regulation but its impact has not yet crystallized into generalized patterns which are as clearly visible as the other two factors that have been mentioned so far (Crosariol 1997; Little 1997k; Little 1997n). So, other than to mention its existence, this development will be largely overlooked since taking this new facet in the evolution of the new middle class would involve going beyond the scope of this study to go back to the global level to look at the changes that have come about because of the interaction between the introduction of information technologies (Castells, 1997) and the role played by cultural production in this transformation,[49] as it is tied into the expansion of market rule and the process of globalization.[50]

Besides these global and continental forces, the postmodern transformation of the city may take on some unique national characteristics because of the presence of specific processes that work on the scale of a single nation rather than on a global or continental scale. For example, in Canada, the arrival and adoption of postmodern norms coincided with the emergence of the densification process as a significant restructuring force. This, combined with presence of a different political culture (Laxer 1996), gave postmodern regulation in Canada a different inflection than in the United States. And it was from the middle class representations

of the city that were constructed out of these different inflections that provided the experential context that eventually were translated into different actions by the institutional apparatus of the local state in each country. In this way changes in the institutional apparatus would eventually materialize into the production of different spaces, producing a distinctive political culture and built environment that become expressive of these new experiences. As a result, there are postmodern spaces and there is a postmodern time that can be described which make it possible classify the evolution of the city by looking at shifts in culture and the impact that these shifts have had on the regulatory apparatus of the local state.

Postmodernism therefore refers to something more than a distinctive span of time. It also refers to the presence of spatial logic that functions within the sphere of the local state that results in the production of spaces that can be identified as being postmodern because of attributes set of philosophic, social and aesthetic attributes that stand in contrast to spatial attributes that existed when twentieth century modernism was the dominant spatial logic for the organization of space in the city. However, postmodernism will also be used in a more expansive way, and refers to something more than the existence of a contrasting spatial logic. Employed as a descriptive construct to taken into account other attributes that are not directly associated with the local state, the experiences of the middle class or postmodern regulation but exist at the same time and help to delimit the existence of different time periods and even, at some stage, eventually become integrated into the postmodern spatial matrix and even shape it to a certain extent. On the occasions that the postmodern city is referred to in this sense duration not logic becomes the qualifying factor for inclusion and the use of the term postmodernism becomes more descriptive rather than analytical.

When this is done the discussion of the postmodern city becomes broader and embraces a larger empirical domain. And this is helpful in making sense of the many facet of the new reality that we are now living, making it easier to understand what has happened. This also allows many of the empirical differences that exist between the modern and postmodern periods to be more clearly highlighted and sorted into contigent and necessary parts of the postmodern

logic for the organization of space in the Canadian city. For example, even though some the distinguishing elements that set one period apart from another - such as different patterns of immigration and demographic changes, such as a declining birth-rate – may not be logically connected to the emergence of a postmodern system of regulation there is an historical connection, where non-cultural, outside elements, become absorbed into this new cultural logic and may even become distinguishing elements that set one period apart from another: even if, as with immigration, it is an external element that is separate from the cultural experiences of the middle class but one which has nevertheless shaped what has happened to the regulation of the city.

In this way, elements unrelated to the creation of a postmodern spatial matrix can be incorporated into the discussion of the postmodern city. Although they may have nothing directly to do with the origins of postmodern regulation their presence has affected the organization and look of the postmodern city. For example, in this study the two most important external attributes that exist outside the postmodern matrix but which set the postmodern period apart from the modern period are immigration and the creation of new tenure form with the passage of strata title legislation. In the case of immigration the shift from Europe to Asia has had a profound influence on the evolution of the postmodern city although it is not logically connected to middle class representations of the city, which resulted in the production of postmodern spaces (SC-44; G/M 1997bm). Likewise the introduction of strata title legislation would play a pivotal role in establishing a contact point where postmodern norms could be articulated to the densification process, creating a material and institutional nexus for a new mode of urban development with a definable spatial logic that can be described as postmodern, to emerge. In this case strata title legislation acted as an institutional bridge that made it possible for postmodern regulation to attach itself to the densification process. This created an important articulation that established an institutional mechanism that would become an important support for the postmodern transformation of the city.

Furthermore, within the space provided by these larger umbrella terms, modernism and postmodernism will occasionally be referred to in a more definite way when referring to specific spatial practices. Consequently, when writing about specific modern or postmodern spatial practices, the other senses in which the term has been used will be taken up where it is appropriate: that is, when postmodernism is considered as an aesthetic and philosophic construct and not just as a historic category.

The concept of modern and postmodern will therefore be used in a complex and composite fashion rather than as a simple classification scheme to periodize urban change. On the one hand, these terms will be used as descriptive terms to simply to refer to the presence of two contrasting time periods. On the other hand, postmodernism will be used to refer to a new mode of regulation, which exists as a spatial matrix that operates on three distinct levels that involve philosophic, social and aesthetic constructs about space that affect how urban space is regulated, producing a spatial logic which is separate from the modern one which once predominated. As a historic construct, although there is a loose correspondence between the empirical elements that the two senses of the term will be used in, identical things or processes are not necessarily referred to. For this reason there is a certain degree of fuzziness in the employment of these terms that is unavoidable. But this is compensated for by the way that the double application of postmodernism as a historic construct allows the varied processes that that are involved in the shift from the modern to postmodern period of development to be taken into account in the discussion that will now follow on the subject of urban transformation.

4.2 - Situating postmodernism within the broader template of modernism:

With the use of these terms clarified, it is now the appropriate time to establish the relation that exists between twentieth-century modernism and postmodernism within the broader discourse of modernism. This is important to do. For a link exists between the representations of external reality that are produced by modernism and the spatial constructs that are eventually fabricated, which form the basis for the regulation of the city by the the

material agents who fabricate space. In this fashion the spatial constructs that the producers, regulators and consumers of space use exist as a spatial subset within this larger universe of representations of the external world.

To make this connection, the relation between modernism and the modernization process first needs to be sketched in. Here the material and institutional realm overlap with the cultural realm with regard to the representations of external reality that eventually set the action frames for regulation. Although the material and cultural realm are separate and autonomous realms they do underpin each other when the larger social totality is looked at. With regard to modernism and postmodernism what will be shown is how the cultural impulses that are generated from the material conditions of existence that originate in the modernization process establish the basis for a loose cultural field to appear. Because of the experiences that are generated, it is possible to show how the concrete circumstances that people have felt have led to the production of images and representation about reality that eventually become translated into spatial norms and practices. There is no direct one-to-one correspondence between these stages because the links between experience and representations of reality are usually mediated through a process of condensation and displacement where the form of representation may look quite different than the initial experience which leads to the construction of a particular representation of reality. Nevertheless, there is a connection, and this connection can be shown to exist when looking at modern and postmodern spatial matrixes, which established the basis for two distinct modes of regulation -- one that was modern, and the other that was postmodern -- that have altered the way space has been organized and regulated in the Canadian city.

As a result, there is a powerful but often hidden link that exists between the modern and postmodern regulation of the city and the cultural changes which have emanated from shifts that have taken place within the modernization proces. The effects are often hidden or covered over because of their mediation by the institutions and actions of actors within the sphere of the local state who absorb these broader influences and experiences and then refashion them

through either the process of displacement (metyonmy and the creation of analogies) or condensation (the creation of symbols and metaphors), engaging in a processes of ideological construction which Freud (Latimer 1989, pp.476-488) described in relation to Dream Work and that Althusser (Latimer 1989, pp. 60-102) had written about in terms of the operation of the ideological apparatus of the state. However, seldom are generalized representations of the universe generated by modernism directly mirrored in spatial constructs or practices, althought this does sometimes occur, as will be shown, in several instances, in the case of planning for the City of Vancouver.

Between the secular structures defined by the market and those defined by the bureaucracy there is a secondary force lying outside the modernization process but which has an effect upon it. As already mentioned, this other force is political and technological in nature and has to do with the orientation of the State and its movement back and forward from a commercial to a military grounding. Together, and sometimes in tandem with each other, these are the paired background structural forces that have propelled modernism forward, creating different historic epochs, of which twentieth century modernism and postmodernism are but its two most recent manifestations and within these epochs, modern and postmodern spatial practices constitute subsets of a much larger universe of cultural practices.

Beginning with the definition of modernism, in*Keywords* Raymond Williams (1966) notes that the word modernism was originally derived from the word *modo*, which meant just now. The formation of this word during the Renaissance reflected a new self consciousness about time as people's experience of its passage started to change because of the secularization of society that was occurring at this time with advent of the modernization process. Related to this was the birth of the notion of progress. This secularized version of Christian teleology made it possible to look at and experience time in a different way. No longer was the experience of time a closed circular passage defined by natural rhythm and customs; time now became opened-ended. Change was no longer an anomaly but a condition of existence. With this new understanding time began to be experienced as linear or spiral progression. The experiences that

ultimately broke this circle lay with what was happening within the modernization process. From the flux and instability created by the modernization process there was produced " both a thrill and dread about a world in which 'all that is solid melts into air" (Berman 1982, p.13).

The modernization process basically refers to the rationalization of society that is caused by the movement and cyclical interaction of two complementary but sometimes opposed secular forces. One force is that of bureaucratic rule. This had to with the rise of bureaucratic structures and norms for the organization of activities. The second force for change is caused by the emergence of market rule or the commodification of the life world. As the modernization process advances, separately or in concert, one or both of these forces begin to reshape larger segments of society. It is also a process bound up with the evolution of the middle class over time since they are the main agents of this process and the transmitters of the cultural representations that are produced.

While market and bureaucratic rule complement and support one another they also have a dialectical relation with each other that produces opposition as well as integration and differences as well as consensus, producing new restraints as well as new opportunities for development.

During those periods when market relations are dominant people's raw experience of external reality becomes quite different from those periods when bureaucratic forms of organization become more influential over people's lives. Either way, the raw and unmediated experience of the external reality that is created is what Berman refers to as the condition of modernity. And this experiential raw material is the source for the representations of reality that are constructed by modernism. In this broad sense then, modernism is nothing but the symbolic reshaping of the condition of modernity into representations of reality which make the world comprehensible and understandable in a society where flux and transformation have become the norm rather than the exception. About this process Marshall Berman states:

> These world-historical processes have nourished an amazing variety of visions and ideas that aim to make men and women the subjects as well as the objects of modernization, to give them the power to change the world that is changing them, to make their way through the

maelstrom and make it their own. Over the past century, these visions and values have to be loosely grouped together under the name of modernism (Berman 1982, p.16).

Because of the ebb and flow of these two processes that are contained within the modernization process contrasting experiences and opportunity structures were generated for the middle class. Similarly new classes and different fractions of existing classes have been created by the division of labour engendered by the advance of the modernization process. As a result, several distinctive epochs mark out the evolution of modernism from its inception in the 16th century.

There are three epochs which Berman identifies. The first epoch lasts from the 16th century until the 18th century. Berman describes this first epoch as the Proto-modern period.[51] It begins with the rise of the world market and the beginning of the nation state. Because both the market and the state are underdeveloped, and except for some of the middle class there is no dramatic change in the experience of time. Most people still experience time as circular time. The middle class is becoming more powerful but the aristocracy is still in control. Market forces are expanding but they are held in check by tradition and custom as well as the mercantilist policies of the state. Secular bureaucratic structures are still weak. As Mann and Foucault have shown, the regulation of everyday life by the state is sporadic and uneven. As a result the market and the state still only have a marginal influence over the everyday life of most people.

For Berman the Second Epoch or 19th-century modernism begins with the French Revolution. The middle class replaces the aristocracy as the dominant social force.[52] This is also the time when the Industrial revolution and the urbanization process begins. With the movement from the country to the city the sense of time also changes for a larger group of people as the working class that now emerges in the city and is caught up in the rhythms of production. The processes that guided the production and organization of space would also change as more space came under the sway of private property relations. Space itself becomes wrapped up in commodity relations, heralding the period of *laissez-faire* development in the city, as traditional norms and communal standards that were once used to regulate the use of land and buildings dissolved in the face of advancing market relations (Benevolo 1975; Foglesong). [53]

Furthermore, with the modernization now becoming the engine for change, the shift between market and bureaucratic rule becomes important for the evolution of modernism. When the market is advancing or becomes the dominant influence, this is when the modernization process shows its most revolutionary face, as expanding commodity relations dissolve previous bonds, since the market acts as a solvent on all things it embraces. Old traditions dissolve while new rules are constructed.When bureaucratic rule becomes preponderant this is when the modernization process shows its most conservative face, as the systematic application of rules and the search for order. Standardization becomes more valued than the exploration and confirmation of differences and social solidarity emphasized more than individuation. Since 19th-century modernsim was dominated by the advance of the market it is a period dominated by *laissez-faire* r elations. Because of the turbulence and play off of contrasts that are integral to 19th-century modernism, Berman finds this epoch much more interesting than the 20th century.

So the progression of the modernization process is far from uniform or linear. Although there is no one-to-one correspondence between shifts within the modernization process and the evolution of modernism there is a strong link between the two. Although an immediate shift within modernism may not happen, changes below -- within the modernization process -- will percolate upwards into the world of representations and begin to affect people's sensibilities and perceptions. There can be a considerable time lag, and many mediations and displacements before the conservative or revolutionary impulses given off by either moment in the evolution or progression of the modernization process becomes manifest, in some way, within the cultural arena. Nontheless, these impulses eventually surface, forming the raw material for the new representations of the external world that modernism constructs.

The seeds of the third epoch are already being sown in the middle of the 19th century as large private corporations emerge with the appearance of the railroad and the state starts to take more systematic control over people's lives with the beginning of mass education, but more especially, with the drift from the commercial state to the military state, which begins when the first modern arms race begins between Britain and Germany. Even though *laissez-faire*

forces are still dominant, these developments propel the bureaucratization and militarization of social life forward. This is also the time when the first signs of municipal reform appear in England as well as in North America, setting the stage for the rise of the Progressivist movement in North America, which was eventually to result in the creation of modern city planning.[54]

Depending on which force acts as the major or minor key new experiences and representations of reality will be constructed. Although bureaucratic rule can be viewed as the minor key that played within the modernization process for most of the 19th century the state was maturing and was far from being inactive during this period and neither were the representations of it entirely absent.[55] In response to the French Revolution, both a liberal and conservative reaction to change were formulated. The liberal reaction took form in the active promotion of laissez faire capitalism. The more conservative counterreaction took shape with the first formulation of technocratic society that can be traced to August Comte and Saint Simon who were looking for a way to tame the revolutionary side of the modernization process by advancing social systems where bureaucratic rule[56] rather than market rules set the direction and pace for change (Manuel and Manuel, 1979, pp.717-734).

Finally, twentieth-century modernism makes up the third epoch for Berman. As already pointed out, the advent of this new epoch coincides with the rise of corporate or administrative capitalism, and the growing influence of the military state over the commercial state. The experience of modernity changes in a fundamental way once more as people have to respond to vastly dissimilar raw experiences brought about by this shift. The experiences and representations of 19th-century modernism become anachronistic in this new context, creating the need for a new array of representations and outlooks to make sense of the rising influence of bureaucratic rule that followed from these changes. Consequently more abstract and regimented representations of reality that tended to more be order affirming arose into new prominence as the bureaucratization and militarization of social life grew.[57] The commodification of social life did not cease to progress but it now played itself out as a minor key in the advancement of

the modernization process as bureaucratic rule in both the public and private sector gather momentum, as the modernization process entered into a more conservative phase, which Berman notes in the representations of external reality that were created, as 20th-century modernism seemed to produce much flatter representation of reality than 19th-century modernism.

Not surprisingly it would be this bureaucratization that would underline the shift to corporate capitalism and the formation of the military state.[58] And this, in turn, would establish the ground for the growth of order affirming tendencies in a broad array of institutions that would lead to changes within the middle class as a whole new stratum consisting of professionals was created, whose function would be to instil order in all realms of society, something that would not happen to the Canadian city until after the Second World War and the rebirth of the profession of city planning.

This study goes beyond Berman's typology of modernism to purport the existence of a fourth epoch, or postmodern stage, in the evolution of modernism. As with 19th-century modernism and 20th-entury modernism a link between shifts within the modernization process and modernism is hypothesized to exist, which upgrades the significance of postmodernism with regard to the evolution of the city. Berman refers to postmodernism in his history of modernism but downgrades its importance, viewing it as just one of several variants of twentieth century modernism.[59]

However if postmodern constructs are related to what has been going on within the modernization process it can be connected to another fundamental shift within the modernization process that can be traced to the 1960s – the rising influence of market forces that has come about because of disenchantment with the state deregulation and the relative decline of bureaucratic rule that has come with the first challenge to the military state that came about because of the negative reaction by the North American middle class to the Vietnam war, and later to the collapse of the Cold War and bureaucratic socialist states. This combined with technological change, gave reinvigorated market forces in both the public and private sectors -- as the organizational man became replaced by the entrepreneur – the non aesthetic counterpart

to the artist in the domain of production. As will be shown, because of the connection that can historically be made between a number of postmodern spatial practices and these new alignments, the postmodern transformation of the city is given more weight and is therefore considered to be one sign of the beg inning of a new epoch in its own right, rather than an offshoot of twentieth-century modernism.

This will be illustrated by looking at postmodern representations of space that have affected the city. For even during the livable city, when the state was actively involved in the production of space, the state acted in very much an entrepreneurial capacity, enabling things to happen rather than enforcing a set of rules. This became reflected in the fact that the non-market spaces that were created were fashioned as communal, rather than as bureaucratic spaces. So even though the bureaucracy was employed it was directed to produce spaces that symbolized a revolt against the type of bureaucratic rule that governed the action of all bureaucracies during the modern era in North America.[60] Elsewhere, if the other aspects of postmodern regulation are studied closely it usually takes very little prodding before some evidence of a strong and abiding antagonism towards bureaucratic rule and the notion of abstract space can be found. Again, it is only necessary to look at the work of Jane Jacobs to see how this quality suffuses most of her work (Saunders 1997; Barber 1997d).

In planning, as well as in other fields where bureaucratic rule is central, significant changes have made in its operation in order for it to retain legitimacy. While postmodern planning still operates within a bureaucratic nexus, its forms of rule have changed to reflect the rise of market forces and the loss of legitimacy. Decision making and knowledge production based upon monological systems have had to make room for dialogical processes in both the public and private sectors. Moreover, increased uncertainty that has resulted from technological change, intensified world competition, are changes that now require a more entrepreneurial corporate culture, hence the rise of artistic mindset, and the bypassing of old rules and norms in both the private and public sectors. In response to unstable markets that as brought with it declining profits private corporations have had to explore new ways of management. Similarly,

innovation and the deconstruction of the modern bureaucratic order has affected the state. Just as with declining profits, in the private sphere, declining state revenues in relation to expenditures have produced the current fiscal that is affecting what the state does and how it carries out its tasks.[61]

Thus, at the macro-economic level, if the background forces that are shaping the postmodern condition are studied what can be observed is the dramatic spread and intensification of market relations in almost every social realm. Concomitantly there has been a retreat or transmogrification of bureaucratic rule that has become empirically verifiable in the downsizing and de-regulation of the large corporation and the state. Meanwhile, with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the rapid penetration of commodity relations into the former redistributive economies such as Russia and China in the 1980s and 1990s, the pervasiveness of market rule is still growing.[62] Indeed, recent examples in the United States, China and Russia, show that it has grown so powerful, that market culture and imperatives are even now invading the military apparatus (G/M 1997zd).

While the present tendency towards de-regulation cannot be seen as a simple regression to the *laissez-faire* state of the 19th century, with the deconstruction of the modern city some signs bear an uncanny resemblance to the 19th-century city. Physically and socially the spaces of the city have become much more polarized, as happened in the *laissez-faire* city.

As a consequence there is a double edged quality to the postmodern transformation of the city. What is noteworthy about this Janus faced change is how similar both the positive and negative aspects of this change mirror specific attributes and qualities of 19th-century urbanism. On the positive side of ledger, if much of what is happening can be described as a return to the past, then the most positive features have come about in the aesthetic realm, where there has been a revival of the street and increasing acceptance of density. The move away from highway-and-freeway-centred urban development to the revival to transit corridor and even the re-emergence of the bicycle point to an improvement in the way urban space is being organized. Similarly, the rise in urban subcultures and the new eclecticism in social forms as the family

breaks out of the modern mold of the nuclear family has to be viewed in a positive light (G/M 1997zf).

Then there is the darker side that can be seen in the breakdown of the modern welfare state and the increasingly dependence placed upon philanthropic organizations to attend to the social ills of the city, which also bears an uncanny resemblances to the social conditions that were present in the *laissez-faire* city. In the modern period it was expected that the poor classes would shrink over time. However, in the postmodern era, the lumpen proletariat has begun to rise up as a major social group in the city, only now it is usually referred to as an urban underclass. Homelessness, hunger and disease, common features of the 19th-century city, which modern regulation nearly banished, have returned once again. However, even with this development there is a unique postmodern twist that has happened with regard to the relative position of the lumpen-proletariat and the lumpen-bourgeoisie[63] because of the shift away from the engineering mindset to the artist mindset which has turned class differences into class antagonisms in the city.[64]

The dismantling of mental asylums and other large scale modern institutions, which at least provided a place of last resort for the indigent (G/M 1997zg), have made pauperism a visible featue of the postmodern city.[65] Similarly, the reactivation of the charity model (Mishra,1990) for welfare services has help to bring back old scourges that were once though to be a thing of the past. The most graphic illustration of this in Canada can be seen in the growth of foodbanks and the rise of homelessness (Daly 1996). Until the first foodbank was established in Edmonton in 1981 there was the general expectation that the modern state would be able to provide a minimum level of sustenance for everyone. But as the rapid growth of food banks since 1981 show, this expectation no longer holds. Originally conceived of as a stopgap measure to combat urban hunger in Edmonton after the collapse of the oil boom, this temporary philanthropic response has since become a pervasive and permanent component of the welfare economy of the Canadian city. Instead of disappearing with the return of better times quite the

opposite has happened. As a result by 1991 there were 292 foodbanks in Canada whereas in 1980 there were none (Oderkirk 1992).

As well, the class polarization which lead Victorian social reformers and commentators such Benjamin Disraelie, Charles Mayhew and Charles Booth to see the emergence of two conflicting nations within a single social body, has reappeared in the late twentieth century (Briggs 1968; Benevolo 1975; Hall 1990, Chapter Two). The spread of poverty in the city is one consequence of this. As a result the number of people relying on welfare has climbed dramatically. From 1.2 million in 1970 the number of people on welfare grew to 2 million by 1991. As a result, between 1980 and 1993 the national poverty rate increased by thirty per cent. Similarly, the National Council on Welfare calculated that the number of people living in poverty increased from 3.6 million to nearly 4.8 million people between 1980 and 1993 (VS-93).[66] In part this had to do with rising unemployment, which has steadily moved upwards from a low point in 1965, when on average only 280,000 people were unemployed, to 1970, when the number of unemployed increased to 495,000, then to 1,381,000 in 1980 and finally to 1,422,000 by 1995, creating a huge reservoir of unemployed that had no counterpart during the modern era, establishing the basis for an urban underclass to emerge as significant element in the social profile of the postmodern city if no counter measures are taken (SC-16; SC-9; SC-5).[67]

A disturbing picture of the class morphology of the postmodern city has emerged. Just as with the 19th-century city, evidence of increased social polarization has become apparent. At one end of the spectrum, there is a growing new middle class, who are the prime carriers of the postmodern ideology and and major beneficiaries of the economic restructuring that has taken place. At the other end of the social spectrum, a growing population of marginalized people is emerging which is providing the material base for the possible growth of a significant urban underclass within the Canadian city (Wilson 1996; 1996a). The differences can be seen in the contrasting work opportunities for both classes. While one class faces overwork the other faces mass unemployment, underemployment or early retirement (Menzies 1996). While the information economy may be opening up exciting and new opportunities for the new middle class,

other classes face exclusion from these new labour markets (Menzies 1996; Castells 1989; Economic Council of Canada 1990).[68]

These developments have created a new class configuration which is the opposite of the egalitarian one envisaged in the modern era. Conditions once thought to be a residual feature of the modern city such as hunger, unemployment and homelessness -- have returned with a vengeance. Thus, even in Ottawa, Canada's most stable middle class city, homelessness has recently doubled because of the government cutbacks and the restructuring of the labour market (Blanchfield 1996). Along with unparalleled conspicuous consumption, there is now an unprecedented level of destitution not witnessed since the 19th century. Not surprisingly, this has been accompanied by rising fears about social instability and crime.[69] In this regard it is probably no accident that urban prostitution has emerged as a major problem once more.[70] Even more worrisome, and something which is also reminiscent of the 19th-century city, is the re-emergence of infectious diseases like tuberculosis, which were once thought to be a scourge consigned to the past, have become a serious threat to public health once again (Brett 1996).[71]

While the dominant representations of twentieth-century modernism projected forward the ideal that everyone would enter the middle class, the dynamic of the modernization process points towards increased class polarization rather than assimilation.[72]

As these examples point out, there is a dark as well as light side to the postmodern transformation of the city (Ellen 1997). New interest in neo-traditional planning has lead to the reintroduction of some positive physical features associated with the 19th-century city.[73] Here the revival of street life and non motorized modes of transportation have improved the quality of life and made city life more interesting. The negative side is present as well. And this darker vision of the postmodern city is aptly captured in Mike Davis' metaphor of the carceral city. As the spread of gated communities make clear (Blakely 1997),[74] these carceral spaces not only exist in the core areas of the city but on its periphery as well, pointing to both a restoration and debasement of the concept of community as the postmodern city has evolved.[75]

4.3. - The Canadian experience of modernism

As a mode of regulation, how experiences of the progressivist era framed the perceptions and actions of the middle class is central to any understanding of twentieth century modernism. In the ideologies that were spun out of the progressivist movement the search for order and the acceptance of bureaucratic rule were central. Not surprisingly, this ideology was a representation of an external reality that was shaped by the rise of corporate capitalism and the militarization of society, and so, a representation that would ultimately be translated into modern spatial norms for the regulation of the city. For the middle class that became the progenitors of modernism, the progressivist movement would become what the counterculture would later be for the new middle class and the incubation of postmodernism.

As a result, twice in the twentieth century, changes triggered from within the modernization process would spark two mobilizations by the middle class in the city. The first would in due time lead to the creation of a modern spatial matrix for the regulation of urban space. The later one would lead to the adoption of a postmodern matrix for the regulation of space. This becomes quite evident if the history of modern planning in Canada is studied. And no more so than in Vancouver.

Here the presence of a strong director in each period and clear organizational changes that were made to the planning bureaucracy illustrate how larger cultural forces emanating from the modernization process would find their way into the specific planning discourse which were used to shape the regulation of space in Vancouver.

What happened to planning in Vancouver shows how the urban spaces generated from 19th century modernism became the target for modern regulation. To eliminate the spaces of the the laissez faire city planning would be formally inaugurated as a civic function. In keeping with the times city planning would seek to institute a highly centralized form of control over space in the city.

At the same time, studying planning places the autonomous effects of the local state into sharper relief. For these larger representation of reality only became effectively translated into spatial regulation after they had been filtered through the dense network of institutions, organizations and interest groups that operate within the sphere of the local state. As a result, despite the powerful influence of the representation produced out of the experiences emanating from the further modernization of society, planning in Vancouver shows is that a great deal of indeterminacy and variation was built into the way that modern regulation would shape the city. This can be shown by looking at what happened to plans that set out the program for the modernization of urban space in Vancouver. In addition this can be demonstrated by looking at how the internal organizational makeup of the planning department was affected by the attempt to realize each program for the re-organization of space, since the organization of the department and allocation of resources within it established the bureaucratic muscle that would be needed to implement plans for the modernization of Vancouver and later its postmodern transformatioon.

By looking at these two facets of modern planning in Vancouver it will be possible to clearly draw out the link that exists between the modernization process, the representations of external reality created by modernism, and the transformation of these representations into spatial norms.

Moreover, by doing this, it will also be possible to show how the different configuration of the local state in Canada and the United States would affect the production and regulation of space. As what happened to the Sutton Brown Plan for the modernization of Vancouver will illustrate, the most significant difference would involve the failure of the Canadian State to launch a massive program for freeway construction. Although the Canadian city would be profoundly altered during the modern era, without this key support, the comprehensive makeover of the city that was possible in the United States would not be possible in Canada, but most especially in the case of Vancouver, where the most delays and resistance to freeway construction were encountered.

What is so interesting about this difference is that the inability of the local state to put a systematic program for freeway construction into place can be directly connected to the presence of larger macro forces which were involved in the further bureaucratization and militarization of society. As the construction of the autobahn in Germany reveals the link between militarization and the freeway was not an isolated connected that only applied to the politics of the Cold War in postwar America, but was something integral to the material culture spawned by modernism, something that was certainly not lost on the Futurists. The other reason why the failure to establish a program for freeway construction in Canada is significant, is that it revealed the relative weakness of the form of bureaucratic rule associated with Fordism. Because the United States was the capital of world Fordism, with GM standing prominently out in front as that nation's largest corporation, the fate of the automobile and all the infrastructure connected to it was much more bound up in the particular expansion of private and public bureaucratic rule in the United States that was not so apparent in Canada. As a result, instead of dismantling all of its rail infrastructure in the city, in Toronto, the first new transit system to be constructed in North America was begun in the 1950s. This difference also became evident in the much slower and incremental pace of freeway construction.

Here it is not necessary to filter out the distortions that result from displacement and condensation when looking at cultural influences, because the example of freeway construction is one instance where it is possible to see the direct linkages that exist between changes in the modernization process, the representations of reality created by modernism and the pathway followed by twentieth-century modernism in terms of the regulation of the city during the modern period. This is a rare instance where the articulation of macro and micro influences are not camouflaged, but are clearly revealed in the imprint they had on the history of planning in Vancouver. Only, in the case of Vancouver, it is the absence of the intense militarization that was present in United States and the absence of the formal involvement of the automobile industry in the setting out of state priorities which made it possible for Robert Moses to do to New York, what would not be possible for Sutton Brown to do in the case of Vancouver. As will

now be shown, these different circumstances would shape but not determine the program for modernization that planning would embark upon in Vancouver. Although these background circumstances established a structural impediment to the comprehensive transformation of Vancouver, it is important to remember that these obstacles were almost overcome by Sutton Brown. However, because they were not, the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown Plan had a very limited impact upon the city, while the much more modest plan for the rationalization of space put forward by the Bartholomew Plan ended up becoming more influential in shaping the look of the city - even though it was the production of the Vancouver Planning Commission and not that of a fully organized planning bureaucracy and a plan that was only implemented in ad hoc fashion and informal fashion.[76]

Another thing which is revealed by the evolution of planning in Vancouver is the larger ideological transformation that took place in twentieth-century modernism, as it moved from being a subversive and oppositional doctrine into one that embraced the status quo. This is revealed by looking at the machinations that went behind the choice of the Bartholomew Plan (Bottomley 1977). Once again the open ended struggle of different social formations within the local state and not the inevitable unravelling of some predetermined logic would be responsible for the filtering out the unwanted or subversive elements of modernism. Social reformer, large and small capital all became involved in hiring Bartholomew to construct a plan and zoning bylaw for the city. Because small capital still favoured the continuation of *laissez-faire* regulation it mobilized itself against large capital to fight the extension of bureaucratic rule to the control of space, which labour also supported. With regard to postmodernism, what is interesting to note is the historic parallel that exists between the process of choosing the Bartholomew Plan can be connected to the evolution of postmodern regulation, where a similar filtering out of antidisestablishmentarian influences that occurred during the incubation phase of modernism(Gerecke 1976; Gunton 1991) was also repeated in the case of postmodern regulation, as it ceased to operate only as a popular ideology of the new middle class and became, through time a hegemonic formation that would straddle the field of popular and mass culture as

Corporate capital absorbed its forms, as it had done with modernism, to extend its control over the city as well as to reshape it.[77]

For Vancouver, this ideological shift was symbolized in the choice of Bartholomew over Thomas Adams. For the decision to hire Bartholomew over Adams had to do directly with the desire to keep remove any socialist contamination from planning, which Thomas Adams was identified with because of his Henry-Georgist leanings and his interest in conservation rather than just the protection and enhancement of property values. As a result, long before there was even a formal planning department established in Vancouver, the choice that the Vancouver Planning Commission made had already set the business orientation that prevails over the entire modern period, when it chose Bartholomew over Adams. With this the dye had already been set for the direction that planning would take, with the Bland and Spence Sales Report and Sutton Brown amplifying a trajectory that had already, in many, ways been decided upon, even before they came onto the scene. Still, none of this was necessarily preordained. If Adams had been chosen over Bartholomew, the complexion of modern planning in Vancouver might have been quite different. Similarly, if the Sutton Brown agenda for the city had been sped up or the formation of the new middle class delayed for just a few years, Sutton Brown's twenty year development-plan rather than the Bartholomew Plan would have had the most influence on the modern reconfiguration of Vancouver. As these examples show, even with regard to modernism there was significant open endedness. The final outcome of the evolution of modern planning was therefore determined by the play of contingencies created by the articulation and struggle of agents who had different interpretations of what the modern city should be about.[78]

All these aspects of modern regulation: its incomplete realization in Vancouver, the aspect of contingency and the clear links between the expansion of bureaucratic rule and emergence of planning, surface in fairly obvious ways in the history of Vancouver's Planning Department for both the modern and postmodern periods. Similarly the turbulence that was generated from the cross currents and eddies that resulted from the shift from one mode of regulation to another is also clearly revealed.

In few places did the rise of bureaucratic rule and modern regulation take on such pristine institutional form as it did in the case of planning for Vancouver. As the department's first director, Sutton Brown, remarked: planning should be seen as a business operation where "the techniques and processes normally adopted by big business (Sutton Brown 1954)," are applied to the regulation of space.

As Sutton Brown's statement reveals, the advance of bureaucratic rule was the powerful background structural force that was at work in shaping the institutional culture of the Planning Department and the way it perceived space. In terms of ideology and politics, the establishment of the department in 1952 and the hiring of Sutton Brown can be seen as a local manifestation of a much larger movement, that began with the middle class attempt to assert order in the city that marked the Progressivist movement in the United States as well as in Canada. For example, in the United States, Robert Wiebe (1967), in *The Search For Order*, and Roy Lubove, in *The Professional Altruist* (1965) have shown how the values of big business and the organization of corporate capital became the model for the reform of urban government during the progressivist period. Similarly, in*Saving the Canadian City*, Paul Rutherford looked at the urban progressivist movement in Canada and noted that:

> The amateur had no place in municipal administration. Only the professional, it appeared, had the requisite skill to ensure that the city would function smoothly and efficiently. Such assumptions underline the often unconscious elitism of the reformers. Paradoxically, the campaign for municipal reform, which had arisen in part out of a demand for greater public control of civic affairs, resulted in the consolidation of authority in the hands of an even more authoritarian body, the civic bureaucracy. (1974, p.xx)

These sentiments came out in the *Bland and Spence Sales Report*, which resulted in the establishment of a the Vancouver Planning Department and the subsequent hiring of Sutton Brown. The link between bureaucratic rule and modern planning is clearly outlined when the report compares planning undertaken by a Planning Commission and planning carried out from within a bureaucratic framework. As Bland and Spence Sales state:

> In planning by commission the expression of public opinion is projected into technical and administrative ramifications - in planning by municipal government the expression of public

opinion should not be able in any way to effect the technical considerations involved in the preparatory stage of planning proposals (1951).

So far from being an accidental or isolated occurrence, the emergence of planning in Vancouver was part of a much broader advance that was taking place in the bureaucratization of society. Although acceptance of this type of social regulation was strongly linked to the rise of administered capitalism (Mandel 1976) this societal predisposition for bureaucratic order was further augmented by World War Two and the Cold War (Whitaker and Marcuse 1994).

How space would be regulated in the modern period was obviously not immune to these developments. Urban space would be imprinted with this broader social logic and one of the most concrete manifestations of this would be by the establishment of a formal planning department and the allocation of personnel and resources to the bureaucratic regulation of space. The sudden switch over from the era of *laissez-faire* regulation to modern regulation is graphically illustrated in the sudden upsurge in civic resources that were devoted to planning in the City of Vancouver.

Before modern planning was formally integrated into the civic bureaucracy the resources devoted to the regulation space were negligible until a planning department was established. There was a plan and a zoning bylaw but very little in the way of resources to enforce either. For example, when the Vancouver Planning Commission was established in the 1920s only $4,000 dollars were allocated to planning (Bland and Spence Sales 1951). In 1950, the last full year of the Planning Commission's operation, twenty-three years after it was established, the resources devoted to planning had only climbed to $17,000 (Bland and Spence Sales 1951). With one to three employees from city hall seconded to help with the work of the Vancouver Planning Commission the planning function was clearly a weakly developed one within the local state.

However, with the implementation of the Bland and Spence Sales Report and the creation of a planning department for the City of Vancouver this would suddenly change. By 1953, the first full year in the operation of the Planning Department, the budget was $79,000. Afterwards the budget soared, reaching $220,000 by 1956, an eleven fold increase over 1950 budget for the Planning Commission (CV-1a). From one or two employees directly performing

planning duties in 1950, this number increased to 25 in 1954 (Sutton Brown 1954) and increased throughout the 1950s, so that by 1960 there were 32 personnel in the Planning Department.

The surge in personnel and resources devoted to planning would only reach this level expansion during the beginning of the postmodern period when a massive new infusion of resources would be required to deal with the regulatory demands posed by densification and the additional resources that were now required to engage in the bureaucratic regulation of space using postmodern rather than modern protocols for the regulation of space.

For example between 1972 and 1975 staff levels doubled as the number of personnel increased from about 45 in 1972 to 90 in 1975. Similarly more resources were poured into the Planning Department, as the budget rose from $1.3-million in 1973 to $6-million when Ray Spaxman, the postmodern counterpart to Sutton Brown, left the department in 1989. Even after he left the resources devoted to planning continued to rise, approaching $10-million in 1997. By this time as well, the number of employees in the department was approaching 200 as there were around 190 staff at this time (CV-1a; CVPD-41; CVCO-42).

However the quantum leap in resources that took place was not devoted towards the further modernization of the city or directed to the fulfillment of any of the aspects of the three 20-year development plans of Sutton Brown. Instead, these resources were allocated to the postmodern reconfiguration of space in the City of Vancouver. In light of what had earlier been said about the link between the expansion of market rule and the decline of bureaucratic rule and the rise of postmodernism this infusion of resources into the bureaucracy may appear contradictory, except for the fact that, as earlier mentioned, the postmodern reaction to modern rule did not play itself out in Canada in the same way that it did in the United States. In Canada the reaction was as much anti-corporatist as anti statist and what was demanded by middle class reformers, more than anything else, was not retreat of the state but a change in the way it carried out its duties and the program it was trying to implement. It is only at present, during the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city, that the full impact of the fiscal crisis of the state that affected the United States in the 1970s is now being felt in Canada.

But even with this development, the rising influence of the market would become manifest in ways other than de-regulation or a decline in the resources and personnel devoted to the planning function.

In contrast to the Unites States, during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city the influence of the state increased rather than decreased.[79] However this did not mean that the bureaucracy behaved the same way in which it had, during the modern period. For the regulation of space, what the re-organization of the Planning Department - which accompanied this infusion of resources - would indicate, was that these resources were being spent differently and that a different program for the organization of urban space and a new way of making decisions was being undertaken with these additional resources. Another reason why more resources were poured in planning probably had something to do with the switch over to a land intensive regime of accumulation - something that did not occur in the United States.

Nonetheless, as with the modern period, this changeover would also be symbolized by the hiring of powerful -- and in this particular instance - charismatic new planning director. Just as the values of modernism were embedded in the personality of Sutton Brown so too would the values of the postmodern age be imprinted in the personality of Ray Spaxman -- the strong willed new planning director who would take the department out of the modern era and into the first phase of the postmodern era when he was hired in 1973. In contrast to the Appollian order that was advanced by the personality and institutional culture that Sutton Brown was able to imprint upon the Planning Department for the entire modern period, in keeping with the values of the postmodern era, Spaxman would exemplify the Dionysian face of bureaucratic rule.[80]

Whereas Spaxman would identify and represent the archetype of the artist in the postmodern order he was to install;[81] both literally and figuratively Sutton Brown would emody the mindset of the engineer.[82] Representing the two most important archetypes of each age- Sutton Brown the engineer[83] and Ray Spaxman the artist-embraced diametrically opposing view of space and governance.[84]

This would also be reflected in the occupational backgrounds of the personnel employed in the Planning Department during modern and postmodern period. For example in the early modern period, when the Planning Department was just being set up, it was largely staffed by personnel who were transferred from the City Engineer's and Building Departments (CV-2, p.71). The engineering mindset was further accentuated by the selection of an engineer as the first Director For Planning when Sutton Brown was hired (VP-1).[85] As Sutton Brown would vision of the planner as an "executive-engineer" reveals, the connection that modern planning in Vancouver would have to the bureaucratic rule that was embodied in methods of Fordist production and the military and business associations that were were especially identified with engineering after the war were never far below the surface in the actions and outlook of the director and the planners that were hired (Sutton Brown 1954). Long after Sutton Brown left the Planning Department, and Bill Graham was hired in 1963, this engineering mentality endured, not the least because all planning communication was vetted by the Board of Administration[86] which Sutton Brown controlled, which, in the face of the weak leadership provided by Graham, ensured that the Sutton Brown vision for the modernization of the city would remain the guiding force within the bureaucracy even though he was no longer the planning director.[87]

From conversations with planners who worked for the city in the 1950s and 1960s, the picture of Sutton Brown that emerges is of a man whose behaviour and actions became the personification of authoritarian rule. Reminiscences from planners revealed that Sutton Brown was responsible for the creation of a claustrophobic working environment in the department. Interviews and departmental reviews (CVPD-34) showed that many planners who worked in the department did not have any idea what was going on – this was no accident but rather the deliberate result of the quasi-military chain of command that Brown put in place and the Taylorist division of labour advocated by Bland and Spence Sales where there was a clear and strict demarcation between thinking, doing, policy, and execution. Because of this situation, many junior planners felt that there was no direction in the Planning Department during the Sutton Brown years; however, if the logic of governance that Bland and Spence Sales as well

Sutton Brown is understood, this was what was expected. Indeed, the limited communication between people within the Planning Department and the general sense that there was no direction was a sign that the system that had been put in place was working. Rather than being a symptom of dysfunction this segmentation and the absence of any knowledge about the general direction the department was going in was a perfect example of a type of rationalism another engineer who worked on military projects – but who also happened to be a philosopher by the name Rene Descartes – regarded the operation of reason. For in such a system the overall order of the universe was only to be centre in just one consciousness, and in the case of the Planning Department of Vancouver this subject would be no other than the person of Sutton Brown.[88]

New planners did not like or comprehend this system, their confusion and ignorance about the larger picture was perfectly understandable in such a system. For it was in the nature of such a bureaucratic order that the opinions of junior planners were to be openly discounted. It is no surprise that self-expression was viewed as a sign of impertinence and insubordination, and that information was carefully monitored, flowing in a hierarchical fashion from the top of the bureaucracy to the bottom. For many younger planners who were expecting to be treated as professionals rather than as subservient technicians, the corporate culture which Sutton Brown had constructed proved to be hostile and onerous – particularly in the late 60s, when populism and a more liberal attitudes towards authority by the new middle class was beginning to percolate into the new generation of planners that were coming into the Department in the 1960's. This alienation would be reflected in highturn over of younger staff. Many would leave to work in smaller cities where more satisfying and rewarding work could be found rather than staying on in Vancouver (PI-23). In fact, there was so much staff turnover that this even became a major media issue with the department during the transition between modern and postmodern regimes from 1967 to 1972 (VS-23; VS-43; VE-44).[89] The growing resentment towards Sutton Brown's style of leadership also appeared to have had something do with the fact that many local planners felt that they were being patronized as colonials by an arrogant leadership cadre which was British rather than Canadian (PI-24; PI-25).

Thus fear and resentment coloured the operation of the planning bureaucracy during much of the modern period. With watchful eyes on who was using the copying machine, a recent innovation of the time, the dissemination of information appeared to have been as rigorously controlled as it might have been in any Soviet-style bureaucracy. This control even applied to interpersonal interaction between people working in different departments as well as at different levels within the same department. For example, one former planner recounted how they and others were often upbraided for communicating with people outside their department without the formal permission of a deputy or department head. Even within the planning department itself a rigid caste system based on administrative status prevented the free flow of information between upper and lower level echelons of the department. The same restrictions applied to fraternization with politicians as well, as one former planner recounted how Sutton Brown stationed his secretary in front of the alderman's offices to make sure that everyone who went into the offices was duly taken note of. Again, as these examples reveal, in true Cartesian form, there was only one active set of eyes and one consciousness at work in this authoritarian order and this was the eye and brain provided by Sutton Brown (PI-24).

When the revolution in the attitude towards authority was initiated during the counterculture it is not hard to see how ill prepared the Planning Department was and how it was caught completely off guard by the events which followed. While the quasi military nature of bureaucratic rule exercised by Sutton Brown may have been acceptable in the Cold War era, in the 1950s when the department was staffed predominantly by engineers; in a period of rising anti-militarism this provoked rebellion rather obedience. Hence, when Ray Spaxman was asked about the culture of the department he remarked that when he first came his mind was the restrictive and claustrophobic environment of the British Military he had earlier experienced in England (PI-21).[90]

Outside the department in the public arena the decline in deference towards bureaucratic authority therefore made the Planning Department open to attack (VP-9). Now viewed as the technocracy, bureaucracy became 'the system" which was recast in a sinister and

often times absurd light, with bureaucrats made to appear as Doctor Strangelove characters or buffoons who often became stock characters in the cinematic portrayal of the bureaucracy that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. This anti-authoritarian sensibility would make all large bureaucracies look bad, but moreso in the case of the Planning Department in Vancouver because of its rigid and quasi-military organization. At a time when popular movies such as "Hospital" or "M*a*s*h" were in vogue, it would not take long for these attitudes to catch up with Sutton Brown or ensnare the civic administration that he controlled. Because of the cultural revolution that had taken place, as well as the generation gap, bureaucrats could not understand why their reputations were now tarnished or why so much resistance to their plans was now occurring. That is why the Planning Department would become perceived of as an ossified and reactionary regulatory mechanism until it was completely re-organized in the 1970s (PI-9).[91]

By contrast, as already implied, the cultural archetype for the postmodern era was the artist. In such a system, a leader who could express the dionysian face of authority rather than the Appollian was what was required and what was chosen for the Department when the urban reformers came to power.[92] Unlike the utilitarian mindset of the engineer where objectivity, formal order, simplicity and economy were most valued, a different mindset informed that of the artist. Here expressive informality rather than formality, self-actualization rather than conformity, subjectivity rather than objectivity, superfluity rather than scarcity, consumer rather than producer aspirations would be more influential.[93] In the case of Vancouver, these values would be imprinted into the culture of the Planning Department by Ray Spaxman.

Unlike the Gradgrind personality of Sutton Brown, Ray Spaxman was a person that one reporter (VP-28) described as being a cross between "Rock Hudson and Stewart Granger," whose personality and tenure as planning director embodied a contrasting cultural orientation which can be described as being Dionysian rather than Appollian in nature. As the reference to Greek God of bread and wine suggests, in terms of leadership style and the institutional culture of the department, the postmodern regime for planning initiated by Ray Spaxman was one that was marked by the greater play of subjectivity and a more obvious flowering of the artistic

temperament that arose in contrast to the engineering mindset which typified the rule of Sutton Brown period where more focus was place on objective relations and concerns which would be the natural orientation of anyone trained as an engineer (PI-21). While Sutton Brown did everything possible to avoid conflict and disorder, Spaxman often moved in the opposite direction, embracing disorder and uncertainty rather avoiding it (PI-7; Spaxman 1991). With Spaxman there was an interplay of emotion with reason and an appreciation of the sensuous qualities of space (hence the centrality of urban design and the enhancement of the design capabilities of the Planning Department in the Spaxman era) that were absent with Sutton Brown but was carefully cultivated under Spaxman. This was something that marked a dramatic departure from the utilitarian functionalism which defined the puritanical and utilitarian eye that Sutton Brown had cast over planning in Vancouver with his 20-year plan to modernize the city (PI-17).[94]

Spaxman would basically midwife the institutionalization of postmodern planning in Vancouver, putting into an institutional form the postmodern spatial matrix that had already been formulated by the new middle class, thereby doing for a new middle class generation, what Bland and Sales Spence and Sutton Brown had done for a different middle class constituency that had come out of the progressivist period rather than that of the counter culture.[95] But here the most important difference would be that Spaxman would be able to implement the livable city agenda that became the riposte to the program for the modernization of the city that had been set out in three reports prepared under the tutelage of Sutton Brown: *Downtown Vancouver 1955-1976* (CVTPB-1), the*Vancouver Redevelopment Study* (CVTPB-2) and*A Study on Highway Planning for Metropolitan Vancouver* (CVTPB-4).[96]

However, much of the road for the postmodern transformation of the city had already been prepared before Spaxman arrived on the scene. The birth of postmodern regulation would not to be a painless one in Vancouver, as the Planning Department was caught in the cross currents which were created by shift from bureaucratic to market rule and the subsequent change that occurred in the spatial sensibilities of the middle class as a result of the counter culture and

the creation of a new fraction of the middle class that was to mobilize itself around a new vision of the city. The misalignment between urban reformers and the Planning Department established a period of transition for the Planning Department that lasted from 1966 until 1972. This would be a tempestuous time for the Planning Department, particularly as the media started to pay a great deal of attention to what was happening to this staid bureaucracy, putting an unwelcomed and unaccustomed spotlight on the Planning Department that would be a unique feature of the transformation of planning culture in Vancouver. Even prominent national columnists such as Allan Fotheringham, became involved in diagnosing what was going wrong with planning in Vancouver, as he openly berated the department (VS-40), asking why competent planners were leaving. As modernism began to enter into its death throes in Vancouver the interest of the media in the Planning Department became a bit of a feeding frenzy as the politics involved with this transition period took on the look of street theatre, with the Planning Department made a reluctant participant in many of the dramas that were to unfold as modern and postmodern sensibilities began to clash with each other.

This would be helped along by the presence of a flamboyant mayor, Tom Campbell, who became a comic symbol of modernism's last gasp, as the national media delighted in following the collision of the mayor with the urban activists who were bearers of the new postmodern sensibility: recounting how the mayor fingered freeway protesters or recording memorable epithets he applied to the growing middle-class constituency that was now dissenting from the vision of the modern city that he and the Planning Department had embraced, gaining national notoriety when he called these new bohemians that opposed freeway construction "Maoists, communists, pinkos, left- wingers and hamburgers" (Gutstein 1965,p.165).

In the short span of a few years the world of both the mayor and the Planning Department would be turned inside out. Regulatory doctrines that had been nurtured for several generations were suddenly cast adrift in a sea of unfamiliar and experimental ideas that operated according to a different philosophic frame of reference which devalued the opinion the new middle class public had of the Planning Department.

All of a sudden, the department found itself occupying the wrong side on popular issues as outspoken intellectuals mobilized and lambasted the department and politicians wondered what was on going while the media openly ridiculed the planning department for incompetence and the mishandling of the public interest (VP-9; VP-11; VP-13; VP-21; VS-24; VS-27; VS-39; VS-40; VS-41). For the Planning Department, unfortunately, respect for traditional forms of bureaucratic authority was waning just as the department was attempting to employ this authority to speed up the implementation of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. As the philosophic, sociological and aesthetic assumptions of modernism were questioned for the first time the deconstruction of modern planning would be a painful experience for the Planning Department, as practically every major endeavour of the department would be cast into an unflattering light.

This would become evident in the controversy over Pacific Centre, one of the few elements of the Sutton Brown Plan to be realized. Only a few years earlier, politicians and the media had criticized the department's inability to get moving downtown renewal. However, when one of the major components of the plan had been successfully completed, criticism rather than praise would be forthcoming. Had the Pacific Centre been completed in the early 1960s instead of the early 1970s it probably would have been regarded as one of the crowning achievements of the modern era for the Planning Department; but this was not to be case. By the time of the Pacific Centre, the rules of the planning game had changed. With a different spatial matrix now used to assess projects Pacific Centre became an albatross for the department rather than an accomplishment it could tout about to the public (VS-31; VS-36). What happened with regard to the Pacific Centre would be an example of the time warp that would affect nearly every activity of the Planning Department. Also known as the Block 42 and 52 project - had it been completed in the mid 1960s, before the appearance of the cultural divide that was to separate the modern from the postmodern era, Pacific Centre would have been regarded as positive symbol of the success planner's were having modernizing the city; but since it was completed in the early 70s, it opened on the other side the cultural divide that had

appeared while it was under construction. As a result for both activists and postmodern planners it became a symbol of failure (VS-36), serving as an important reference point for what to avoid in the deliberations that went into the new guidelines for the downtown that were enacted in 1975 (CVPD-45).

The other components of the twenty year development plan would not escape being judged by the new standards that were created with the formation of a postmodern spatial matrix. Hence, urban renewal would come under a cloud and be cancelled by the federal government before much more damage could be done. Similarly the Georgia Viaduct became the only fragment of Sutton Brown's massive freeway system to be constructed. In each case the attempt to implement the long-awaited 20-year development plan brought severe criticism rather than lavish praise. In the case of the 1957 Redevelopment plan, only 70 rather 800 acres ended up being cleared and redeveloped. Even more glaring was the failure to implement the transportation plan of Sutton Brown. Of the 45 miles of freeway that were projected to cost around $400 million dollars, scarcely a mile of freeway standard roadway was completed. Hence, after 20 years of struggle and countless studies the only freeway infrastructure built was the Georgia Viaduct.[97]

With less than one percent of the 1959 freeway plan of Sutton Brown completed and only 6 to 7 percent of the urban renewal plan contained in the 57 Redevelopment plan carried out and approximately a third of the 1956 downtown plan's objectives achieved, there was a wide degree of variation in the implementation of the various components of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. Again the crucial weakness of Sutton Brown's plan to modernize Vancouver can be observed in the different rates of completion for each of its components. With no significant Federal or Provincial support the least capital-intensive components of the 20-year plan became the easiest parts of the plan to implement. This may explain why the most progress was made on the downtown segment of the plan, since it required the least amount of capital. However, this also inverted the logic for implementing the plan to the modernize Vancouver, as implementation was carried out in reverse order of the logic of the plan. Hence the most

important element, namely the freeway, ended up becoming the last element of the plan to move into implementation. With the downtown starting to boom bottlenecks were developing, since the freeway that had been expected to sustain the continuation of land-extensive development in the region while also supporting the concentration of capital investment in the core had not even yet been started. That is why the business community had to actively intervene on behalf of the Planning Department and call for the public to support a referendum on the construction of the Georgia Viaduct, the first component of the freeway plan (Pendakur 1972; Gutstein 1975).[98]

These struggles would also be reflected in the way the Planning Department was organized. Prior to Graham, the division of labour in the department and the allocation of resources reflected the Planning Departments focus on plan preparation rather than plan implementation. However, even before Graham arrived on the scene, when G. F. Fountain (an engineer who was made the director of the department after Sutton Brown had left planning to become one of two city commissioners) was the director, impatience with the inability of the department to move ahead on the Sutton Brown Plan was already acutely felt, becoming something that Graham would be forced to address as soon as he was hired. That is why the 1967 re-organization was really just the formal codification of the informal re-organization of the Planning Department that had begun around 1964, after the arrival of Graham. Beginning with the the Housing and Urban Renewal Division, separate divisions were now being set up to implement specific aspects of the 20-year development plan. Although the 1967 re-organization of the Planning Department signified that the department was now going to push harder to implement the Sutton Brown plan, for the most part it merely formalized the division of labour that was earlier established when Graham was hired as planning director (CVPD-16). With duties organized by division, the focus for the Current Planning division was to be on the implementation of a commercial urban renewal strategy for the downtown. Long Range Planning was to focus on implementing the various other parts of the 20-year development plan not assigned to the Urban Renewal or Current Planning Divisions. According to departmental reviews and the opinions of people who then worked for the department, this was not a very

effective organizational arrangement. Work tasks were fragmented and disjointed because of the way that some projects were split up between the various divisions (CVPD-23; PI-18; PI-23; PI-24). This, combined with the growing criticism of the department, impeded the department's ability to engage in strategic planning since the work task of the Long Range Planning Division was too fragmented for it to articulate a new direction for the department just when this was what was most required.

Sideswiped and buffeted by the unfriendly winds of change the Planning Department experienced considerable internal upheaval soon after the 67 re-organization, even under going a form of organizational melt down. What happened to the Urban Renewal and Housing Division is a good case in point. Being the first division that was specifically created to implement one of the three components of the 20-year development plan, it was expected to be the powerhouse of the Planning Department during the time of plan implementation the department was now thought to be entering, as was made clear by Bill Graham, in 1965, in an address to the public, when he claimed that Vancouver would become the leader for urban renewal in Canada (VS-18b; VS-29). As with the downtown and freeway components of the Sutton Brown Plan, planners had experienced delays in the urban renewal segment of the plan and were eager to fast track development to make up for lost time.

Consequently, Graham was hoping to put the urban renewal division into overdrive and clear and redevelop 300 acres of land by 1967 instead of the 200 acres that were proposed in the time line that was originally set out (VS-18a). The redevelopment of Strathcona, which was then moving into the second phase of development was seen as just one small piece of a much grander scheme for urban renewal that was anticipated to involve the clearance of nearly 800 acres in the transition or conversion zone of the city (CVPD-24a). To accomplish this goal the institutional structure of the department was to be re-organized. The Urban Renewal and Housing Division was to be given more muscle and resources to meet this goal. Accordingly, Graham indicated that he was expecting to add over 20 staff positions to the six that were already allocated to the Urban Renewal and Housing Division in 1966 (VS-21). If this plan had

been realized the Urban Renewal and Housing Division would have consumed almost half of the manpower of the planning department. But, as we have seen, this was not happen. When 1969 rolled around only 70 odd acres had been cleared and the division was beginning to be wound down rather than expanded, as a result of the moratorium placed on urban renewal by the Federal government and the rising demand for more citizen's participation (VS-29).These events not only caused the complete dissolution of this Urban Renewal and Housing Division, it also triggered a major reorganization of the department in 1971 (CVPD-23; VS-34).

The 1971 re-organization can be interpreted as an institutional attempt to come to terms with the failure of the department to implement the 20-year development plan (CVPD-23; VP-17). With the re-organization of the department in 1971, not only did the Urban Renewal Division disappear, Current Planning was transformed into the Civic Development Division. In turn this new division would become one of the seed beds for experimentation in postmodern planning when planners in this division undertook work in Champlain Heights and False Creek. Meanwhile, the Urban Renewal and Housing Division became the Community Planning Division (CVPD-33). As the name change suggests, conservation rather than urban renewal was now emphasized. Left in charge of tying up the loose ends remaining from the urban renewal programs of the previous era the Community Planning Division would take on an even more obvious postmodern slant, when it was transformed into the Local Area Planning Division in the 1974 re-organization of the department.

So with the implementation program in tatters by 1970 and middle class reformers demanding more innovative planning from the department, the most progressive planning work seemed to be undertaken in special project groups located in the Civic Development Division (PI-27) or in bodies such as the Special Committee on False Creek, which was created in 1971, that was independent of the Planning Department (PI-9). This institutional flux would carry on into the early years of Spaxman's tenure-most noticeably in the Downtown Study Group that was preparing the new zoning bylaw for the downtown, which came into operation in 1975 (CVPD-37; CVPD-38; CVPD-39; CVPD-42; CVPD-43). Only with the reorganization of the department,

in 1974, and the dismissal of three deputy planners was a stable organizational structure finally put in place that remains intact into the present, over twenty years after it was put in place (VS-59).

The organizational stability which the Planning Department has achieved since that time only highlights the incredible turbulence experienced by the department in the six years between 1967 and 1973 because of the rapid shift from a modern to postmodern spatial matrix that had taken place in this short time span. In terms of program and organization, the department was simply not prepared to deal with the massive changes that were taking place. This organizational flux indicated that the department was not flexible enough to deal suddenly with changes in the market that came with the shift away from a land extensive pattern of development to one which was now more land intensive. Nor was it capable of adequately responding to the cultural and political changes that took place during this brief but tempestuous time. Held back by the institutional inertia created by the control of the civic bureaucracy by Sutton Brown and the weak leadership of Bill Graham the department began to appear as a dated anachronism to many inside and outside the bureaucracy. Disoriented by the shift away from a modern to postmodern context for regulation the Planning Department was unable to achieve a balance between old and new spatial norms that would have preserved some of its integrity. Unable to adapt to this new situation quickly enough or even to make adequate sense of what was going on, the Planning Department started to buckle under the resulting pressure and experience the institutional equivalent of a nervous breakdown, as it was reorganized three times in the span of just six years.

In the centre of this maelstrom was Bill Graham, the director of planning. From interviews with former employees and an examination of internal departmental documents a picture of an amiable man emerges who had the misfortune of occupying the wrong position at the wrong time. His weaknesses were apparent early on, when one senior planner expressed some exasperation at decision to hire him as the director (PI-27). However, as events heated up his image as an ineffectual sort of Dudley Do-Right character – a cartoon satirization of a Mounted

Police officer who rode his horse backwards -- was an image that appeared to be firmly ingrained in the media's perception of Graham (VP-20). Instead of reducing the cultural gap that was developing between the Planning Department and its middle class critics he only seemed to magnify and accentuate them. Without the skills to steer the department through the turbulence that came with this shift from a modern to postmodern spatial matrix Bill Graham's deficiencies both as an administrator and as a leader became magnified, as he became an object of ridicule to other planners, politicians and the media, as the Planning Department listed from one side to the other in the shoals of one controversy after another. With the grandiose plans for urban renewal caving in and heavy criticism falling upon the department for the one project that it did manage to successfully complete-Pacific Centre -- it seemed that everything Graham touched ended up turning into brass.

Circumstances had produced a situation in which it became almost impossible for Graham to do anything right, whether it had to do with development in the West End, the Arbutus Shopping Centre development, or even aesthetics. His inability to go with the flow was probably further complicated by the fact that he was a fundamentalist Christian, which made him appear even more odd to many planners (PI-45); and certainly would have left him more out of step with the further secularization of society that resulted with the counterculture, as new trip wires were created which he dutifully stumbled over. Whether for this or other reasons Bill Graham was oblivious to the cultural and political changes that were creating a mine field for modern planning as the new middle class became ever more critical of the department's plans to aggressively proceed with the modernization of the city (Collier 1974, Chapter Two). As a result, Graham managed to stumble over every major fault line that shook the Planning Department in the last five years of his tenure as planning director. Unable to read or understand the signs of change, both Graham and the department started to flounder badly as planners started to abandon ship. This became apparent in a confidential memorandum on the reorganization of the department in 1970 where Graham appears to be pleading for

understanding and sympathy in the document in a way that suggests that he may have started to lose his nerve (CVPD-23).

Graham's poor sense of timing and his inability to understand the nature of the changes which were taking place around him was graphically revealed when he spoke publicly about aesthetics. Speaking enthusiastically about the *avant-garde* and progressive design of Pacific Centre, in a similar situation someone more in touch with the changing attitude towards modern aesthetics would have likely remained silent or attempted to deflect the criticisms that was being made about the Pacific Centre. Instead, by making statements such as this, Graham inflamed rather than soothed the opposition at the very time public reaction against the Pacific Centre was reaching a crescendo as it now became dubbed as the black tower (VS-47; VS-36; Gutstein 1975).

This inability to read change may explain why he was fired in 1973, just after TEAM came to power late in 1972. For whatever his faults, reformers did not regard Graham as a threat to the new agenda they wished to institutionalize (PI-9). Even though Bill Graham was nominally the planning director from 1963 to 1973, urban reformers had long known that the real power behind the scenes was Sutton Brown. As Ron Youngberg noted (PI-27) the Planning Department was the only department in the civic administration where all documents were fully vetted by Sutton Brown. The public only became apprised of what planners had long known about Graham, that he was terrified of Sutton Brown, when Graham attempted to make a public stand against Sutton Brown over a transportation issue in 1971 (VP-20).

Unfortunately, by this time, it was too late for Bill Graham to distance himself from Sutton Brown or redeem himself in the minds of urban reformers. Thus, in 1971, when Graham finally decided to stand up to Sutton Brown it was too late for him. Even when Graham eventually rebelled against Sutton Brown, circumstances worked against him in a perverse way, since his stand only brought out unfavourable comparisons between himself and Maurice Egan, the Director of Social Planning, who had long ago asserted his independence of Sutton Brown. As one newspaper report noted (VP-20) from the beginning Maurice Egan had declared his

independence of Sutton Brown by refusing to have the reports of his department amended or tampered with by the Board of Commissioners, which Sutton Brown sat on and controlled.

For this and other reasons, Graham's public stand against Sutton Brown ended up taking on a comic operatic look, as one newspaper made the confrontation appear like the showdown in the movie "High Noon," only in this case the protagonist in question loses rather than wins the fight (VP-20). While Graham did stand up to Sutton Brown, his plea for council to reconsider the road expansion supported by Sutton Brown went down to defeat, leaving him limping away.

Despite the turbulence encountered by the Planning Department significant new resources were allocated to the planning department. Even though the department was having considerable difficulty coping with change, more planning services were required as densification fed into the development boom that was now taking place. Moreover, additional resources also had to be allocated to the department because of its ambitious effort to speed up the pace for the implementation of the 20-year development plan. Although the prestige of the department was plummeting funding and employment levels for the Planning Department therefore rose significantly in the late 60s. From a low point in 1965, the proportion of the civic budget devoted to planning started to move upwards again, moving from around point fifty percent in 1965 to Point fifty-eight percent in 1969. When the department's proportion of the civic budget rose to point sixty-seven percent in 1972, it had even exceeded the level of funding achieved during the aggressive years of institution building, that had been achieved before Sutton Brown had moved on to become one of the city's two chief commissioners, when funding for planning services peaked in 1960 (CV-1a). In nominal dollars this meant that the budget for the department rose from $373,072 in 1965 to $669,273 in 1970, reaching $936,580 by 1972. Similarly, between 1965 and 1972 employment rose as well. From around 35 people in 1965, this number increased to 55 by 1969. After 1969 growth tapered off but then started to increase again, but this time under the direction of Ray Spaxman, who initiated an aggressive period of institution building to secure the new postmodern agenda for the city which urban reformers had given him a mandate to pursue (CV-1a; VP-29; VP-39).[99]

From this example the contingent nature of modern and postmodern regulation can be ascertained. In the case of modern regulation, despite the creation of a Planning Department, the hiring of a strong director, who remained in the background throughout the modern period, the plan prepared by Bartholomew Plan undertaken by the Planning Commission actually ended up having a greater impact on the production and regulation of urban space in Vancouver because of historic circumstances specific to Vancouver. Resources were available to implement the more subdued program for the modernization of the city set out in the Bartholomew Plan, which was published in 1928, but not enough resources and, perhaps, more important, not enough time was available for the more comprehensive scheme for the modernization of space that was envisaged in the 20-year Sutton Brown Plan, even though this was the plan that animated and guided the actions of the Planning Department until a postmodern regime was put in place with the hiring of Ray Spaxman in 1973. The role of chance and serendipity can also be seen. Had the mobilization of the new middle class been delayed for just a few more years, the re-organization and increased resources put into implementation of the Sutton Brown Plan would likely have brought results. And this would have irrevocably changed the landscape of Vancouver no matter what followed afterwards. But this did not happen. So even though powerful background forces were at play in the promotion of modern regulation local circumstances and particular configuration of the local state within Canada and within the City of Vancouver itself as defined by the way planning was structured in Vancouver and the players who were operating within the local state diffused the full impact of modern rule could have had on the organization of space. The same follows for the postmodern transformation of the city. Had more of the 20-year plan been implemented a fundamentally new dynamic for the organization of urban space would have been set that would have been very hard, if not impossible, to reverse. And even with the successful hiring of another strong director to install a postmodern mode of regulation, the implementation of this regime was equally fraught with indeterminacy and conflict as can be seen by the fact that Spaxman was twice nearly fired by the mayor. Although the postmodern re-organization of space in the City of Vancouver would be more comprehensive

than the modern re-organization of space, the exact shape of the changes that were to come were as unpredictable in postmodern period as they were in the modern period.

4.4. - The Canadian experience of postmodernism

As with the modern period, the experience of postmodernism in Canada was affected by the cyclical movement between bureaucratic and market rule. Postmodern representations start to appear as the dominance of modern bureaucratic rule began to weaken and the militarization that supported it, started to be challenged during the counter culture. Meanwhile the expansion of market rule was further supported by the emergence of dynamic new sectors, which were not under the thrall of bureaucratic capitalism, as the information and tourist economies began to take off and new modes of consumption generated by the new middle class in the 1960s became more profitable, thus creating a larger space for economic activity to flourish outside the bureaucratic order of administered capitalism. Here the new middle class became the subject and object of change with this new consumerism. With these developments a new entrepreneurial spirit was fostered as petite bourgeois capitalism gained a new lease on life and began to reassert itself in the economic sphere.

Just as in the modern period, the formative period of this new spatial order created an opening for experimentation with alternatives. For a brief while, spatial practices that were opposed to market and bureaucratic rule appeared. In Canada these subversive elements appeared in the livable city program, where, for a time, an opening for alternative spatial practices was created. Interestingly enough, one manifestation of this experimentation was the growth of co-operativism. As with the progressivist mobilization against Monopoly capital, earlier on in the century, the counterculture sparked a surge in the growth of co-operaties. Like the modern period, history may well show that this may be the strongest legacy of the progressive moments that appeared in the early period of each mode of regulation.

But what also show up in the upsurge in the co-operative movement during each period are the biases of each form of regulation. For example, the productivist bias of the modern period would find expression in the creation of large producer co-operative such as Wheat Pool,

on the Prairies. In contrast to this, the consumerist orientation of the postmodern era would find itself profiled in the greater emphasis put on consumer co-operatives.[100] In this instance the postmodern equivalent to the various provincial wheat pools would become the housing co-operatives, which in the postmodern era, would become the most extensive consumer alternative to market and bureaucratic rule. In the postmodern era, production of non-profit and co-op housing would become the most significant legacy of the livable city agenda until the arrival of a second postmodern agenda in the 1980s. Along with densification, the appearance of this progressive moment in the development of postmodern city would set the evolution of the Canadian apart from its American counterpart throughout the 1970s and most of the 1980s (Geddes 1997; G/M 1997zi; Dreier 1997).[101]

Besides these two background influences there was a more immediate trigger that set off the reaction against modern rule by the new middle class and this was the densification process. With the reconcentration of capital in the inner city coinciding with the emergence of a middle-class stratum which wished to recolonize the inner city a powerful struggle with corporate capital ensued over the control of space, which, until the mid 1960s, was not thought to be worth struggling for. In addition to the real struggle over physical space, the need for this class to development a separate identity for itself, one that stood opposed to the values associated with the era of administered capitalism that defined the heyday of fordist accumulation, created an ideological contest, where the process of class formation as well as class struggle was displaced into the symbolic realm, where it took shape as reaction against the modern city and an attempt to construct an alternative vision of the city, where, on an informal level, a different vision of the city was constructed, which was organized around the notion of livability.

At all levels of regulation, the use of this term by the new middle class would contain an implicit criticism of the modern city, particularly as modernism became identified with systems of control and consumption that represented the real as well as symbolic control that corporate capital had over the way urban space was configured and used. To a large extent it was a word that was used or thought about whenever this class had decided a particular aspect of the

modern order had become unendurable. So at a symbolic and practical level modernism became construed as a barrier to the recolonization of the inner city by the new middle class, particularly since this class had started to formulate a new spatial sensibility, one more in keeping with the anarchical experiences and outlooks that were opened up by the shift from bureaucratic to market rule. To see how this worked it is only necessary to examine the world view contained in the most seminal of all postmodern texts, the *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, by Jane Jacobs. What Jacobs objected to was not capitalism but the form it had taken, and the way it had become expressed in the organization of the city in an age where bureaucratic rule had become the ascendant force but was now being challenged by a different outlook, one which reflected the arrival of new markets which had grown outside the field of administered consumption and production. A new material culture was being incubated, which needed its own space, one which would later be helped along by new technologies as well as the revival and adaptation of old ones. One where the free borrowing of artifacts from other classes and times would define the cultural logic of this new formation: that of the collage. Cultural boundaries that once separated low-, high-, and middle-brow culture would be mixed together in the great borrowing that would take place. A new cultural formation would take shape based on the principle of difference rather than conformity, the glorification of individualism and eclecticism over that of social conformity and accepted taste. Transgression rather than acceptance of cultural norms would be what now propelled the movement of culture forward, as resistance grew to the homogenization and standardization that was the hallmark of twentieth-century modernism. Later this would further evolve with the advent of information technologies. But long before this, the shape of what was to come was already visible in the growth of alternative markets that were now possible because of the rapid growth in numbers of a new stratum of the middle class, which announced it independence of administered capitalism by means of the counter culture.

This was the background context that led to the incubation of postmodern spatial matrix. In Canada, two distinct phases in this development can be identified. The first period

can be describe as being that of the livable city. In contrast to this first period, the second period can best be described in terms of the notion of the urban spectacle.[102] Both terms should be viewed as metaphors which describe important traits associated with the nature of postmodern regulation in different phases of its evolution. The notion of the livable city makes direct reference to a phase in the evolution of postmodern city when postmodernism was an organic ideology of the new middle class and a time when it was able to insert this spatial ideology into the regulatory apparatus of the city -- in a context where the expansion of the office economy was felt to be the major dynamo for economic development of the urban core and the state was unconstrained by fiscal limitations. By contrast, the urban spectacle refers to a later set of circumstances that affect the further evolution of the postmodern city. Unlike the first period, the promotion and management of tourism rather than the regulation of the office economy would set the economic context for the evolution of postmodern regulation. Image making, the further commodification of space, and the greater assertion of market imperatives over those of livability associated with a domestic vision about the nature of life in the city that reflected a somewhat romantic perspective that was developed by the new middle class during the counter culture would be subverted or amended to reflect new priorities and a vision that would more clearly reflect the ascendancy of market rule. This is the main reason for changing the adjective used to describe the specific program for the re-organization of space that postmodern regulation would take in these two different moments in the evolution of the city. Furthermore, the cultural status of postmodern representations of the city would change in this second period. More than in the first period the priorities and aspirations for the city expressed in the period of the urban spectacle would reflect the rising influence of corporate capital and the transformation of middle class representations of the city into free floating signifiers that would function increasingly as elements of mass culture and no longer solely as an organic ideology of the new middle class. The attributes that set the period of the urban spectacle apart from the values associated with the more conservative turn of the middle class were the heightened commercialism and the retreat of the state: which became important as a

consequence of the fiscal crisis experienced by the state. As well, the use of the spectacle as a metaphor was also used since it refers to the rising influence of corporations in the production of space, especially with regard to the production of experiences, which the postmodern spaces would increasingly serve as a container and venue for their consumption.

First there is the period of the livable city that lasted from 1972 to 1995. In Vancouver and Toronto the first phase in the development of the postmodern city was coloured by a compromise that was negotiated between capital and the new middle class over the use of space. At this time the preservation of urban livability largely evolved in relation to the construction of an executive city for the downtown, as business services and decision making functions were believed to be the economic dynamos that would propel the urban economy forward, but also consume land in the inner city which the new middle class had staked out for itself. While the office economy would be allowed to grow, limits were put on its expansion and an attempt was made in both Vancouver and Toronto to divert office growth into regional town centres. [103]

The second period can be dated after 1995 but was already beginning to alter the economic context for planning by the middle of the 1980s. Metaphorically speaking, this second period can best be described as the era of the urban spectacle. Unlike the previous period the economic context for this next phase in the development would not be anchored in the office economy but be increasingly to linked to the expansion of the tourism industry and the retreat of the activist state as a significant player in the production of space. Unlike the first period, when a serious attempt was made to produce non-market spaces, in this second phase the commodification of the production of space intensified dramatically. In combination these developments would have a profound influence on the way that space would be regulated. A new form of corporatism that preserved some the trapping of dialogical rule emerged, as state and corporate partnerships rather than with community partnerships, that were more typical of the first period, became more influential. Although citizen participation in the planning process would remain central to the planning process, compared to the more elaborate and lengthy process of community consultation in the 1970s and 1980s, community and citizens

involved was severally truncated in the 1990s and rendered more passive rather than active, in comparison to what took place in the 1970s. Each period was also market by changes within the new middle class. As with its progressivist counterparts the new middle class increasingly distanced itself from its working class allies and began to align itself more with corporate capital.[104] Secondly, the consumer habits of the new middle class and its perception of space became more exclusive rather than inclusive when it shifted from co-operative living to embrace strata title ownership. Not only did this tenure form allow gentrification to be extended into areas that were previously off limits it also made this class fraction more concerned about property values and the need to assert its presence in space since it now had an economic and symbolic interest that needed to protected and confirmed.

During this time skirmishes with corporate developers continued, but they became much more subdued. Conversely, with the more conservative turn of the new middle class and its more aggressive colonization of the inner city, antagonistic struggles over the use and control of space were now increasingly taking place with its erstwhile allies -- the urban proletariat. As a result latent class differences became increasingly antagonistic. One of the most dramatic examples of this change would surface in the different trajectories of the lumpen bourgeoisie (most notably the bohemians that were connected with middle class art culture and the gay community) and their working class counterparts. During the modern period the experience of relative poverty and social marginality meant that both of these groups had some of the same experiences of exclusion and poverty to share. What is more important, both social formations would share the same space in the city. Although different assumptions about life and the opportunity structures of each group established a cultural division between both lumpen formations these differences were expressed in a benign fashion with regard to the occupation of space during the modern period. This would start to change during the era of the livable city but the relation between these two groups would not become antagonistic until the era of the urban spectacle begins. During this time the normalization and commodification of these marginalized middle class subcultures would transform the status of the space that this group occupied.

Subsequently, these two middle class communities would become catalysts and vectors for the further gentrification of the derelict and previously abandoned spaces of the city.[105] In this way the previously benign relation that had existed between these lumpen social formations would become antithetical, since the idea of the mere presence of one now signifying the displacement of the other would not be far away in cities which had a large and growing new middle class. [106]

The normalization these borderline fractions of the new middle class also symbolized the growing power of the information economy and the growing interpenetration of cultural production and the expansion of the economy as a whole. Since single people composed a larger percentage of this sector, a non domestic fraction of the middle class grew in size and influence, creating different needs and wants, which were more easily susceptible to commodification than their more domestically-inclined counterparts, who had played a larger role in supporting the livable city agenda because of the domestic bias. Instead this particular faction would have more in common with ideal and aspirations associated with the development of space that would take place in the era of the urban spectacle.

For instance, during the 1970s the domestic orientation of the new middle class provided one of the main impetuses for the implementation of the livable city agenda, which came about with the dramatic expansion of family oriented co-op housing in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and regulation which encouraged the production of residential space in the city that could accommodate family life. However, with a declining birth rate, something more obvious with the second generation of the new middle class - the so called generation X group - the non domestic fraction of the new middle class would grow in importance during the 1980s. Consequently the production of space became more commercialized and less domestic in its orientation and design. In part this explains the revisionist take on high-rise living that first took place in Vancouver, in the early 1980s, but has now spread to Toronto as well (Toronto Star 1997k; 1997l). During the livable city period, medium- and low -rise dwelling units rather than high-rise housing was the house form of choice. For aesthetic and political reasons the most

active segments of the domestic fraction of the new middle class shunned high rises during the 1970s. However, this would begin to change as non-domestic fractions of the new middle class became more central to the settlement of the core during the 1990s.

Analogously, despite the dramatic substantive shifts that were involved in the movement from one phase of postmodern development to the other, as with the evolution of modern regulation, the outward forms of this regulatory order remained intact while the social content and symbolic significance of this type of regulation and spatial practice changed in several fundamental ways. Like modernism, the more subversive elements of the postmodern spatial order were diluted or washed out altogether. As Herf (1984) and Guibault (1983) have shown, the symbolic content of modernism changed over time.[107] And here a parallel can be drawn between the transformation that has taken place with regard to postmodern regulation between as the influence of the livable city began to wane with that of the urban spectacle began to wax. As postmodern regulation entered the mainstream its more radical expressions were suppressed or simply forgotten. This internal transformation would happen to spatial regulation of the city in the modern and postmodern era as well. Just as Bartholomew was chosen instead of Thomas Adams in Vancouver (Bottomley 1977), changing circumstances would lead to the replacement of Ray Spaxman by a much weaker and less sophisticated planning director during the half way mark in the transition period that would define the shift away from the livable city agenda to that of the urban spectacle which took place between 1986 and 1993, as the balance of power on city council moved decidedly to the right, with the voices of dissent that spoken up and lobbied for the livable city agenda in its most progressive guise reduced to impotence in the 1993 civic election and completely silenced in the 1996 civic election, when no urban reformers were elected to city council. Hence, for the first time since the early 1960s there was no effective opposition voice on City Council to argue for the progressive features of the livable city agenda.[108]

4.4.1 - The livable city agenda: Phase one of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city

Going back to the livable city agenda, in spatial terms this program – as earlier mentioned – can be viewed as part of the organic ideology of the new middle class, as the same goals for the city were formulated or adopted simultaneously across the country wherever there was a large and active middle class population. While broad shifts in the modernization process established the context for the reaction to modern regulation that was to develop, more specific and localized influence specific to Canada were at work. This more specific force was the densification process. The emergence of the new middle class as a new social formation also coincided with the first wave in the densification process, which swept across the country. This led to competition over the use and control of land in the inner city. Since large development corporations were singled out as the main agents of this process this second mobilization was directed against corporate capital rather than allied to it, as was the case in the progressivist period. At the same time resistance to urban renewal also lead to agitation against the state. However, since far fewer resources were allocated by the state towards urban renewal and freeway construction, the reaction to the state was much more subdued than it was to the private corporations that were redeveloping the inner city.[109]

The challenge for the new middle class, therefore, became that of using the state to curb the excesses of the large development corporation by taking control of the local planning apparatus and to also take control of those parts of the local state that was responsible for housing. Housing and planning therefore became the main target of the new middle class. This set the basis for a radical petite bourgeois and socialist critique of modern regulation in Canada which did, indeed, become critical of big government but also became even more critical of the actions of large private corporations (Lorimer 1970; 1972; 1983; Harris 1987; 1988; Caufield 1988).[110] Thus, during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city, there was a renaissance in state activity.[111] However, this renaissance did not involve the extension of bureaucratic rule over the city. Instead new partnerships were formed with

communities. This, in turn, resulted in the production of communal spaces that were not shaped by either the market or managed by the bureaucracy.[112] This process unfolded quite differently in the United States where the state began to detach itself from involvement in the city. Rather than establish partnerships with communities, something that was left to the philanthropic sector in the United States, partnerships were established with private corporations. Finally, the postmodern era was also a time when provincial governments became key players rather than ancillary agents in the postmodern transformation of urban space.[113]

The fact that the middle class were able to exert more influence on the federal government rather than municipal government exposed the mythology that local government was necessarily representative or that it was the most approachable or responsive segment of the local state. Indeed, as urban reformers were able to show time and time again, local government primarily functioned as a fiefdom for property capital.

Only when the new middle class mobilized into a political force, forming or reinvigorating community associations and by setting up their own civic parties were they able to effectively challenge the powerful property lobby which controlled most city council's. While municipal government was essentially a nexus for monopoly interests in property development, the federal government was not. Unlike municipal government the federal government appears to have been less insulated from the broad forces that were reshaping society and this may account for the fact that the first inroads against modernism were made in the housing field, which the federal government then controlled and only later in the planning field, which Municipalities controlled. The one major exception to this was the innovative program for regional planning that was launched by and Harry Lash (Gerecke 1974),[114] the first director of planning for Greater Vancouver Regional District. Until middle reformers took control of Vancouver city council this would be the seed bed for postmodern planning in Greater Vancouver, and would have a strong influence on planning in the City of Vancouver once middle class reformers took over.[115]

That is why the institutional transformation of the local state can be dated with the publication of the *Hellyer Report*[116] in 1969, and the cancellation of urban renewal that also occurred in the same year. In addition to the cancellation of urban renewal, the *Hellyer Report* ushered in a transition period which resulted in a number of *ad hoc* experiments in housing. A critical discourse on housing was also generated where the values of the livable city were absorbed into a critical discussion about housing that can be seen in with the publication of influential books like *Programs in Search of Policy* (1972), by Michael Dennis and Susan Fish (1972). As said before all of these changes would eventually culminate in the amendments that were made to the National Housing Act, in 1973.[117]

While significant progress was being made at the federal level, in the housing field, within the planning profession itself, progress was much slower. Except for the experiments that were taking place in the Greater Vancouver Regional District, significant changes in the planning field would have to wait until the civic victories of the new middle class in Toronto and Vancouver civic elections of 1972. Afterwards the planning department in each city would be re-organized. In each case this would involve the firing of the planning director for each department as well the letting go of numerous other individuals who were thought to be incompetent or too closely identified with the modern order that had now been discredited. However, in the case of Vancouver, it would not be until *Shaping The Future* was released in 1974, that the planning department was able to absorb the values of livable city which had mobilized the new middle class, and transform the goals of this urban social movement into a formal vision statement for the department it would be to the postmodern era what the *Bland and Spence Sales Report* had been to the modern era, or produce a statement of purpose and intent for the department that would be comparable in the field of planning to what the Hellyer Report would be in the housing field, with regard to the postmodern transformation of the housing sector. By this time the federal government had already absorbed most of the key attributes of the livable city agenda and translated them into public policy when amendments were made to the National Housing Act in 1973. In Vancouver, this formal codification of

postmodern norms would only begin in 1974 when the first area based discretionary zoning bylaw was passed and in 1975 when a new downtown bylaw had been passed, erasing the final remnants of the 1956 plan. Moreover, this was the time that was needed for Spaxman to remove deadwood and to restructure the department, establishing divisions which would become responsible for implementing the livable city agenda over the next twenty years.

Looking at the characteristics that defined the livable city there are six attributes that would appear in the postmodern planning practices and housing programs that were guided by this program. One of the most noticeable changes was the emphasis put upon citizen's involvement in the decision making process. This would be formally codified into the NIP and RRAP programs that were initiated by the federal government when amendments were made to the National Housing Act in 1973, something which would force planning department across the country to embrace more participatory modes of decision making. It would also be a goal that would be formally articulated into the new vision statement for the Vancouver Planning Department when *Shaping The Future* was released in 1974. Hence the shift from monological to dialogical systems of control with regard to the production and regulation of urban space is the first characteristic of the livable city agenda which stands out.[118] The second characteristic has to do with how urban space are represented. This involved a shift from abstract representations of urban space to more organic representations. This change would have as much to do with the densification process as it would the new spatial norms that were generated from out of the counterculture. Social equity and inclusiveness would make up the third characteristic. This attribute of the livable city would take on physical form with the non-profit housing programs. Through these programs a concerted and sustained effort would be made to produce more equitable and complex social landscapes in the city. The fourth characteristic has to do with pedestrianization. Experimentation with medium-density housing was the fifth feature of the livable city ideology. Finally, there was a sixth feature that defined the middle class ideology of the livable city and this was the involvement of an

activist state in the production of urban space and, as earlier noted, the creation of partnerships with communities.

This created a unique path for urban development in North America which diverged markedly from the United States, amplifying the paradoxical nature of this first phase of development in Canada, since the dominant social impulses generated by the turn to postmodern regulation were anti bureaucratic and anti government. But for reasons that have been mentioned several times, the first twenty years of the postmodern transformation of the city would be defined by the heavy involvement of the state in third sector housing. While there has been some convergence between Canada and the United States in the 1990s; just as with the densification process, the active involvement of the state for twenty years added another difference to the way new urban tissue has been layered onto the city that sets the Canadian city apart from its American counterpart. Even now, in the middle of the fiscal crises of the state, there is still a strong constituency for the activist state in Canada, which may eventually result in another livable city agenda taking shape once the debt is fully digested and it is possible to think about new government initiatives. Regardless, what is significant for Canada is that the opposition to bureaucratic rule did not lead to the delegitimization of the activist state, as was more the case with regard to modern rule in the United States.

How these informally articulated values of the new middle class were actually translated into a new code for the regulation of space is no better revealed than in the vision statement for postmodern planning that was formulated in the Vancouver Planning Department with "Shaping The Future". Because of the departure of Harry Lash and the loss of planning functions by the Greater Vancouver Regional District in the 1980s, *Shaping The Future* would end up having more influence on the re-organization of space than the *Livable Region Plan*,[119] setting the blueprint for the later actions of the Planning Department in much the same way that the *Bland and Spence Sales Report* had done for the modern era. However, in this new vision statement, instead of the value of order and efficiency being put forward as the paramount values for planning, in *Shaping The Future* planning for **people**, planning for **change**

and planning for the **environment** were the values that were most forcefully proclaimed. Philosophically, this represented a significant departure for the Planning Department since each one of these themes was a repudiation of the previous philosophic orientation of the department.

For example, in making explicit reference to the importance of planning for people an implicit criticism was made of modern planning's previous obsession with the organization of urban space around machine space. By the same token the monological format for decision making that was used in the Planning Department during the Sutton Brown era was implicitly rejected. Finally, the importance of planning for people and planning for the environment highlighted the recognition that would now be given to organic rather than abstract representations of urban space by planners - something which would even find expression in the re-organization of the Planning Department when a division called local area planning was created as well as with the emergence of postmodern zoning codes.

The shift from production to consumption and the move from objective to more subjective concerns about space that has been identified as one of the central features of postmodernism can be identified in the opening paragraphs of *Shaping The Future*, when the report states that planning must also seek to provide its "citizens with access to the widest possible range of amenities and opportunities" (CVPD-36).[120] Planning must therefore do more than provide for the basic necessities of shelter, health and safety. Reflecting the optimism of the time and the replacement of the engineering mindset by the artistic temperament, self actualization and self-expression rather than the simple gratification of needs become more important. For planning must now do more than provide for the basic necessities of shelter, health and safety. As Spaxman would reiterate nearly twenty years after *Shaping The Future*:

> The most successful cities seem to be those that provide an environment which goes beyond efficiency and comfort. They are places which are inspirational; where the pride of the community is exhibited in the form and fabric of the city; where 'Happiness' (a goal which one would be hard pressed to find in modernist discourse) is an important as wealthiness' where artists flourish as well as bankers (Spaxman 1991).

Looking in more detail at the three themes of planning for **people**, planning for **change** and planning for the **environment**, it is significant that *Shaping The Future* begins by making the point that people were now the starting point for planning in Vancouver. By making reference to people in this way what the report was really pointing to was the necessity for institutionalizing dialogical forms of decision making in the planning process. The abundant remarks that were made about the need to dramatically improve the department's ability to communicate with people bear this point out. Unlike the *Bland and Spence Sales Report* that strongly emphasized the need to limit involvement of the lay public or politicians in the research and goal formation phase of the planning process, in *Shaping The Future* the opposite position is taken. Expert Knowledge is no longer the only frame of reference for planners. Expert Knowledge would now be conditioned by the interaction that the professional planner initiated with the citizen and the politician.[121] As the report states:

> The Planning department has a responsibility to inform and be informed by the public. Not only must we convey the information gained from the city studies and ensure that the public the public understands our policies and programs, but we must also be sensitive to the information which comes from citizen groups and individuals (CVPD-36).

After **people**, **change** is the second theme mentioned in *Shaping The Future*. In acknowledging the importance of change the issue of how to plan in circumstances characterized by uncertainty would become a key question which would be raised in *Shaping The Future*. The focus on the theme of change became a sign of the more complex and unknowable reality that now confronted planners in a situation where the densification process defined the development context within which planners had to work. This made the theme of change an acute concern for planners since densification necessarily involves making qualitative rather than quantitative changes to the built environment.[122] This was not such an important issue in the Sutton Brown period, when land-extensive patterns of investment dominated because nearly 70 percent of the city's residential land was frozen into one single format that was defined by the RS-1 zoning for single family dwellings. Change was only expected to take place on the remaining 25 to 30 percent of the city's land mass that was made up of mixed land uses, land, in otherwords which,

according to modern perceptions, was therefore presumed to be economically and functionally marginal and therefore suitable for orderly and comprehensive public as well as private redevelopment. This, in turn, would stabilize the single family areas, since all new development was projected to take place in the non suburban areas of the city and thereby prevent the intrusions of medium-or-high-rise buildings, which might disrupt the material culture of the single detached dwelling unit and the automobile around which the sacrosanct domain of the nuclear family revolved.

So even where significant change was expected to take place, the values of certainty and order were locked into the plans that were constructed for these areas. In this way development pressure on RS-1 areas of the city was relieved, ensuring the integrity of this space-extensive pattern of development while also attempting to preserve the narrow sociological focus upon the nuclear family that was ossified into the way that this space was formatted. Only with *CityPlan* would this change and the rest of the city, which had largely been ignored during Spaxman's tenure as planning director, become subject to a specific planning strategy for change and transformation.

Indeed, for planners during the Sutton Brown era the biggest challenge would be how to trigger development in the under performing areas slated for redevelopment rather than managing growth.[123] While the subject of change was not entirely ignored by Bland and Spence Sales or even Sutton Brown it was, nevertheless, a peripheral concern. From the panoptican perspective they maintained about the regulation of space, and the fact that the dominant form of development consisted of land-extensive investment on greenfield sites, change did not connote uncertainty but only the unfolding of what had been pre-ordained. No surprises were expected since change was only expected to take place in those areas designated for redevelopment. Consequently, little attention was given to the subject of uncertainty since change was expected to conform to the trend lines and the spatial molds that had been put in place with Sutton Brown's twenty year-development plan.

Change, in otherwords, was expected to be predictable, occurring in such a way that would not violate the principle of order and certainty. With the principle of certainty and order given so much weight it was not hard to accept the notion that there could be one single best solution for the organization of space that could then be distilled into a master plan and subsequently used as a framework for re-organizing the built environment. Here planning functioned as a disciplinary technology. In this context, its task became defined primarily defined in terms of suppression, as the elimination of land uses not proscribed in the master plan became its central goal. This is how the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown functioned as a procrustean bed that would reshape and discipline the built environment.[124]

However, with indeterminacy recognized as a key aspect of change, the comfortable assumptions about the nature of change that had been adhered to in the modern period would no longer hold. In this new situation, which *Shaping the Future* acknowledged, planners would now have to contend with a new reality, one which would require that a different type of rationality be employed in the deliberations undertaken about the regulation of urban space. As we saw with Sutton Brown, the focus on certainty and its crystallization in a 20-year development plan made Cartesian forms rationality pervasive during the modern period. For the background assumption that informed planning was that space was abstract and therefore something which was inert and passive which could be molded or disciplined. However, with the changes triggered by densification and the shift from modern to postmodern constructs, which accompanied the emergence of a vociferous new middle class, this frame of reference became inadequate to the challenge of navigating planning through a situation where the outcomes were both uncertain and always conditional.

As *Shaping The Future* strongly implied, planners would now be required to shift philosophic gears and move away from Cartesian forms of rationality and adopt Humean forms of rationalism- where there was a more self consciousness recognition of the limitations of abstract reasoning and its application to the real world and, as a consequence, a greater awareness of contingency of all things instead of the presumption of certainty.[125] In *Shaping*

The Future this would find concrete expression in the priority given to local area planning processes. Not only would local area planning - which was first initiated by the Social Planning Department rather than the Planning Department - now be accepted as the most appropriate way of proceeding in the regulation of the most strategic areas of the city, such as the downtown and the greater False Creek Basin, but this form of planning would become the basis for an entirely new division in the planning department, called Local Area Planning, which would also become the work horse of the department during the 1970s and 1980s.[126] As *Shaping The Future* states, this form of planning would "necessarily involve an intimate knowledge of community, a continuous dialogue with local citizens, and the determination of goals reflecting the needs of those citizens (CVPD-36)."

The preceding remark on local area planning is not only interesting to think about because of the declaration that was made on the use of dialogical planning methods, but is also significant because a different way for conceptualizing space was now being suggested as well. Here space is represented as being something organic for the first time in an important departmental document. As the aforementioned quote reveals, in terms of regulation, when this happens urban space can no longer be cast as something inert or passive but as something that has a dynamic of its own which planners must discover. For urban space now has to be grasped as being an organic entity that evolves rather than as something that is moving towards some fixed end state which planners can fix or impose. This does not mean that there is no longer any direction supplied by planners, however compliance to an abstract regulatory code now becomes softened and modified by spatial context and temporal circumstances.

During the Spaxman era this was best expressed in the wider application and more sophisticated use of discretionary zoning, which became the most powerful planning tool used by the Planning Department to facilitate the production of postmodern spaces in the city. Decisions about land use and the configuration of space were now framed by general guidelines that were contained in the new zoning schedules. These loose guidelines were further modified by the historical precedence that evolved in the application of these guidelines. In a fashion the

system for regulating space that was put in place resembled the operation of English Common. In contrast to this, the zoning that preceded it had more in common with the Napoleonic Code where - in typical Cartesian fashion - universal standards were abstractly applied without regard to context. Compared to modern zoning practices this new system of discretionary zoning shows how a more organic type of planning was now evolving in Vancouver. So whereas the planning carried out in Sutton Brown era tended to decontextualize space, in the Spaxman era contextualizing planning practices became increasingly apparent in the regulatory apparatus. Here the themes of planning for **people** and planning for **change** that are mentioned in *Shaping The Future* overlap and curve around each other in the regulatory practices of the department as more recognition is given to organic representations of space. This dramatically changed the nature of planning as constant public feedback became a central rather than a peripheral requirement in order for planning to retain its legitimacy.

Goal formation therefore becomes very important in such an arrangement. Moreover, the constant monitoring of public goals also becomes an on going requirement of planning. This new attitude would find expression in *The Goals for Vancouver* program that the newly revived Vancouver Planning Commission was given the responsibility for initiating in the late 1970s (CV-17). Instead of goals for the city being devised internally by experts,[127] as was the case during the Sutton Brown era, now (ideally) this would carried out through a public process conducted externally, outside the confines of the profession.[128] In Vancouver this started with planning for False Creek and the downtown and continued with the *Goals for Vancouver*, setting a process of public consultation in motion which has continued into the present as the CityPlan process and its follow up in the 1990s illustrates (CVPD-141; CVCO-23; CVCO-37).[129]

To work properly, this new approach required a far more sophisticated steering mechanism to guide planning. The process of formulating public goals for the city therefore became a central concern for planning, since this process of goal formation now provided one of the few bases for constructing some sort of consensus about the direction to proceed in. Thus, in an

environment marked by uncertainty, publicly agreed upon goals therefore become important as conceptual markers for measuring and judging the effects of change in situation of constant flux.

Paradoxically, the recognition of change also established a conservative grounding for planning as well. Particularly with densification it became important to know what people valued in the landscape so that measures could be taken to preserve those elements the public wished to preserve while allowing redevelopment to take place. If change was to be managed the preservation of landscapes would also have to become a critical factor in the new logic of development. Again this represented a radical departure for the planning department since it was a concern largely absent in the plans of Sutton Brown. As urban renewal reveals, for most of the Sutton Brown era space was generally viewed as nothing more than placeless extension, conceptualized as a blank slate that had no specific history or geography which needed to be taken into account by the planning expert.

The need to involve the public in the process of goal formation and the task of monitoring goals would become one of the main responsibilities for the Overall Planning Division that was established in 1974, as well as function given to the Vancouver City Planning Commission (CVPD-36; CVPD-61). Like the Local Area Division this new division came into existence in 1974 when the department was reorganized according to the recommendations which were laid out in a review of the department's operation in 1973 (CVPD-34) and, of course, the blueprint for the reorganization of the department that were set out in Shaping The Future. A review of the activities of the Overall Division illustrated how dialogical principles were integrated into the policy making section of the department, something which came out in the emphasis placed on public communication and the attention put on the formulation of public goals. For example, between the mid 1970s to the mid 80s the Overall Division was put in charge of the publication of Quarterly Report, a planning magazine the was provided to the public. Like its counterpart in the Social Planning Department, the Urban Reader, this publication was produced several times a year to inform the public about important planning matters. This type of public outreach was unheard of in the Sutton Brown era. Instead of expending resources on

production of information considerable energy was expended on suppressing rather than opening up new channels of information.

Then there is policy formulation and consultation.[130] Rather than being viewed as an afterthought or as an insignificant, legitimizing public ritual this function became a major priority for the Overall Division. Again this provides an illustration of how planning was becoming more process oriented rather than fixated on the preparation of an end state master plan. The institutionalization of this approach would become apparent when the Overall Division became the CityPlan Division, and the most expensive planning exercise in the city's history was conducted between 1992 and 1995 when 3.2-million dollars were spent on developing CityPlan, which was adopted by City Council in 1995 (CVPD-141).

The values articulated in these plans were reinforced by other initiatives such as the *Task Force on Atmospheric Change* (CV-7) and the *Urban Landscape Task Force* (CV-8). What is remarkable about all of these studies is the consistency of the vision for the city that the public put forward. For instance aesthetics and urban ecology have remained enduring ideals of the livable city for over the past thirty years. Ever since middle class activists began to articulate this alternative vision for the city in the middle of the 1960s whenever the public has been consulted about its vision for the future these have been the goals that have been upheld and reinforced in each consultation. This happened when the Vancouver Planning Commission conducted The *Goals for Vancouver* project in the late 1970s. Similarly, when the *CorePlan* process was initiated in the early and middle 1980s the values which informed the idea of the livable city were confirmed once again (Quarterly Review 1983). And in the 1990s, with *CityPlan* the same condusions where drawn out when the public was consulted again. Of the major values that were articulated in the idea of the livable city only one has become more problematic since the early 1970s and this has been the goal of social equity. And the reason for this change has less to do with changing values in Vancouver and more to do with policy changes by senior levels of government who have withdrawn from programs the city was previously able to make use of in addressing this concern. Even though social equity is still

strongly subscribed to in principle the means for bringing it about have been undermined as market forces have gained greater prominence in the middle of the 1980s and the new middle class have become more exclusive and so less willing to share space in the city with other classes as they have become property owners.

Finally, the third value singled out in *Shaping Our Future* was the environment. What is significant about this theme is that it gave formal expression to the politics of place and acknowledged the importance of urban design, concern which would find expression in the need to protect view corridors and the place making district plans that would be formulated and later adopted for the False Creek area and the downtown in 1974 and 1975 (CVPD-45a). The concern with the environment was also operationalized within the bureaucracy with the creation of a design panel that was given the responsibility of reviewing all major projects in 1973 and in the hiring of more planners with architectural and design experience. Other than the trend to look at the environment more in ecological rather than aesthetic (design) terms, the environment has, if anything, taken on a higher profile since it was first formally acknowledged by the department in *Shaping the Future*.

4.4.2. - The Urban Spectacle: Phase two of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city

Starting in the 1980s but accelerating in the 1990s the postmodern dynamic for the transformation of the city began to change in several significant ways. Condensed into just three words, the major changes that were to take place can be described in terms of the **privatization,**[131] **stylization** [132]and **social polarization** [133]of urban space.[134] Although the livable city agenda would not be abandoned these changes would lead to the philosophical, sociological and aesthetic modification of this agenda, preserving the outward form of this type of regulation while changing much of its political and social substance. On the economic and philosophic level, the privatization that came with the retreat of the state and advance of the market would create convergence between the form of postmodern regulation that was present in the United States and Canada as the activist state was weakened and a new corporatism

evolved, which put more emphasis upon partnerships between large corporations than with community associations or community based groups. In Vancouver the potent symbol of this would be the sell off of the North False Creek Lands to a foreign developer. By doing this the balance between market and non market rationales for the production of residential space were skewed decisively in favour of the market. As well, a corporatist rather than communitarianism approach to the planning of the North Shore would become visible.[135] This privatization was also connected to the changing economic base of the core areas as an entertainment economy arose to challenge the economic basis for the implementation of the livable city agenda, an agenda which had been based on the expectation that Vancouver would become an executive city, where producer services and decision making functions would be the dominant economic influence. As a consequence, the regulation of the core was defined by the need to control the expansion of office development so that the liveability goals of the new middle class would be respected while allowing space for the expansion of producer services and decision making functions in the core. With the emergence of an economy based on the urban spectacle this would change in several important ways, particularly since, unlike the United States, this new type of development would become most concentrated in the core area of the city. In the case of Vancouver, this has lead to the transformation of the Central Business District into a Central Entertainment District where knowledge production[136] image making,[137] and entrepot functions have become more important.[138] More so than during the livable city era, in the era of the urban spectacle downtown Vancouver was to become a place for consumption,[139] functioning as a meeting and transfer point rather than as a nexus for production or decision making activities.[140]

This economic shift led directly to the consideration of the second attribute that would separate the period of the urban spectacle from that of the livable city. With the rise of privatization, and the increased influence of the market, the marketing of space would become more important. Image making or the stylization of the built environment would therefore become more important in the second period. What this would entail was recently summed up quite well by Herbert Muschamp, an architectural critic for the New York Times, when he spoke

about the attempt to transform the Spanish city of Bilbao from an industrial metropolis into a post-industrial one. The point he makes about Bilbao is pertinent to Vancouver. Here as in other cities culture and economics have begun to merge in the creation of new development strategies for the core of the city. With this, a new kind of postmodern aesthetic – different from that of the livable city period – would become visible in the planning that would take place in the core of Vancouver during the 1990s, as more resources and time would be put into the management of the entertainment sector.[141] As Muschamp states:

> A Place where tourism and cultural enterprise are now expected to fill the void left by the exportation of factory production to the third world. The standard remedy is: Send in the artists. Build a museum, a performing arts centre; change the zoning regulations so that industrial buildings can be converted into artists' lofts. The theory is that, in a post-industrial (ie Post-modern) society, factory production will be supplanted by more creative work (the artistic mindset and sensibility) - that instead of blue collar workers, the city will become home to symbolic analysts, to use Robert Reich's phrase. In practice production has given way to consumption: franchise outlets for cookies, ice cream, T-shirts; the invasion of the urban centre by the ethos of the suburban mall. There are worse alternatives. Also better ones (Muschamp 1997)

This commercialization would be helped along by the growing influence of the non-domestic fraction of the new middle class, which had more resources as well as more interest in the creation of environments that were connected to lifestyle marketing, the merging of artistic modes of living with artistic ways of making a living, which made the more prosaic notion of liveability seem dowdy and unglamorous. Hence, instead of co-ops, highly stylized loft space would emerge in the second phase, as industrial spaces were not erased but refashioned into living spaces and new age working spaces. Whereas the spaces created during the livable city era tended to be more informal, non-commercial and domestic in their use and organization, during the era of the urban spectacle the spaces this would change. More formal and commercial spaces would supplant the funkier landscapes that were more typical of the landscapes that were produced in Vancouver during the 1970s. So to see the differences that came about as a result of these changes it is only necessary to compare the development of the North and South Shores of False Creek. Not only are privatization and the re-emergence of corporatism symbolized by the different economic and political circumstances that set different parameters for the development on each side of False Creek, so too, are the aesthetics of each development -

with the high rise towers and more formalized public spaces of the North Shore representative of the age of the urban spectacle (Applebe 1997n), and the medium-rise and more informally laid out landscapes on the South Shore epitomizing the leading edge development that typified the livable city era.[142] In addition to the rise of a new industrial chic that would become symbolized in the redevelopment of Yaletown (VS-173a; VS-179), and the creation of more formal public spaces, the other change that would stand out would be the revival of the high rise residential towers as status symbols for the new middle class (PM-1 to PM-5; figures seven F and G).

Finally the merging of aesthetics, image making and marketing would become apparent in the appropriation of the symbolic realm of the city, as important public buildings and strategic spaces began to be treated as billboards, rather than emblems of community. Here is one place where Jameson's suggestion that the aesthetic of the postmodern period would become that of the collage would be realized in Vancouver and most other Canadian cities, particularly when buildings or spaces directly connected to the economy of the urban spectacle were constructed (VS-140; VS-110).[143] In Vancouver the best examples of this would be the naming of new buildings after American automobile Corporations, corporations that had no presence in the city or involvement with the activities that were housed in the buildings that were now named after them. In this way Vancouver's new hockey arena was named GM Place and a new theatre christened as the Ford Centre. As the recent opposition to the transformation of a proposed dance centre into a giant signboard for the Bank of Nova Scotia reveals, this market penetration into the symbolic realm of the city is starting to produce alienation and some political opposition to this trend(Applebe 1997A; 1997L).[144]

The third change would show itself in social polarization. Whereas deliberate attempts had been made to minimize social polarization during the livable city era by mandating a certain percentage of family and low income housing in large developments, this goal fell by the wayside in the 1990s, as funding for housing dried up and the city became less interested in experimenting with housing. The consequences that followed from this shift would

become apparent in rising homelessness and in the increasingly bitter clashes over space that would take place between the urban proletariat and the new middle class. Consequently, gentrification wars flared up for the first time in the early 1990s, while commonplace in several American cities since the early 1980s this was something new to Vancouver (Neil Smith 1996; Abu-Lughod 1994).[145] This polarization would be accentuated by the drop off in the production of non profit housing and the movement of the middle class into strata title developments that fostered a sense of exclusivity and self-interest over the communitarian values that were more prevalent in the livable city era.[146]

Because of the actions of the province and the economic specialization of Vancouver as an international destination point for tourism, the urban spectacle took root earlier here than elsewhere in the country. However in many cities across the country, festival markets have been built which now serve as the epicentre for specialized zones that have emerged to house the urban spectacle,[147] adding another layer of infrastructure for the promotion of the urban spectacle that had started to be built as early as the mid 60s, in the case of Montreal, and then for most other cities in the 1970s, as convention centres appeared across the country in every major city.[148] However, at this time, these functions were still viewed as being secondary to the economic activity that was generated by producer services, which was rapidly expanding, as the office complexes started to grow like mushrooms in most downtown cores.

While 1986 provides an easy dateline to mark the emergence of the urban spectacle in Vancouver,[149] for the country as a whole, the appearance of a new phase in the postmodern transformation of the city would not become obvious until 1995, when the exhaustion of the livable city agenda became unmistakable.

In this regard 1995 can be seen as the culmination of events that lead to the deconstruction of the livable city agenda within the housing and planning spheres of the local state at each level of government. The first important event took place at the federal level. This first happened in 1992 when the federal government announced that it would no longer fund non profit and co-operative housing. This cancellation brought to a formal end an era that was

begun with the publication of the *Hellyer Report* in 1969. Indeed, there was a 180 degree reversal. Instead of sponsoring new units, the federal government actually began to close down co-operatives that weren't performing well (Philip 1997b).[150] The next important event to take place at the federal level was the release of the federal budget in February of 1995. With the cutbacks announced in this budget, for the first time in the history of the welfare state, the state was clearly retreating. With the cutback in transfer payments this disengagement would percolate downwards and affect the behaviour of other levels of government, giving more impetus to the new form of market lead corporatism, which would emphasize the privatization and social polarization that, as we have seen, were to become key attributes of urban regulation in the 1990s.

The second event that was to play an important role in the final unravelling of the livable city agenda took place at the provincial level. This happened with the defeat of the NDP administration in Ontario in 1995 and the election of the Progressive Conservatives. After the election the last significant support for Third Sector housing was immediately cancelled (Philip 1997; Corelli 1992).

The third event that symbolized the unravelling of the livable city era in the mid 1990s took place at the municipal level. This occurred with the defeat of Mayor Dore in 1994. Although it was more dirgist than its reform counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver, the Dore administration represented the last powerful formal mobilization of the new middle class at the municipal level. Elected in the mid 1980s, this administration was the Montreal equivalent to the administrations of David Crombie and Art Phillips that were elected in Toronto and Vancouver, in 1972 (Roy 1980; Lemon 1984). With this defeat, and the later demise of a much weaker reform regime in Edmonton,[151] in 1995, with the defeat of Mayor Jan Reimer, the reform impulses which had animated the politics of the Canadian city since the late 1960s had now clearly been exhausted. These last two setbacks for urban reformers would mark the end of activist period for the new middle class. Since that time it has become clear that this class no longer feels it necessary to mobilize itself at a formal political level and attempt to capture

control of municipal government (Reid 1994).[152] With the more conservative turn of this class in the 1990s and the dissolution of many facets of modern regulation which irritated this class, this, combined with the fact that many of the values of livable city were now incorporated into the regulatory apparatus of the city, meant that there less need to capture the formal levers of power and install a new political regime.

As stated earlier, the shift away from the livable city agenda and the move towards the urban spectacle took place earlier, but it also involved a much longer period of transition. The first moves in this direction were taken by the provincial government in the late 1970s. At this time it was successful at obtaining a bid to hold a world exposition in Vancouver in 1986. This, in turn, would prompt the construction of B.C. Place (a sports stadium), a convention centre, and an LRT system that would cause the centralization of regional entertainment infrastructure in the core and bring about the further specialization of the city as a tourist destination. Not only was the province responsible for the development of a different economic strategy, to which planners and civic politicians would at first, only reluctantly accommodate themselves -- the deconstruction of the livable city agenda was further helped along by blunt political force at the regional level as the province also brought this agenda to a temporary close with when it removed formal planning powers from the Greater Vancouver Regional District.

However it would be the intervention of the provincial government in the affairs of the City of Vancouver that would have the most impact as its support of the exposition and the commitment to funding the infrastructure to hold it would herald the economic base of the inner city away from producer services to tourism in a fundamental way. The actions of the province were not the reason for this, though since by the 1990s, what had also become clear was that Calgary had supplanted Vancouver as the major centre for decision making and producer services in Western Canada (VS-128; Nikiforuk 1996), a shift that was accentuated by the rapid inflation in property values in Vancouver, which made it expensive to move employees to the city from elsewhere in the country.

Nonetheless, the province was instrumental in establishing a new economic base in Vancouver to which civic politicians and planning would have to accommodate themselves. And this would set the economic context for the next phase in the postmodern transformation of the city. Not only did the city begin to become more specialized as an international destination point for tourism, this, in conjunction with geo-political shifts in Asia and changes to the immigration act by the federal government in 1986, ignited a massive flow of Asian capital and labour into the city. However, most of this investment was directed to the consumer sphere rather than the production sphere, thereby amplifying the economic forces that were at work in the construction of the urban spectacle.

At the civic level, however, there was considerable resistance to this agenda until the 1986 civic election, when a liberal and social democratic coalition on city council was replaced by a centre right party that supported (and indeed helped to) fast track developments that resulted from the provincial government's sell-off the fair lands. This combined with the active intervention of a strong willed mayor would shift the framework for planning in Vancouver. The victory of Mayor Gordon Campbell inaugurated a ten year period of transformation. The communitarian impulses that had animated planning in Vancouver up to this moment were replaced by a new form of corporatism. In 1989, at the mid point of this process of reconstruction Ray Spaxman would leave the department and a more conservative administrator, Tom Fletcher would be hired as the new director, until he left in 1994. This change became the most visible reflection of the new economic and political context that was now setting the parameters for planning in the post livable city era. As with Sutton Brown, the director that replaced Ray Spaxman was much weaker and essentially followed the game plan set out by the mayor. Although some organizational changes were made to reflect the new priorities of planning it would only be after the departure of Fletcher and the initiation of the *Better City Government Program*, in 1995, that more radical changes would be made in the civic administration, which reflected the more conservative turn of the middle class as well as the increasing influence of market rationales. This, along with the final silencing of opposition on city council, with the

complete obliteration of COPE in 1996, would signal the final end of the livable city era in Vancouver and would close a period of political mobilization by the middle class that had lasted for 30 years: beginning in the mid 60s, when the first opposition candidates were elected and ending in 1996, when not a single reform candidate was elected. With these changes Vancouver fell into line with what had happened in Montreal and Edmonton. Although Barbara Hall, a reformer, was still the mayor of the City of Toronto, it was clear even here, that a new phase in the postmodern transformation of the city had begun.

What all these changes signified was that a unique and progressive moment in the postmodern transformation of the city in Canada had come and gone. After this brief period of divergence the regulation of the Canadian city would more closely resemble the market models in force in the United States.[153] As a result, except for the impact that densification has had on the regulation of urban space, the divergence between American and Canadian forms of urbanization that was apparent in the 1970s and 1980s became less apparent and convergence more apparent. However, with densification remaining a much more powerful force in Canada some degree of divergence in trajectory of postmodern city in both countries will likely remain for this reason alone.[154]

The impact of densification can be depicted quite well be looking at the most recent housing statistics for each country. For example, in 1997 less than 60 percent of all new dwelling units constructed in Canada will be made up of single detached units. In contrast to this, more than 80 percent of all dwelling units in the United States are expected to be single detached units. With the percentage of single detached units falling to around 30 percent for Greater Vancouver, the impact that densification will have on the postmodern regulation of urban space will even be greater here than elsewhere (G/M 1997zl; CMHC 1997; 1997g; 1997i). As a result many of the regulatory changes that were made in response to the densification during the livable city era are likely to remain in force and even become more widespread. Although there is a strong anti-bureaucratic and anti-authoritarian streak present in the postmodern sensibility that now governs the city, the anti-market bias of this mode of regulation has largely been

erased with the beginning of this second phase of development in the construction of the postmodern city.

In the age of the urban spectacle, the open antagonism that once existed between corporate capital and the new middle class has largely been transformed into an uneasy coalition of interests. As attitudinal surveys show, the proportion of the population which feels that corporations have too much power has declined from 83 percent in 1975 to 69 percent in 1995 (Bibby 1995, p.113). In Canada, a major ideological realignment has taken place within the postmodern era that reveals the steadily increasing influence of the market. The changes that have come about because of the urban spectacle fully reveal the rising influence of the market and the mark it now leaves on the experiences and representations of reality that are being constructed by the new middle class to make sense of urban change and transformation, and so ultimately as a consequence of this, the way that the city is being regulated. Instead of repelling or placing limits on the market,[155] as sometimes happened when the livable city agenda was in force, in this new phase in the evolution of the city postmodern regulation now embraces more often than it resists the force of the market.[156]

With this realignment, postmodern representations of the urban condition have changed. No longer are these representations simply those of the new middle class, because of the deeper structural changes which feed into the construction of postmodern representations of reality and, in part for more specific reasons, that have to do with the densification process, the postmodern representations of reality now exist as representations that are employed by the most vanguard fractions of corporate capital. This has changed the cultural status of these representations in an important way. While postmodern representations of the city remain a popular expression of the new middle class, at the same time, they have now been integrated into the apparatus of mass culture which is controlled by corporate capital. No longer can postmodernism simply be viewed as part of the popular culture of the new middle class. It is now more than this. With its representations and outlook integrated into a new regime of accumulation, it now acts as an important regulatory support for the continuation and extension

of capital accumulation in the city, rather than as an oppositional cultural formation, which impedes accumulation, something that could be said of postmodernism during the livable city era but not in the era of the urban spectacle. That is why it is possible for the postmodern spatial matrix to function as a mode of regulation for the entire city and not simply for those areas of the city inhabited or controlled by the new middle class.[157]

With this shift into a new phase of development, in the era of the urban spectacle, four of the six characteristics that defined the institutional goals for the regulation of the city during the era of the livable city have been significantly modified or eliminated. In most cases, this has not affected the outward form of postmodern regulation but it has dramatically altered its political and social substance as well as its cultural status. While the postmodern sensibility was incubated during the counterculture, its significance now lies beyond the sensibility that was spawned with this movement. As postmodernism has expanded beyond the new middle class, the nature of regulation has been altered in four key ways.

First of all, dialogical modes for making decisions have been modified. While public consultation and participation remain necessary if bureaucratic forms of regulation are to retain their legitimacy, this process is now much more structured. There is also a corporatist orientation that was not present in the livable city era, but which is now more central to the regulation of the city. As a result closer partnerships with large corporate bodies have developed while links with community interests have been downplayed. For planning, the reassertion of rationalism and the greater employment of analytical methods for decision making clearly reveals that there has been a shift in urban regulation at the philosophic level. Participatory planning processes have not been replaced by the technocratic models that were discredited in the livable city era, when a communitarian blueprint for decision making was laid out in influential documents like *Shaping The Future*. Instead, this communitarian vision has been replaced by new blueprint for decision making . Although there is still public consultation it is structured along more corporatist lines. This change can be pointed to in Vancouver by looking at The *Program For Better City Government*, which now sets the

parameters for the actions of the City of Vancouver – where service to the public has been redefined.[158] Unlike *Shaping The Future* where the idea of citizenship acted as a central feature which defined the relation between the bureaucracy and the the public in the new frame of reference set out in *The Program For Better Government*, the citizen has been replaced by the consumer. The reframing of public participation can also be seen in the strategy undertaken to implement *CityPlan*, which was the new plan for the city adopted by Vancouver City Council, in 1995. In contrast to the local area planning that was undertaken in the Spaxman period, a much more truncated and focused strategy for local area planning has been adopted.[159] Secondly, the commitment to social equity has been watered down as support for redistributive programs were eliminated,[160]something that was further amplified by the growing social exclusivity of the middle class as the property relations which would shape how this class relates to the control of space have become more privatized.[161] With the movement from rental and co-operative housing to strata title ownership, a more exclusive orientation to space has developed. Consequently, the role of the state has been diminished and antagonism to other classes lower down in the social hierarchy has increased over time. At the social as well as at the philosophic level of regulation, the way that urban space is reguled has experienced significant change because of this.

Changes have taken place at the aesthetic level as well. Hence the third major change that has occurred: the re-evaluation of high-rise living. This is one instance where there has been a significant change in the form of postmodern regulation. To show this, it is only necessary to remember how the middle class opposition to the spread of high-rises was one of the main catalyst for the innovation in building form and design that was to take place in the livable city era. Seeking a middle ground between the low-rise environments of suburbia and the high-rise towers of modernism, the new look of the postmodern city was defined by introduction of medium rise landscapes. As South False Creek, St. Lawrence Towne, and Milton Park would show: the development or refurbishing of medium rise landscapes would become one of the defining aesthetic features of the postmodern city during the interval of the livable city. Furthermore

the reaction to high-rise apartment construction resulted in extensive downzoning in most large city's during the 1970s. This even became a condition for participation in the Neighourhood Improvement Program.[162] In Vancouver and Toronto, this would become especially obvious in the downtown and in the new zoning regulations that were adopted in the inner city.

One reason for the re-evaluation of high-rises in Vancouver had to do with the influx of Asian investors who viewed high rise living as a normal part of urban living. As the recent plan for the redevelopment of the railway lands in Toronto now shows, Asian investment capital has used the postmodern format for high rise development that was formulated in Vancouver during the 1980's (Building Canada 1997a) as the model for a one billion dollar redevelopment on part of the former railway lands around Spadina Avenue (Toronto Star 1997o). Just as the contrast between North and South False Creek symbolizes the different aesthetics that now separate the era of the livable city and from that of the urban spectacle in Vancouver - (Toronto Star, 1997p) with the construction of high rise towers that may exceed 50 stories - if this development is approved it will become the equivalent to North False Creek and serve as an obvious symbolic counterpoint to St. Lawrence Towne, which now stands as the most clearly defined expression of the aesthetic of the livable city in Toronto, much as South False Creek does in Vancouver.

The other reason for the reconsideration of high rise living had to do with the growing importance of non domestic fractions of the new middle class during the age of the urban spectacle. Along with the reassessment of high-rise living urban design would be affected in another way. With the segmentation of the middle class into these two distinct sub-markets during the urban spectacle the demand for different types of spaces arose. Once again, the contrast between that can be noted in the design of North and South False Creek and the Downtown South of Vancouver can be pointed to. With the growing influence of non domestic fraction of the new middle class a market for more commerciaized urban spaces has developed that shows up in the stylization of the landscape. The development of North False Creek reveals how the funkier environments associated with the domestic and communitarian architecture of the livable city era (Desrochers 1992) that define South False Creek have been

displaced or replaced by much more formal spaces that bear the imprint of the market.[163] These new environments show evidence of a much glossier and more metallic commercial design vocabulary, one that is anchored more in the logic of the collage rather than a bow to nature, as was more common in the livable city period.[164]

The fourth and final distinction that can be made between the livable city era and the age of the urban spectacle, has to do with retreat of the activist state and the ascendancy of corporations once more. Because of the changing political alignment of the new middle class and the fiscal crises of the state, government has ceased to operate as active agents in the production of urban space.[165] With the market given more reign, the new spaces that have been produced have tended to be more segmented and stratified. This, no doubt, has contributed to the social polarization of urban space, which was earlier pointed to as one of the three variables which set the production of urban space in the livable city era apart from that of the era of the urban spectacle.[166] While the state still remains actively involved in the regulation of space,[167] except for the minuscule production of new housing by the provinces of British Columbia[168] and Quebec, since 1995 senior levels of government, hence all levels of government,[169] have clearly ceased to be a major player in the direct production of new housing units.[170]

Just as twentieth century modernism changed as it entered into a different phase in its development after 1945, so too has postmodernism. Although the political and social alignment of postmodern regulation has changed in the era of the urban spectacle,[171] the spatial practices which first coalesced around the program of the livable city have remained essentially intact and can now be reviewed in more precise detail.

4.5 - Postmodernism as a Spatial Discourse

Consequently, having looked at the relationship between twentieth-century modernism and postmodernism in terms of the evolution of the middle class, andthe modernization process and the relation this has to the two stages that define the postmodern evolution of the Canadian city, it is now the appropriate time to briefly summarize and list the contrasting attributes that set modernism and postmodernism apart. This contrast will be drawn out along

the three cultural dimensions that are most significant to understanding the the production and regulation of urban space.

As will be shown, whether it be at the philosophic, sociological or aesthetic dimensions of regulation, there are eight broad attributes associated with the postmodern matrix that apply to and define the postmodern spatial matrix in both the eras of the livable city as well as that of the urban spectacle.

4.5.1. - Philosophical contrasts

Beginning at the philosophic level, the contrast that exists between modern and postmodern systems of regulation at this level can be depicted by looking at how, by contrasting relations of authority different representations of space are constituted in each spatial matrix. With regard to the regulation of space this mostly has to do with the formal domain of planning discourse and the actions which proceed from this discourse.

One - Monological and Dialogical Systems of Decision Making

Starting with relations of authority, two neologisms can be used to describe the difference that exists between modern and postmodern systems of rule. In the case of modernism, relations of authority and the production of knowledge are guided by monological systems. By contrast, when we look at how authority is constituted in postmodern systems of rule and how knowledge is produced, dialogical rather than monological systems of control determine how decision making is carried out, and knowledge about space is produced.

As the word monological suggests, this form of authority is both reductionist and homogenizing. Only one logic is present and it is impressed upon all the types of urban space that exist in the city. Control is therefore centralized, and decision making takes place in a hierarchical fashion that is top-down and linear in orientation. Authority originates at one point and flows downward in one direction. Monological forms of rule are particularly suited to the operation of large and centralized bureaucracies.

If the relations of authority embodied in this type of rule were given spatial form it would resemble the panoptican structure that Jeremy Bentham sketched out and one that

Foucault (Rabinow 1984) was later to make reference to in order to outline the geography of power that was present in the new forms of disciplinary knowledge, of which the field of planning would become one example. As with other forms of social control that the rise of the modern professions were associated the emergence of the modern state and the advance of bureaucratic rule beginning in the late 18th and early 19th century. Because this system presupposed the external world could be treated as a docile and inert entity by the faculty of reason surveillance, classification and segmentation became paramount attributes of this form knowledge. As Foucault makes it abundantly clear, this new type of power expressed itself spatially in the way that space was organized, with abstract intellectual categories taking precedence over organic or historical categorizations in the organization of action and space. Indeed, this would be the system that middle class reformers would mobilize around during the progressivist period and the spatial framework that would eventually find its way into the recommendations of the *Bland and Spence Sales Report*, which established the basic framework for modern planning in the City of Vancouver.

Monological systems of control not only established a technocratic model for urban government, where the administration of urban space replaced the politics of urban space; this system of governance was also a system of knowledge. In this system of knowledge space was conceptualized as abstract space - as inert matter, which represented simple extension, which could be organized according to the categories devised by one all knowing intelligence. This way of looking at the external world was best distilled in Rene Descartes *Discourse On Method*. In the *Discourse On Method*, Descartes made the claim that it was possible to organize all knowledge about the external world from one single vantage point. Separated from all external influence, this disembodied subjectivity would be able to construct a clear picture of the external world and thereby impose some discipline upon external reality. In this way, understanding the essential nature of external reality was assumed to be possible by the operation of a single consciousness, detached from the world but engaged in a detached monologue with itself about this world.

This form of contemplation objectified and pacified the external world reducing its components to inert objects that could, presumably, be manipulated and moved around by the process of detached reason alone. Consequently, heroic assumptions about the presence of an all-embracing subjectivity, one that could take charismatic form in the shape of one all-knowing individual consciousness, or as a form of collective consciousness in the shape an omnipotent system of bureaucratic rule. As was earlier pointed out, in Vancouver this system would become personified in the person of Sutton Brown and his 20-year development plan.

So nearly three hundred years before a system of modern rule would be applied to the regulation of the Canadian city, Descartes would provide an accurate foretaste of what was to unfold in one section of his *Discourse on Method*, where he writes about the perfect city, and in doing so presents one of the clearest descriptions of monological rule that is available, one which could have just as easily been written by Bland and Spence Sales or Sutton Brown. As Descartes states:

> There is less perfection in a work produced by several persons than in one produced by a single hand. Thus we notice that buildings conceived and completed by a single architect are usually more beautiful and better planned than those remodelled by several persons using ancient walls that had originally been built for quite other purposes. Similarly, those ancient towns which are ordinarily very badly arranged compared to one of the symmetrical metropolitan districts which a city planner has laid out on an open plain (read abstract space) according to his designs (Descartes 1956, p.8).

Dialogical rule stands diametrically opposed to the form of rationalism that Descartes outlines in his description of the city. As the word suggests, dialogical systems of rule involve negotiation over rule-making and boundary setting rather the imposition of one logic on to external reality. Decentralized rather than centralized decision making is therefore implicated in this type of rule. Knowledge is not legitimized by expertise or sanctioned by the assumption that there is one all-knowing authority to which one can appeal. In dialogical systems there is no centre. No system or framework is felt to be all-encompassing or sufficient unto itself. The architecture of power is configured quite differently in this system of rule. Bentham's panoptican structure now becomes a maze. With dialogical systems of rule there are no predetermined paths for making a decision and it is not possible to gain a complete picture of

what is happening until the actual process of formulating a plan of action is begun. Pyramidal structures of decision give way to more amorphous configurations, where information flows as much in a horizontal as vertical direction. Web-like structures appear, where information and even power becomes dispersed with the decision making processes proceeding along a more circular rather than linear pathway.

When urban planning becomes dialogical planning, becomes more process-rather than end-state-oriented. The need to produce a comprehensive plan that will set one direction for the city becomes less important to the planning process, since indeterminacy rather than certainty is recognized as the guiding principle. Instead of a plan, guidelines that are created through trial and error and continuous public dialogue become the preferred method for regulating the urban spaces. As the word dialogical suggests, negotiation rather than the imposition of order becomes the basis for urban governance. Unlike monological forms of decision making, where the expert is responsible for making the most important decisions; in this system the expert is displaced to the sidelines, becoming one of several participants in the dialogue which then ensues with regard to establishing rules for the regulation of space and not as some final arbiter.

In Vancouver this method of planning would become embodied in the person of Ray Spaxman and institutionalized in the regulation of space through local area planning and the wide use of discretionary zoning. Just as the *Bland and Spence Sales Report* defined the monological system of rule that would govern the way that modern planning would be carried out in Vancouver, *Shaping the Future* would supply the blueprint for a dialogical system of planning that would be followed up to the early 1990s.[172]

Because unilateral decisions are not viewed as legitimate expressions of authority in this system of urban governance, whenever this happens, it is necessary to camouflage this by engaging in a process of public consultation even if there is no real transfer of power or the dialogue does not affect the outcome of a decision. This would become more the case with planning in Vancouver, as a new form of corporatism and the reassertion of a weaker strain of rationalism in the 1990s would conclude the communitarian phase of planning that was

institutionalized in *Shaping the Future.* This would become apparent in the *CityPlan* process as the conclusions and recommendations in the Plan that was passed in 1995 would mirror a strategy that had already been devised to deal with the densification of the suburban parts of the city in 1989. When this observation was made to the director of the CityPlan Division (PI-13) who was in charge of the plan she remarked that this was simply a interesting coincidence. At one level this was true, the public had been consulted. However the consultation process appears to have been structured so that the conclusions that were reached were the ones planners had sought out, with the public massaged in order to construct a consensus that could later be used to develop an action plan for the densification of the suburbs.

Regardless, even in *CityPlan* innovative exercises were undertaken where popular and expert forms of knowledge co-mingled. Although a more analytical and rational system of public involvement has evolved in the 1990s, more anarchical strains of regulation can still be seen in some of the greenway projects that the city has allowed, and the success that some communities have had in clawing space from out of the clasp of the bureaucracy, by developing communal spaces such as that are managed by the community such as community gardens.

The postmodern origins of the middle-class discourse that produced this anarchical attitude toward authority in general and urban governance in particular - have a clear lineage, which is easy to trace. The first formal representation of this attitude would be distilled in a document written by student activists in 1962, when *The Port Huron Statement* was proclaimed. Largely written by Tom Hayden, then a journalism student at the University of Michigan and Richard Flack, the president of the *Students For A Democratic Society,* this poetic declaration would become the manifesto that would crystallize the dialogical thinking which would appear over a decade later, many thousands of miles away, in documents like "Shaping The Future". It would become a guide that would be used by the New Left across North America. With 100,000 copies produced soon after its release, the *Port Huron Statement* would stoke one of the first political fires of the counterculture (Adelson 1972 pp.203-248; Breines 1982, pp.6-19). As Stewart Burns remarked:

The Port Huron Statement had a big influence on the emerging politics of the New Left, and on the student movement generally. It provided a script that would be acted out by thousands, then hundreds of thousands with more or less coherence, until SDS would ultimately toss it into a dustbin. The delegates who left the camp at Port Huron after five days of non stop deliberation did not know that - along with SNCC - they had set the stage for the great surge of grass-roots democracy in the 1960's (Burns 1990, p.58).

More than this, however, the *Port Huron Statement* would also crystallize into discourse, for the first time, the habitus of the new middle class. In the statement, the first stirring of the artistic sensibility that would colour the dialogue of postmodern planners such as Ray Spaxman, was articulated here for the first time. In this document, questions about scarcity were absent, as was any evidence of the engineering mindset which would have created a bridge to the working class sensibilities that were still modern in their productivist orientation. For what the *Port Huron Statement* revealed about the New Left was that a shift in perspective had taken place. No longer were the most important problems located in the productive sphere. As the following quote will show, they now resided in the sphere of consumption. As the document states:

We regard men as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacity for reason, freedom, and love. In affirming these principles we are aware of countering perhaps the dominant conceptions of man in twentieth century: that he is a thing to be manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things - if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to"prosperity," cannot justify the mutilations of the present . . . We would rather replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance, by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of this life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation. . . . That decision - making of basic social consequence be carried on by public grouping; that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating a pattern of social relations; that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community; that the political order should. . . provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to related men to knowledge and to power so that private problems-from bad recreation facilities to personal alienation-are formulated as general issues (Adelson 1972, pp. 206-207).

At first glance it may seem far fetched to cite this American document as the inaugural text for dialogical rule in the Canadian city, nevertheless, if the genesis and diffusion of postmodern discourse in Canada are examined, the link between the vocabulary of this document

and the language of urban reform becomes obvious to see. The quote just taken from the *Port Huron Statement* could easily be slipped into any of the texts produced by the most noteworthy urban activists of the livable city - such as Axworthy (1970), Lorimer (1970), Sewell (1972), Clarkson (1972), Pasternak (1975), and Aubin (1977) -- who were to chronicle but also formulate a new discourse on the city that would eventually find its way into the recommendations that were made in the *Hellyer Report* or frame the postmodern sensibility towards participation that colour the blueprints for planning , such as *Shaping The Future,* which set the tone for the kind of planning that would be carried out in the City of Vancouver for nearly twenty years.

The subjectivism, rather than the concern with objective forces or constraints that appears in the *Port Huron Statement* would surface in the confessional tone of much of the protest literature on the city.[173] Even the artistic sensibility so closely associated with the postmodern personae would surfaces in ruminations of one of Canada's most prominent urban reformers when, in his book, *Up Against City Hall,* John Sewell would write:

> My interests- theology, art, literature, American Foreign policy, my girl friend- were all falling apart. In the end it was an argument over what sort of direction my life would take. Would I continue my English Studies? Would I return to law? I have few tools to deal with the choice since up to this point I had lead a leisurely life (Sewell 1972, p.11).

Also, the ideological connection between the *Port Huron Statement* and urban reform in Canada becomes more understandable if the cultural dynamic of the counterculture is studied. As Levitt (1982) remarked: the Canadian new left was largely content to use American programs like the *Port Huron Statement.* Aside from propinquity, the intellectual culture of the Canadian new middle class was heavily influenced by the migration of 100,000 draft dodgers (Surtees 1996) and the movement of anti-war sympathizers from the United States into teaching positions which were opening up at Canadian Universities. These people would become became carriers and popularizers of the dialogical systems of rule that were first articulated into formal postmodern discourse with the *Port Huron Statement* (Adelson 1972; Levitt 1984, pp.48, 149-150).[174]

Because the background conditions were ripe for the diffusion of this new attitude towards authority, it did not take long for these ideas to enter into specialized discourses like planning. Just three years after the Port Huron Statement the ideas advanced in this document would percolate into planning discourse with the publication of an influential article on dialogical planning entitled "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" by Paul Davidoff in the Journal of the American Institute of planners, in 1965, (Faludi 1973).[175] This literature on dialogical planning was simply a subset of a much more voluminous discourse on the subject of communitarianism and urban governance that arose on both the Left and Right ends of the political spectrum when the shift from a modern to postmodern system of regulation started to take place in the late 1960's (Castells 1989; Mingione 1991).[176]

Within the planning bureaucracy this dialogical method would become institutionalized in the creation of an entire Division whose only function was to enact this method of decision making. During the 1970s and into the 1980s, it acted as the workhorse of the department, commanding the most personnel and resources. Open-ended planning processes lasting up to four years were inaugurated. However, with the departure of Spaxman and the elimination of federal government funding, the Local Area Planning Division - now renamed the Community Planning Division together with the re-organization of the department that was undertaken by Tom Fletcher - began to shrink.[177] Conversely, the CityPlan Division, which would become emblematic of the reassertion of a new rationalism in the Post-Spaxman period, grew in size.[178] In keeping with the revival of more structured and analytical models of governance, not only did this Division shrink, its operation would become subordinate to the framework set out by *CityPlan*,[179] which the CityPlan Division had produced (PI-13; CVC0-37).[180]

Two - Representations of space: Abstract to Organic conceptions

The other attribute that functions within the philosophic sphere of postmodern regulation has to do with the representation of urban space. Whereas twentieth-century modernism conceptualized urban space as abstract space, in the postmodern era this changed, as

more organic representations of urban space began to appear. Although the notion of abstract space is closely associated with the engineering mentality, the notion of organic space is more closely linked to an artistic sensibility where the subjective and not just objective relations are given more emphasis. As well, the sensuous qualities of space are taken into greater consideration.

Metaphorically, abstract space therefore incorporates the hard spaces of the city. It is a space that is defined by the objective administrative criterion of the expert. This abstraction of space comes into focus most clearly under the gaze of the engineer who can be seen as the archetype of modernism with regard to the regulation of urban space. To the engineer, as shown by Descartes, urban space is passive as well as abstract. These representations of space result in the formulation of regulation that decontextualizes urban space because space is assumed to have neither a concrete geography nor a real history. In Edward's Relph's (1976) words, these are spaces that are "placeless'. If boundaries exist they are ones created by the abstractions of the expert or the administrator. Organic features that are defined by nature or the social context of a space are not given much attention. Space is reduced to geometry, becoming a mere expression of function. In the case of Vancouver, this abstraction of space as functional space is captured quite well in a paper that Sutton Brown wrote about planning in Vancouver. Here he stated that:

> The first function of a planning organization (is) the preparation of a plan for the future improvement and development. . . it would define the future use of land so that private development could be undertaken in the most efficient and orderly manner. Finally, the plan would include certain surgical operations which would cut away existing example of inefficient, obsolete and blighted development so that healthy new growth could take place (Sutton Brown 1954).

As this quote by Sutton Brown reveals, there is a close link between monological rule and the way representations of urban space are constructed as abstract space. As Foucault and Lefebvre have observed: the creation of abstract space followed from the disciplinary discourses that were created in the modern era, (19th century) when bureaucratic forms of rule were beginning to subsume external reality. As both authors remarked, this involved the breaking up of organic entities into their simplest components. This would apply to all the social sciences

and not just planning (Rosenau 19992; Hollinger 1994). The modernism therefore simplified external reality because lived space was reduced to abstract functional space.[181]

The tendency for modernism to detach conceptions and representations of reality from everyday experience made most modern representations of reality hard to understand. While this facilitated monological rule it discouraged dialogical rule. modern planning, like a great deal of modern art, became a hermeneutic field, closed off to the uninitiated. The non-representational nature of modernism, its cerebral rather than tactile nature, and the abstract nature of the conceptions of reality which were produced by this system of representation all became prime targets for postmodern ideologues in the 1960s and 1970s.[182]

In contrast, postmodern representations of urban space are quite different. Rather than being viewed in abstract terms postmodern representations of space were more organic and concrete entities. These organic spaces transformed hard space into soft space. Imbued with subjective attributes, this space could be appreciated under the gaze of the artist but was incomprehensible to that of the engineer. As Jane Jacobs has shown, it is a space that is anchored in the everyday life of people. Unlike abstract space where urban space is viewed as an empty slate that lends itself to monological forms of bureaucratic rule that can erase or create new boundaries at will, the representation of space as organic space makes this harder to do. In contrast to abstract space, which is timeless and placeless, organic space has a specific geography and history that cannot be erased without violating its integrity. When land-extensive development predominated and most new investment was made on greenfield sites this did not matter, but when investment started to concentrate into already built-up areas, these latent concerns were forcefully brought out into the open, presenting a challenge to planners only used to viewing space in abstract terms. Especially in middle class areas, densification transformed inert space into active space, turning the administration and regulation of space into a political act, which demanded negotiation and dialogue with those people occupying a space.

Hence there is a connection that can be drawn out between dialogical systems of decision-making, postmodern representations of urban space as organic space, and densification.

Whereas modern concepts of space resulted in the creation of rigid geometric landscapes that also promoted land-extensive development this would change in the 1960s, when these landscapes were not only opposed but also recalibrated in terms of scale; the machine-scale bias of the modern age was rejected in favour of the pedestrian-scale spaces that came into vogue with the turn to postmodernism.[183]

Postmodern representations of space softened the hard edged, rationalist vision of the city, as phenomenological approaches to the understanding of space replaced the instrumental reason of the engineer with the aesthetic mindset of the artist. When this happened, the subjective and sensuous qualities of urban space become more important (Barford 1986). The Appollian sensibility that fueled the purifying rationalism of twentieth-century modernism -- which would become evident in the landscapes crated by Corbusier and Robert Moses, or, in the case of Vancouver, the plans of Sutton Brown -- would be replaced by a Dionysian sensibility, where representations of space are more complex and fluid. Diversity and chaos, rather than the imposition of one uniform order, would symbolize this new way of apprehending and appreciating space. As Ray Smith remarked:[184]

> A new design movement in America is radically changing our vision-our way of seeing things as well as what we see . . .I call it supermannerism. Partly the term expresses the movement's mannerist aspect- its systematic manipulation of established principles, its alteration of scale, its reordering of surface retail-which is similar to sixteenth and seventeenth-century Mannerism, but augmented. Partly also, the term denotes the movement's broader design vocabulary expanded to include the vernacular, the anonymous, and such elements of our ordinary life or popular culture as comic books, as is inherent in the hyphenation superman-erism . . .The new design is also a revolutionary liberation to encompass and included more social and environmental reform. It includes a longer concept of design validity, a broader concept of our environment to include space and our ecological system and alternative systems of planning, designing, and construction . . .The aim is to provide a better, more vital, and more human environments for people . . .A far cry from the elegant eternity of classical modern design, the formal character of Supermannerism is frenetic and distorted, jazzy and exciting, like contemporary life. Following the modern idiom, it is a new post-modern design with new attitudes, methods, and inspiration, It accepts a new scope or scale of vision, of materials and of architectural process (Smith 1977, pp. xxiii-iv).

Urban space is no longer a clearly legible object, as shadows and gray areas appear on the zoning maps of the postmodern planner. To find out what is going on it is therefore necessary to descend into the everyday reality and engage in a process of dialogue with the people who

live in these spaces to determine what is appropriate. There is no longer one commanding vantage point. Instead there are several. The antiseptic and minimalist representations of space that were the common currency of building renderings and planning maps in the modernist phase have changed. Space has taken on a sensuous quality as previously separate functions are mixed. In this new conception of space, the new individualism and subjectivity are reflected in the movement of machine-spaces into the background and the movement of the pedestrian into the foreground. The street and the urban bazaar become important once more. Collage space, appear where overlapping activities take place. In Vancouver Granville Island, Robson, and Davie Street would be examples of this new consumer space. Here the diversity presented in Colin Rowe's (1978) notion of a collage city or the fluid and sensuous spaces that Johnathan Raban writes about when he refers to the soft spaces of the city are therefore templates of the new spatial order.[185]

In the City of Vancouver, nowhere is the philosophic impact of these two aspects of postmodern regulation so apparent in the transformation that took place in zoning. How the switch over from monological to dialogical rule and the shift from abstract to organic representations would affect the regulation of space can be seen by looking at the evolution of zoning in Vancouver.[186] Not only can the impact of postmodern regulation be seen, but also the relation that exists between the adoption of postmodern zoning codes and densification. Moreover, there is a casual relation. This can be shown by studying how densification triggered the adoption of dialogical methods. Especially within the City of Vancouver, this can be seen in the evolution of zoning bylaws. Here a dramatic shift from functional to an organic conceptualization of space took place. As redevelopment became more generalized both the process of zoning and the way that space was represented remade. As a result, monological methods for amending zoning were substituted for dialogical. As well, more organic and contextual bound zoning categories replaced the functional codes that had previously been enforce when land-extensive development predominated.

In contrast to the standardized and mass produced spaces of the modern era, the installation of the first postmodern zoning schedule, in 1974 (i.e., CVPD-79),[187] created an entirely new dynamic for the regulation of space, especially in areas inhabited by the new middle class. The production of space began to resemble craft production. Whereas modern zoning had led to the mass production of standardized landscapes, this method of regulation was no longer adequate for what was required when it came to the production of denser environment, where more elaborate and complex spaces would be produced, which in turn required higher levels of amenity. While this even became apparent in the revisions that were made to zoning codes for the West End in the modern period, this became even more obvious during the postmodern era, when the implementation of the livable city agenda put additional pressure on existing zoning codes (i.e., CVPD-39). Densification, combined with the emerging postmodern sensibility would generate the need for more customized regulations to replace the generic off-the-rack zoning used during the modern period.

In this regard the production and regulation of space in Vancouver became a matter of niche production. In Vancouver, this type of production would involve the consumption of more resources. And, as pointed out earlier, the other main reason for increased intensity of planning regulation had to do with the densification process and the redevelopment that was triggered by this change in investment patterns. When redevelopment began to become more important than the development of greenfield sites, new ways of governing and regulating space were required which also resulted in more sophisticated and intensive forms of planning regulation.[188]

Unlike the placeless and context less functional zoning of the modern period, postmodern zoning codes politicized the regulation of space since public involvement became central to its formulation. Also, more subjective variables began to be incorporated into this zoning (PI-38) as regulations now had to operate in a contextualizing field that was directed towards the preservation of place while allowing growth and change to take place.

When the Planning Department was established the zoning function was quite limited and focussed. Leaving aside the preservation of property values, modern zoning dealt largely with safety matters and the control of negative externalities (PI-13). For this reason, the administration of modern zoning schedules was generally a straight forward and technocratic procedure. Consequently, only modest resources were needed to administer the zoning regime which had first been put in place in 1930 when *Bylaw 2074* was passed by City council (CV-1). Even in 1954 the zoning division only employed four people, or 20 percent of the Planning Department's personnel (Sutton Brown,1954). Over the next twenty years the number of people involved with zoning would account for between approximately 15 and 20 percent of all staff. However, when postmodern zoning came into existence in 1974 with the first official development plan for False Creek, zoning would start to become much more labour intensive (CVPD-45a).[189]

As densification became prominent as a structural force in the production of space the pressure to amend and modify *Bylaw #3575* – which was the zoning bylaw that governed and would govern Vancouver from here on in – would increase. Except for freeway development and the controversy over the redevelopment of the downtown, no other subject would generate so much study and controversy for the Planning Department during the modern period as apartment development. Between 1958 and 1970 six major studies or reports on apartment living would be undertaken by the Planning Department (ie.CVTPB-3; CVTPB-5; CVTPB-8; CVTPB-9; CVTPB-10; CVPD-19). As well, until the great freeway debate of 1967, no other subject would generate so much strident opposition to the bureaucracy. In 1965 the Planning Department tried to consolidate and rationalize land zoned for apartments. First by expanding apartment zones on the West side of the city, where there was more demand, while reducing the amount of land zoned for apartments on the East side of the city because there was far less demand for apartment development (VS-18; VP-3). Besides triggering the first large-scale public reaction to the Planning Department, what is interesting to note about the first formal attempt by the Planning Department to manage the densification process was how localized the process was

presumed to be and how planners misread what would happen, putting policies in place that would be viewed as obstructionist just a few years later. Just as densification was beginning to gather momentum planners were actually reducing the land base for apartment construction because they felt too much land had been zoned for them. While some attempt to provide more room for apartment expansion on the West side of the city was made, these additions were motivated by the desire to fine tune the existing land-use base, rather than adding more capacity to house-denser housing units. Just as with the postmodern reaction that was to catch the Planning Department off guard, the resurgence of the densification process was to soon put the planning for apartments completely out of step with the new forces that were gathering momentum, leaving the Planning Department unprepared for the massive increase in the production of apartment units that would come only a few years later. For example, during the controversy over apartment zoning, Braham Wiesman, one senior planner, told reporters that there was enough land to supply the demand for new apartments for the next two hundred years (VS-19). Therefore, as late as 1965, planners were still expecting land extensive development to be the norm. However, less than ten years later there would be a dramatic change in perception on this issue as planners began to worry about running out of land for future development. In sharp contrast to the 1960s, from the mid 1970s onward the shortage of land available for higher density residential development would become a growing concern to the planners. Densification became generalized rather than localized.

This would become particularly obvious in the West End. Important changes were made during the 1950s and 1960s which eventually resulted in the creation of an ultra-modern landscape, composed of point form high-rises that would make the West End the most well known high-rise landscape in Canada during the 1960s. Even before the arrival of postmodern zoning, some foreshadowing of what was to follow could be seen in the hybrid form of zoning that evolved in the West End with the appearance of the densification process.[190] This started in the 1950s as densification forced planners to employ more discretion and pay more attention to design issues. The constant mutation of the apartment bylaw that was adopted for

the West End in 1956 would eventually produce the most sophisticated and complex zoning bylaw in the region if not the country (CVPD-1; CVTB-3).[191]

The evolution of zoning in the West End is not only important because it was responsible for regulating one of the few places in North American where explosive redevelopment was taking place in the inner city without government assistance (McAfee 1967,1972; Gaylor 1971). At the same time, the hybrid zoning that was created as a result of this densification would also serve as bridge between modern and postmodern experimentation with regard to discretionary zoning.[192]

In another unexpected way the West End also became a bridge to the postmodern regulation, as it became a lighting rod for the middle class when the reaction set in against high rise living. Cast as the concrete jungle, the West End (VS-45) would serve as a catalyst for exploration with medium rise environments. To a large degree the development of South False Creek was framed by the desire of middle-class reformers to create an environment that would stand out as being the direct opposite of the West End (VS-34a). One result would be the creation of the first area based rather than functionally based discretionary zoning, that was used in the West End. Hence, not only did South False Creek become the real birth place of postmodern zoning in Vancouver, it also became the laboratory for experimentation with medium density housing that was to used to completely transform the entire Zone of Middle Class Resettlement into an area of medium density co-operatives and condominiums, (CVPD-52; Winsor 1986).[193]

Although some postmodern attributes would appear in the hybrid zoning that had evolved in the West End, it wasn't until 1974, when discretionary zoning was put in place for False Creek that an explicit area-based zoning schedules appeared for the first time, marking the formal advent of a postmodern protocol for zoning in the City of Vancouver (Chapman 1982). After this period, two different approaches would be taken with regard to zoning. Not only did zoning now have to respond to densification, it also had to accommodate itself to a new spatial sensibility that demanded that more regulation incorporating more organic

representations of space be used. A more radical break was needed. Instead of revising existing zoning categories, as happened to the RM-4 District zoning district used in the West End, a plethora of new place bound zoning categories were created from 1974 until 1984.

The forerunner to this place based zonings were the CRM-2, CRM-3 and RM-3A1 zones that were established along the South Shore of False Creek before the 1974 ordinance was adopted (CVPD-30a; PI-7). As the changes made to the RM-4 zoning schedule in the West End reveal - before postmodern formats for the regulation of space were devised - planners responded to densification by amending existing bylaws, rather than by creating entirely new zoning codes. However, after 1974, this would change. *The False Creek Comprehensive Development District* (PI-38; CVPD-45a; CVPD-60) would be followed by the passage of the *West End Comprehensive Development District* and the *Downtown Comprehensive Development District,*[194] in 1975, then the *Central Waterfront Comprehensive Development District* was in 1979 (CVPD-55a). Then in 1982 the *Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer Comprehensive District* was established (CVPD-62) and the *First Shaughnessy District* was created (CVPD-62b). The last comprehensive Development District to be created would be *B.C. Place and Expo Comphrensive District* in 1984.[195] Since 1984, no other large comprehensive development districts have been fabricated; smaller districts such as Coal Harbour and the South East Granville Slopes districts, however, were established later on in the 1980s. Since that time there has been a return to form traditional zoning formats. For example, when zoning in the West End was revised as a result of a second local area planning exercise in the mid 1980s, the West End District Zone was replaced by more traditional residential and commercial zoning designations. Instead of having one district zone, five new zones were spun out of one single district zone in 1989, replacing the single district plan that had been used in the West End during the 1970s and 1980s (CVPD-158a).

Between the adoption of *Zoning Bylaw #3575* in 1956, when 17 zoning districts were felt to be sufficient to take care of the regulation of space (CVPD-1) the number of new districts would steadily rise as densification became more pervasive. In addition to amending existing

zoning districts (as was the case for the West End), as densification diffused outwards and became less localized and more extensive in its reach, it was necessary to add some new zoning districts and not just to rely on the amendment of existing zoning bylaws. As a result, by 1973 the number of zoning districts in the city had increased from 17 in 1956 to 27,(CVPD-30a). With the insertion of a postmodern spatial matrix in the department there would be a dramatic escalation in number of new zoning districts added. One reason for this for this is that the densification had intensified. The other reason would be the demand for specialized districts that were generated by local area planning processes that created a plethora of place-bound zoning districts. Together the spread of densification and postmodern regulation would lead to a dramatic increase in zoning districts, with their number increasing from 27 at the beginning of the postmodern period, to 60 different zoning districts by 1994 (CVPD-135a; table ten).

As well as generating new district zones, densification also resulted in the expansion of a form of contract (or craft zoning) zoning known as a Comprehensive District zoning or the use of CD-1 zoning bylaws. Because CD-1 zoning has mostly been applied to redevelopment sites rather than to greenfield ones for Vancouver, it can be used as a surrogate measurement for densification. With the advent of postmodern formats for the organization of space this zoning tool also became a useful means for regulating more complex and mixed use spaces that were now demanded, as can be seen in its use with regard to the mega-projects now underway in the central area of Vancouver. So as densification advanced, so too did the number of CD-1 zoning schedules. With the exception of Champlain Heights, where a postmodern regulatory agenda rather than densification account for the use of CD-1 zoning on this greenfield site, the vast majority of CD-1 zones have been used for urban redevelopment rather than the development of greenfield sites.[196]

Furthermore what the evolution of zoning in the City of Vancouver discloses is how the densification process and the adoption of postmodern norms have become inter-related. In this case zoning in Vancouver has become one of the clearest proofs that a new mode of urban development has been established. Especially if zoning is looked at, it is no longer possible to

understand the development of one process without referring to the other. As the evolution of zoning in Vancouver since the early 1970s reveals, at the institutional level densification and postmodern regulation have merged to create an institution nexus that is defined by the mutual rather than separate interaction of these two elements.[197]

In an immature form Signs of this merging were already becoming visible in an immature form. in the evolution of the RM-4 zoning district for the West End.[198] But with the spread of the densification process to areas outside the downtown peninsula such as the transitional zone in the 1970s and 1980s, and then later into the suburban areas of the city, from the middle of the 1980s, each modification to these zoning districts entailed a local area planning process of some kind and usually, at the end of this, the insertion of some form of area-based discretionary zoning, even if traditional zoning districts were left over from the modern period were used as the shells to contain the new spatial norms.

Thus, after 1974 densification and postmodern regulation moved in tandem with each other. As redevelopment moved outwards, original zoning categories were modified to reflect this change. For example when densification moved beyond the city's apartment district into the conversion zone, numerous changes were made to two family zoning district known as an R-T district which covered this area CVPD-45a; CVPD-135a). Hence between the late 1970s and the early 1990s the number of two family zoning districts, grew from 2 in 1973, to 4 in 1976, 5 in 1980, 6 in 1988 and then up to 11 in 1994 (CVPD-135a). Since this R-T zone coincided with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the zoning changes that were made were usually the culmination and end product of a long and involved process of local area planning. Here local area planning provided the dialogical format for the transformation of existing R-T zones from modern zoning codes into postmodern ones during the 1970s and the 1980s. Beginning with Kitsilano, then Grandview Woodlands, and later still, Mount Pleasant, the creation of new R-T districts would reflect the influence of densification and the absorption of postmodern spatial norms (CVCO-9; CVCO-11, CVPD-78; CVPD-84; CVPD-87).[199]

However, since densification only became important in the suburban areas in the late 1980s and 1990s, a truncated local area process was used to achieve agreement on new zoning for these RS-1 areas, with much use made of polling rather community forums in ascertaining what the community wished to see done. Nonetheless what happened in the R-T Districts is now being repeated in the RS-1 areas of the city. After thirty years of regulatory stability, between 1988 and 1994 the number of different zoning categories used under the RS designation grew from 4 to 8 and by 1996, 9 districts were present when the new RS-6 district schedule was approved by city council (CVCO-26).

In more ways than one, the evolution of zoning in Vancouver acts like a cipher.[200] Changes in zoning not only show how densification has affected the nature of regulation, its evolution also shows how inexorably densification and postmodern regulation have become intertwined since 1974. More than this, the evolution of zoning since 1974 has shown how dialogical methods for decision-making have evolved, and organic representations of space have gradually replaced the functional and abstract notions of space that were present in the first 17 zoning districts that were used to set out land uses in 1956. Because regulating space has become more complex and politicized, technocratic models for urban governance face severe limitations when densification becomes a major force. Likewise, this is even more the case when the land in question is inhabited by an articulate and demanding middle class with a strong sense of entitlement.

As a result, in Vancouver at least, the regulation of space has become a labour-intensive process. Once again this can be shown by looking at the West End. Although most of the apartment construction in the West End took place in the modern period, and the result of all this was the production of the most complex and sophisticated zoning bylaw in the city, what happened at that time would pale in comparison to the regulatory regime that has since been put in place during the postmodern period. If the RM-4 zoning schedule for the West End was only 7 pages long in the early 70s, the addition of new regulations to reflect the postmodern agenda for space would result in quantum leap in the amount of regulation. In comparison to the

7 pages of regulation in the RM-4 zone, when the various aspects of the new RM-5 zoning were adopted for the West End in 1989 -- after a local area planning process -- instead of 7 pages of regulation this had increased to more than 62 pages (CVPD-158a).

As the examples that have been made point out, the shift from monological to dialogical rule, and the switch from abstract space to organic space is related to the emergence of a new spatial sensibility that owes its origins to the counterculture but, in addition to this, to the changing perceptions about space that have been spawned by the densification process. Together, the arrival of densification and postmodernism on the urban scene have created a demand for more human scaled and finely textured spaces, and this, in turn, has fundamentally altered the nature of one of the most powerful tools that planner have at their command.

To see the extent of the changes that have been made to the geography of zoning, it is only necessary to compare a zoning map for the City of Vancouver in 1973 and one in 1997 to see how dramatically things have changed. In twenty years the functional zoning districts that once sub-divided the land area of the city have been almost completely erased or modified beyond recognition. Rather than the zoning map being divided into a few primary colours which clearly laid out functionalist orientation of planning for the modern period, a zoning map for Vancouver in 1997 would have a decidely mottled appearance, a quite a different arrangement of colours and shapes would be present. With 60 zoning districts, nearly 500 separate CD-1 zones, and some zones shaded in by gray while others are covered with crossover lines to indicate modifications to areas where secondary suites are allowed or where subjective qualities such as noise is now being regulated, Vancouver's zoning map looks quite different from what it was like in 1973, when modern norms governed how the city was zoned and regulated (CVPD-30a).

What this comparison of maps would also revea, is that zoning in Vancouver had become far less prescriptive and more discretionary. To the displeasure of many developers, this more organic system of regulation has created more indeterminacy. Costs have also risen, and this is one reason why zoning and the development permit process has become a priority for

The Better City Government Task Force (CVCO-34). This is also why the Land Use and Development Division, which is in charge of zoning, has become more concerned with the proliferation of discretionary zoning districts that other Divisions in the Planning Department have requested, since it is seeking to rationalize discretionary zoning so that it can be administered in a more efficient and cost effective manner (PI-42).

But whatever future reforms will be made it is hard to see how the city will be able to rationalize discretionary zoning much more without violating its intrinsic purpose. While an experiment in a form of stripped down discretionary zoning - which some have described as envelope zoning - has been undertaken in Toronto, this has been applied to underused industrial land, occupied by few people rather than on residential land, where the main demand for planning services and the call for more discretionary zoning is now being made in Vancouver (City of Toronto, Planing and Development Department 1996).

Some planners, many politicians, and most developers, it seems, find this lack of clarity and the indeterminacy that is present in discretionary zoning quite vexing. Attempts are now being made to rationalize the system but it remains to be seen how far this can be taken since discretionary systems have to be by their very nature loose and indeterminate (PI-38; PI-42).[201] Further complicating this issue in Vancouver is the turf war that has erupted between architects and developers over the use of discretionary zoning. Although the design skills of the Planning Department have been upgraded with the hiring of more planners trained as architects, and special positions -- whose primary task is to administer parts of this discretionary zoning (Rossiter 1984; PI-38) -- the perception about the arbitrariness and competence of planners to make discretionary judgments on design matters are still challenged by many developers and most architects (VS-192d).

In order to streamline discretionary zoning, at least four reviews of zoning have been undertaken with yet a fifth now underway (CVPD-54; CVPD-67; CVPD-100; CVPD-129; Hardwick 1988). But to no avail, it would seem. Because of the political clout of the middle class, any attempt to rationalize discretionary zoning may be unrealistic and self defeating. It

will therefore be interesting to see how experiments with other formats for discretionary zoning - such as are now taking place in the City of Toronto – will turn out. Here a new kind of discretionary zoning - that can be described envelope zoning – has been created. What this zoning does is leave behind the matter of land use altogether and just focus on building envelopes. So far envelope zoning has only been applied to the University of Toronto (Barber 1996a) and two industrial districts in Toronto, (City of Toronto 1996) so it is still too early to make an adequate assessment of their utility. If envelope zoning does end up conserving time and resources a new direction for zoning to follow in Vancouver might come out of experiments such as this.[202]

Thus, for the City of Vancouver at least, increased planning regulation seems to be an integral structural element in this mode of urban development. Since the two key constituent elements of this mode of development-densification and postmodern systems of regulation appear to require more sophisticated regulation, what has happened to zoning in the City of Vancouver may be an augury of what might may happen elsewhere as well. If indeed increased planning services are a necessary cost of doing business in places where densification and postmodern norms govern the organization of space, than the question to be posed must change. Instead of cost reduction, this regulation has to be perceived as a cost of doing business, as part of the production process or as a method of quality control with regard to urban development. The issue then arises about who should pay. If indeed this elaborate regulatory process is necessary and integral to the creation of the type of postmodern landscapes that are desired, then who carries the burden of these costs may need to be rethought. Instead of viewing these planning costs as evidence of bureaucratic sclerosis or as a burden imposed by government it may be more accurate to view this form of regulation as a cost of production, where greater inputs of planning services are required for the production of these new kinds of customized urban spaces.

Just as with the production of any customized consumer product, as the production of urban space has become less standardized and more craft-oriented space can be expected to become more expensive and take longer to produce than the standardized mass produced urban

landscapes that were produced in the modern era. That is why, in part, the postmodern regulation of the city still often revolves around the imposition of middle-class standards rather than the expression of generalized needs (Stein 1997d) though this method of production does expand beyond the middle class when densification becomes a major force. If this class is not the target market much more watered down environments are produced. In keeping with the logic of retailing, off-the-rack bargain basement are produced for those who cannot afford the designer environments of the new middle class.

However since Vancouver is now a middle-class city, and it is this customized production which is demanded, then it may make more sense to put greater effort into exploring how the cost of these services might be better recovered rather than focusing on how these more sophisticated and time-consuming forms of regulation might be eliminated.[203] Since these services are deemed increasingly necessary for development to proceed, to do nothing about the recovery of the costs would mean that the city would be subsidizing capital. The only other option would be to reduce the cost of planning services by transferring some decision making authority to local neighbourhood associations, and let some of the decisions be made at this level, as has happened in Portland and Seattle (P0-3; P0-4), but this does not seem to be in the cards for Vancouver, although it is now being considered for the new City of Toronto (Toronto Star, 1997Q).[204]

To summarize what has been said about zoning and the representation of space, if we look at the evolution of zoning in the City of Vancouver over the past 80 years the influence of monological and abstract conceptualizations of space on modern zoning become clearly evident. Similarly if we look at what happened in the West End and then the rest of the city, the impact that densification has had on zoning becomes clearly obvious as well. As the examples show, a great deal of the momentum for this shift from abstract to organic conceptualizations of space have to do with the spread of the densification process as well as the cultural revolution of the new middle class, which set a postmodern sensibility in motion with regard to the

regulation of space. All of this comes out clearly in the evolution of Zoning in the City of Vancouver.

In Vancouver, zoning began with just three zoning districts in 1927. The number grew to 17 in 1956, and then to 27 in 1973 - the end of the modern era. Only 10 new zoning districts were created in the modern period. However, during the postmodern period, so far 33 zoning districts have been created, and the total number reached 60 in 1994. The growing complexity of zoning can also be measured by looking at the number of pages taken up by zoning regulations. When Vancouver's first comprehensive set of bylaws was adopted in 1930, *Zoning Bylaw 2074* only contained eleven pages (CV-1). This rose to approximately one hundred pages when the current *Zoning Bylaw # 3575* was adopted by city council in 1956. (CVPD-1). Largely because of densification, the regulations contained in the zoning bylaw had increased to three hundred pages by 1974. However, with the additional complexities created by contextual and area-based zoning during the postmodern period, the number of pages taken up by zoning regulations escalated rapidly, climbing to nearly fourteen hundred pages by the late 1980s (Johnson 1986). As these numbers suggest, the comparative simplicity, of modern zoning had to do with the predominance of land extensive systems of development where land could be treated as abstract space that made it possible to simplify and segment land uses to several basic functional categories. However, when postmodern constructs were employed to regulate space, the need to contextualise space would lead to the creation of more organic and complex urban landscapes, that required much more elaborate regulatory systems.

The growing complexity of zoning in Vancouver explains why the zoning division has expanded so much during the postmodern era, when the move has been toward de-regulation rather than more regulation. One explanation advanced for this increase in regulation has to do with the nature of the spaces constructed. In the modern period, the main impetus for the growth in planning regulation had mostly to do with the need for more sophisticated and extensive planning services that came about because of the densification process. Although densification would also be a major factor in the growth of the division during the postmodern

period, the demand for zoning services would also have a great deal to do with the different types of spaces that were now being demanded. With the shift from standardized to customized spaces a great deal more regulation has been required.

To administer these area based discretionary zones properly more resources were needed. For instance, during the livable city era, the number of staff in the zoning division grew from 15 in 1975 or about 17 percent of all personnel in the Planning Department, to 31 in 1989 (or 26 percent of all personal in the department) (CVPD-41; CVPD-92a). Particularly with the introduction of area-based discretionary zoning into single family zoned areas in the zoning division's consumption of resources has increased steadily since 1989. Hence, in 1996, out of a an operating budget of approximately $9.7-million, the Land Use and Development Division accounted for nearly $3.6-million, 37 percent of the Planning Department's budget was absorbed by this division.. As well, with 53 positions taken by Land Use and Development division nearly 39 percent of the human resources in the Planning Department were taken by zoning. This was nearly two times the budget allocated to the Planning Resources Division and about three times amount of money allocated to the division- such as CityPlan, Community Planning and the Central Area Division.[205]

Considering the general move towards privatization and the presence of powerful macro tendencies favouring deregulation, this growth in zoning control appears quite phenomenal. Moreover, this growth was sustained into the Post - Fletcher period when there was another massive infusion of civic resources into the administration as the spread of discretionary zoning and densification into single family residential zones absorbed considerable resources (CVCO-26). With the adoption of discretionary zones (such as RS-6) by council in 1996, this type of zoning is becoming generalized all over the entire city and is no longer just confined to the core area of the city.[206] As a consequence 300 people working within and without the zoning division and the larger bureaucracy in 1997 were involved in permit approval and the regulation of land uses in the City of Vancouver (CVCO-44).

4.5. 2. - Sociological contrasts

At the sociological level, three contrasting variables separate the modern from the postmodern city. The first has to do with changing gender relations.[207] The second has to do with the changing status of urban sub-cultures -- most particularly the social status of gay and Bohemian subcultures (e.g., The Economist 1997 a and b),[208] but also other ethnic and racial communities as well. The third issue has to do with density and deviance. All these other changes followed from the restructuring of gender relations. Together, these changes created entirely new kinds of social spaces that had been either marginalized or suppressed during the modern period, establishing new markets for the production of denser spaces, which had not existed during the 1950s and 1960s. Just as there is a link between the philosophical dimension of postmodern regulation and densification, a close examination of the new consumer markets which emerged out of the social transformation of social space reveals that a new material culture was created. As a result, an equally strong link between the social regulation of the city and the production of land-extensive and land-intensive regimes of accumulation can be shown to exist.[209]

Three - Changing gender relations

The decomposition of the nuclear family and the division of gender roles within this family formation is really the starting point for all the other changes which were to follow, not only with regard to the formation of postmodern spaces, but also the two faces in the evolution of the postmodern city. As gender relations changed, the role of women and the place of the child in the city changed. As women entered the workforce the limited and subordinate roles they were given in the life of the city were challenged.[210] The narrow constraints placed upon women by the mobilization the ideological apparatus of the state after 1945 became embodied in the idealization of the nuclear family and the organization of standardized consumption around this social unit. Without the intense pressure that was applied by bureaucratic structures of the state and the private sector, the suburbanization which took place after the war would not have occurred. However when this model was challenged and a rapid decline in fertility took place

after the mid-1960s, room for the market to evolve was created as new consumer markets could now be established and served. For the middle class, this released a vast amount of time, energy and resources where goals unrelated to child rearing could be pursued.

This division of gender roles also acted as a talisman for a larger system of norms which resulted in the marginalization and subordination for any group which strayed too far away from this ideal of the nuclear family and the values of conformity and domesticity that are associated with it. In this order, women were largely consigned to the domestic sphere, which was located in the suburbs, while men were given free reign over the entire city but especially the work sphere. In the modern city men acted as active agents in the spaces of the city whereas women were cast as passive agents with very few options given to them in a larger cultural order that was defined by bureaucratic rule and the regimentation of society. These conditions were further buttressed by the militarization of social life that resulted from the Cold War, which created social norms that rewarded conformity and punished deviance from ascribed roles.[211]

It is no accident that the disintegration of the classic nuclear family in the 1960s[212] also corresponded with the revolt against bureaucratic rule. This, combined with a rising tide of anti-militarism would challenge the social and physical spaces of the city that were constructed to maintain and preserve the privileged position granted to the nuclear family in the social order of the modern city. Only when women started to challenge this order were the foundations set for construction of the postmodern social order that was to follow.

As with the political space that modernism had constructed, this bourgeois social utopia complemented and supported the bureaucratic order that was ascendant in both the public and private spheres after the Second World War (Jackson 1985). Unlike the communal domestic environments and extended families that marked the social life of the city in the 19th century, this way of living was portrayed in a dim light, something that was the province of recent immigrants who had not yet had time to assimilate and become modern. Indeed, at the social level, the placement of the nuclear family on a social pedestal was the chief goal of urban progressivists, something that helps to explain the strong bias that middle class progressivist

were to show against life in the city. For not only did the city represent political disorder, it was also the place of social disorder, because this was where people who lived outside the confines of the nuclear family were concentrated. They could be unassimilated immigrants who lived in extended families or, worse yet, groups of people who were not connected to any family formation whatsoever.

As a result the city was perceived to be an alien place, connotating social inferiority and pathology. Consequently density would become important to urban reformers, not only because of the real overcrowding that existed, but because of the all the other associations that were made with urban densities, and the alien social formations which density allowed. Not surprisingly, when urban renewal was undertaken, this bias against density would find expression in the attempt to create dispersed suburban environments in the heart of the city. The background assumption, of course, was that if density were taken care of, the deviant elements of the city would be dispersed or eliminated. In this way both the physical and social orders of the city could be taken care of simultaneously.

Another interesting thing to notice about this modernist social landscape was that it was really a distillation of a late Victorian idealization of domestic life that was quite recent in origin. As Mackenzie (1988) has observed, the nuclear family only emerged as an important middle class social formation in the early and middle part of the 19th century. However, by the late 19th century it would begin to be formally codified as the ideal and norm for the organization of social life by the new disciplinary technologies, such as planning and social work, that were forming into professions at this time and were to play a decisive role in regulation of the city during the modern period. As the bureaucratic rule of the city began to take shape in the 1920s and 1930s, the nuclear family therefore became the frame of reference for the control of social reproduction by the state. The nuclear family also became the main consumer unit around which corporate capital would organize a new regime of standardized consumption after 1945.

Far from being accidental development, the elevation of the nuclear family was the result of a massive ideological offensive that was first launched by corporations through the advertisement media (Hayden 1984) and then later by the state, with the emergence of the welfare state, put together a web of regulations that were meant to promote and maintain the nuclear family. As Miller observed (1991), during the inter war years a new consumer lifestyle was born that was almost entirely focused upon the creation of a privatized realm of consumption and reproduction. Just as with these physical spaces of the city, this assertion of bureaucratic rule over the consumer sphere would involve the radical simplification of the social spaces of the 19th-century city as almost everything was compressed into the one single mold that would be defined by the nuclear family.

This was the sociological grounding behind the production of the most extensive monochromatic landscape ever produced by man, as thousands of square miles of were reconfigured solely towards the support of the nuclear family. So not only did the suburb signify the end of the physical order of the 19th-century city it also symbolized the elimination of the diverse social spaces associated with these physical spaces. Hence any space that deviated from the child centric norms, which modern regulation enforced, was regarded with immediate suspicion.

The pressure to conform to this new system was immense. Old ways of consumption fell by the wayside and old social solidarities were broken. As one labour activist from the North End of Winnipeg remarked, it was the car and suburbanization of the city, not the police or changing ideologies, which led to the dissolution of the vital working-class culture that had once existed in Winnipeg during the inter-war years when the North End was considered a socialist hotbed.[213] For the working-class people in particular, the remaking of the social space of the city would involve radical changes since entry to the suburbs not only involved moving into a new physical space, it also involved acceptance of a new social existence. As researchers who looked at Crestwood- a new suburb created in Toronto during the 1950s – observed:

> The ideal Crestwood home operates as a separate unit- it must not share living quarters or dependencies with other families; even the apartment building with its many divisions is not considered the proper material environment for family life. The detached house, which the family owns and inhabits in its entirety, is the only fully approved physical basis for a happy, healthy family. To share this house with kin is considered undesirable and other close relatives are viewed as inimical to smooth family functioning (Rose and Wexler 1988, Chapter 16)

The formation of such a rigid and restrictive range social system did not occur over night. To realize the suburban vision of the urban progressivists, the full weight of the ideological apparatus of the state had to be mobilized over a period of twenty years, beginning in the 1920s. In this proselytization, modern city planning functioned as one of many institutional levers that were put in place to realize this narrow modernist vision of social space (Bettinson 1975). As Dolores Hyden has shown, creating the postwar suburban order was one of the most successful examples of social engineering that can be found. Not only were massive institutional supports put in place to support the material culture which supported the nuclear family, but the state put significant effort into the deconstruction of environments and practices of everyday life which supported alternative social formations, with special emphasis placed on removing women from the labour force when soldiers returned from the war.[214]

The breadth of the material and social changes that resulted from this ideological and institutional mobilization was awesome in its scope. To create a suburban society, tenants had to be turned into homeowners. City dwellers had to be turned into suburbanites. Working-class solidarity had to broken apart and absorbed into the new classless world of bureaucratically induced consumption. Social energies that had once gone into the maintenance of class identity would now be increasingly absorbed into the construction of new consumer identities where a privatized world of mass consumption was expected to be neutralized the reality of class differences and uneven access to resources and power (Laxer 1996).

Other parts of the social and material elements of the city would change as well. Transit systems left over from the Victorian city would be dismantled and transit users turned into automobile owners. Extended families had to be broken apart and compressed into the mold of the nuclear family. Here modern zoning would play its part in fostering this new arrangement,

as zoning for single family areas now made it possible to litigate against homeowners having extended families. In short a vast array of institutional supports were created to regulate the social spaces of the modern city. Similarly, an equally massive amount of time and energy was put into the conscious deconstruction of existing social and class identities that did not fit into this new domestic spatial order.

By the early 1960s, the fragility of this synthetic landscape started to become apparent as shifting demographics and changing social mores put the functional relevance of the suburbs into question. After the great expulsion of women from the work force after the war, the number of women in the labour force began would start to rise again because of the need for additional income to support consumption in the suburbs. In 1970 thirty-nine percent of all women aged 15 and over would be in the labour force.[215] By 1990, this number would rise to forty-nine percent. Even more dramatic was the participation of married women. In 1992 over sixty-one percent of all married women were in the work force.[216] Similarly there was a dramatic decline in the birth rate: it fell from 26.1 births in 1961 to 14.3 births per 1,000 population in 1991.[217] As these figures illustrate, an environment organized solely around child rearing was becoming increasingly anachronistic.

This would become even more obvious as the nuclear family itself began to decompose, and mutate into other types of family formations when more liberal divorce laws and changing social mores resulted in the establishment of a wide variety of non-traditional family groups, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, set the conditions for the creation of a distinctive postmodern social ecology, as middle-class settlement zones made up primarily with childless people arose the inner city.

This decomposition is not only revealed in declining birth rates and increased participation by women in the work force. It would become expressed in rising divorce rates and the rise in common law marriages. Whereas the divorce rate actually fell from 1951 to 1961,[218] between 1961 and 1971 it soared upwards. For example, in 1961 the divorce rate was 36 for every 100,000 people. However, by 1971, this had increased to, to 137.6 then to 278 in 1981, and then

up to 294 per 100,000 population in 1990.[219] At the same time, common law marriages began to become significant. Consequently between 1981 and 1991 common law marriage increased from 6 to 12 percent of all couples.[220] Also, the number of single parent families grew dramatically between 1961 and 1991, as the births outside of marriage rose from 43 per 1,000 in 1960 to 201 in 1987. With this, the number of single parent families increased from 11 percent of all families in 1961 to 20 percent by 1991.[221]

Finally, the *coup de grace* to the family-centred suburb was delivered by the passage of time itself, as the population that lived in the suburbs began to age. With fewer people having children and the general population beginning to age, the suburbs began to empty of children as the number of people over 65 in Canada grew from 7.6 percent in 1961 to 11.4 percent, in 1990.[222] Consequently, many suburban neighbourhoods that had been important child rearing areas in 1950s and 1960s, ceased to be by the 1980s. For example, in 1986 between 30 and 45 percent of some suburban neighbourhoods in the City of Vancouver were made up of people over 65.[223]

As these social and demographic changes were starting to undermine the material and social basis of the modern suburb the first ideological offensive against the suburb was being launched by alienated middle class women who were starting to rebel against this order. One of the most influential of these emerging postmodern ideologues would be Betty Friedan. In *The Feminist Mystique* she would present a scathing indictment of the social conformity of the suburbs. In a tone of exasperation and despair that would be somewhat reminiscent of the first great poetic outcry against the sterile materialism of the postwar modern order enunciated by Allan Ginsberg's "Howl" (1955), Betty Fredian would state that the suburbs were no longer endurable. As she exclaimed:

> It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for the groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night-she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question-'Is this All?' (Friedan 1970,p.11).

The opposition to conformity and bureaucratic rule that can be seen in Friedan would inform and give direction to many of the urban social movements that emerged in the 1960s, inaugurating a period of cultural inversion, which would become most obvious with the pop culture of the middle class (Palmer 1995) as previously disreputable musical forms associated with blacks and lower class whites were appropriated by middle-class teenagers, creating a period of experimentation with submerged and blacklisted social identities that had been suppressed or marginalized by twentieth-century modernism. Here, the first signs of the turn away from the Appollian order that had shaped the suburban mindset of the middle class that had congealed at the turn of the century (the progressivist era) would unravel, as the new middle class began to embrace a Dionysian order where the rising influence of the market over bureaucratic gave desire, rather than its suppression, a social space to grow in, producing new symbolic representations that would absorb and make visible social elements that were not part of the domestic order, as a middle-class generation turned away from Patty Page and embraced Elvis Presley.[224]

Four - The normalization and commodification of urban sub-cultures

If Friedan launched one of the first salvos against the oppressive gender relations that were part of material culture of the suburbs; Claude Fischer's 1975 pronouncements about urban sub-cultures in the American Journal of Sociology can be viewed as the launching of postmodern sociology which reexamined the social spaces of the city. In this case suppressed, marginalized or repressed social identities became the subject for re-examination, revising modern notions of deviance and normality that were set out in the classic works of urban sociology in influential books such as *The Gold Coast and The Slum*, by Zorbaugh (1965) or articles such as "Urbanism as a Way of Life," by Louis Wirth (1995).[225]

This reappraisal of ethnic and urban sub cultures and its relation to market rule would become clear to see in the postmodern retail geography that started to emerge in the 1960s. Starting with the transformation of Chinatown (Lai 1988) as far back as the early 60s, ethnic

groups once ignored would become a new locus for consumption as they became transformed into tourist attractions. This commercialization of marginal social spaces would also aid the densification process, as capital began to move into previously derelict warehouse areas to take advantage of the new consumer markets that were forming in places like Gastown in Vancouver, and Yorkville in Toronto. Bohemia now began to be penetrated by the market, changing the role and status of the artist in the postmodern order. An appreciation of the economic role of culture grew as agencies like the Social Planning Department of Vancouver undertook a study of the arts community to show its economic worth (CVSP-5a). Just as with Chinatown and other ethnic enclaves, the appropriation of these communities by the market would increase the size and visibility of bohemia in the city. In places like Gastown and Yaletown, as well as along previously derelict streets such as West Fourth Avenue in Kitsilano, or Commercial Drive in Grandview Woodlands, the revival of the street would become expressive of the popularization of bohemian mores.

Simultaneously, the other distinctive postmodern social formation to emerge was the gay community. More than with any other subculture the social distance traversed by the shift from modernism to postmodernism would become obvious in the normalization and commercialization of a culture whose entire existence depended upon the expression of desire. For example, as late as the early 1980s this subculture would be actively suppressed by the Drapeau regime in Montreal. However by the 1990s, the situation had been entirely reversed, as the mayor of Montreal would be actively lobbying the gay community for support to hold the gay games(Montreal Gazette 1997B; 1997j).[226]

In Vancouver this process of normalization and commodification can be shown by looking at the depiction of gay community in *The Vancouver Book* (Davis 1976,p.300). Even though this book mapped out the new postmodern consumer landscape, as earlier noted, this book came out in the era of the livable city, when domestic ideologies were still one of the defining features of the postmodern regulation of the city. This is revealed in the picture constructed of the gay community as a clearly modernist is taken since community was still viewed as a minor aspect of

the postmodern city and portrayed largely in medical terms. This would surface in the use of the word "homosexual" rather than "gay" in the 1976 edition and in the absence of any commentary about this subculture but only the listing of medical and self-help services and groups, particularly the Sex Therapy Unit. What is revealed is that even in progressive circles this social formation was still not apprehended as a significant consumer subculture, but only as a medical and psychiatric phenomenon rather than as a postmodern sociological formation. However, when its sequel - *The Greater Vancouver Book* (Davis 1997, p.771) came out more than twenty years later, the picture taken of the community would be quite different. Instead of just one-sixth of a page, a whole page would be given to this subculture. While no author is listed in the 1976 write-up because gay existence was not then perceived as a community that had a history that needed to be told, in the 1997 edition there is an author, and an account of the history of this community would be given.

Not surprisingly, the change that can be witnessed in perception of the gay community in *The Vancouver Book* and the example of Montreal would correspond and be linked to the rise of multi-culturalism and, as with the gay community, its commodification. as exemplified by the profusion of festivals, such as Folklorama in Winnipeg, Caribana in Toronto, the marketing of minority cultures would become central to the urban spectacle as tourism became more important - as can be seen in the cultivation of special retail districts devoted to the display of ethnic merchandise and cuisine.

As the Montreal and Vancouver examples suggest, the rise into prominence of the gay community would be one of the defining attributes of the evolution of postmodern social space that would set the livable city era apart from the age of the urban spectacle. It is only in the era of the urban spectacle that the gay community becomes visible and flourishes as an important economic and acceptable social formation in the inner city (VS-199). Like the larger trajectory of postmodernism, the opposition period of the gay liberation movement occurred in the 1970s, when a distinct communitarian and non-market ethos dominated the mobilization of this and other sub cultures in Canada. And, like so many other facets of postmodern culture, it was only in

the 1980s, in the era of the urban spectacle, during a period when freer reign was given to the expression of desire, when Appollian tendencies would give way to Dionysian ones, that this sub culture would become normalized to become an integral part of the postmodern social mosaic and, with this normalization, establish itself as an important consumer force.[227]

With the commodification of these ethnic and urban subcultures, the first seeds of the urban spectacle would be sown in Vancouver. If convention centres and sports complexes can be seen as the hardware of this new infrastructure, these ethnic and urban subcultures can be viewed as the software which provided the content to lure in the spectators. In the rise of Chinatown, bohemia and the gay consumer market as important, a new type of marketing arose which differed sharply from consumer patterns associated with the modern (or Fordist) era. Instead of standardization and the principle of conformity reigning, the principle of difference and the commodification of exotica became important triggers for consumption. This would start with pop culture and the counterculture during the 1960s and the 1970s, but only came into full bloom in the 1980s and 1990s during the era of the urban spectacle. [228]

Five - Urban density

The third aspect of the social regulation of the city would which would set the modern period apart from the postmodern one would revolve around the subject of density. Unlike the United States[229] the abrupt expansion of high-rise apartment construction across the country[230] resulted in the formation of a unique discourse on urban density in Canada.[231] Initially vigorous opposition to high-density development was displayed by the new middle class but as time passed by and non-domestic fractions of this class became more influential, the postmodern discourse on density that had been formulated during the era of the livable city would itself, be deconstructed, neutralizing much of earlier denounciation of high-rise living, With this recent development, the link between urban pathology and urban density was sundered.[232] If modern planners and social reformers had regarded density and urban pathology as being synonymous with one another, the opposite would now be the case. In the 1990s low-density development

would increasingly be viewed as a mark of urban pathology. Conversely, density and the presence of congestion would be now taken as a sign of health.[233]

In the planning field this reversal is best illustrated by the professions embrace of densification. Until the 1970s the dispersion of the city and the reduction in densities was generally regarded as a symbol of progress. However, by the middle of the 1970s this would change. Contradictory impulses would simultaneously appear. Because of the reaction of the new middle class to the proliferation of high-rises, large parts of the inner city were downzoned. Meanwhile, the construction of medium-rise neighbourhoods in the city such as South False Creek and St. Lawrence Towne revealed that progressive planners now longer viewed inner city living as being anathema to family living. While high-rise environments were discouraged, the emphasis put on the domestication of the inner-city lead to a great deal of experimentation in medium-rise structures that were thought to be more suitable for families. Moreover, at the regional level, in Vancouver and Toronto as well as in smaller centres such as Edmonton and Regina, densification strategies were being formulated.

However, it would not be until the early 1980s that the question of high-rise living would be revisited by the profession. In this regard it is probably no accident that when this re-examination occurred it took place at a time when the non-domestic fractions of the new middle class were coming more into their own, and corporate influences were expanding once more. Especially in Vancouver, the pressure exerted on the Planning Department to fast track high-rise development, but also the growing profile of non-domestic fractions of the new middle class such as the gay community in the West End, produced the necessary momentum for a revaluation of the question of density. This reassessment would not only cut the link that modern planning and sociological discourse had made between urban pathology and urban density but also the postmodern one that had grown around the opposition between medium- and high-rise environments during the livable city era.

Subsequently, in the early 1980s a process of re-evaluation was begun. By the middle of the 1980s new models for high-rise living had been adopted, which established the planning

framework for the next upsurge in high-rise construction that was to take place in Vancouver in the 1990s that was to make the high-rise neighbourhoods that were constructed in the downtown peninsula the fastest and largest growing residential neighhourhoods in the entire region. So successful has this model been, it is now being exported to Toronto, where the first large-scale high-rise communities since the late 1960s are now being proposed on the city's abandoned railway lands. However, unlike St. Jamestown, this development will be organized along urban rather than suburban lines. [234]

4.5.3. - Aesthetic contrasts:

The previous discussion about urban density provides a natural entry point into a discussion about postmodern aesthetics, since urban density is one area where the sociological and aesthetic dimensions of postmodern regulation overlap. Nevertheless, in moving to an examination of the aesthetic dimension the focus does change in several important ways. Like philosophic representations of space, the aesthetic dimension of postmodern regulation are primarily concerned with the manipulation of physical space, but unlike the philosophic constructs, which are used to set procedures and standards for the formal regulation of urban space by the local state, the aesthetic constructs used to regulate space are derived from consumer preferences rather than state edicts. As a result, the perceptions of the individual, and the consumer demand for certain types of physical space become more important than the examination of the disciplinary practices of professions. For this reason, the influence of the market rather than the state in formatting of space becomes the focus of inquiry. Rather than deal with the regulation of urban space in terms of formal rules and procedures or by the assessment of what is normal or abnormal, as is the case when looking at social space, when considering aesthetic the question of social distinction becomes more important. How space is organized to convey group status and to impart the beliefs of the individuals who occupy a particular physical space becomes the main issue. So not only do aesthetic representations of space provide some insight into the construction of social status, they also shed some light on the transcendent symbols that are present in the organization and design of physical space that goes

beyond consumer preferences, to address the utopian ideals that a class of people may express in their occupation of space (Gibson 1972).[235]

In this regard, three distinctive contrasts can be discussed: the status reversal that developed between the city and the suburb; the opposition between machine-space and pedestrian-space, futurism and historicism and the street and highway and, finally, the transformation of producer spaces into consumer spaces.

Six - The city and the suburb

Perhaps the most glaring contrasts between modern and postmodern aesthetics surfaces in the status reversal of the city and the suburb and, to a lesser extent suburbia and exurbia. With the turn to postmodernism the dialectic between the suburb and the city which guided the construction of social distinction for the middle class during the modern period is reversed.[236] During the counterculture when a new spatial sensibility developed which would reverse the longstanding allegiance of the middle class to the suburbs. From the late 60s onwards revulsion towards the suburbs would become a common motif in pop music of the new middle class, as prominent middle class musicians like Marianne Faithful would make this the theme for entire albums such as in her case "Broken English." Furthermore, more cerebral pop luminaries such as David Bowie would further this devaluation of suburbia by saying:

> In suburbia you're given the impression that nothing culturally belongs to you, that you are in this wasteland. I think most people who have an iota of curiosity about them develop a passion to escape, to get away from our desperation and exhaustion with the blandness of where we grew up and try and find who one is and find some kind of roots (Palmer 1995).[237]

Seven- Machine-space versus Pedestrian-space/ Futurism versus Historicism/ the Street versus the Highway

Metaphorically, the machine, in the modern era, embodied the future rather than the past. It also set the parmeters for a new kind of urban space that created new consumer spaces, and different ways for interacting in space that subordinated the street to the highway. Corbusier (1947) was not wrong when he proclaimed the death of the street. Twentieth-century

modernism rendered the street an anachronism, as a vision of the future city was to be organized around a new scale where the machine, not human beings would define the scale of the city.

That is why the contrast between machine space and pedestrian space also involved the battle between futurism and historicism as well as the street and highway. These contrasts also bring the discussion back to a previous discussion about the artistic and engineer sensibility and that informs the struggle that is still being waged around these three opposing conceptions of space within and without the bureaucracy in Vancouver.[238]

Because of modernism's obsession with technology and the glorification of the machine that has come with this obsession, urban spaces tended to be organized on a scale that was anti-human since machines - most particularly the automobile - rather than the pedestrians - became the basis for organizing urban space.[239] In the case of the City of Vancouver this imbalance is graphically illustrated in the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown, where approximately 500 million of the 600 million dollars projected to be spent on the modernization of the city was to be absorbed by the construction of a freeway system.[240]

In the Vancouver region, until it was superseded by Transport 2020 (GVRD 1993c),[241] the "Kelly Report "that was released by the Greater Vancouver Regional District in the early 1970s provided the blueprint for a postmodern transportation strategy that replaced the Sutton Brown strategy. With its call for improved bus service and rapid transit, it started the movement of the region away from its near complete dependence upon the automobile. Fortunately (unlike Sutton Brown's plan) most of the recommendations in this report would eventually be implemented.

However, before a rapid transit line was opened in 1986, the most dramatic initiatives to curtail the inroads of the machine and reformat urban space in favour of the pedestrian would take place within the City of Vancouver. This started with the West End, where traffic diverters and mini parks within road intersections were first put in place during the 1970s. Around the same time, changes were made to several commercial zoning districts such as West

Broadway (CVPD-30; VP-37) and Robson Street (CVPD-47) so that pedestrian movement would be encouraged while the organization of retail space around the car would be discouraged.[242]

Except for the Granville Street Mall and False Creek, during the 1970s the attempt to re-orient planning from its previous orientation to the machine back to the pedestrian orientation was largely ameliorative and reactive.[243] Ironically enough, the most expensive and ambitious attempt to reverse the decline of the pedestrian in the city in the 1970s would turn out to be the least successful as The Granville Street Transit Mall was unable to counteract the suburbanization of the downtown that occurred with the construction of Pacific Centre and the opening of one of the region's largest shopping malls. During the late 1980s the street deteriorated so much that the city began to consider tearing up the mall and bringing back the automobile (Vancouver Courier 1996).[244]

A second phase in the Planning Department's effort to reformat machine space into more pedestrian oriented space would begin in the 1980s, with the province's decision to construct Skytrain. The construction of Skytrain made it necessary to weave land use and transportation strategies together in a self-conscious fashion for the first time (CVPD-74, Introduction, chapter one).[245]

What is also significant about this phase is that pedestrianization was now taking place in the suburban as well as the core areas of the city.[246] The other significant change that happened was that this reformatting of space now went beyond mechanical transportation, such as public transit, as transportation by bike was revived once more. Although the city did not have the financial capacity to initiate a transit strategy on its own, it did begin to lobby more actively for better transit. More importantly, perhaps, it has begun to pursue different transportation options when it adopted a new *Transportation Plan* in 1996 (CV-26) where the modernist agenda was completely reversed, with walking made the number one priority and the use of the automobile the lowest priority.[247] Since the plan was adopted it has become the focal point for struggles the administrative and political arena.[248] Also the rising profile of groups such as the Bicycle Advisory Committee and the upgrading of the transportation committee

provide positive signs that this formal proclamation about a shift in priorities may eventually become a concrete rather than rhetorical position taken by the city (CV-30).[249]

In this regard, it was probably not until a comprehensive bicycle plan was adopted, in 1988, (CV-20), that the city finally began to move on its own to develop a more independent and broad ranging strategy for the provision an alternative transportation infrastructure. With the focus put on non transit strategies, the city had the fiscal means and the jurisdictional authority.[250] Here again the *Vancouver Comprehensive Bicycle Plan*, adopted in 1988, becomes significant, because with this plan bicycle transportation becomes recognized as a legitimate form of transportation for the first time. Furthermore, this new emphasis put on non motorized transportation has also been buttressed by the transportation strategy adopted by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (1993b; 1993c), known as *Creating Our Future* that calls for a doubling in the number of bicycle commuters.

Recognition of the bicycle as a legitimate form of transportation is also important because of the impact that this decision may eventually have on the approach that the Engineering Department takes towards transportation planning. This attention to bicycle transport may provide an entry point for the gestation of postmodern sensibility towards the regulation of space by engineers. If this does happen an ideological watershed for the engineering department will have been passed with regard to a shift from a modern to postmodern conceptualization of urban space, as engineers would have to address numerous qualitative aspects about urban form that are tied up with the use of the bicycle and traffic calming.[251]

As these examples show, since the 1980s the civic bureaucracy has moved considerably beyond the program for reformatting urban space that was adopted in the 1970s when the primary focus was put on the advocacy for better transit and the amelioration of the negative effects of the automobile. In the 1970s the City of Vancouver largely played a reactive role with regard to the development and implementation of a transit strategy fashioned by the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the province.

In addition to the city's new transportation plan, since the 1980s other initiatives such as the *Task Force On Atmospheric Change* (CV-6; CV-7), broke new ground in developing an ecological rationale rather than an economic or aesthetic justification for the reorientation of transportation planning when it was released in 1989. This, in turn, was reinforced by the *Urban Landscape Task Force*, which was released in 1992. (CV-8; CV-27), that eventually lead to the adoption of a *Greenways Plan* (CVPD-11) by City Council in 1995. [252]

Because of these new initiatives engineering may now find itself in the same position that the Planning Department was in during the 1960s when Social Planning had to assume many of its tasks because of its resistance to postmodern spatial norms.[253] For as the chair of the Bicycle Advisory Committee, John Whistler, remarked (PI-40), if he had to depend upon engineering or planing to properly implement the design of a bikeway, he felt that the Planning Department would do a better job. This assessment is quite similar to what many people were saying about the Planning Department with regard to local area planning in the late 60s and early 70s (VS-30), when the Social Planning was entrusted with initiated the city's first experiments with postmodern processes in planning because it was felt to be more competent attuned to what was required (Lauber 1975).[254] A generation later, but this time with planning and engineering instead of social planning, history seems to be repeating itself in the 1990's, as the recent dispute between the Planning Department (and its green allies within the Engineering Department itself) struggles with the Engineering Department as a whole over bikeways and left bays (CVCO-46, Smith 1997; VS-165).[255]

That is why it is significant that the Planning Department has been brought in as a co-author in the creation of the Transportation Plan released for discussion in the Fall of 1996 (CV-26) (and later adopted). Furthermore it is significant that the engineering end of the transportation plan was lead by Peter Judd, an electrical engineer - not a transportation engineer - who also happens to ride a bike. As Ann McAfee remarked (PI-13): if a transportation engineer had been chosen he would have most likely followed the existing groove that most engineers in

the transportation field still follow, which is one that favours the machine over the pedestrian. [256]

While the shift from machine space to pedestrian space sets the general context for the other two contrasts, it is also important not to forget that the move from the highway to the street and the shift from futurism to historicism is also connected to a number of symbolic class struggles between fractions of the new middle class and corporate capital that are still anchored in a modernist value system that had to do with consumer norms, the representation of status and power.

If modern consumption was rooted organized around the highway and freeway where shopping malls were built to serve a mass market with standardized goods that symbolized acceptance of corporate capital, the street did precisely the opposite. Its revival symbolized the renaissance of small capital and the cultivation of niche rather than mass markets. The re-emergence of the street can also be interpreted as one of the surface manifestations of a deeper structural shift from bureaucratic to market rule.

In turn, the first attempts to revive the street would be linked to the reaction against futurism and the embrace of historicism[257] - which favoured the rehabilitation of the street, rather than its destruction.[258]

Interestingly enough, these new retail spaces would flourish best in the zones of discard which modern city planning had mostly consigned to destruction through demolition or redevelopment. Across the country, in previously declining or derelict streets there was a pervasive renaissance in street life. Streets like Commercial Drive in Vancouver (Serafin 1994; VS-74; Hill 1997c); Somerset in Ottawa (York 1991), Queen Street West in Toronto (McInnes,1991); Osborne and Corydon Street, in Winnipeg; Spring Garden Road in Halifax (Cox 1991), Whyte Avenue in Edmonton (Maclean 1995; VS-85a) and Kensington and 7th Street in Calgary (Motherwell 1991) became symbols of this urban revival rather than decay. Not only did the revival of the street signify the growing importance of public rather than private

displays of consumption, the revival of the street also became symbolic of the arrival of the new middle class as new agents of transformation in the city.

As with the contrast between the city and the suburb a complex class dynamic can be observed in evolution of the street during the first and second phases of the postmodern transformation of the city. During the modern period the street was viewed as residual space that was mostly left for the use of marginal groups in the city. This would change during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city as the new middle class mingled with the ethnic and working class populations that still organized their social life and consumption around the street.[259]

With the class polarization and stylization of the urban spectacle the struggle between the new middle class and other classes over the use of the street has become more antagonistic in Vancouver (Barber 1997b).[260] Unlike the 1970s, when the struggle over the street primarily revolved around a struggle between corporate capital and the new middle class, in the 1990s it has been increasingly centred on an ever growing urban underclass and a disenfranchised urban proletariat (VS-89aa; VS-89c; VS--89d; VS-90; VS-94; VS-188; VS-193; Hill 1997).[261]

As a result the street has become a major battle ground between capital, the new middle class and the urban proletariat. During the modern era this was not a major problem since the street was not part of the middle class experience and capital was abandoning the street for the shopping mall. During the first phase of the postmodern transformation very little antagonism existed between the middle class and the urban proletariat because incomes and opportunities in the city were not so polarized, with differences further leavened by the ideology of inclusiveness that informed the ideology of the livable city. However with the rise of tourism, the emergence of stylized consumption associated with the urban spectacle (Picard 1991)[262] and the invasion of areas previously off-limits to the middle class because of strata title developments, an intense struggle over the use and occupation of the street has developed which shows no signs of abating, as large development retail corporations are now vying for control of the street as well (VS-94; VS-95; VS-96; VS-164; VS-166; VS-169; VS-188).[263]

In the 1990s control over the street by the middle class has been further complicated by the interest capital now shows in the street as well. While there has been some accommodation between corporate capital and the new middle class, conflict can still emerge when large capital attempts to introduce standardized or mass consumption formats which are opposed by the new middle class. Just as the new middle has mobilized itself against the proletarianization of the street by moving prostitutes out of sight and discouraging panhandlers, in a similar fashion it has mobilized against the corporatization of the street by large capital when it thought the image of the street had been compromised (Beaudin 1996; Fiorito 1995). [264]

One of the best examples of this was the middle class reaction against Starbuck's in the Annex area of Toronto and along Vancouver's Commercial Drive (Hill 1997c).[265] In the case of Toronto the opposition was so great that Starbucks even gave up its lease (i.e., Stein 1996). Meanwhile, in Montreal a similar response developed in the Plateau area, when the middle class mobilized against the location of a Macdonalds restaurant and gas bar along Park Avenue.[266]

Eight - The transformation of producer spaces into consumer spaces

Finally, the fourth feature which sets the aesthetics of the postmodern city apart from those of the modern city has to do with the transformation of working landscapes into consumer landscapes (e.g. VS-295).[267] In this instance changing consumer preferences rather than the question of physical scale becomes central. Here two things stand out. As indicated in the previous discussion, the contrast between the street and the highway not only had to with urban scale and the organization of urban space around the needs of the pedestrian rather than the automobile, it also involved the evolution of a different model for consumption, one that was organized around craft production and the consumption of artisan works. Differentiation and singularity associated with the artistic sensibility rather than the standardization associated with the machine of the engineer and the automobile becomes the new status markers for the new middle class.

The incubation of this artisan space would become important for the new middle class because it provided this class with an autonomous consumer sphere around which it could construct a material culture that was representative of a new world view; one that was expressive of artisanal modes of consumption and production – where informality, and the absence of a strict separation between work and consumption were key principles for the use and organization of space. For here the process of consumption and production become intertwined into some form of self actualization and, just as importantly, the achievement of individual autonomy. In the sphere of production this would take form in the person of the entrepreneur. Like the artist, the entrepreneur is involved in the act of creation and self-expression. In the sphere of consumption this sensibility emerges when the consumer turns the act of consumption into an artistic moment, using his or her store of cultural capital to engage in self actualization through the act of consumption by turning the act of consumption into an aesthetic act.

In the postmodern era the artist and the entrepreneur,[268] not the engineer or the organizational man, would become the new icons of the postmodern order. Either as consumers or producers, all acts are turned into acts of creation that bestow social status while serving as a means for self actualization. Since the entrepreneurial and artistic dimensions of this mindset often interpenetrate one another in the fast-growing information and entertainment economies this may explain why it is so intensively expressed here (Bourdieu 1984; Inglehart 1990).

This is quite different from the modern period, when the artist opposed the market (Greenberg 1972). In the postmodern era quite the opposite happens.[269] Whether as a cultural worker, wrapped up in the traditional guise of the artist, or as an entrepreneur, outside the direct influence of the aesthetic sphere, but still part of the artistic mindset, both express the influence of the market. When this happens, not surprisingly bohemian modes of living and bohemian designs become more popular with the new middle class and this affects the production of space, resulting in, among other things, the popularization of loft spaces, the preservations of older buildings and interiors and the general creation of more informal spaces.

Consumption once based more upon needs now becomes more attuned to the satisfaction of desires, further intertwining the extension of the market with the construction of individual identity as both become part of the project of self actualization, something that stands in decided opposition to the more puritanical order of consumption associated with the domestic order which predominated during the modern period (Shields 1992; Ricard 1994; Fortune 1994, pp.114-126; Grover 1994). For even though growing affluence defined the modern era, necessity still played a larger role in shaping the experience of the middle class, since consumption was more clearly organized around meeting the domestic needs of the family or conforming to the standards set out by a dominant bureaucratic order rather than focussed upon explore or fulfilling the desires of the individual. Again it is no accident that this change in consumption and change in aesthetic sensibility also coincided with the dramatic fall in the birth rate. If the middle class that came of age in the 1960s had had its energies and resources siphoned off into child-rearing as much as its immediate predecessors, this new sensibility would have had far less impact on the evolution of the city. Here, as can be seen, there is a great deal of overlap between the sociological and aesthetic development of postmodernism.

During the postmodern age this is further amplified by the economy as tourism and the leisure industry become more important. From this it is not hard to see how the further intensification of these trends became involved with the shift from the ideal of the livable city to that of the urban spectacle. In the initial postmodern reaction to the modern order there was a powerful communitarian stream that emerged before being submerged which was closely tied into a domestic order where emphasis was put on the satisfaction of needs and desires through non-market forums or by the alternative market that existed as a sort of consumer underground. Spatially this would find its most complete realization in the agenda of the livable city. Yet, during the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city, this communitarianism was largely washed away by the more powerful current of commercialism and the increased consumer orientation to the urban spectacle that was oriented in turn to the tourist's gaze (Urry 1990).

Especially, during the 1980s and 1990s, this would be reflected in the construction of a new infrastructure in the inner city that would be devoted to entertainment and the hosting of mass spectacles. Festival markets would appear and specialized precincts would emerge to serve the spectacle such as Toronto's Harbourfront (Reid 1986), Eau Claire and Prince's Island (Calgary Herald 1997o), and The Forks in Winnipeg. It would also increasingly affect orientation of planning in the inner city as the various initiatives undertaken in the downtown peninsula of Vancouver depict, as the creation of special precincts along Granville Street (CVCO-16), the Downtown South (CVCO-14; CVCO-15)) and the Library precinct demonstrates (CVPD-121; Lees 1997).[270]

This would alter the status of certain spaces that had been ignored or discarded during the modern period, and shift new middle-class settlement patterns. For when art was opposed to the market, the artist and the space he occupied repelled rather than attracted capital. However, when this was reversed and the artistic sensibility attracted rather than repelled the market (i.e., CVSP-5a) the presence of the artist no longer becomes a benign presence in low-income landscapes but a potential agent and catalyst for gentrification. This becomes quite obvious if one sees how the popularization of industrial spaces by artists has led to their use by the rising class of middle class entrepreneurs.

Principally in the era of the urban spectacle, one of the most salient features of urban change would be the transformation of industrial spaces into spectacular places of consumption and living. This is truly a unique development that had no precedents. For unlike the revival the street where the 19th-century city or the core's of present day European cities provided a precedent this was not the case the postmodern turn away from futurism and the way the embrace of a new historicism became manifest in the material and symbolical transformation of industrial and warehouse spaces that first began in New York City during the 1960s.[271] Here residential lofts were developed by and for artists (Zukin 1982; Simpson 1981; Smith 1996) creating a new house type that would be taken up in Vancouver in the late 1980's (CVCO-21;

CVCO-33a). In New York City as well as Vancouver, this would speed up the gentrification (VS-89c; VS-90; VS-95; VS-96).

If New York Loft provided the model for the transformation of industrial spaces into residential spaces, then around the same time San Francisco provided the model that would later be followed when industrial space was transformed into retail and office space. If lofts were given birth to in New York, then San Francisco gave birth the concept of the festival market with a woolen and chocolate factory that was transformed into Ghiradelli Square in the mid 1960s.[272] In both cities this happened during the counterculture in cities which had large middle class populations in the inner city. Toronto and Vancouver would act as the equivalent to New York City and San Francisco, becoming as the cultural hearth for postmodernism in Canada. In turn both cities would be influenced by what the new middle class was doing in these two cities, following in the same steps, as the minimalist vision of futurism provided by modernism was laid aside in favour of the collage granted by the revival of an historicist sensibility which would create a new social movement of its own, as the preservationist movement came into its own in the late 1960s.[273]

What is interesting to note about Vancouver ,and Toronto, and in Montreal, as well, is how widespread the conversion of industrial land into commercial and residential spaces has become. This conversion has become so intense in Vancouver that the city has been forced to take action to preserve some remnants of this landscape to meet the back office requirement of the downtown (Chu,1991; CVPD-126; CVPD-137; VS-111).[274] Moreover, in Vancouver, the transformation of industrial land has now even spread to the suburbs, with large tracts of industrial land in several suburbs where large tracts of industrial land have been turned into commercial and residential land uses (VS-102).[275] Indeed industrial land has become one of the major conduits for the spread of the densification process into the suburbs in Vancouver urban region.[276]

Thus when each of these three aesthetic characteristics are compared to their modern antecedents the wide ranging nature of the changes that have taken place in the settlement

pattern of the middle class and in their mode of living can be gauged. Although the need to fashion new status markers for this emerging class fraction is one reason why this aesthetic shift took place, as mentioned earlier, many of the changes that have been recounted are rooted in specific material conditions peculiar to this class -- such as the specialization of this class in the information and entertainment economy and in its propensity to have fewer children. Similarly, the adoption of new tenure forms facilitated the expansion of artistic modes of living, providing a postmodern alternative to the domestic order advanced in the program of the livable city.[277]

That is why the gay consumer market has become an important symbol and bellwether with regard to the social and aesthetic transformation of the postmodern city. More than any other subculture, the gay community would epitomize the artistic mindset that took hold in the period of the urban spectacle when the social and commercial status of this once suppressed and criminalized sexual subculture was simultaneously normalized at the same time as it was commodified to become one of the most dynamic space in the postmodern consumer landscape.[278]

Since the 1980s other demographic changes have further expanded this mode of consumption beyond its bohemian or the gay influencing an expanding middle-class singles population. Moreover, as the general population ages, a growing cohort of mature adult who have passed through the child rearing phase is becoming more significant, since this group has the time and money to engage in leisure pursuits, unlike its predecessors in the modern period.[279] Further beyond this group, there is an ever expanding and increasingly affluent seniors market (Schachter 1995) that will make up a larger part of the market for entertainment based consumption, providing additional fuel to feed the further growth of the economy of the urban spectacle (Lipovenko 1996).[280]

In spite of its authoritarian and technocratic bent over its entire evolution from an oppositional to hegemonic cultural formation, 20th-century modernism was able to create ideal representations of urban space that were meaningful to a much broader spectrum of classes. Despite the anti-urban aesthetic of modernism it could produce representations of the city that

were meaning full to capital, the middle class and the urban working class. For instance, after World War Two the International style became symbolic of the hegemony of corporate capital. (Gowans 1992). At the same time 20th-century modernism also became a symbol of the Welfare State, producing spatial symbols that confirmed if not glorified the status of the worker. Similarly this aesthetic order also became a symbol of the alliance between the middle class and the corporate capitalism and its allegiance to bureaucratic rule that became embodied in the middle class stereotype of the organizational man in the 1950s.

By this means it was possible for 20th-century modernism to create an array of symbols that were meaningful and significant to workers in the city, the middle class and capital. This was possible because all were participants, albeit not equal ones, in the productivist order that was championed by modernism where labour was not something was not something residual or hidden in the symbolic order. Moreover, despite the affluence of the modern era most people that came of age during the modern period were well aware of scarcity and necessity because of their experience of the depression and the rationing that accompanied the militarization of society during the modern period affected all classes.[281]

While postmodern aesthetics originally challenged corporate capital, over time capital was absorbed by capital. Not only had capital adapted to the postmodern order, the corporatist involvement in the production of second generation postmodern landscapes show that postmodernism is now becoming a generalized mode of regulation for the entire city, as the aesthetic forms of postmodernism have been seized by capital and used to further its own ends. This has not been the case for the urban proletariat,[282] that has been socialized in a bureaucratic order, but does not have the economic or cultural resources to deal with the uncertainty that results from the instability and flux of the new work culture. The inability of this class to seize the moment can be seen in rising unemployment levels and homelessness that have become chronic in the postmodern city during the age of the spectacle (Philip 1997g).

Even though the postmodern aesthetic code of the new middle class has largely projected a world view that favours small rather than large capital, the entrepreneur over

organizational man, the personalization rather than depersonalization of the relation between buyer and seller - these qualities antithetical to the engineering mindset that governed corporate culture during the modern period have been taken up by leading edge corporations to exploit new markets and regain the allegiance of the new middle class.

With increased participation by corporate capital second generation postmodern landscapes have been created that are not exactly the same as those advocated by Jane Jacobs With the new urbanism, postmodern regulation has ceased to be just a popular ideology of the new middle class or a program or the re-organization of space in the inner city. Postmodern aesthetics have instead become an integral element of generalized mode of regulation for the entire city. As it has become absorbed into mass culture, its forms have become important marketing devices to sell new communities.

4.5.4. - The transformation of the aesthetic dimension of postmodern regulation into a generalized mode of regulation for the city -the journey from popular cultural to mass culture.

For this reason there is a considerable ideological gap between the petty bourgeois critique of modernism that Jane Jacobs offers in *The Death and Life Of Great American Cities* and many people who are now advocates of the new urbanism.

The anarchistic sensibility that colours *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* has not prevented this book from being incorporated into bureaucratic regulation. A decade after its publication, the victory of urban reformers in Toronto and Vancouver brought this text into the mainstream, as the planning bureaucracies of each of these cities were restructed. As a ressult, this somewhat subversive text into the planning primer for the postmodern city.[283]

In the 1980s this anti-corporatist world view would begin to break down, as a second generation postmodern discourse on the city arose. As this happened, the function of postmodern ideology changed. It ceased to be an oppositional ideology and started to become part of a new orthodoxy. As this happened, postmodern norms became more closely attuned to the requirements and practices of the corporate sector. In Canada, at least, this shift from the

livable city ideology to that of the urban spectacle would take on a more generalized form with the rise of neo-traditionalism (Krier 1988) and the new urbanism (Katz 1994; Utne 1994; Barnett 1995)

With these two new genres the geographic range for the application of postmodern aesthetics broadened considerably. Also the social groups who adopted this ideology began to expand as postmodernism became a hegemonic force. With this development, postmodern aesthetics function less as a populist ideology for the new middle class and more as a cluster of free floating signifiers that operate within the ambit of mass culture which results in the subordination of these forms to capital. In so far that this is happening the context for the application of postmodern norms first promulgated by Jane Jacobs has changed considerably.

Because of these changes postmodern aesthetics have become more influential in the reshaping of the suburbs and exurbia. As this has happened the tone of postmodern discourse has also changed. While the polemics of many first generation postmodern thinkers took a defensive posture in order to prevent the machine space aesthetic of modernism from making further inroads into the inner city, a more aggressive stance has been taken by second generation ideologues such as Leon Krier (1988) Calthorpe (1993) and Plater Zybert (Mohney and Easterling 1991), as Jane Jacobs' ideas have been absorbed into a new planning orthodoxy.

When Jacobs first published *The Death And Life Of Great American Cities*, the inner city was being aggressively suburbanized, but now the opposite is happening, as many suburbs are now being urbanized. As these middle class representations of urban life have been appropriated by developers, their symbolic resonance has diminished as they have begun to function more as one-dimensional signs which point to meanings rather than as symbols that convey the full range of associations and assumptions about space which originally informed and motivated the construction of these postmodern spaces by the new middle class.[284]

Here the dialectic that exists between popular culture and mass culture becomes important to understand, with the movement of the postmodern aesthetics out of its geographic hearth in the inner city (Hall 1982; Hebdige 1980).[285] Although this process of cultural

conversion and redefinition of space has not been as extreme as in the field popular music or fashion (because the built environment is not so easily shaped by mass culture), nonetheless, there is a parallel between pop culture and what is happening to the second generation of postmodern landscapes that are being produced. This can be drawn out by looking at the emergence of the new urbanism in both Canada and the United States.

Indeed, as Frank Clayton (1992), a well known housing analyst, remarked, these landscapes (in this case the community of Seaside) have "more in common with fanciful tourist attractions like Disneyworld than a permanent place to live and work." Indeed, the representation of urban reality that is often conveyed in these second generation postmodern landscapes, function more as free floating signifiers of a commercial utopia unattached to a specific geography or history. Rather than being defined by the original oppositional ideology of the new middle class, these second generation postmodern landscapes are framed more by the marketing requirements of corporate capital that the realization of the urbanist vision of the city held out by first generation postmodern theorists. While the aesthetic shell of the postmodern city remains as the raw material for the production of these second stage postmodern landscapes many of the positive qualities associated with the first generation landscapes of the livable city have been washed out.

As with other cultural representations, landscapes that once symbolized subversion to the existing bureaucratic order now increasingly function as symbols of a new conformity. The revival of the street and the recycling of industrial landscapes can no longer be considered as radical acts. As with modernism some symbolic meanings have even been reversed, as symbolic forms that were once associated with non-conformity and rebellion against the existing suburban order may simply be displacing this order into a new form that is not much different from the ideal of the nuclear family in the modern suburb, specially since neo-tradtional planning appears to revolve around a contrived domestic ideal that is more suburban than urban.[286]

Examples of this happening can be already be seen in the way that the principles of the new urbanism are being used to construct new edge cities, such as Celebration, that Disney Corporation is currently building in Florida. (LeBlanc 1996; Phillips 1997; Al-Hindi 1997). So not only are the postmodern aesthetics being appropriated, their symbolic content is being subverted. The different permutations of this appropriation can be measured along a continuum that runs from the creation of the simulacra landscapes, at one end of the spectrum, to a middle ground, where developers and planners do, in fact, manage to engage in authentic place making, producing landscapes that are not completely contrived or artificial; to the other end of the spectrum, where unabashed mass market approach - this usually happening when the lower end of the market is targeted and so the production of kitsch landscapes (Greenberg 1972). This is when postmodern representations of space come closest to functioning as simple signs rather than as symbols that resonate with the world view projected forward by middle class urbanites. When this occurs the representation of space neither produces the simulacra effect nor becomes an authentic place making activity.

Usually the simulacra effect is achieved when postmodern codes are employed to draw in a more affluent, but conservative clientele. Although it is possible for meaningful place making activity to occur in this context -- it often seems to occur more by accident than a result of artful design. Kitsch environments most often result when postmodern aesthetics are pitched to a less affluent market, where the consumer does not have the cultural competencies to discern what is ironic or what stands as a mockery of the postmodern sensibility, since the consumer has neither the income or cultural competence to make these judgments about the cultural distinction that are imprinted into these landscapes.[287]

In Canada there are no obvious examples of the simulacra environments that can be pointed to. However, in the United States, there is of course Disney Corporation's Celebration, which, in the true tradition of the urban spectacle, has hired internationally renowned architects to produce stunning environments. And then there is Seaside designed by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Keeping in step with the powerful postmodern tendency

to render the world of production invisible, not surprisingly the ambience sought after in Seaside is that of a resort (Mohney 1991; Tzonis et al. 1995). However, besides the resort motif, another popular archetype for second generation postmodern landscapes is the 19th-century North American townscape. And it is this archetype that looks as if it will become the most influential.[288]

So far in Greater Vancouver, no simulacra landscapes have been created. However there are some authentic experiments in place making and the production of kitsch environment that can be pointed to in the suburbs. For example, in the City of White Rock (1995), an affluent middle class community located to the South of Vancouver at one end of a commuter and retirement axis for professionals in the urban region, and to the East, in the working class Cities of Coquitlam and Port Coquitlam, two examples of second-generation postmodern landscapes can be pointed to which stand as examples of kitsch landscapes and genuine place making.[289]

At the other end of the continuum there are examples of Kitsch environments that have also been produced in Vancouver. As said before, this usually happens when development is pitched towards a less affluent population and when there is an inactive or weak new middle class which is not around to pressure planners and politicians to produce higher quality and supposedly more authentic environments.

Maillardville, in the suburb of Coquitlam would be an example of Kitsch, while downtown Port Coquitlam can be cited as an example of successful place-making. As the Port Coquitlam example shows, Kitsch environments do not necessarily happen just when modest income groups are targeted. Nevertheless, as the White Rock example also illustrates, it is much more likely to occur when the market that is being pitched to is lower middle class or working class in origin. The production of Kitsch environments is also more likely to happen when the conversion of working-class or industrial spaces lacks amenity value, as was the case of Maillardville, where it was not so easy to suppress or render the working-class environments that once predominated here entirely invisible. [290]

Whereas White Rock could pick up and go with a resort theme this was not possible in Maillardville, which originated as a company town to house Francophone workers who were recruited to work in Fraser Mills, a lumber mill complex that was situated nearby, along the Fraser River (Villeneuve 1972).[291] So there are important nuances which have to with class and chance that need to be taken into account when looking at how postmodern formats are applied and altered in various contexts as this aesthetic has diffused outwards from the inner city and into the suburbs and beyond in tandem with the diffusion of the densification process.[292]

4.5.5 - Densification and postmodern aesthetics

Finally, more so with the philosophical or sociological dimensions of postmodernism regulation, the link between densification and postmodernism appear strongest at the aesthetic level. While this indicates that postmodern aesthetics are becoming the dominant expression of postmodern regulation, as earlier mentioned, it also signifies that they function less as middle-class spatial symbols the more generalized they become.[293]

Accordingly, the three aesthetic attributes that have been described, each have played a role in the densification of the city. For example, the inversion of the status relation between the suburb and the city is responsible for gentrification and explains why suburbs are now trying to turn themselves into cities to attract investment. Without this change new neighbourhoods such as the Beaches, which is expected to cost $300-million in order to build on a former race track site in Toronto would not likely have ever been considered (Black 1997; Zehr 1997a).

Consequently there is an important cultural component to the progression of the densification process which must always be kept in mind. Looking at the three aesthetic attributes in this regard, on the most general level, the attraction of capital into the inner city and its concentration can related to the cultural devaluation of suburban life and the more favourable take on city life which postmodernism has come to signify for the middle class.

Without this shift it is unlikely that developments such as the new Beaches community in Toronto, or the redevelopment of the Greater False Creek Basin would have taken place or that distinctive zones of middle-class resettlement would have appeared in the inner city.

Not only has this spatial status inversion affected the inner city. It has also altered how densification in the suburbs has been promoted and marketed. This can be seen in Canada's largest and fastest growing suburbs. Probably the most ambitious and exuberant example of this role reversal would be the attempt by the Toronto suburb of North York to recast itself as a city. In North York, ambitious plans have been drawn up to transform Yonge Street a second downtown spine for metro Toronto (Reid Fall 1993; City of North York June, 1992).

Similarly, in Surrey, (Vancouver's largest suburb) an attempt to remodel this suburb into a city is also underway. Surrey has even gone as far as hiring a consultant to rework image of this suburb to make it appear more like a city to lure investment (Munro January,12,1993). As with North York, planners and politicians hope to make Surrey the urban region's second downtown (Waal 1995; Risdon 1994).[294]

Lastly, this reappraisal of the city and the suburb has also expressed itself in the densification of greenfield sites on the fringe of the built-up areas of several cities in Canada that is most easy to see in the construction of neo-traditional communities, with Toronto now called the neo-traditional capital of North America. In total, within Cananda, so far between 10 to 20-billion dollars have been allocated over the next 20 years for the construction of these communities, so they will be far from insignificant. In the not-so-distant future they will contain tens of thousands of homes, and house hundreds of thousands of people. Principally in Toronto, how they evolve will have a great deal to do with the shape and intensity that the densification process will take in the exurban parts of the region during the next building cycle.

Although this neo-traditional format may be is situated a considerable distance away from original middle model of urbanity that was developed in the 1970s, the proliferation of these neighbourhoods does signify the increasing hegemony of postmodern regulation. With billions of dollars by some of Canada's largest development corporations are now being invested

into neo-traditional communities postmodern norms are no longer the sole domain of the new middle class. With eight neo-traditional communities now under construction (according to one writer) Canada is now reputed to have more neo-traditional communities underway per capita than any other country in the world (Warson 1997; 1997a; Chidley 1997).[295]

What is also interesting to note is how these development incorporate the historicist and pedestrian space orientations of postmodernism. So not only is the historicist bend of postmodernism responsible for the conservation of existing environments, that is most obvious with regard to gentrification, it is also responsible for the construction of new environments which take their cue from the past rather than the future. Another notable feature about these neo-traditional communities is the attempt to revive the street.

Thus, densification has also become intertwined with other attributes that define the aesthetic dimension of postmodern regulation. Unlike modern period - when densification most often involved urban renewal- in the postmodern period historicism often sets the conditions for densification. In this regard, the use area-based discretionary zoning not unique to the suburban neighbourhood located in the City of Vancouver (CVCO-66), but has also become a feature in other cities as well. For example, in Edmonton the Planning Department is now undertaking a study of all of its mature suburbs, and already atleast six neighbourhoods have been adopted historistic zoning protocols (Edmonton Journal 1997c; 1997k).

For this reason densification in the postmodern city has often been accompanied by a vocal and sometimes powerful preservation movement. Not surprisingly, this has lead to the establishment of historic districts. This in turn, has acted as a catalyst for investment. Besides the incorporation of an historistic sensibility into zoning districts for single family districts, in the City of Vancouver, it has been area such as Gastown and Yaletown which have become magnets for capital investment, something which was not the case during the modern period.[296]This relation between this historistic sensibilty and the densification of the city can also be withnessed in the revival of the street. Although this has stalled in Toronto, in

Vancouver the redevelopment of arterial streets has taken off in the 1990s, becoming a significant vector for densification.

This can even be observed in cities where the densification process is weak or very localized, such as Winnipeg, where a phenomenal amount of capital has been attracted to Corydon Avenue. But no doubt Toronto and Vancouver provide the best examples of this. While deliberate attempts to revive the street have not yet generated the level of investment that the recycling of industrial land into residential and commercial land uses so far, in Vancouver and Toronto this may soon start to change. [297]

At presentVancouver has been more successful than Toronto in using the unused capacity of its streets for new development. This is rather surprising since the success the City of Vancouver has experienced in recycling underused arterials has occurred in a city which has had a much weaker tradition of active street life. While changes were made to some of the city's commercial zoning bylaws to encourage the construction of residential units over ground level retail space in the early 1970s (CVPD-30; CVPD-47), only with the housing crises of the late 80's and the search for more ways to increase the housing capacity of the city has the underused development potential of the street begun to be used in Vancouver with streets like Broadway, Commercial, and West Fourth Avenue rapidly becoming important residential precincts on their own.[298]

Last of all, the link between the densification and postmodern aesthetics can be seen in the opportunities created by the recycling of producer spaces into spaces for consumption and reproduction. In Vancouver this has created the most important conduit for densification. In the inner city as well as the suburbs, industrial lands have provided the path of least resistance to redevelopment. Because of this, there has been a dramatic transformation in the industrial and working class landscapes of suburban Vancouver, something that has further fragmented and dispersed working class settlement spaces in the region, especially in the cities of Vancouver, Burnaby and New Westminister.[299]

Although this reconversion is also linked to the status reversal of the city and the suburb, of the three aesthetic attributes examined so far, this has been the most important in Greater Vancouver in terms of investment. More than the other aesthetic attributes, this conversion of industrial land has absorbed the most residential capital in the region during the 1990s. The most dramatic example of this would no doubt be the transformation of the Greater False Creek Basin into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement.[300] But just as important would be the conversion of industrial land along the skytrain line in Burnaby and New Westminister. Other than the downtown peninsula these are the corridors where the most intense densification in the region is now taking place.

The same kind of erasure of producer spaces can also be observed in plans to redevelop the ship yards in the city of North Vancouver, and the redevelopment that is planned for an area which once was a fishing processing complex in the community of Steveston, located in the suburb of Richmond, (south of Vancouver). As one local historian noted recently: "It's only in the last three years that people have suddenly decided that this is Gastown or Granville Island, before then, it was just a sleepy little village" (Strachan 1994). [301]

Having more to work with, Steveston has had greater success in incorporating the elements of urban spectacle into its redevelopment than Maillardville, with the fishing port becoming a popular local tourist haunt. For this reason there are more similarities between the postmodern landscape created in Steveston and the spaces that can be found in the Greater False Creek Basin such as Granville Island, than in Maillardville.

Further out, the same process can be observed in the exurban fringes of the Vancouver region. This can be seen in the city of Langley and Squamish, but is no doubt most apparent in resort communities such as Whistler. Unlike False Creek, here gentrification is taking place in an exurban rather than inner city setting.

4.6 - Final summation

To summarize what has been discussed so far: eight characteristics organized around three different dimensions of cultural practice make up the spatial matrix which set the

postmodern spatial matrix apart from its modern equivalent. Within North America these are the eight attributes and the three different dimensions of regulation that now shape the production of the physical and social spaces of the city.

Since postmodernism is a dynamic cultural system, it is not a static matrix for the regulation of space, but one that is still evolving. Its evolution also reflects the subterranean changes that are at work within the modernization process. In particular, as this system of regulation has progressed, the effect of the shift from bureaucratic to market rule can be linked to the evolution of this mode of regulation. In Canada this can be seen in the evolution of two quite distinct phases in the evolution of the postmodern city – with the initial phase phase molded more by bureaucratic, and the second phase more clearly influenced by market rule -- something symbolized by the exitence of the ideologies of the livable city and that of the urban spectacle.

Corresponding and facilitating this shift were changes in the political make up of local government that reflected changes within the new middle class and the development of a more exclusive orientation towards the use of space as it became a homeowning class with the change in tenure form. The continuing decline in the birth rate of this class also played a role in shaping this class, giving the market more room to influence the consumer habits of this class, as the emergence of a large non-domestic fraction meant that time and resources that would have been expended on child rearing could now be spent consumption, hence the greater commercialization that is present in the second era (G/M 1997s). The decline in the natural birth rate and the massive infusion of an Asian middle class, who had a greater commitment to the market and more suspicion of the state, created still further room for market influences to take hold and shape the attitudes of the middle class and the spaces it chooses to occupy. Meanwhile, the retreat of the activist state, fiscal crises and the rise of neo conservatism put an end to the era of the livable city by 1995, heralding in the era of the urban spectacle and along with it, the growth of tourism and the information economy that would provide the new

economic base to support this next stage in the evolution of the postmodern city (G/M 1997t; G/M 1997zd; VS-335; VS-337).

Because such strong and opposing elements define each of these postmodern eras, it is possible to take issue with their inclusion under the umbrella of postmodernism and make the case for the existence of that these two different modes of regulation. However, if the broader history of modernism is examined, the differences that separate the beginning and end points of a mode of regulation can, indeed, be vast. To see this, it is only necessary to chart out the permutations that twentieth-century modernism has undergone as it ceased to be an vanguard spatial ideology and was transformed into a hegemonic spatial formation. For example, twentieth-century modernism changed radically in the interwar years, when it was considered to be a subversive ideology. As is the now increasing the case for postmodernism, by the 1960s, twentieth century-modernism had become an ideology for the *status quo* (Egbert 1970). When this longer perspective is kept in mind, the shift from the livable city era to that of the urban spectacle appears less unusual, as a parallel can be drawn between what happened to twentieth century modernism as it was transformed from an oppositional ideological formation into a hegemonic one. If the same pattern holds for postmodernism, then the growing influence of postmodernism as a mode of regulation will likely correspond to the filtering out of the subversive elements that were present during the era of the livable city.

Lastly, as there are different historic phases in the development of the postmodern city that can be traced in the recent history of Greater Vancouver so too are there geographic ones, which we can see when the postmodern landscape that has come into existence in Vancouver is compared to other cities in Canada. As well there are striking national differences that exist. To see this, it is only necessary to look at the documentation of the postmodern transformation of Los Angeles by Mike Davis (1985;1990;1993) and Edward Soja (1989;1996).

It is still possible to say that the postmodern transformation of Vancouver has moved in a more humane direction than Los Angeles, yet there are a few disturbing signs of some

convergence with the watering down of the livable city agenda, and the growing influence of the market in the era of the urban spectacle. So far Vancouver has avoided the worst excesses of this privatization, since echoes of the livable city are still present in the institutional memory of the planning bureaucracy and the political culture of the city; but this is changing. With the market exerting a stronger influence on the use and regulation of space, rising property crime and the increase in homelessness, the carceral landscapes that Mike Davis has written about in L.A. have begun to appear in Vancouver because of the growing social polarization that has become apparent in the era of the urban spectacle.

This is reflected in changes in urban design, as less open and more enclosed structures are being constructed. Moreover with gentrification intensifying, and developers and the new middle class demonizing the lumpen proletariat, developers have been more able to have city council overrule planners and create fortress-like structures. Similarly city council has become open to the privatization of public space by private interests. The most egregious example of this would be the Molson Indy races held on public streets every Labour Day. Less obvious, but just as significant in terms of precedent was the success that a co-operative in Strathcona had in getting city council to close off a public lane because of the fear of drug dealers. More noticeable has been formatting of mega-projects into podiums which (whether consciously or not but probably quite deliberately are designed to do so) act as fortresses and castles.[302] Then there is the gating of public space at the Van Horne Loft development on Carrall Street in Gastown which provides an even more ominous and unfortunate example of the privatization of public space that is now beginning to take place. A fine example is the aggressive use of private security forces (VS-362) to displace undesirables in areas now being colonized by the new middle class (figure twelve).

Currently in Vancouver, there is a struggle taking place between these two visions of the postmodern city. One is based on fear. The other is based on communal solidarity. One embraces inclusiveness, while the other is more anchored in exclusiveness. As a consequence, one vision more clearly embodies bureaucratic rule and the other market rule in each. This can be

seen if the program of the livable city is contrasted with that of the urban spectacle. The different geographies that have been produced from this contrast can be pointed to if the north and south shores of False Creek are compared, or if current controveries over the use and design of urban space in the City of Vancouver are studied, such as the struggle between market and non-market rationales that has become manifest in the struggle over competing visions for the programming and design of Southeast False Creek (CVC0-54, CVPD-167; VS-175; VS-177). The same clash can be seen in the struggle over fate of Mole Hill (CVC0-27; Zillich 1997a) - a block of older homes owned by the city in the West End - or the future of the Victory Square Area in part of the Downtown Eastside (CVC0-22; CVPD-149; CVPD-166; Ward 1997). In all these examples the proponents of the livable city haver been engaged in a struggle with city council, which has recently been more inclined to favour the urban spectacle. However, recent initiatives taken by city council in the Downtown Eastside and the compromise worked out with regard to housing in Mole Hill, do show that market principles associated with the urban spectacle have become more influential in the 1990s while the impetus for social equity, which was given material expression in the livable city program (in the 1970s and 1980s), has become diluted.[303]

Unlike Los Angeles, where many strategic public space has been turned into carceral spaces, in Vancouver the doctrine of the livable city is still a powerful force[304] - although its influence is waning.While more examples of urban design that is guided by the desire to exclude or sift people out of the public domain significant investment is still be made in the creation of accessible public spaces, such as Vancouvers system of greenways and the continuing redevelopment of the Falsecreek and Fraser River shoreline (CVCO-63a; CVCO-73).

In terms of the overall regulation of the city, if these two vision of the postmodern city are looked upon as existing a continuum then Vancouver still occupies a middle position on the spectrum. For the time being at least, the momentum has clearly moved more in the direction of the urban spectacle. Even so, the struggle between both conceptions of the postmodern city are being determined on a project-by-project basis. So even in the exclusive communities built by

Concord Pacific, the city has still been able to preserve the shoreline for the public along False Creek and construct comfortable and usable public space, despite the initial opposition of the developer to such standards of civility.

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[1]The best contemporary example that can be cited is Israel. This country has been in a state of perpetual war since its inception yet, unlike its rivals, both individualism and a sense of social solidarity are highly developed.

[2]See SC-43; G/M 1997yy; G/M 1997zf; VS-307. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 2.

[3]See The Economist 1982; 1997a; 1997c/ Smith 1996/Price 1991/Montreal Gazette 1997b; 1997j/G/M 1997/Wong 1995/Price 1997/VS-179/Lukenbill 1995. Also look refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 3.

[4]See Little,1997d; Little 1997n; G/M, 1997s; VS-295.

[5] See G/M, 1997be; G/M, 1997bm.

[6] This theorization of the new middle class is largely based on the work of Charchedi (1976). Other sources used to formulate a definition of the new middle class were Burris (1986) Ehrenreich (1979), Clegg (1986) Giddens (1973) and Bourdieu (1984).

[7] One of the best accounts of this would be a PBS special entitled the Triumph of the Nerds that was released in 1996 that documents the rise the new corporate culture which arose with the development of the personal computer industry.Stark contrasts are drawn out in style of work and organization with older corporate culture emblematic of bureaucratic rather than market rule such IBM. Clear distinctions are graphically detailed such as the unstructured use of time and informality typical of artistic modes of production traditionally associated with bohemian existence.

[8] See obituary from the United Press in the Vancouver Sun, March 28th,1996 where the postmodern characteristics of the organizational culture of Hewlett-Packard is referred to. Also look at Peter Drucker who can be viewed as a postmodern guru in terms of governance in the corporate sector (Maithlewaite 1996). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 4.

[9] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 9a.

[10] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 5.

[11] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 4, Note 11.

[12] In the art world the break down of the separation that high-modernism attempted to maintain between the market and high culture is best shown in the work of Andy Warhol. With Pop Art, Warhol succeeded in breading the canons of modern art in several important ways. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 7.

[13]At the metaphorical level the sharp contrast that exists between the engineer and the artist would therefore have important ramifications for how class was represented in the symbolic order of the postmodern city. The emphasis put on artistic representations helps to explain the invisibility of the working class in representations of the city produced by postmodernism. Again, this can be related to the way the habitus of each class, which shapes the needs and aspirations of each class, is configured for each class. With the shift to consumption and alternative and non standardized modes of consumption the symbolic and social links that had provided a bridge between the middle class and the working class in the Fordist era disappeared for the most part. While the artist is a quintessential middle class social actor the engineer is different. Literally and symbolically, the engineer was a touchstone for all classes during the modern period and provided a common ground for identification, albeit for different reasons. Despite the limitations of the engineering mind set and its authoritarian nature the engineer did, nevertheless, play a heroic role in twentieth-century modernism, which helped to cast the working class in a positive light. Not only was engineering supply a means to become

upwardly mobility for many men from the working class, the glorification of the engineer also elevated the notion of labour and hence the place of the working class in the Modern order. Unlike the artistic temperament the focus was on needs rather than desires and the problem of scarcity rather than superfluity,the very opposite of the artistic mind set.

Thus, in contrast to the engineer, if the artistic temperament is studied, it is not too difficult to see why its foundation in the realm of superfluity could only give it limited relevance to the urban proletariat, whose habitus was based on scarcity rather than superfluity, the satisfaction of needs rather than desire, survival rather self-actualization, all of which, are the modus operandi of the artistic temperament. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 8.

[14]Thus, despite many of the limitations of modernism its abiding concern with equality and universalism and the way in which this came to fit in well with bureaucratic norms had a great deal to offer to the working class. While this may not have addressed the changing needs of the new middle class twentieth century modernism appears to have had a greater capacity to make sense of thc material needs and life experiences of the lower classes in the city. Although working class citizens were oppressed by urban renewal, at least in terms of how they were represented, they were at least recognized symbolically and not ignored, as would be more the case with postmodernism. Moreover, in some instance's modernism even produced a space that gave the working class a heroic role to play in the progression of civilization.

On the other hand, if the representations of class and space generated by postmodernism are examined what becomes clear is how closely the representations of life are restricted to world view of only the new middle class. Most of the representations that are constructed frame a perspective that originates from a representations of a world where the market is ascendancy. It also reflects a world view of those who are rich in cultural capital who have the symbolic means to subvert or go around pre-existing bureaucratic structures and create new opportunity structures for themselves. This is something that the middle class do more ably than the working class (Little 1996; 1997).

But for classes and individuals whose existence was framed by necessity rather than superfluity and to those who had less cultural capital to employ this new regulatory grid therefore only had limited utility.

It is possible to speculate that one reason why issues dealing with the experience of necessity have tended to be given short shrift or rendered invisible in this system, may have to do with postmodern attribute of transforming nearly all material controversies into questions about image or construing them in terms of consumption rather than production. Because of these biases Postmodern regulation has therefore shown a strong tendency to occlude important parts of material reality that may be significant to many non middle class social formations in the city, rendering the real conditions of those operating within the sphere of need and necessity invisible or necessarily incomprehensible to those whose world view is shaped by the experience of superfluity. In this fashion, on a macro level, at least, it is possible to see how postmodernism operates as a double edged force for change in the city. While it may create new and exciting consumer landscapes, its focus on images and consumption rather than production and objects make exclude many from its positive embrace while entangling many others who live in the city in its negative embrace.

[15]From regulation theory, words such as post-fordism and flexible production have been used to describe what is happening. Another popular umbrella word that has been used to describe this transformation is the term disorganized capitalism. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 9.

[16]Thus, cultural competencies useful in situations where there was a stable managerial format lose out to competencies associated with more entrepreneurial and autonomous forms of cultural production. In various degrees this change set the stage for the abandonment of the regimented and quasi military bureaucratic cultures that defined the institutional context for the middle class work environment when modernist formats for bureaucratic rule were dominant. The current popularity of empowerment strategies in the workplace and the emphasis now put on

interaction and communication highlights the new subjectivity that has come with postmodern formats for corporate governance. This, in turn, can be interpreted as one symptom of the shift to postmodernism. With authority being expressed in a new way a whole new array of cultural competencies that the new middle class have are now useful. Like its older forbearers in the main line bureaucracies, during the progressivist period, this new middle class has a vested interest in promoting these new forms. The docile acceptance of bureaucratic rule that once set the standard for behavior inside and outside the work place in the modern era has been challenged and overthrown in many of the more advanced consumer and producer realms. In some instances, even allegiance to professional expertise and the acceptance of objective knowledge has been questioned. In short many of the professional norms that were once used to justify modern bureaucratic rule have been made problematic.

[17] Hence it is now possible to talk about the existence of a shift in culture (Illich 1971). In metaphorical terms it can be described as a shift from an engineering sensibility to one marked by an artistic sensibility, which first appears in the vanguard segments of the information and entertainment economy: then spreads outwards from here. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 12.

[18]For a while urban reformers took formal control of the local state in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal. This also happened in second tier cities such as Edmonton and Ottawa during the 1980s and 1990s. Although the city council's of Ottawa and Edmonton were not controlled by middle class reformers reform mayors were elected. In Ottawa this happened in the early 1980s when Marion Dewar was elected to office (See Caroline Andrew, "Ottawa-Hull," in *City Politics in Canada* edited by Warren Magnusson and Andrew Sanction which was published in 1983 and John Taylor 1986). In Edmonton this happened in the mid 80s when a proto reform candidate, Lawrence Decore, was elected to the Mayor's Office and in the late 80s when Jan Reimer was elected to the Mayors office for two terms, before she was defeated in 1995. At the same time a powerful minority faction of urban reformers often followed these mayors, buttressing them- even if they did not have a majority on council. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 84.

[19] Monads are true entities, which are self sufficient, that develop according to their own internal laws and motion rather than by interrelations with other entities. See the Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy, New York City: Oxford University Press, 1996.

[20] What is interesting to note is how the personal sensibilities of the two planning director's who presided over the modern and postmodern transformation of the City of Vancouver is how each so accurately mirrored the principles and aspirations of each age. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 13.

[21]In other periodization frameworks for the city researchers such as Elizabeth Harman has developed a different typology where the same distinct periods are recognized but different weights are attached to them. For example Harman upgrades the most recent phase of the postmodern transformation of the city into a separate period of development in her classification scheme. Dividing the city into Pre-industrial, Industrial, Corporate and Neoconservative city periods. This is different from the typology to be used in this study although the era of the urban spectacle would correspond with the Neoconservative city she refers to (See p.176 in Frank Stilwell's *Understanding Cities and Regions*, Pluto Press, Leichhart, Australia, 1995).

[22]The dramatic decline of the downtown is symbolized in the threatened dosure of the downtown store because of Bankruptcy proceedings launched against Eatons.

[23]For example in 1969 in one of the magazine inserts that used to be put in most newspapers at that time, on the front cover there was a picture of the one of the members of the Eaton's family standing in front of the Winnipeg Store. It was in this article that the claim about the high level of expenditures in Eatons was made (Personal note).

[24]For a useful account of the switch over from the laissez faire period to the modern period see Clarke's *The Suburban Society* (1966). Also look at Harris' book entitled *Unplanned Suburbs*

(1996), where a good account of laissez faire development and its demise is given in the context of Toronto.

[25]See Cherney in the Winnipeg Real Estate News November 7th, p.3.

[26]This is quite different in the United States where the regimentation and fragmentation of the city was made uniform by the massive amounts of capital made available for urban renewal and freeway construction by the federal government in response to the Cold War (Beauregard 1993) the greater power of the automobile lobby (Caro 1974) and the institutional mechanism's that were constructed at the state and national level, which allowed this to happen much more easily than in Canada (i.e.. taxes, levies and subsidies such as the ability to deduct mortgage costs from income tax). In this way the production of freeways and single detached dwelling units, that formed the material basis for the organization of the modern city, was more easily facilitated in the United States than in Canada. In Canada there was no national freeway system funded by the Federal Government. Nor was there any form of massive urban renewal in the city as had happened in the United States. Although no interest relief on mortgages was provided an important institutional nexus for the promotion of the suburb in Canada was created in Canada when CMHC was created to set the condition up for the modernization of the city by promoting planned rather than unplanned suburban development (Carver 1976; Harris 1996).

[27]This time span marks the time between the victory of middle class reformers and the formulation of postmodern strategies for the re-organization of space at both the city and regional level in Toronto and Vancouver.

[28]While it is important to make this point it is just as important not to make it overdrawn. For example at the height of the modern period planners in Greater Vancouver were still very much concerned about disorderly development or sprawl which they called scatteration.

[29]See Regina Leader Post 19971 and City of Winnipeg 1994.

[30]In the case of Vancouver for example see VS-150; VS-153; VS-154; VS-156a; VS-196. For Toronto see The Toronto Star: 1997z; 1997za; 1997 zd; 1997ze; 1997zf; Stein 1997, July 12th; Spears 1997a.

[31]Even American economists such as William Vickrey have long recognized the hidden subsidies and costs that have gone into land extensive development. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 25.

[32]See benchmark figures for CPI, Treasury Bills, supplied by the Bank of Nova Scotia, in The Globe and Mail article, "Obituary for the business cycle premature," by Shawn McCarthy, p. B1, October 6, 1997.

[33]There were some exceptions to this, such as in the late 30s, but this momentum was soon cut off by the war.

[34]Jim Wilson, the Lower Mainland Regional Planning's Board first director talked about the contempt Sutton Brown showed towards the board, something that certainly made it harder to obtain a regional consensus that would have helped when lobbying the provincial government for money to build a freeway. In part the conflict had to do with the existence of two different and contrasting institutional cultures. After the Planning Department, in the City of Vancouver, the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board was the second most powerful planning agency in the region. However because of its director and the fact that it was a volunteer rather than mandated organization, a much more collegial culture developed, one which was much more responsive to dialogue with politicians and the public than the technocratic culture of the Planning Department in the City of Vancouver.

According to Jim Wilson, Sutton Brown also underestimated the influence of the suburbs and New Westminister, in particular, which was still an important locus of power and influence in the Lower Fraser Valley (PI-45). By the late 1960s this influence had declined but Sutton Brown did not to very much to bring its later incarnation either - when the Greater Vancouver Regional District (PI-11) was created.

[35] The city was also thwarted by the province because it was more interested in building roads in the interior where the ruling Social Credit party's electoral base was located.

[36] Modern planning in Vancouver was guided by three foundational sets of documents-two, of which, were produced even before the Planning Department existed. For more information on what they contained refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 23.

[37]In Bob Williams opinion, who was a former planner and city councillor who later went on to become a powerful minister when the first NDP government was elected in 1973, this was his belief why it was so hard for Sutton Brown to move ahead on his freeway plan.

[38]The shift from modern to postmodern systems of rule can therefore be tracked by looking at the internal organization of the planning department as well as by looking at the plans that were adopted in each period. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 32.

[33] For more information on the three reports that made up Sutton Brown's 20 year strategy for the modernization of the city refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 14.

[40] And this likely underestimates the equivalent cost of undertaking the projects in contemporary dollars because of the escalation in land prices that has since taken place.

[41] Refer to the following citations: VS-360; VS-359; Vs-352; VS-330; VS-326; VS-311; VS-286; VS-283; VS-281; VS-256; VS-181.

[42] Developments in the suburbs show that the regulatory trends in the City of Vancouver are not idiosyncratic. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 29.

[43] Employing 1,100 people, owning 3,200 rental units in 47 projects each person's pay the GVRD pays $128 for regional services provided by this federated form of regional government. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt.. 4, Note 30.

[44]Actually postmodern planning practices actually first took root in the Social Planning Department rather than in Planning. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 31.

[45]At this time reform mayors or councils were elected in Burnaby, Surrey and Richmond - the regions largest and most important suburbs. Since then the land question and planning in the Township of Langley, Delta, New Westminister, Port Moody and the District of North Vancouver have become politicized off and on as well.

[46] No doubt this was aided by the fact that the urban minister responsible for bringing in a new planning act for B.C. was, Darleen Mazzari, one of the pivotal urban reformers in the City of Vancouver between 1967 and 1972 (See GBC-3).

[46] On an organizational level the engineering mind set refers to Taylorism. On a philosophical level Taylorism embodies the transformation of Cartesian rationalism into practice. Here there is significant overlap as both manifestations of the engineering mind set discount subjectivity. In this regard, it is possible that one of most interesting and perhaps far reaching changes in this mind set may have emerged in Canada in the very heart of the modern bureaucracy with the introduction of a new management system called Synchronous Administration through Managerial Excellence or SAME, formulated by Nick Vanderstoop, a Canadian working for GM Canada. It is, perhaps, not without irony, that unlike Frederic Taylor, he was Mr. Vanderstoop was originally trained as an artist - not an engineer. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 34a.

[48]See The Economist 1997d; The Globe and Mail 1997zmm; 1997bd; Kettle 1984.

[49]Refer to The Globe and Mail: 1997l; 1997o; 1997zd; 1997 zv; VS-317; VS-337; Tracey Johnson 1997.

[50]Refer to Flanigan,1997; Castells 1996; 1996a; Cohen1996;1997, The Globe and Mail 1997zv; 1997zt)

[51]For Berman the modernization process provides the material foundation for the genesis and later development of modernism. Modernization can be defined as the process of social and economic change which is engendered by constant technological and institutional innovation. When modernization therefore becomes a dominant social force in the 16th century modern

culture emerges to construct the representation that are required to make sense of what is happening in a world where change becomes the norm rather the exception.

Consequently perceptions of time and space are permanently altered, establishing the condition for modernity which, for Berman, is defined as a state of unmediated experience of change, one that provides the material basis for the construction of modernism as a cultural field. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 34.

[52] More exactly Berman writes about the several phases of modernity. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 35.

[53]Commodification refers to the expansion and intensification of market relations in the economic domain. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 24.

[54]Only when bureaucratization starts to become an ascendant force after the First World War does the ambivalence shown to the market by 19th-century modernism became apparent in the attitude and images that now develop towards the bureaucracy. Until the postmodern era these representations of the bureaucracy would remain a minority opinion within 20th-century modernism. Hence, in contrast to the utopian society projected forward by authors such as Edward Bellamy's in Looking Backwards (Mumford 1961), which was written in the late 19th century, when bureaucratic rule was too insignificant to be regarded as a threat, a darker image of bureaucratic rule emerged amongst some intellectuals in the early part of the twentieth century that was at odds with prevailing outlooks. Huxley's (1966) *Brave New World*, and Orwell's (1949),*1984* would be the most noteworthy of these cautioning tales about the dark side of bureaucratic rule over social life. Here it is interesting how this minority perspective did not really become popular until it was absorbed into the postmodern discourse that emerged with the counter culture. In modern discourse these warnings about the bureaucratization of society were regarded as intellectual curiosities that stood had little relevance to the age. They were, as a consequence, one of several rebellious minority streams of thought that existed within twentieth century modernism but which were largely suppressed or marginalized.

[55] As Thompson (1963) has shown both the State and the market played an active role in dismantling the traditional order. In England this took place as reform while in France this took shape in the form of revolution (See Egbert 1970).

[56]If commodification is looked at in Schumpeterian terms, it can be conceived as a force of creative destruction that deconstructs whatever exists. It therefore stands opposed to the process of bureaucratization that also exists as part of the modernization process. While each stands in contrast with the other both are depend on each other, even though they generate opposing structures and norms. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 39.

[57]As a result, in comparison to 20th-century modernism, 19th-century modernism was far more chaotic and unstable. As Berman remarked, at a philosophic level twentieth-century modernism has no equivalents to the tempestuous and fluid work of Marx (1973), Nietszche (1968) or Hegel (1974). Similarly in the social realm, until the late Victorian period there was considerable flux in the social order as old social customs dissolved and new ones were formed with the movement of people from the country to the city. That is why the city became the object of study, for with these changes concern about deviance, social disorder and anomie arose and became the central pre-occupation of modern sociologists such as Toinnes and Durkheim and their derivative followers from the Chicago School (Applebaum 1973). Even in the aesthetic realm this flux and fluidity surfaces in the cultural eclecticism that defined the Victorian era, particularly if its architecture is examined (Gowans 1958).

[58]Besides the dynamic that is created within the modernization process by the interplay bureaucratic rule and the rule of the market there is another macro social dynamic which lies outside the modernization process that has to be mentioned and incorporated into the analysis of modernism and postmodernism and that is the impact that the militarization and the demilitarization of society have had. Particularly with the rise of bureaucratic rule a connection exists between its growing influence and the ascendancy of militarism. This was a point that caught the attention of several 19th-century sociologist but most especially that of

Herbert Spencer. More so than other sociologists he took note of how military and industrial oriented societies were configured (Turner 1985). Comparing the militant to the industrial spirit Herbert Spencer stated that in societies of "the militant type, regimentation in the army is paralleled by centralized administration throughout society at large; in the industrial type, administration" (p.612) becomes decentralized. He then goes on to say that the "inevitable trait of the industrial type is the multiplicity and heterogeneity of associations, political, religious, commercial, professional, philanthropic, and social, of all sizes." (Spencer 1966, pp. 612-613). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 41.

[59] Hence in Berman's account of modernism postmodernism is made a subset of twentieth century modernism whereas in this study it has been represented most recent epoch in the development of modernism.

[60] In Canada there was a lag in the development of neo conservatism. Although the Fraser Institute was formed in the early 1970s in reaction to the election of the NDP, in British Columbia, it wasn't until the mid 80s that it became more influential.

[61] This term was popularized by O'Connor when *The Fiscal Crisis of The State* was published in 1973

[62] See Akos Rona-Tas in "The First Shall be Last? Entrepreneurship and Communist Cadres in the Transition from Socialism," American Journal of Sociology, July 1994; "Defense Conversion in Russia's Regions' by Kapstein and Mills, OECD Observer, February March,1995; Russia's Emerging Market in The Economist April 8, 1995, East of Eden: A Survey of Eastern Europe in The Economist August 12th, 1989; Carl Off, "Yangtze-a- go-go: Shanghai, birth place of China's Communist Revolution, is emerging as an unlikely entrepot of Asian Capitalism, in Report on Business, October 1995.

[63] Except for Calgary, perhaps, if one visits any larger Prairie city there is no doubt that a Canadian underclass has emerged For the rest of Canada if one is emerging as well it is taking a different form from what can be seen in the Prairies. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4 , Note 46.

[64]Not only was the working class fractured and dispersed with these new developments in Vancouver. Other social formations even lower down the social ladder have been even more severally affected by the changes that have taken place. However, for the lumpen Bourgeoisie - composed mostly of bohemians and gays - this shift to postmodernernism has produced mixed results. Unlike the Lumpen proletariat, who have suffered rather than benefited from the creation of a postmodern spatial matrix in the inner city, this group has gained considerable social stature from these new developments. In the case of the lumpen Bourgeoisie a social inversion would occur because of the new salience of artistic modes of production and consumption in the life of the city during the era of the urban spectacle.

For this reason the social status of both gays and bohemians (CVSP-5a) increased and their capacity to appropriate space rose as they could afford to buy space and create their own micro communities. This was also helped along by the fact that these two groups were now seen by the market as seen as economic magnets rather than as liabilities. When this happened both groups became catalysts for gentrification transforming the social status and market value of derelict areas they lived in or had socialized in, popularizing these spaces to a broader segment of the new middle class.

Curiously enough, the market appears to have exploited the commercial possibilities of the gay rather than bohemian sub culture more intensively - although this may now be changing (Frank 1996). For many bohemians this new development often created a contradictory for itself since it popularity also produced conditions of its own displacement, particularly for non commercial artists.

For this reason the is still some overlap between the material interests of non commercial artists and the lumpen proletariat although it is one that is no longer benign because in the postmodern era the simple presence of artists can act as a trigger for gentrification that can result in the eventual exclusion of both groups. Unless strong remedial action is taken by the city or philanthropists, of which there are few in Canada, take action this is often what happens.

Thus, with the changing social status of the lumpen bourgeoisie a huge niche market for settlement space around the downtown peninsula has been created. A similar situation developed for the gay community as well, as it became a targeted market for new real estate developments in the Core (Price 1991; PI-19) as this once criminalized sub-culture was integrated into the postmodern spatial matrix of the city (Glover 1997; Wong, 1995, The Economist,1982).

With the growth in the information and entertainment economy a wealthier bohemian has also created a market which did not exist in the modern period. In Vancouver the most obvious expression of this is the creation of artist live- work studios. With their rising incomes and the demand for these new spaces competition for space in Core has further accelerated. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 47.

[65]See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 60.

[66] Thus the average number of people on welfare during the 1970s averaged out to 54 per 1000. This number rose to 55 in 1980 and then climbed to between 71 and 76 per cent between 1983 and 1990 (See Jillian Oderkirk, Food Banks, in Canadian Social Trends, Spring 1992).

[67]Evidence of this polarization can be seen in the decline of the minimum wage below the poverty line over the past twenty years. For example in 1976 the minimum wage stood 106 per cent above the poverty line. However, by 1994 it had fallen 53 percent below the poverty line (Oswald,1994). To make matters worse, this rising poverty has become more concentrated in the city. For instance, according to figures supplied by the Canadian Council On Social Development, in 1973 only 26 per cent of all poor families lived in the city while in 1993 this had risen to 56 per cent (Little, July 1, 1996).

[68] For instance in a new study entitled Skill and Employment: Effects Of Computer Based Technology by economist Kathryn McMullen, that was published by an Ottawa based group known as Canadian Policy Research Networks, a study of job creation and loss between 1992 and 1994 was conducted by surveying 263 employers. What the study concluded was that computers were creating more jobs than they were destroying but they were also eliminating unskilled jobs. In turn, people with unskilled jobs were being sloughed off into other sectors rather than being given an opportunity to upgrade their skills.

The study found that in low tech companies managers and professionals comprise 15 per cent of all workers and 36 per cent are unskilled. However, in high tech companies 31 per cent of all workers were managers and professionals and only 10 percent were unskilled. Furthermore, between 1992 and 1994 professionals and managers accounted for 54 percent of all new jobs created and only 9 percent of those lost (Little 1997).

[69] This excludes the great depression. For the destitution now seen in the city is not a cyclical but structural feature of the new age. Thus while Ottawa has moved out of its worst postwar slump, over the past 12 months the number of homeless men seeking refuge went as high as twice the expected level, with around 3,220 instead of the 1,500 predicted by experts (Blanchfield 1996). Similarly in Toronto the numbers are much higher. Here space has become so tight that homeless people are now being sent out of Toronto to cities where there are high vacancies (G/M 1997ck).

[70] See The Globe and Mail July 24,1995 "Cities Struggle to Control Prostitution," and Lowman (1984), as well as the Government of British Columbia (1996a) "Community Consultation on Prostitution in British Columbia." Also look at the findings of the Fraser Commission that the Lowman Study is part of. See Report of the Special Committee On Pornography and Prostitution, entitled Pornography and Prostitution in Canada, Vol. 2, 1985.

[71] Thus diseases which modern health regulations had largely eliminated have returned to the postmodern city (see *Health Planning And Social Change* by Leonard Duhl, Human Science Press, New York city, 1986 and Charles Hastings "The Modern conception of public health administration," in *Saving the Canadian City*, edited by Paul Rutherford, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

[72]This not only applies to the North American City but has become a growing problem in European cities. For example, there is evidence of a return to social conditions that were once common in the 19th century, particularly among the new immigrant populations, who function as the under class in these cities - much as the Aboriginal population does in Canada or Blacks do in the United States. In places like Marseilles this had lead to similar patterns of family break down and a sense of hopelessness, but here it is happening to Arab families rather than to Black or Aboriginal families. Thus in Marseilles 22 to 26 percent of the population is estimated to be living in poverty.

Elsewhere in Europe, Eurostate, the statistical agency for Europe, used figures from 1993 to show that about 57 million people or 17 percent of the population lives in poverty: with the percentage ranging from 13 percent in Germany, 16 percent in France, to a high of 29 percent in Portugal. Even in Frankfurt, 20 percent of the population has fallen below the poverty threshold. See John Vinocur, (from the International Herald Tribune) "Poverty becoming ugly routine in Europe: In the new improved European Union, the distribution of wealth is increasingly imbalanced, experts warn," in The Globe and Mail, October 17,1997, p.A12. Also See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 66.

[73]In Canada they have not become as popular as they have in the United States One reason for this is that many planners, particularly those in Ontario, have tried to manipulate existing codes to make them expensive: for instance by making interior road spaces meet regular road standards (according to one planner from the city of North York), but also because much of the demand for this accommodation is met in the United States where Canadians buy such units to live in during the Winter. Nevertheless, gated communities are spreading in Canada, particularly where older people are retiring. One of the most notable examples of this would be what has happened in Kelowna since the early 1980s - an urban area with a population around 130,000, which may have the highest concentration of this type of housing in the country.

Older people seem to like them because of fear about crime levels however police are leery of gated communities, noting they are not community minded developments, and personal experience certainly reveals that they create extremely unfriendly habitats for pedestrians and favour more car use. But in Kelowna they have become so popular that development companies such as Canadian Adult Communities, have become specialized in this type of development, building 12 gated-communities in Western Canada- 10 of them in Kelowna, one of them being Sandstone a 189 unit development which markets safety, to lure in retired people, especially women (See "Safe And Sound Behind The GATE by Lorranyne Anthony, Macleans, July 21, 1997 p.25)

[74]Blakely notes that most gated communities are located in the South and the South West, with California having the most, followed by Florida and then Texas. They are also located in large cities. In all cases, wherever they are become popular it is in places undergoing rapid change, with fear of change and concerns about safety triggered by rapid immigration and the emergence of an urban underclass triggering the production of these communities. He also identifies three motivations for their construction. As already mentioned fear is one motivation. However mixed in with this fear is the desire for exclusivity, so some gated communities are built with this in mind, with the assertion of status as much as protection the motivation for their construction. Finally, the creation of leisure communities is the other motivation spurring the construction of these communities.

[75] Although these communities are less common in Canada, fear about crime and the desire for security by an aging population has made this settlement form more pervasive in Canada as well. For a critical American take on these communities see David Guterson, " No Place Like Home: On the manicured streets of a master-planned community," in Harpers Magazine, November, 1992. For a high brow Canadian perspective on these environments see Adele Freedman, "Gateway to mindlessness -Welcome to Century Village, Florida, where bland is beautiful. A week or two in this comfortable, oversimplified setting and your brain goes numb.

There's freedom to move but nowhere to go (except the mall, of course)," in The Globe and Mail, April 13, 1991.

[76]Soon after Bartholomew was hired interim zoning was established for the City of Vancouver in 1927 (CVPD-61). This was followed by a permanent zoning code in 1930. Similarly a comprehensive plan was produced in 1928. While never formally adopted, the Bartholomew plan served as a policy template for all later planning initiatives during the modern period until the 1970s. After the war Bartholomew's consulting firm was brought back to update the 1928 plan and 1930 zoning bylaw (CV-1). In the follow up reports that were produced it is interesting to note how most of the beaux arts references were dropped as the representation of space as abstract space became more prominent. Also notable, is the increased emphasis placed upon the automobile in the reports that were produced in the late 1940's (CV-14; CV-15; CV-16). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 82.

[77] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 76.

[78] Indeed when Ray Spaxman, the Planning Department's Director from 1973 to 1989, was asked about the corporate culture of the Planning Department he stated that it reminded him of the British Military (PI-21).

[79]For as will be shown, a distinctive period of city building evolved within Canada, which diverged significantly from what happened in the United States during the 1970s. This difference stands out as a cautionary note about making generalizations that are too broad. Even if the same mode of urban regulation is present in two countries the production of space can still vary considerably because of the institutional makeup of the local state.

For example, compared to the United States urban renewal had a very limited impact on the Canadian City. Probably fewer than 50,000 housing units were produced in Canada before urban renewal was halted but in the United States approximately 1.3 million housing units were produced during the modern period and thousands of acres of were cleared because of federally funded freeway programs, which did not exist in Canada.

[80] As a recent report on the Better City Government initiative notes: "Well over three-hundred staff in at least ten City departments are involved on a regular basis, in the applicable of by-laws, regulation, guidelines, administrative interpretations, and other documentation fill as least ten feet of shelf space." Moreover, around fifty percent of "the direct cost of development permits results from staff costs outside the principle permitting department, Planning." (See Standing Committee on City Services and Budgets: Better City Government Development and Building Review - Time Lines, Improvements, Efficiencies and Cost Savings, February 28,1997 - April 10th agenda - CVCO-44, p.4).

[81]In Contrast to the engineer, if we examine the historic origins of the artist quite a different set of class affiliations emerges. Unlike the engineer, whose origins are within the working class rather than the middle class and whose sensibility is guided by the notion of scarcity and necessity rather than that of superfluity and freedom, it is not hard to see why the artistic mode of existence produces a smaller space in the popular imagination and a larger one with the middle class and the aristocracy (Hauser 1952).

[82] Despite the paternalism and the authoritarian nature of the engineering world view, something which might have to do with its emergence as a full fledged profession at a time when bureaucratization and militarism were ascendant influences and the occupation structure for the profession was located in the state or in large corporation, during the modern era the engineer was also able to stand in as a cultural icon for the working class, becoming a positive role model for both the working class as well as the middle class. See Salley Hacker (1989) for commentary on the close tie between engineers and corporate capital.

[83]Because the engineering mentality is basically a utilitarian and economistic one that is built around the notion of limited means and closely defined ends, scarcity and functionalism becomes one of the main bias that can be seen in this attitude, as the need to search for the most efficient and least cost solution to a problem becomes a paramount concern within the parameters chosen. However, within this parsimonious attitude there can be goldplating if the standards are

ratcheted up as is often the case with many engineering projects. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 63.

[84]Although it is not within the scope of this research to explore the relation between modern city planning and engineering this subject is deserving of further study. Not until planning schools were set up and other fields such as geography and, to a lesser extent, sociology and political science began to supply more recruits into planning schools and planning departments in the 1960s was the engineering mind set which predominated in planning diluted somewhat (Clark 1976; Gerecke 1976).

[85] As an outside reviewer of the Department noted "The Planning Department was originally staffed by personnel transferred from the City Engineer's and Building Departments, and from the Town Planning Commission. Close relationships have been continuously maintained since, especially with respect to zoning and subdivision control, development permits, and highway and traffic design," (CV-2).

[86]Upon reading this draft Ron Youngberg's commented that it was the presence of the Technical Planning Board as much as the iron hand of Sutton Brown that had to do with the ineffectiveness of Bill Graham. It might also be speculated that Graham was one of the first signs of the shift away from the engineering mind set in the department since he was trained as an architecture, although a somewhat quirky one, since he was also fundamentalist Christian.

Still as Youngberg noted, the Board of Administration sat every Friday afternoon and made decisions. "It was the only the Planning Department that was subject to scrutiny by its peers. Although the Director of Planning was also the chairman of the Technical Planning Board and could enter a minority report, it was not usual. The Commissioners: Sutton Brown and Lorne Ryan also sat as members and you know who in the room steered the discussions." (PI-27).

[87]For instance, after Sutton Brown left as the director of planning he was replaced by Fountain, another engineer. Only when Bill Graham, who was trained as an architect, was hired as the third director, in 1963, was a non engineer put in charge of the Department. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 67.

[88]For as Frederick Winslow Taylor would have understood, in a monological system of bureaucratic rule only those at the very top of the hierarchy were expected to have knowledge of the overall plan. This absence of understanding about the direction that the Department was going among many of the planners who worked in the lower echelons of the organization can therefore not be interpreted as a symptom of lack in direction or leadership. Precisely the converse could have been the case. Although Graham may have been weak the discourse that Sutton Brown had created was not and his presence was still felt in what went on in the Planning Department. Thus an examination of the discourse and practices of the Planning Department between the mid 50s and the early 70s does not reveal disorder so much as the operation of one unremitting logic for planning that was never strayed too far from that logic being the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown that was set out in the three reports which were released by the Department..

[89]Rather than being viewed as nurturing entity the bureaucracy started to be viewed with horror and hostility by many middle class intellectuals. With the decline in the influence of the military and engineering mind set planners were no longer so willing to put up with the rigid chain of command and this lead to a steady departure of planners from the Department from 1967 through to 1973 (VS-23; VS-27; VS-39; VS-40).

[90] What recently happened to the institutional culture of a bomb factory shows just how strong the connection is between militarism and authoritarian monological rule. When a military logic was replaced by a market logic everything changed at this bomb factory in Oak Ridge Tennessee. No where would his become more evident than in security arrangements and the flow of information. As Mr. Beck, the director for the Oak Ridge facility remarked: " While secrecy might be an intrinsic element in a bomb factory extensive security checks produced massive inconveniences in the new environment of business, give us your toughest problems, You're sitting

in a facility which in 1992 was a secret facility.. . . I couldn't have gotten you in here in a month of Sundays, let alone in 10 minutes (Struass 1996a)."

[91]Indeed this would come out in a Department review commissioned by Ray Spaxman when he was hired.

[92] Using Ruth Benedict's (1959) anthropological typology of cultural and personality types it is possible to encapsulate the personalities of these two important institution builders and relate their personalities to the way that the bureaucratic culture of the Planning Department evolved in these two separate and contrasting periods of time, which highlights the monological rule that was dominant in the modern era and the dialogical rule that prevailed in the postmodern era.

Embodying monological, there was the person of Gerald Sutton Brown, who was clearly emblematic of the man in the Grey Flannel Suite. He was the perfect personality match for the leadership that was called for in the Bland and Spence Sales Report (1951). So even before Sutton Brown appeared the way had been prepared the Appollian perspective which would materialize in the person of Sutton Brown. As the reference to the Greek god of lightening and reason suggests, the values of discipline, order and reason were paramount values that would be emphasized in the institutional culture of the Department.

[93]Although the artist and the urban proletariat have traditionally shared the same physical space in the city it is quite another matter when looking at the mental landscapes each group occupied. While both groups were physically close to each other intellectually they lived on different continents in terms their world outlooks. Even though both groups might live in poverty one vital difference was that the artist often had a role in deciding whether this would be his fate, which could even provide some consolation for the poverty that was often an occupational risk associated with this middle class profession. Here at least poverty might be fashioned into something that might appear heroic since it could be depicted of in terms of sacrifice rather than failure, in this way transforming the artist into martyr deserving of special consideration. However, for the proletariat, which had no choice in this matter, other than religion, there was no equivalent social mechanism to convert poverty into a badge of honour or somehow translate it into something which could be seen in heroic terms. Until the birth of socialist ideologies poverty was a mark of fate and not something which was chosen and this may explain why the artistic mind set often found little resonance with the way that the urban proletariat thought about itself even though these two groups may have lived in the same quarters and shared the same degree of poverty (Bourdieu 1984).

For all of its glamorization of poverty, as Bourdieu explains the difference has to do with the fact that the artistic mode of existence is based upon a middle class habitus which begins with the premise of superfluity whereas working class experiences and identifications work from the vantage point of scarcity (See Bourdieu 1984).

[94] Ann McAfee remarked that although Ray Spaxman often look at space from the eyes of the person on the street, it was not from the vantage point of the resident in the building. This comment would support the point that has been made about the artistic sensibility and further sharpen the contrast that existed with the utilitarian perspective of Sutton Brown.

[95]Compared to modernism, postmodernism therefore had a hedonist edge which conservative social critics such as Daniel Bell (1976) took due note of, as conditions of affluence rather than scarcity allowed this class to expend energy on the search for self realization (Inglehart 1990) rather than the struggle for survival or the exploration of desire rather than the simple satisfaction of needs (Leiss 1988).

[96] Unlike the modern period Goal formation became a central pre-occupation of middle class populist's. Hence the middle class rather than the planners were the first group to formulate many of the tenets of postmodernism. Also Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 76.

[97]As Jim Wilson (PI-45) noted, Sutton Brown's inability to work with or understand the power dynamics which were operating in the Lower Mainland may have been one reason why his

plans for the region were not eagerly embraced by other politicians or other planning bureaucracies in the region. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 77.

[98]This would be reflected in the 1967 re-organization of the Planning Department (CVPD-16). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 78.

[99] Hence Spaxman went before council and asked for a 40 percent increase in staff levels. Furthermore, many regarded "Shaping the Future" as a plan to usurp the authority of other departments (VP-32).

[100]A good case in point would be Mountain Equipment Co-op, headquartered in Vancouver, which was established by UBC students in 1971 and now employs about 800 people, has one-million members and sales around $115-million a year. See The Globe and Mail 1998bd.

[101]The federal government became the major of promoter of postmodern housing and planning strategies across the country when programs like NIP (Neighbourhood improvement Programs) and RRAP (Residential Rehabilitation and Assistance Program) were created in 1973. This coincided with the victory of urban reformers in 1972. That is why this period can be seen an the launching point for the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city.This period would last for twenty years. Beginning in 1972 it would end in 1995, when the Ontario government cancelled its non profit housing program. Government involvement in housing was therefore one of the hallmarks of the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city, By the end of this time approximately 230.000 housing units had been produced by the non profit sector with the number of co-operatives growing from around 2,000 units in 1973 to around 72,000 units in the late 1980s (Burke 1990; Dreier 1993; Wexler 1996).

[102] The word is taken from Guy Dubord's (1977) influential essay Society of the spectacle, wherein the author describes the nature of the spectacle. Thus Dubord states that in "societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles, Everything that was directly lived has moved away into representation (1) . . .The spectacle which inverts the real is in fact produced (8). . . The attitude which it demands in principle is passive acceptance (12). . .The sliding of having into appearing (17). . .image objects (15) . . . loss of unity (29), alienation (28) passivity (30) . . . (hence) The spectacle within society corresponds to a concrete manufacture of alienation (32) . . . (which can take form in the creation of specific types of urban landscapes, landscapes which are tourist landscapes, as Dubord remarks . . . Tourism, human circulation considered as consumption, a by-product of the circulation of commodities, is fundamentally nothing more than the leisure of going to see what has become banal. The economic organization of visits to different places is already in itself the guarantee of their equivalence. The same modernization that removed time from the voyage also removed from it the reality of space (168). From these words and phrases of Dubord some of the essential differences that set the first and second phase of development in the transformation of the postmodern city can be gleamed out and commented upon. The movement away from the agenda of the livable city to that of the urban spectacle therefore involves a number of important shifts that can be related to the modernization process and the change in the balance of power between market and bureaucratic rule. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 86.

[103]In cities with large and fast growing office sectors, such as Vancouver and Toronto, this involved the development of the most sophisticated containment strategies. Not only were large parts of the inner city downzoned, a strategy for dispersing the downtown office overflow into suburban town centres was adopted (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto 1976; Greater Vancouver Regional District, 1975). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 87.

[104] For example this can also be seen in Winnipeg and Montreal. With regard to Montreal see selections in Pickvance (1976). In Winnipeg the alliances between the new middle class, ethnic groups and the urban working class can be seen in the advocacy planning engaged in by the Institute of Urban Studies, in the early 1970s. Not surprisingly the institute was the brainchild of Lloyd Axworthy, an assistant to Paul Hellyer, the minister who brought the ideology of the livable city into focus within the federal government with the publication of the Hellyer

Report in 1969. In this regard early publications of the Institute of Urban Studies such as those written by Axworthy and Cassidy (1974) and Epstein (1974) are interesting to look at since many of the six attributes that define the ideology of the livable city come out in the studies that were conducted then. Unfortunately for Winnipeg, this ideology was sown on shallow and sterile ground. As Winnipeg entered a prolonged and debilitating period of stagnation in the 1970s the middle class constituency which would have supported the programs advanced by the Institute of Urban Studies, evaporated, leaving the Institute to eventually wither away as a progressive voice for reform in the city (author's personal observation and involvement with the institute during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s as a student, observer and researcher for the institute)

[105]Prior to this, bylaw enforcement and the maintenance of building codes had been the major preoccupation of activists (Ward 1997, Pi-4; PI-8).

[106] For example with the opening of BCIT's new downtown campus a hotel that once provided inexpensive room at $450 a month is being renovated and room charges of up to $2500 will be charged (See "Renovated St. Regis hotel with brew pub restaurant part of a new downtown upgrade-sparked by the construction of the new BCIT downtown campus the once-shabby area around Seymour and Dunsmuir is being transformed by new business," by James Rison, Business in Vancouver, August 20,1996).

[107]As Guibault (1983) has shown, (in his account of the evolution of modern art in New York City): over time there was a change in the class alignment of twentieth-century modernism. As modernism became less populist in orientation and more elitist, the earlier links it had with working class aspirations were suppressed or re-configured as twentieth-century modernism became a symbol of the hegemony of corporate capital and acceptance of bureaucratic rule.

[108]By looking at what happened in Canada's three largest cities it is possible to show how an oppositional postmodernism strategy for the production of urban space developed, something that postmodern theorists like Hal Foster (1983,pp.169-70) and Kenneth Frampton (1992, pp.314-343) theorized about, when they coined expressions such as critical regionalism. In Canada what became noteworthy about this was that these ideas were actually realized for a brief while. In Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver powerful examples of an oppositional landscape that extolled communitarian values and stood in opposition to both the control of space by the bureaucratic state and the market can be pointed to. In Vancouver the most important example would be South False Creek (1976; Hulchanski 1984, Hardwick 1994). In Toronto St. Lawrence Neigbhourhood would become the best expression of this (Hulchanski 1984). And in Montreal Milton Park would no doubt stand out as the best example of how an oppositional landscape was realized in the production of space (Helman 1987). Each, in its own way, would stand out as the apogee for the livable city agenda in these cities. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 91.

[109]As a reviewer of Yergin's and Stnislaw's (two economists) book *The Commanding Heights* (1988), notes, Canada is not mentioned is the survey the author undertake of the conservative revolution

[110] Again, this also had something to do with the presence of a social democratic party. While both the left and the Right were vigorously attacking the state in the United States, the animus towards bureaucratic rule in Canada was displaced to large private corporations as much as it was to the State. Thus urban reformers excoriated large corporate developers such as Trizec and Marathon Reality more than they did the state. While the state did not remain untouched by criticism it was viewed as a vehicle for progressive social action, as reformers called for innovative government programs, not their elimination. This also took place at the national level, with the leader of the New Democratic Party directly attacking Corporate Welfare Bums not the Welfare State itself (See Laxer 1996).

[111]Changes to the national housing Act also made it possible for municipal government to become more actively involved in the production of housing. By setting up non profit housing corporations they could become active participants and not just passive regulatory agents in the

production of housing. In this case, the most successful example of municipal involvement would be the establishment of Cityhome, by the City of Toronto, in 1973. It arose as a response to the protest of middle class activists, of which Jane Jacobs was one participant, who were agitating against the demolition of a row of Victorian housing. This lead the reform Mayor, David Crombie, to sponsor the city's purchase of the houses. In turn, this triggered a series of experiments with medium density and infill housing projects that were to become the hallmark of the first period of the postmodern era in Canada. In Toronto the main institutional vehicle for these experiments would become Cityhome. It would become responsible for the construction of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood and after twenty years in operation control over 7,000 units of housing in the inner city (See John Barber. Influence of Cityhome created unique boom, in Globe and Mail February 4, 1994). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 93.

[112] For the city this initial disenchantment with both the state and the market logics for the organization of space fueled the search for a third way path that avoided the perceived pitfall of both. To this end the informal economy emerged as an alternative, as community based initiatives were experimented with as one way of developing non market rationales for the organization and production of space while avoiding the alienating consequences of bureaucratic rule which public involvement usually involved (Boyte and Russman 1986).

[113]These are some reasons that can be advanced for explaining why the reaction against modern bureaucratic rule did not translate into open hostility towards the state and the paralysis of state intervention in the urban domain. While the new middle class in American were demonizing the state during the 1970s, it was still being embraced by the new middle class in Canada because they were able to change the look of bureaucratic rule by having it reformulated along dialogical rather than monological lines. As a consequence the bureaucracies of the local state continued to advance, rather than retreat during the 1970s and 1980s, as Canada's three largest cities became heavily involved in implementing the agenda of the livable city. By contrast, over the same period to time, if the two largest cities in the United States are compared, opposing circumstances were shaping what was happening. Here circumstances were forcing the retreat rather than the further advance of the local state, with the liberal regime of New York City reigned in by the near default of the city (Fitch 1993) and local government in the Los Angeles region crippled by the constraints placed upon its ability to act by measures like Proposition 13 (Stocker 1991). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 120.

[114]While the livable city program arose out of the broad experiences and reactions of the new middle class to modern rule these two men would play an important role in translating these informal aspirations of middle class into a series of formal goals for the City of Vancouver and the Regional District. In the case of the City of Vancouver these goals were formally integrated into official planning policy with the publication of a document called "Shaping the Future" in 1974 (CVPD-36). Although later modified in CityPlan, in 1995, (CVPD-141) many of the goals that were articulated in this document still remain in force. The same can be said for the regional district as the Livable Region Plan, adopted in 1976, was reaffirmed in a new document in the mid 1990s.

[115]The philosophy that was expressed in "Shaping The Future" mirrored the dialogical system of decision making that been attempted a few year earlier by Harry Lash (Lash 1976; Gerecke 1974), for the Greater Vancouver Regional District, with Harry Lash's notion of the three sided triangle, where the planning process was organized so that there was constant feedback between planners, the public and politicians surfacing in "Shaping The Future".

Like Vancouver, with some modification these goals were later reaffirmed with adoption of the Livable Region Strategic Plan in 1996 (GVRD,1996e). What is interesting is how postmodern regulation became inextricably intertwined with the densification process. For the City of Vancouver Shaping the Future looked at the problems posed by densification in the inner city while CityPlan look at the problematic presented by densification for the entire city. Likewise, from the time of the Livable Region Plan, in 1976, to the Livable Region Strategic

Plan, in 1996, the densification of the region has always been implied or directly stated as a major policy thrust.

[116]Not only did the Hellyer report become the swan song for the modernist regulation of urban space in Canada, it also had practical consequences for the future evolution of the postmodern city. Not only did the re-examination of the city that lead to the production of the report lead to the cancellation of urban renewal projects that were suburbanizing the inner city, The Hellyer Report had a significant impact upon aesthetics and urban governance with its call for more experimentation with infill housing and participatory forms of planning, recommendations that soon bore fruit with the initiation of neighbourhood improvement programs and funding for pathbreaking exercises in local planning, such as one initiated in the Strathcona neighbourhood of Vancouver (CVPD-26). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 121.

[117]These amendments to the National Housing Act would provide the institutional framework and the bureaucratic muscle that was required to support the construction of the livable city over the next twenty years, providing the funding and the guidelines that would lead to the production of new kinds of community designed spaces and planning processes. These amendments would also put new programs in place for the conservation of existing housing stock. As the Milton Park example would show, this would establish another means for the translation of the communitarian ideology of the livable city into actual bricks and mortar.

[118] The notion of organic ideology comes from Gramsci who referred to organic ideologies as those ideologies that arise spontaneously from out of a class (See Jorge Larrain, "ideology," p. 222 in A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, edited by Tom Bottomore.

[119]The reason for this had to do with the departure of Harry Lash and the temporary dismantling of the planning function for the Greater Vancouver Regional District in the early 1980s (See articles located in insert on regional government in City Magazine,Vol. 13, No. 3+4).

[120]With an artistic versus an engineering sensibility in operation an entirely new and for some unfamiliar and puzzling dimension to planning in Vancouver would emerge, as Ray Spaxman would often take up these soft themes when addressing the public. In this way the shift from objective to subjective values would indeed show that a new context for planning was in gestation, one that contained a heady mixture of rebellion, alienation that the affluence of the time allowed which would make "Shaping The Future" a quintessential expression of the world view of the new middle class and something that stood in direct contrast to the utilitarian and materialist vision of the city that had been articulated by Sutton Brown in his 20 year development plan.

[121] When reading this paragraph Ann McAfee commented that under Campbell, that is when Fletcher was director, an attempt was made to bring the public into direction setting. However, several people who were interviewed about CityPlan have commented that they felt that CityPlan was very much a product of pre-formulated values, so there is considerable disagreement over whether or not the public actually set the direction for CityPlan (PI-13).

[122] When commenting on this section Ann McAfee (PI-13) made an interesting observation about densification. Using a much narrower and more specific empirical definition of the densification process, she remarked what has been included within the single definition of the densification process in this study really makes up several distinct processes such as redevelopment in addition to gentrification. For her redevelopment was felt to be a more apt reference to densification proper, something that would result in an observable increase in population density. Thus, to her what happened in the conversion zone, with gentrification, in the West End and in the industrial lands are quite different. While accepting the empirical specificity of this point, since the definition of densification used in this research is one base on the movement of capital rather than population, each of these three distinct aspects of urban transformation may be different in terms of demographic dynamics but in terms of the movement of capital they are just different empirical manifestations of what is perceived to be a single pattern of urban change defined by the concentration of capital.

[123] According to one planner this did not mean that Spaxman was anti-development but probably had more to do with the power struggle between the Director of Planning and the Mayor. Ironically enough while Spaxman lost control over the view corridor study while he was planning director in the last years of his tenure, in the post-Campbell period he was given the contract to do the downtown skyline study- and one reason for this award, according to one source that contacted, was his willingness to consider higher buildings as a means to make the core more attractive

[124]Sutton Brown was not the only game in town. There was also the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board and later the Greater Vancouver Regional District that had quite a different corporate culture. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 130.

[125]On a more abstract philosophical plane, as discourse, "Shaping The Future" invites a broader discussion about the role of reason and the apprehension of reality that has become a hallmark feature of the postmodern age. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt 4, Note 131.

[126]In reading this section Ron Youngberg voiced a number of concerns which are as follows: "Having lived through the change in the Department since November 1958, I appear somewhat defensive when such glowing credit is given to the Social Planning Department. It is true that they stirred some of the shift towards change and in that process helped turn things around. It has always been my experience that Social Planning have over emphasized their accomplishments and have done things that were self serving, Change was taking place already. Council make up changed. Staff were challenging the director. People like Harcourt and Mazarri were playing community advocate roles. The social planners did their bit, The initiated the first local area planning program but abandoned it and their staff as it was the Planning Department that had to pick up the pieces to make it work. It was the Social Planning Department that viciously attacked Shaping The Future and later local area planning and tried to get rid of it. They were not a friend of Ray Spaxman either and one member of social planning worked behind the scenes to get rid of Ray. Britannia was not an invention of Social Planning, The Superintendent of the School Board brought the idea home from a conference. Social Planning did some organizational work and then the work was turned over to consultants to organized. It was a successful project and Social Planning deserves credit but it was the hard work by others that make it happen (PI-27)."

[127]Ironically enough, this new style of planning required that the planners act more as a professional who was expected to exercise some independent judgment, creating a situation which stood in direct contrast to the Sutton Brown era, when most planners were treated as technicians, who simply applied rules. Paradoxically, the greater involvement of the public enhanced rather than decreased the professional status of planners. This did not go un-noticed by other professionals, who were involved with the production of space, such as architects, who have increasingly complained about the encroachment of planners into their professional domain or developers who have recoiled at this perceived intrusion of planners in to the operation of the market. Even though planning for uncertainty requires more public input which forced the planner to interact more with the public, at the same time, as has just been noted, it also prompted planners in Vancouver to develop more elaborate and diverse skills which gave them more autonomy to act as professional rather than as technicians.

[128]The time and energy that was put into the articulation of goals for the city of Vancouver was probably without parallel in Canada. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 134.

[129] On this point Ann McAfee (PI-13) commented that Ray Spaxman was somewhat removed from this aspect of planning and was more interested in a narrow agenda centred around design or aesthetics. Here, however, conflicting interpretations about Spaxman were given. According to McAfee Ted Droettbroom was left mostly in charge of strategic planning and was more or less left to work on these areas alone with the use of a limited number of staff.

[130] Ann McAfee noted that housing policy and implementation as well as work on an industrial strategy were also mandated to the Overall Division (PI-13).

[131]Here a good example would be the sell off of Crown assets and in the case of Vancouver the most significant sell off would be the Expo lands. Privatization also surfaces in other forms such as the career trajectories of several planners who were involved in establishing and implementing the postmodern agenda for Vancouver and Toronto. In Toronto this can be seen in the transfer of highly motivated and skilled practitioners of the livable city program to the private sector, when former public officials like Michael Dennis and Ron Soskolne, who worked for the city moved on to work for private development corporations or created ones themselves. In Vancouver the same trend can be seen in the movement of planners like Chuck Brooks (originally from Winnipeg). Also private consulting firms such as Coriolis was founded by a planner who worked for the city (Milner 1997).

[132]Again this comes with the new concern about image and marketing that arises with the increasing influence of market rule - something most evident in the mega projects now being constructed in Vancouver, where much more formally laid out landscapes and the metallic, almost ornamental, structures are now being built and the decided absence of brick which was a more commonly used material in commercial architecture in the Core in the 1970s (See Berelowitz 1989; VS-120; CVPD-103; CVPD-151; CVPD-159; CVC0-35).

[133]This, of course, is best illustrated by very high levels of unemployment and unstable unemployment which affect the production of space and who occupies it- something which can also be seen in the Gini coefficient where a reading of One represents absolute inequality and 0 equals absolute equality. Because of government transfers the coefficient has generally remained around .3 except for a brief sharp upward thrust in 1976. However if we look at earned income two quantum leaps took place in the 1980s and 1990s. According to Statistics Canada this first between 1982 and 1984 when the coefficient went from .37 to .41 and between 1990 and 1995 when the coefficient moved up from .40 to .43 (Statistics Canada - 13-210-XPB used by Little 1997i).

[134]Because of these changes many of the progressive (i.e., social equity) and communitarian impulses that informed the livable city agenda have been revised to reflect the realities that came with these new characteristics.

[135]In addition North False Creek, the most visible changes were made to local area planning. At the national level this would become evident in the expansion of public-private partnerships. For a positive account of about this trend see Dickie 1997. For a negative account see The Globe and Mail, 1997zoo; 1997zn.

[136]In the Core, in particular, this really began with the opening of the downtown SFU campus in 1990. This trend can also be seen with the expansion of the Emily Carr School of Art, the new BCIT facility, a satellite facility for the UBC faculty of Architecture, a film school, Vancouver Community College and numerous language schools and the recent movement of the knowledge and information producing sectors of the Vancouver Sun to 200 Granville street (VS-266).

[137]As Vancouver is reputed by some to be the third largest centre of production for movies and television production in North America.

[138]This growth can be seen in the construction of new berths for cruise ships, Deltaport, the effects of the open sky policy (1995), the expansion of the international airport and by the fact that port handles the countries largest amount of cargo - 72 million tonnes (Vivian Smith 1997,p.42).

[139] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 151.

[140] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 150.

[141] See CVC0-14; CVCO-16; CVCO-60; CVCO-63; CV-29; CVPD-124; CVPD-149.

[142]The partial transformation of postmodern forms and sensibilities into niche and mass marketing ventures is one of the best signs of its accommodation with capital and the dilution of its previous function as an oppositional ideology. More than this however this marketing has

increasingly central to the facilitation of densification process. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 141.

[143]A good example of this would be the Convention Centre in Edmonton, which is now called the Shaw Centre, named after a corporation that recently moved from Edmonton to Calgary. In Toronto a good example of this is the renaming of the OKeefe Centre into the Hummingbird Centre.

[144]As a result, in Vancouver important spaces such the city's hockey arena are now named after corporations that have nothing to do with the function of the space or the history of the city. GM place is a good example of this, as it is what the city's new hockey arena is now called. Then there is the Ford Centre for the Performing Arts that was named after the highest bidder for this facility. Likewise this will be seen in the new Dance centre soon to be constructed on Granville Street that will be called The Scotiabank Centre for Dance (CVCO-63).

[145]In the 1990's the struggle over space between the new middle class and the urban proletariat has become as bitter as the struggles that once took place between the middle class against corporate capital in the late 1960s (Phillips 1997a; Handleman 1995; Shutz 1995; Tanner 1995;VS-91; VS-94; VS-96; PI-22; PI-35) and 1970s. In this new phase of its development postmodernism had largely ceased to be an oppositional ideology of the new middle class. With a rising urban underclass and more competition for space one result of this is that fear rather social solidarity is playing a larger role in the design of space in the Core. Again, during the age of the urban spectacle this puts the postmodern development of the city in closer touch with what is happening in the United States.

[146]This dilution becomes apparent in the increasingly unwillingness of council to support or evade the Planning Department's enactment of principles and processes agreed to in the original Concord pact for the redevelopment of North False Creek. As a result the commitment to social housing has been watered down. For example, this has happened with the Quayside portion of the development (Applebe 1997F). The same tendency appears with Council's over ride of the Departments recommendation about constructing a street rather than retailing format for Quayside (CVPD-150; CVPD-160). More recently it can be seen in council's refusal to conduct a preliminary review process the for Marinaside Neighbourhood despite the reservations expressed by the Director of Central Area Planning, Larry Beaseley, who has expressed some concern about safety issue that relate to the design and the small size of the townhouses, which will only be 850 square feet and have two bedrooms, creating housing spaces that does not provide a viable alternative to families, which has been part of city policy. (Applebe 1997h).

[147]In terms of location, it is interesting to see that the most intense expression of the urban spectacle have appeared at opposite ends of the geographic spectrum in the urban region, with the core area and the exurban part of the region experiencing the most significant infrastructure for the urban spectacle. In exurbia this can be seen in the growth of theme parks in the exurban areas such as Canada's Wonderland or in the construction of specialized resorts operated by large corporations like Intrawest - that has moved from residential development into the development and management of resorts like Whistler, north of Vancouver and Mount Tremblant, northeast of Montreal.

In Vancouver this has even happened to development companies like Vancouver Land Corporation (now called Greystone Properties) which was formed by mayor Gordon Campbell to construct affordable rental units during the housing battles of the late 80s but has increasingly moved into the development of infrastructure for the urban spectacle such as a proposed casino complex several years ago and now a convention centre along the shoreline of Burrard Inlet.

[148]What is interesting to observe is how this strategy has also been adopted by cities less favourably situation in the transactional economy (Gottman 1990). Hence in the early 1970s a string of convention centres sprouted up in medium sized cities across the country in places like Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Ottawa. In Winnipeg's case the construction of a convention

centre became one of the few features of the 1969 downtown plan that was successfully implemented (Metropolitan Corporation of Winnipeg 1969), However, it wasn't until the middle of the 1980s that an exponential acceleration in the resources devoted to the construction of infrastructure for the urban spectacle became visible. In this regard Montreal lead the way with Expo 67 in Montreal and the 76 Olympics, but in English Canada this new phase of development only appeared as a general phenomenon in the 1980s with the development of Harbourfront in Toronto and the allocation of increasingly scarce civic resources towards the construction of infrastructure to house and support the infrastructure of the urban spectacle. In Winnipeg the development of the Forks would be the best example of this, while the spread of casinos in other cities and the rush to build new stadiums and subsidize sport franchises in places such as Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa can be interpreted as another sign of this change in direction.

[149]Three local events in 1986 triggered the transition from the first to the period. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 147.

[150]For example, since the summer of 1996 17 co-ops have been forced into receivership. Again the problems facing many of these co-ops are similar to those facing strata title units - the big difference being income and often the lack of financial expertise. With the federal government set to devolve all responsibility for social housing on to the provinces this has become a serious worry in Ontario because the province has, in turn, devolved this responsibility on to the municipalities of which there are 275,000 non profit units in the province.

[151] Recently, with the defeat of Mayor Jan Reimer, in the 1995 civic elections in Edmonton, the most powerful middle class constituency in the Prairies experienced a serious and perhaps permanent set back. The middle class dynamic for urban change in the Prairies now lies with the more conservative middle class fraction that resides in Calgary. Unlike the government based middle class in Edmonton, which aligned itself more closely to the livable city ideology, the new middle class in Calgary appears to be much more clearly situated within the mind set of the ideology of the urban spectacle, as can be in the promotion of the Olympics and the attempt to get a world's fair.

[152] Thus between 1972 and the mid 80s, Canada's three largest cities was taken over by an urban middle class espousing postmodern values. In Toronto and Montreal this happened in 1972. In Montreal this had to wait until 1986 when urban reformers took control of city government for the next 8 years.

[153]Whereas the federal state in the United States (Beauregard 1993) was already beginning to retreat by the early 1970's the Canadian (Guest 1980) was still in an expansionary mode. As James Laxer (1996) points out, even though the last major social program was introduced in 1971 when unemployment insurance was broadened, because of the Liberal minority government between 1972 and 1974, the NDP took advantage of the situation to force concessions from the Liberal government. As a result the state was still advancing rather than retreating as late as 1975, when Petrocan was created to give the state a stake in the energy industry. And it wasn't until 1984, when the conservatives were returned to power, that the neo-conservative agenda began to take firm shape in Canada, more than a decade after this had happened in the United States. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 134.

[154] As Chapter Two showed, nowhere has the impact of densification upon planning been so obvious as in the case of the City of Vancouver. Another feature that had an impact on the regulation of space between the first and second periods in Vancouver was the diffusion of the densification process outward, from the conversion zone into the remaining areas of the city that were mostly zoned for single family dwelling units, which had previously been immune from this restructuring process. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 151a.

[155] However, in Canada there is always the possibility that this might be revived again as the recent discussion of bank profits and the consideration by the Newfoundland government of a surtax on mining corporations indicates.

[156] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt, 4, Note 137.

[157] The are important exceptions such as Portland and San Francisco, however, by and large the livable city agenda in the United States remained confined to university cities such as Boulder, Berkeley or small cities like Santa Monica (See Clavel 1986).

[158] And then, of course, there is the reality of fiscal restraint, which is also one of the prime motivations for the Program For Better Government, which emphasizes the weaker position of government at the current moment. As the report on better government to council states: the basic assumption that informs the proposed re-organization is that "the city will be required to do more with less, as service expectations increase and financial constraints tighten," (CVC0-23, p.3).

The other intriguing aspect about the changes that might follow that will be interesting to follow is what the role of City Manager will be in this new re-organization. It is possible to speculate that the city may revert back to a system of administration more reminiscent of the powerful bureaucratic system that was in operation during the Sutton Brown period. Despite the claim about more open ended and customer based service that is being used to justify the current re-organization of local government, it remains to be seen whether the powerful new office now run by Ted Droettbrom might not end up becoming a new focal centre for a new top down system of bureaucratic control in a way that may be similar to the operation of the Board of Administration during the Sutton Brown years. While there is some discussion about devolution and deregulation, one is reminded that the same justifications were used to justify re-organization of government in Britain during the Thatcher years and what eventually came of all this was the massive centralization of decision making and the establishment of a more authoritarian system for making decisions (Hambleton 1989).

The relative decline of local area planning and the corporatist bias that seems to be growing in local government may be taken a sign of the rising influence of the corporatism in the second postmodern phase. As the controversies over displaying corporate logos in the public domain already reveal (VS-109; VS-110), there is a very real danger that the move by local government to accommodate the market in order to save money or to raise revenue may unbalance the equilibrium between public and private interest. As private interests are increasingly interwoven into the public realm there is a greater potential for agencies like the Planning Department to become to closely aligned to developers, as was the perception of the Planning Department in the middle and late 60s, when the Planning Department was forced to become actively involved in courting private development because insufficient government funding was available to initiate urban renewal in the downtown core (Vancouver Urban Research Group 1972; Gutstein 1975). As government agencies are forced to align themselves with private interests or to engage in partnerships to make up for short falls in revenue or the expectation of more services the risk of government agencies losing their legitimacy as protectors of the public interest may be increased if a major disagreement over the nature of development arises as it did in the 1960s. While this scenario is by new means certain the possibility of such a situation developing again would not be entirely out of keeping with the more limited parameters for independent action by agencies such as the Planning Department or the Vancouver Parks Board that have resulted from the relative retreat of the state and the rising dominance of the market.

What ever the interpretation that may be placed on current circumstances, a few things remain clear. One issue, of course, is the rising influence of market forces and the increased recognition by all parties of the limits to government action that has been engendered by the current fiscal crisis. As the report on better government to Council stated: the basic assumption that informs the proposed re-organization is that "the city will be required to do more with less, as service expectations increase and financial constraints tighten," (CVC0-23, p.3). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 139.

Another thing that remains unmistakably clear is the corporatist bias that has crept into thinking about the reorganization of the Department since the departure of Spaxman. Signs of this were apparent in review of the department conducted by Tom Fletcher in 1990

(CVPD-96; CVPD-98; CVPD-99; CVPD-102; CVPD-101). However since the Program for Better Government was begun in 1994 this influence has grown much stronger, as the role of the citizen seems to be gradually being recast from that of citizen to consumer and from an active participant in the decision making process to that of a passive client receiving services.

[159] See Gerecke and Reid in "Planning, Power and Ethics," in Plan Canada November 1991.

[160]The weakened commitment to social equity can even be seen in the official goals for social housing that were set in each development. Whereas a clear commitment was made to ensure that at least a third of all the housing units would be non market housing in South False Creek, for North False Creek this standard was weakened considerably when the standard was taken down to 20 percent. And even with this lower standard it has become abundantly clear that this goal will not be met. With two stages of North False Creek nearly completed only 14 percent of all the housing units that have been constructed so far have been non profit and this will probably be the highest level of non profit housing that is likely to be achieved along the North Shore because the funding for more housing has become even scarcer since the first phase of this development was begun.

[161]Although these programs came to end in 1992 when the Federal Government terminated its funding for social housing, the legacy of this progressive moment in the postmodern transformation of the city endures and continues to provide a model for an exemplary path once taken but one that is no longer followed with regard to the transformation of the city. To a certain extent the popularization of two postmodern tenure forms highlights the two faces of the postmodern city that have appeared. With the creation of a vital non profit housing sector that emphasized postmodern conceptions of domesticity while also embracing the ideal of social equity and diversity one face of the new, more communal vision of the postmodern city can be seen. The more privatized vision of this vision also appeared, with the accelerating construction of strata title unit. So Just as the non profit housing sector expanded by leaps and bounds during the first period of the postmodern transformation of the city so too did the number of strata title units in the second period. In this regard the first strata title unit only appeared in 1970, however by 1981 strata title units were to make up 6 percent of the city's housing inventory rising further to 12 percent by 1991 and to 20 percent by 1995

[162] See Lyon and Newman,1986.

[163] A good illustration of this would be City Council's failure to back up the Planning Department recommendation to avoid the concentration of retailing into a mall in the Quayside development of the Concord Pacific Project (CVPD-163).

[164] The additional emphasis placed upon the visual organization of urban spaces so that they can function as a stage for the urban spectacle and better frame new modes of individualized rather standardized consumption show the greater influence of lifestyle marketing on the production of space in the retail and residential sectors during the era of the urban spectacle (Appelbe 1997a; Foote 1996, Chapter Five; Jones and Simmons 1993, Chapter Fifteen).

[165]This can be seen in numerous other areas as well. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 146.

[166]It has been estimated that between 800 to 1000 low cost housing units were lost because of Expo 86 alone (Hasson and Ley 1994, p.199; Gerecke 1991a). And according to volunteers working for the Carnegie Centre more than 2,000 additional low cost units have been lost since Expo 86 (Doubledrum 1995). Moreover, the conversion of low income units into tourist oriented facilities have now become a major problem threatening the viability of the remaining stock, especially in the Victory Square area (PI-22; PI-35).

[167]A new civic department called Housing and Properties was created and a Housing Centre established to co-ordinate the cities actions (CV-22).

[168] Compared to the recent past these programs are clearly residual in nature. For example, in British Columbia the housing focus has narrowed considerably, with fiscal necessity dictating that only small increments of social housing be built, which now amounts to less than a 1000 units a year and that this housing be directed towards the core needy. While the BC.

Government's commitment to social housing is laudatory, and will likely result in the production of at least 250 housing units a year in the city over the next ten years. Compared with the $8.95-billion spent by Ontario, this commitment pales beside what was achieved in the province of Ontario when 86,000 non profit units were produced between 1986 to 1995 (See Toronto Star, pp.20-21, May 20,1995; See Corelli 1992).

[169] Only BC. and Quebec remain active in housing. However compared to the initiatives taken in the past their involvement pales in comparison to what governments were doing in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, even with the continued commitment of the provincial government the production of social housing is likely to drop from around 1,900 units a year, when Federal programs were available to around 8 to 900 units a year with only the province of BC. involved. For Vancouver this may result in the production of social housing falling to as low as 240 units a year or one third the level of construction undertaken in the 1980s when, on average, 800 units of new social housing a year was constructed in the city. Even before the effects of the cancellation of federal programs have percolated into the production of housing in the City of Vancouver the production of housing in the first half of the 1990s had fallen to one half of the level of construction reached in the 1980s as the number of new units has so far averaged around 400 units a year between 1990 and 1994. Unless new civic strategies are implemented this number can only be expected to fall to 240 units, which was cited as one possible floor for the construction of new social units in this time of government restraint. (See Policy Report, Housing from the Director of Housing and Properties (Dept. File No.l 3401) entitled State of Social Housing in Vancouver, April 6, 1994).

[170] Here it is noteworthy that the only provinces that have active housing programs are governed by social democratic regimes. In British Columbia this is the NDP government. In Quebec this is the Parti Quebecois. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 151.

[171] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 152.

[172]This changed after the last comprehensive local area plan was conducted in Strathcona, during the early 1990s. After this a much more truncated and focused system of dialogical rule would be used by the Planning Department.

[173] Hence in the preface to Marlborough Marathon, Granatstein starts off by writing" This small volume can claim to be nothing more than one man's record of a single fight against a developer and for survival."

[174]Looking at the Port Huron Statement, Maurice Isserman (1987) remarks that it is the first important crystallization of the new populism that would be embraced by the leaders of the new middle class who were just beginning to enter young adulthood when The Port Huron statement was published by the Students For A Democratic Society in 1962. Here the first important formal statement that outlined the general features of an anarchist sensibility about governance, which also put more stress on subjectivity, appeared that would later translate into a generalized demand for methods of decision making which were more dialogical across both Canada and the United States.

[175]Here, for the first time, the notion of advocacy planning was formally introduced into the planning lexicon, marking the intellectual beginning of postmodern discourse at the philosophic level in the planning field. This discourse would soon bloom into a number of key works, which has continued into the present: For example *After the Planners*, by Robert Goodman (1971), Economic and Social Development: a process of social learning, by Edgar Dunn (1971), *The Reflective Practioner* by Donald Schon (1983) and *Planning In The Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action by John Friedmann* (1987) and *Planning in the Face of Power* (1989) by John Forester highlight the continuing relevance of this discourse, but not necessarily the actual practice of this type of planning, as illustrated by the recent publication of *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies* by Patsy Healey (1997).

[176] This can be seen in the proliferation of books on this subject such as: *Creating Community Anywhere* by Carolyn Shaffer and Kristen Amundsen (1993); *The Spirit Of Community* by Amitai Etzioni (1993) and *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* by the Brookings Institute (Berry,

Portney and Thomson, 1993). Each of these books shows an interest in exploring non bureaucratic methods for urban governance. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 158.

[177] Where this will ultimately take local planning is a moot question. While Larry Beasley and Ann McAfee appear to view this new format for local area planning in a positive light Ron Youngberg, the former Associate Director of Local Area Planning between 1974 and 1991, had strong reservations about this truncated system (PI-1; PI-13; PI-27).

[178] As mentioned earlier, although dialogical processes would remain in place, as with many other facets of postmodern regulation, they would begin to be revised to reflect the resurgence of the market and the growing power of corporate interests in the 1980s. This would also become visible in The Better City Government Program. What is interesting to note about this plan for the re-organization of city government is how closely the proposed changes mirror the thinking about corporate reorganization in the private sector (CVC0-23). What this indicates is that there has been a gradual integration of postmodern regulation into the corporate mainstream, and the final dissolution of the oppositional stream of postmodern regulation. But more than anything else what would be revealed in this plan is the pervasiveness of a market logic for the provision of services that has become typical of the thinking about the provision of government services during the second phase of the postmodern development of the city, setting the parameters for the redesign of the bureaucracy itself and not just the standards for deciding which programs might be cancelled or initiated.

[179] Whereas the previous comprehensive local area exercises usually culminated with changes to existing zoning regulations; in this new system of local area planning guidelines and policy directions instead of specific zoning amendments would be the culmination of the process (CVCO-37)

[180] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 162.

[181] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 178.

[182] For as Arnold Hauser observed." apart from film, progressive (modern) art is almost a closed book today for the uninitiated; it is intrinsically unpopular, because its means of communication have become transformed in the course of a long and self-contained development into a kind of secret code (1973, p.951)." If one traces the evolution of planning and examines the attitudes that developed towards urban space something quite similar can be seen. This became most visible in the engineering mind set that governed way that planner's represented space in the modern era. With this perspective all subjective experiences of space were erased. Like an abstract painting, the experience of space was so altered that it no longer represented or necessarily even had any direct connection to the figurative space that made sense to the lay person who occupied real space. For the modernist, the regulation of space was the domain of the expert. Like other dominant representations of modernism, space was perceived in the abstract. It was represented as a passive container or simple extension that was located in a vacuum, which could be manipulated in a friction less way according to the functional requirements of the expert. Space was therefore abstract rather than figurative or organic space. This abstract code which modern regulation gave to them, provided the intellectual authority to organize space according to the internal code that was therefore guided the monological forms of knowledge that modernism favoured.

[183] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 165.

[184] What Smith is referring to at the end of this quote is the emergence of new discourse about space and a new way of representing space that, in its postwar embodiment, can first be traced back to the work that Kevin Lynch began, in the late 1950s and 1960s, when he started to look at how people use and perceive urban space. By doing this Lynch paved the way for a phenomenological approach to the understanding of urban space that would germinate into a much larger discourse about space that others would take up and development. Eventually if would find expression in the work of Robert Venturi (1977) who launched the first formal polemic against modern representations of space, with the publication of Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture, in 1966.

[185] If Venturi's texts can be cited as the formal beginning of an intellectual discourse which expressed the influence of market rule on postmodern representations of organic space, which would become common during the era of the urban spectacle, then Ian McHarg's *Design With Nature* (1969) can be viewed as the beginning of a secondarily, but oppositional discourse on organic space, within the postmodern matrix. The main contrast here would be the point of departure of each spatial theorist. Whereas McHarg came from an ecological perspective, Venture came from that of popular culture. Being the Wharhol of the design profession, the consumer market rather than nature provided the context for ordering the landscape. As a result, there are no limits in Venture works since everything is open to the market and the full range of the effects of collage designs that can result. However, with McHarg, there is a limit and this is the one presented by nature itself. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 167.

[186] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 168.

[187] Here the process of legitimizing denser development turned urban governance into a form of mass therapy, with the method for achieving consent often mimicking the process of dialogue that ensues between a patient and analyst who are in therapy. When planners attempted to impose densification in mid 1960s this strategy failed miserably because they assumed that this interaction was not necessary; however with the advent of local area planning in the 1970s this changed (VP-3; VS-18; VS-19; CVTPB-10). New methods were needed to accommodate densification and this was what local area planning was to provide, as dialogical rather than monological methods for obtaining consent were honed. For the Planning Department significant victories were obtained by coaxing and massaging the public. By engaging in continual process of dialogue that has familiarized and normalized the idea of denser development, popular resistance to densification was dissipated although never eliminated.

[188] Organic conceptualizations of space were initiated in the Social Planning Department rather than the Planning Department. For the first time space was treated as something more than abstract and functional space. With the Halsey and Mayhew Reports (1967) and the arrival of local area planning the layered conceptualization of space that Ian McHarg (1969) developed with his transparencies in *Design With Nature* would be operationalized into the regulation of space in Vancouver.

[189] However, even before the institution of postmodern forms of regulation the densification process was exerting pressure for the generation of more complex zoning systems that could deal with design as well as safety issues (PI-13). The legal framework for taking on this task already existed in latent form within Zoning and Development Bylaw # 3575, which was passed in 1956, that was to guide and set the parameters for modern zoning but also a number of discretionary powers that would later evolve and mutate into the postmodern zoning regime that governs the City of Vancouver today (CVPD-1). This bylaw took its cue from British rather than American zoning practices. Consequently it was more powerful and sophisticated than most of its American counterparts. For the reason it was able to serve as a legal framework that could modified according to the outward diffusion of the densification process and then later altered to meet the demands of postmodern regulation. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 186.

[190] Until 1974, when the postmodern zoning schedule was created in False Creek, in terms of complexity, the West End was the zoning pinnacle for zoning. For better or worse, depending on one's perspective, it was the show case for modern zoning, revealing how a system of regulation based upon notion of land extensive investment had accommodated itself to densification. Even though the West End became an object of derision for the new middle class (VS-33), this class was not yet aware of the revolutionary elements that were contained in much of the regulation the governed this neighbourhood. However, this was a different story within professional planning circles, where it was viewed as a great achievement (PI-26). Much to the chagrin of middle class activists Bill Graham could rightly brag about having some of the most complex and sophisticated zoning formats around.

[191]As densification intensified in the West End the RM-4 zoning schedule was altered. Beginning with the original 1956 zoning schedule, one important innovation within the original bylaw was the introduction of Floor Space Ratios (FSR) (CVPD-61). This lowered allowable densities in the West End while making it possible to construct higher buildings. Instead of the previous six story height limit, 80 foot buildings were now allowed outright, with additional increases in height of up to 300 feet possible to grant on a conditional basis (CVPD-61). Zoning in the West End was modified in a major way in 1958 when all apartment blocks became conditional uses and were therefore subject to assessment by the Technical Planning Board and the Design Panel (Kalman, 1974; CVTPB-3; CVPD-7). Because of the continuing unease about urban density and congestion in the West End planners were considering lowering densities from three to two FSR in the late 1950'(CVPD-61). However, the resistance of property owners prevented this recommendation from being taken seriously until the early 1970s and even then the maximum floor space ratio was only reduced to an FSR of three rather than two (CVPD-68a). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 188a.

[192]Also, in another way, the West End would become important to the development of postmodern regulation because of the part it played as a negative catalyst. Because the domestic fraction of the new middle class looked upon the West End the ultimate symbol of modern alienation in Vancouver, in a paradoxical, but opposing way the West End served as an important point of departure for experimentation in the development of medium rise environments and therefore the livable city program (VP-16a), which would find specific expression in the False Creek Basin, where the new middle class was beginning to resettle in large numbers during the 1970s, that was built deliberately in reaction to what had taken place in the West End.

Thus, in a most curious way, but in a negative and positive way, depending upon the model looked at, the West End became the inspiration for the livable city and the development later associated with the urban spectacle, when high rise living came back into vogue for the new middle class, when a non domestic fraction began to become significant in the 1980s.

[193]This established a bias towards medium rise structures that would persist throughout the rest of the 1970s and affect thinking about what was the appropriate scale for residential construction in the core area until the early 1980s, when the Central Area Division began to re-evaluate its position on high rise residential development (CVPD-65; CVPD-80; CVPD-87, PI-1).

[194]Most of postmodern values which have been mentioned are inscribed in this new type of discretionary zoning that was first permanently established in 1974. Again it is not hard to see how organic rather than functional or abstract notions of space influenced the formulation of the Downtown District Comprehensive Development District that was passed by city council in 1975. Composed of policies, guidelines and character areas, the intention of this new kind of zoning bylaw is stated as follows:

'To improve the general environment of the Downtown District as an attractive place in which to live, work, shop, and visit; to ensure that all buildings and developments meet the highest standards of design and amenity for the benefit of all users of the Downtown; to provided for flexibility and creativity in the preparation of development proposals. to encourage more people to live within the Downtown District; to support the objectives of the GVRD Livable Region Program to decentralize some office employment to other parts of Greater Vancouver by discouraging office developments considered inappropriate in the Downtown District; to improve transportation Downtown by encouraging greater transit usage, discouraging automobile usage for journeys to work, and by maintaining automobile access for non-work trips including shopping, business, and entertainment (CVPD-45).'

[195]As stated earlier, of the seven comprehensive districts that were created this was the only district that directly bears the mark of the second phase in the postmodern evolution of the city. By contrast, the others were firmly anchored in the vision of the livable city.

[196]For instance, the first CD-1 zoning regime was created in 1956 to accommodate the development of Oakridge Shopping Centre. Except, as densification began to gather steam the number of CD-1 districts exploded. Rather than being used to develop comprehensive suburban sites this zoning was used to densify already built up areas of the city.

A strong correlation between the growth of CD-1 zoning districts and the progression of the densification process is therefore possible to trace by looking at where they appeared and the number of districts that were created. For example, before there was a shift in investment patterns, when the city was dominated by land extensive development patterns, only 12 CD-1 districts were set up between 1956 and 1960. However, as investment began to shift from a land extensive to land intensive mode of development the number of CD-1 districts started to rise dramatically. Instead of just 12 districts, between 1960 and 1965 to 60 CD-1 districts were created. Consequently, by 1965 there were 72 such districts in the city. This number would rise to 90 by 1974. As the densification process intensified during the rest of the 1970s and 1980s, the cumulative number of CD-1 zones experienced a quantum leap, when the number reached 200 by 1987, before exploding with the extremely intense densification that rolled over Vancouver when the second densification wave swept over the city in the late 1980s , when around 55 CD-1 districts were created between 1988 and 1989 alone. This expansion has continued into the 1990's s when nearly 130 CD-1 districts were created between 1990 and 1995. Consequently, by the Summer of 1995 there were nearly 400 CD-1 districts in the city (CVPD-158a).

[197] This has even affected industrial zoning, as industrial zones have been amended to adapt to the development pressures posed by densification and now, more recently, the demand for new kinds of postmodern spaces, which have emerged in the era of the urban spectacle - with the development of new house types such as artist live-work studios and structures to house economic activities associated with the economy of the urban spectacle, which are revolve around the information and entertainment sectors, employing significant numbers of the non domestic fraction of the new middle class.

Here, no doubt, the emergence of loft and artist -live/work studios on industrial land, stand out as the most obvious example of the postmodern deconstruction of the modernist industrial landscape, as the nature of what constitutes something industrial has changed. As densification and the new economy take firmer root in the few remaining under developed parts of the inner city a second layer of postmodern space has appeared that is connected to the economy of the urban spectacle (CVCO-21; CVPD-76). If the Draft of the Blueways Plan for the waterfront lands in Vancouver is implemented this transformation further dissolve the traditional way this industrial landscape has been viewed and used (See VS-367; VS-370).

[198]Several things separate the discretionary zoning undertaken in these districts zoning plans from the discretionary zoning which planners had begun to experiment with in the West End during the modern era. Whereas the discretionary zoning carried out in the West End was still largely a technocratic and so based upon the premise of functional land use zoning and the representation of urban space as abstract space, the discretionary zoning adopted in these unique district zoning schedules differed quite dramatically from this approach to zoning. If examined more closely all three philosophic aspects of the postmodern regulation can be found contained within this new type of zoning when it was introduced in 1974.

For example, this district zoning made a bow to dialogical decision making processes. It incorporated organic representations of space by paying attention to context and the natural features of the landscape. Finally the emphasis upon machine space was downgraded and more placed upon the organization of space around pedestrian space. Depending more on negotiation than simple prescription or negative sanction and, unlike many CD-1 districts, where the negotiation that did take place was mostly conducted in secret with developers rather than with the affected community, community involvement became more central to the process of configuring and implementing these new area based district zoning schedules. Also the guidelines and diagrams that were used in these new bylaws illustrate how subjective rather than objective benchmarks were new employed and, from this, as a consequence, how many

other variables not having anything to do with functional criterion or administrative efficiency entered the zoning lexicon of postmodern planning. As one internal document on discretionary zoning observed: "The objective of the new zoning can be summed up in the word neighbourliness. Sunlight preservation, view protection, privacy, topographic adaptation, tree preservation, social and recreational amenities, safe parking garages-all these things are deemed to be part of this neighbourliness" (CVPD-60).

[199]This even happened to non residential zones, as densification and postmodern conceptualizations of space lead to the creation of new industrial districts. Hence, like every other zoning category affected by densification, the number of industrial zones increased in number, growing from 4 in 1980 to 9 in 1994 (CVPD-59a; CVPD-135a).

[200]This becomes quite obvious when looking at how zoning has incorporated organic space into the regulation of land use: where real time and space are taken into consideration. Evidence of this appears in the localization or contextualization of zoning codes in the 1970s. When this happened zoning began to reflect the existence of real rather than abstract representations of space - that is the space of everyday life, spaces pertained to idiosyncratic and concrete neighbourhoods rather than to generalizaed functional categories that had no necessary relation to concrete space or to everyday life. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 197.

[201]Because on line divisions, such as Land Use and Development, are more dominated by technicians who administer the zoning that the professionals in the policy division formulate, interviews with planners from all the division in the Department revealed that there was on going tension between the policy and administration organs of the Planning Department that was being exacerbated by the broadening of discretionary planning. With the policy divisions more inclined to create more complex and discretionary formats for regulation in order to meet the public demand for more subtle and intricate ways of controlling land use as redevelopment pressures increased with the diffusion of the densification process into the suburban parts of the city, the Land Use and Development Division appears to have been increasingly resisting the further extension of this zoning because of the difficulty in administering it, as well as the time and cost involved. Also, it is the Land Use and Zoning Division and not the other policy divisions that usually had to bear the public wrath that arose out of the everyday fine tuning and administration of this zoning (PI-2; PI-7; PI-13; PI-33; PI-42).

[202]Objective measures can be pointed to that show the increased power of the Planning Department to enforce regulations, at the same time, what becomes apparent is that this authority expressed itself in a different way. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 199.

[203]Even if some abbreviation of discretionary zoning is possible, as long as there is a powerful and articulate new urban middle demanding such regulation, it seems that there will always be political limits imposed by this class on any constraint put on this form of regulation. That is why the Better Government Initiatives may not be able to rationalize discretionary zoning in Vancouver much more than it already has. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 200.

[204] Although some neighbourhood groups, such as West Point Gray Residents Association (CVSP-11, p.88), has produced their own plan, in 1994, and other neighbourhood associations have spoken out in favour of creating neighbourhood design panels in the recent debate over RS-6 zoning (CVCO-26), the city has approached the idea of greater community decision making with great reluctance.

[205] Statistics taken from City of Vancouver web site January 22nd, 1997 - budgets for the other divisions were CityPlans 12% of budget at $1.076, Planning Resources at $2.1-million or 22% of the budget, Community Planning at $1.3-million or 13.5% of the department's budget and Central Area at $!.3-million - as well 146.5 positions were officially recorded in the department (www.city.vancouver.bc.ca/cityclerk/info_desl_/planning).

[206]With the departure of Spaxman there was a significant realignment in the balance of power among the various divisions within the department with the Zoning Division clearly the most favoured. On the all important development permit panel Rick Scobie the Director of Land Use and Development (which was once the Zoning Division) now chairs about two-thirds of all the

permits brought before the Board while Larry Beasely takes care of the other third (PI-1). While the resources devoted to zoning were expanded those given over to local area planning diminished. Whereas the Area Planning Division was the largest division during the Spaxman period, during Fletcher's tenure the Zoning Division would become the largest Division in the Department. Except for a temporary surge in the number of employees located in the in CityPlan Division, the number of employees located in other parts of the department have remained constant or have declined while the personnel located in the Zoning Division increased by leaps and bounds in the Post-Spaxman period. For example, in 1989 there were 31 people located in the Zoning Division (CVPD-92a). By 1994 the number had increased to 49 (CVPD-137a) and has grown further still. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 187.

[207] In Vancouver this can be seen in new programs such as the Safer City Task force. For the first time gender relations were given a formal space in local planning discourse, as the creation of safe environments, particularly for women, becomes a concern that was now incorporated into the way that space was programmed by planners in Vancouver. The concern with safe spaces also sheds light on the sociological dimension of the postmodern transformation of space. For, as Elizabeth Wilson had shown, modernism was essentially a patriarchal spatial ideology that limited the freedom of women to use space in the city. However, with initiatives like the Safer City Task Force, for the first time an attempt was made to frame the regulation and formatting of urban space around the needs of women(CVCO-34a). In this regard, the City of Vancouver is following a lead set by the City of Toronto (1988) and what feminist planners have accomplished there (Weir,1989). Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 188.

[208] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 204.

[209] For example in one of the studies connected with CityPLan, conducted by the Social Planning Department, called the Ready or Not program, aging was dealt with and one conclusion arrived at was that from internal demographic generators alone significant densification could be expected. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 205a.

[210] In Vancouver the significance of this fact as well the Puritanism of the Appollian age that typified the modern era was no more apparent than in the commission of a sculpture of the nuclear family for the front of the Vancouver Sun Press Building in 1966 on Granville Street, just south of the downtown peninsula, which was place there just before for the 1967 revolt against modernism would begin in earnest and undermine this and many other physical and social icons of the modern age (Figure 10-C VS-266).

This building is now being sold off with 852 staff moving to their new headquarters at 200 Granville Street. Appropriately enough the statue is now being moved to Surrey where it will be situated in more suitable surrounding which actually reflect the reality of this social spaces that exist in the last bastion of modernism in the region, the fourth settlement zone.

[211] As Elizabeth Wilson (1991), has pointed out, modern representation of social space reduced women to passive agents in the city. Any excursion out of the domestic spaces constructed for them in the suburbs was viewed with concern and alarm, and read as a danger signal, bringing to mind associations linkages with moral decay and the loss of social order. The rigid casting of gender roles produced a very limited repertory of respectable social roles for women in the modern city allowing. Few spaces which deviated from those provided for the functioning of the nuclear family were produced. This model not only became the basis for social control it would also become the basis for the organization of consumption in the postwar suburb, where the single detached unit and automobile became the basis for privatized mass consumption that would become the defining aspect of the modern period after the Second World War. Even, now A study by Clayton Associates pointed out that the simple purchase of a home usually results in over $5,000 dollars in consumption by each household (Winnipeg Real Estate News, November 28, 1997).

[212] This is particularly the case for British Columbia. According to BC. Statistics the Marriage rate in British Columbia hit a 63 year low in 1996: with only 5.9 marriages per 1,000 people, the lowest since 1933. Furthermore the rate of natural increase was 4.8 - the lowest since the

turn of the century. As of April 1997 British Columbia's population was 3.9 million, up 2.2 percent from April 1996 and Greater Vancouver's population stood at 1.9 million (See Trends, P.3 in the Westender, July 17,1997).

[213] Alternative conference July 1988, York University.

[214] This coercion worked on different levels but had as its goal the movement of women out of the labour force and out of the city, for that matter, and into the suburbs. In an interview with Rennie Jenson (PI-10), a long time activist in the West End, in 1994, several remarks were made about the social pressures which were placed on her to leave the West End and move to the suburbs to raise her family. She also commented on how difficult it was for women to keep working after the war, confirming by personal experience, in the case of Vancouver, what researcher such as Dolores Hyden found to be the case in the United States after the war (Also refer to Johnson 1995; Ursel 1996; Baker 1995; Greed 1994; Rose 1993 Che-Alford 1994).

[215]Note even as late as 1941 only 4.5 percent of women were gainfully employed in the work force. See Maureen Baker, Canadian Family Policies, Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995, p.52.

[216] Baker (1995) pp.52-3.

[217] The rate in 1951 was 27.2 in 1951; 16.8 in 1971 and 15.3 in 1981. See Baker (1995) p.46

[218] declining from 37. 6 per 100,000 population to 36, in 1961 Baker (1995) p.58

[219] Baker (1995) p. 58

[220] Baker (1995) p.50 and Pina La Novara, "Changes in Family Living," in Canadian Social Trends, Summer, 1993.

[221] Baker (1995) pp. 62-3.

[222] Projections for Greater Vancouver show that the number of seniors will grow to 14 percent by 2011. See Baker (1995) p.51 and Population Dynamics in Canada, Focus On Canada, P. 116 as well as projections for seniors supplied by David Baxter entitled Population And Housing in Metropolitan Vancouver Changing Patterns Of Demographics And Demand, 1989, where the number of seniors is projected to climb from 192,573 to 267,919 by 2011 (p.71).

[223] See Figure one in Deryck Holdsworth and Glenda Laws, "Landscapes of Old Age In Coastal British Columbia," Canadian Geographer, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1994.

Also, with this aging population and the growth of non traditional families the pressure to reformat the suburbs can only be expected to increase as postmodern social formations associated with non family and non traditional families become increasingly salient features of the social spaces of the city, further undermining the grand vision of a social world organized around the nuclear family. In Greater Vancouver this should become most obvious in the third settlement zone (Greed 1994; Strange 1995).

[224] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 205.

[225]For Zorbaugh and Wirth, the position taken towards ethnic and urban sub cultures was one of condescension. In their descriptions of these social formations it is possible to see their disquiet about non middle class social formations that existed outside the domestic order of the suburbs that they were champions for. The emphasis placed on the suppression and assimilation of social differences was expressed in the typology of the social geography of the modern city that other Chicago School theorists constructed: one that became most visibly expressed in the implicit opposition between the suburb and the city that was articulated by these theorists - with all that was perceived to be abnormal described as being an urban traits, while everything that was put forward as being normal was cast into a geographic mold that stated that this was a suburban characteristic. Also refer to SNC, Chpt. 4, Note 206.

[226] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 222a.

[227]While a residential ghetto took shape with the mass migration of gay men into the West End during mid 70s it wasn't until the early 1980s that a retail strip specializing in serving this sexual sub-culture arose along a three block stretch of Davie Street between Burrard and Bute Streets. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 208.

[228] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 224.

[229]Moreso than in the United States, these corporations became the scourge of urban reformers while the State was perceived more as an ally, with much of the urban reform literature of the 1970's focussed on the employment of state power to curb the monopoly position which private corporations were believed to have, while in the United States, it was the state as much as it was the large private corporation that was put under critical scrutiny. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 225.

[230]Thus, between 1961 and 1971 apartment units rose from 23 percent of all new housing starts to 46 percent in 1966. In 1969 they peaked, accounting for 51 percent of all housing units constructed, as the production of new apartment units rose from 26,825 units a year in 1961 to 98,932 in 1969, dramatically altering the composition of Canada's housing stock (Skaburskis 1993). This began in Canada largest cities before trickling down to smaller cities. While apartment development had started to become a noticeable feature in Toronto in the late 1950s this would not happen in medium sized cities until the mid 60s and small centres until the early 70s.

The first wave of densification clearly had the most impact on Toronto, as Coleman's comparisons illustrated (Table 1, p. 50). For example in 1965 apartment units only accounted for 8.2 percent of all new housing units in urban centres with under 5,000 and 23.5 percent in places that had more than 5,000 but less than 100,000. For metropolitan areas this rose to 44.7 percent of new starts compared to almost 61 percent for Toronto. See Alice Coleman, The Planning Challenge of the Ottawa Area, Geographical Paper No. 42, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa, 1969.

The first wave of densification can therefore be tracked by the rapid ascent of apartment units. Thus while the percentage of new apartment units moved from 29 to 50 percent of all housing starts for the country as whole between 1960 and 1965, in non metropolitan areas the percentage only rose to 8.5 of all starts for places under 5,000, 23. 5 percent for places which had a population between 5,000 and around 100,000. However even by 1960 the densification of Toronto was already well advanced with 60 percent of all new units under construction made up of apartments. This rose to 72 percent by 1965. Meanwhile, in mid sized cities the densification process started out from a lower base. For example in 1960 only about 30 percent of all new units consisted of apartments. This soon changed, as the level of apartment construction in medium sized cities started to catch up with cities like Toronto by the mid 60s as the level of apartment construction moved up to around 60 percent of all housing starts (Coleman 1969,p.50).

Similarly in Greater Vancouver, for instance, the number of apartment households nearly tripled between 1961 and 1971. As the number of apartment units added each year rose from 36,380 to 100,990, with some inner suburbs like Burnaby experiencing a four fold increase in new apartment construction, as the percentage of apartment households in the region increased from 15 percent of the entire housing inventory in 1961 to 29 percent in 1971. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 211.

[231] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 227.

[232] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, NOte 228.

[233]As congestion started to be seen in a more positive light, with eyes on the street touted as the new way for creating safer urban environments all facets of the regulation of the city were changing (Whitzman 1988). Here, Jane Jacobs book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, published in 1961, can be identified as one of the other inaugural texts which helped to launch the postmodern discourse on density that took hold in the 1970s.

[234]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 215.

[235]Just as with the philosophic and sociological dimensions of the postmodern regulation of the city, the postmodern aesthetic did not develop in an intellectual vacuum. Here as well, the characteristic that defines this aesthetic regulation can be found distilled in formal intellectual discourse, a discourse, which like the others, provided a further point of departure for the aesthetic evolution of the city. While the early work of Kevin Lynch can be seen an augury of this perspective on space, it isn't until the publication *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, in 1961, that characteristics which set postmodern apart from modern perspectives

becomes distilled into a formal critique of how modernism organizes space. While a critique of modern aesthetics is certainly implied in the phenomenological perspective taken on urban space in the Image of the City by Lynch, it is only with Jacobs that an alternative postmodern code for the organization of the city is clearly enunciated. As Jane Jacobs states:

This book is an attack on city planning and rebuilding. It is also, and mostly, as attempt to introduce new principles of city planning and rebuilding, different and even opposite from those now taught in everything from schools of architecture and planning to the Sunday supplements and women's magazines. It is an attack, rather, on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding. (Jacobs 1961,p.3)

Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 216.

[236]When a modernist perspective dominated consumer perspectives social distinction and respectability was secured by the traditional Caucasian middle class when they settled in the suburbs. During the postmodern period this would change as settlement in the inner city became the mark of distinction for the new middle class. Conversely, living in the suburbs increasingly came to be viewed as a sign of social inadequacy. This, of course, is the opposite of the modern period when, except for a small social stratum at the top of the social hierarchy, settlement in the inner city was regarded as sign of low social status. Except for a few elite neighbourhoods, like Rosedale, in Toronto, respectability was only maintained by having it framed as something which was part of a transitional period in life cycle of the middle class life cycle: when they were either attending university or during the brief periods when they were allowed to be free before marriage and the raising of a family. Other than this the maintenance of respectability usually entailed moving to the suburbs rather than remaining in the city if social status was to be maintained.

[237]Peer group pressure to live in the inner city therefore changes. Instead of the suburbs being seen as a sign of success, as would still be the case for the working class, for many members of the new middle class living in the inner city or exurbia became obligatory (PI-10; Swiggum,1996; VS-131)

[238]A good recent example of this is contained in a short article written in the Ottawa Journal by Linda Hoad July 9,1997 entitled "Le Breton plan must keep downtown livable." The basic point this activist makes is that engineering standards for the suburbs can not be applied to this inner city if it is to be livable. She takes due note of the recent amendments to the official plan for Le Breton, remarking that six lane roads have been reduced to four and configured to be useful to people using bikes. She also comments that the regional body almost succumbed to the engineers and their tunnelled visioned mentality which was focussed solely on moving cars. As the example of the engineers illustrates space was also most reduced to an abstraction and simply conceived in terms of a barrier, which produced friction. Rather than being concerned with place making, space was a field of resistance that needed to be pulverized into its simplest components so as to allow the barrier to movement to be overcome

[239]The freeway plan for the 20-year development plan was laid out in a transportation plan. Called A Study on Highway Planning, this study was completed in 1959 (CVTPB-4). Even though this was the last of the triad of studies that made up the 20-year development plan to modernize the city, this was the program that ultimately became the lynch pin around which the other two plans revolved. For without the freeway the strategy to create an intensive node of development in the downtown and the redevelopment of the lands in the zone of transition around the downtown would have had to be rethought.

The contradictory objectives that were established with the plan to construct a freeway system that promoted land-extensive development while also attempting to concentrate development and redevelopment in the downtown comes through when the reports states that: "While freeways are designed primarily to meet a traffic demand caused by a

general pattern of land development, they also have very great secondary effects on land development itself, which are as far reaching as the primary reason for their construction. They will cause an immediate acceleration in the process of decentralization. This will result from the fact that a much larger land area will be brought within commuting range than exists today . . With the recommended network . . . a total of 200 square miles would be with in 30 minutes driving time of the Central Business District, by comparison with only 110 miles today (CVTPB-4)" Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 220.

[240] This changes with the turn to postmodern aesthetics. No doubt one of the most obvious contrasts would be the construction of new spaces such as the Woonerf, which the Dutch have created, in the case of Vancouver, greenways, which is a North American version of the Woonerf. Also new methods for regulating the automobile and the pedestrianization of urban space, which did not exist in the 1950s, such as traffic calming, have appeared (Tolley 1990). Compared to the futurist obsession with speed and the organization of space towards a machine scale that facilitated this, the traffic calming measures that are observable in spaces like the Woonerf reveal a contrasting opposite approach to the organization of space. For unlike modernism, where the experience of space is largely mediated by technology, with the introduction of postmodern aesthetics, machine space if forced to give way to a new humanism which makes the pedestrian rather than the car the basis for organizing and experiencing space, creating a pretext and logic for downscaling , which created the conditions for the creation of more human scales and finely textured environments that were also more organic.

[241] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 222.

[242]Yet, another notable effort to organize urban space around the pedestrian occurred with the redevelopment of South Shore of False Creek and Granville Island. Of interest here was the use of Christopher Alexander's pattern language. This was significant because of all the postmodern theorists of space probably no one else is so closely associated with the formulation of an organic theory of space and in Vancouver it is possible to see how these ideas were actually translated into real spaces when the South Shore of False Creek was redeveloped (Rodgers 1976).

[243]Unlike the Sutton Brown period, when the Planning Department was the major sponsor of for the freeway strategy, with transit, in the Spaxman period, planners played a secondary role. Although they participated in the formulation and implementation of this plan their status was that of junior partners. What was also different from the Sutton Brown period, was that the province and the Greater Vancouver Regional District were the key players rather than the City of Vancouver, the exact reverse situation for the freeway plan. So even while a more proactive approach to transportation began to take shape in the later part of the 1980s, the Planning Department still operated mostly in a reactive fashion to events because of this political alignment. The only significant difference was that unlike the 1970s, mitigation of the negative externalities created by the car were the main focus of the Department, in the 1980s the Planning Department began to deal at greater length with the impact of new transit lines and on this issue some fierce battles over transit alignments would be fought over between the city and the province (CVPD-74, Introduction, Chapter One).

[244]And in fact this happened to one block.

[245]Here, not surprisingly, the Local Area Planning Division was called upon to act as a trouble shooter in this process (CVPD-74, Chapter One). In the 1980s it was therefore given the responsibility for developing local plans for affected areas within a ten minute walk from each of the proposed transit stations. More than just mitigating the negative externalities created by the rapid transit line was involved in this work. Securing more density was also made part of the mandate of the local area planning process (PI-27; CVPD-74,p.6). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 226.

[246] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 227.

[247]Furthermore, there are active plans to continue and extend the transit option initiated by the Kelly Report. At the present moment Vancouver remains the only major city in the country

where large scale plans to augment the existing transit infrastructure are still being actively pursued. For example in Transport 2021 Report released by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (1983b) the projection set for the plan is that the current rapid transit system will expand to 99 kilometers. More significant is the capital works program of B.C. Transit, where expenditures of $2-billion, or 200 million a year, are projected to be spent in the next ten years, with the greater part of this sum to be spent in the Vancouver area (CVC)-36; B.C. Transit 1995). However, this process may now change as the province announced that is was devolving transportation to the regional district in the Fall of 1997 (See VS-384).

[248] If many citizens still harbour suspicions about the Engineering Department's commitment to the organization of urban space around the needs of pedestrian rather than the automobile. Also, because of the organization culture of Engineering, other concerns raised have to do with the capacity of the Engineering Department to handle the implementation of postmodern programs for the reorganization of space, like traffic calming, greenways, design initiatives involving bicycles. At the philosophic level modern protocols still appear to colour the decision making process. Consequently, monological rather than dialogical approaches to problem solving still appear to predominate as does the aesthetic bias to machine space.

[249] For example in the report on the Bicycle Advisory Committee (CV-30) for the period 1994 and 1996 the following accomplishments were cited: the Bikeways programs (with the creation of the Off Broadway Bikeway in 1994; the Ontario Bikeway in 1995 and the Cypress Bikeway in 1996) as well as the adoption of Bicycle Parking Standards in 1994

[250] Up to the recent present, the provision for transit has been the responsibility of BC. Transit, a provincial crown corporation

[251] Again, the other interesting things to note about this shift is the impact that this may have had on the Engineering Department- since it is the last regulatory bastion of modernism within the local state. Albeit, with some resistance, these new policy directions appear to be forcing the Engineering Department to deal with space in a different way.

Belatedly, City Council directives may finally be bringing about the partial greening of the Engineering Department. In such areas like the Street Activities Programs, which is administered by the Projects Department of the Engineering Departments, engineers being forced to become involved with the promotion of pedestrian spaces rather than the needs of the automobile. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 263.

[252] The Landscape and Atmospheric Task Forces have provided a program and pretext for the exploration of different options that had since become available for traffic calming, which the Engineering Department has begun to experiment with, reinvigorating and extending the design and land use component of transportation planning, that were first started(CVCO-29) when the West End Traffic Plan of the 1970s and 1980s (VS-62; VS-75; CVPD-68a) were put into effect

Furthermore, with the recent active promotion of non transit elements, as part of an alternative transportation system, which included bicycles, for room has been given to the city to become more actively involved in the redesign of its transportation system. By focussing upon these non motorized facets of transit the City has the fiscal and regulatory means to chart an active and independent course for itself with regard to transportation policy. This first began in 1982 when the Planning Department put a proposal forward for a linear parkway alongside the proposed transit route which was relayed to B.C. Transit and later implemented by the province (CVPD-75, Chapter One). Other signs of greater involvement came with redesigning space around the new Skytrain line

[253] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 234.

[254] To this end three important projects were undertaken in the core area. The most important project was probably the creation of traffic diverters and barriers into the West End (CVPD-68a). The second major endeavour undertaken in order to reformat urban space took place in the downtown where Granville Street was turned into a transit mall (Lauber 1975). The third project took place in South False Creek where deliberate plans were made to circumscribe the access of the automobile to this redevelopment site (CVPD-29).

[255]Not only is the rift apparent within the bureaucracy it also emerges within the ruling NPA itself with the anti-car faction losing on the issue of left bays by a vote 6-4 against when Councillor Alan Herbert's motion to deal with left turn bay at the corner of Cornwall and Burrard. His other supporters were Price, Chiavario and Sullivan. Again like all plans what this reveals is that not only is it a struggle to have plans passed; it is just as much a struggle, if not more so, to have them executed according to plan.

Addendum: Another example of the work of the pro-transit and anti car lobby on Council is a recent proposal by Councillor. Herbert to have money diverted from the proposed Bentall 5 project towards a tram way going around False Creek into the downtown as the developer only wants to build 739 spaces while the Planning Department is requesting 932. Herbert states with the half million the city could gain from this reduction, a downpayment on this transit plan could be made (See Appelbe 1997d).

[256] How the Transportation Plan is implemented remains to be determined, but it is significant that two strong advocates of alternative transportation were elected with the ruling NPA slate in the 1996 election and that the Transportation and Traffic Committee was made a committee of all members, signifying greater political interest in implementing parts of the transportation plan have been strengthened (Gudrun1997).

Interestingly enough the postmodern credentials of both these candidates (Price and Hebert) are further enhanced by their status as gay men with one being a noted activist and organizer.

[257]The interiorization of the urban street or its malling was the way modern regulation hoped to deal with retailing (Holtson 1989). As already pointed out, this involved more than the physical organization of space. More than this, the interiorization of the street gave control of retail space completely over bureaucratic rule by either the state or the large development or management corporation, subordinating if not eliminating physical space occupied and controlled by small capital and the petite bourgeoisie. Like the street, during the modern era the petite bourgeoisie was often regarded as obsolete relic of a previous age rather than as dynamic agents who were capable of sparking new capital investment in the city. That is why the opposition between street and the highway becomes such an important signature for the beginning of the postmodern transformation of the city. Confounding planners the robust return to life of the street directly challenged the confident modernist proclamation advanced by Corbusier (Conrads 1970) that "the street is dead."

[258] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 239.

[259]In the West End of Vancouver this can be illustrated by looking at what has happened to all the mass marketing retail units in the area. Either they have had to reformat their physical design and approach to retailing; and by doing so emphasize the socialization aspect of shopping or they have gone out of business. In their place tourist or specialized retail and service establishments have appeared, making the retail geography of theWest End one defined by niche markets rather than the mass market. One of the best recent examples of this change is Delaney's coffee House, which took over the lease held by A&W that wasn't doing so well (See Hulsman 1997). In such a high density area this franchise should have flourished like its counterparts in the much lower density suburbs but precisely because of the development of new postmodern consumer culture it failed. Ironically, enough, since then it has become a popular place for gay men to socialize.

[260] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 241.

[261]But for reasons having to do with necessity rather than changing consumer tastes other social groups lower down in the social scale have also moved to the street. And this has complicated the reconquest of the street by the new middle class and capital. While the street had become an important social space for the new middle class, at the same time, it was becoming the refuge of last resort for those who no longer had access to inexpensive housing because of the urban redevelopment and gentrification sparked by the movement of the middle class back into previously marginalized areas of the Core. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 273.

[262]While the revival of the street can be interpreted as a symbol of the middle class independence from large capital this anti-corporatist bias does not mean that the middle class was opposed to the market. In fact the revival of the street shows that the opposite was the case. To a certain extent, the clash between the street and the highway was just one facet of a more extensive struggle that was being waged between bureaucratic and entrepreneurial capital, small capital versus larger capital, that would appear in the struggle over the configuration of space.

So the struggle between the street and the highway has as much to do with class and emergence of two conflicting consumer cultures as it does with the question of physical scale. For the petite bourgeoisie the street is its natural domain in the city. To preserve the street was therefore tantamount to preserving a space for itself in the city, a place outside the confines of administered capitalism symbolized by its subordination in the shopping mall or in other venues for which symbolized its subordination to mass culture such as highway oriented strip development where it held more autonomy than in the shopping mall, but was still constrained.

However with the generalized spread of this aesthetic and the rise of market rule the previous antimony between large and small capital represented in the dichotomy between the street and the highway has softened. As this petite bourgeoisie format for organizing consumer space has become more popular large capital has attempted to exploit this format. Here the developments sponsored by the Rouse corporation in the United States would be the most notable examples (Goss 1996): as large development corporations are trying to mimic the random play and chaos created by the laissez faire market conditions of the great boulevard streets and markets of the 19th-century city in order to create new entertainment based retail venues for the city, something that has become much more common during the era of the urban spectacle (ie.Pacelle 1996; G/M 1997cm).

[263]This change in consumption and the use of space even shows up the domestic geography of Hollywood sitcoms that were situated in large cities. Unlike the sitcoms that ran through the 1950s into the 1970s, such as I Love Lucy or the Honeymooners, where the living room or the kitchen acted as an important backdrop for each episode in the daily lives of the characters, this changes in the 1980s. With sitcoms such as Cheers, most of the action takes place outside the work place and is set public spaces like a bar rather than in a living room or kitchen. Also the profile of the street rises as an important social space for the urban middle class to meet as artistic modes of consumption find more acceptance and came into greater vogue.

[264]Most often this has happened in gentrifying areas of the city. However these struggles can break out on greenfield sites such as with Vancouver's mega projects, as the recent struggle between the Planning Department and Concord Pacific over whether to concentrate retail development in a development known as Quayside illustrates (VS-101). In this instance Concord Pacific was successful in having city council override the recommendations of the Planning Department, allowing the developer to concentrate retail space in a mall rather than along a street front (VS-101; CVPD-163).

[265] Similarly a strong reaction developed when Macdonalds opened an outlet on Commercial Drive. Another interesting aspect of many of these streets is the formation of co-operative retail outlets during the 1970s. On Commercial Drive, according to Mary Frances Hill, La Quena, would be one example. Also many of the Italian restaurants have been complemented by Central American restaurants which the Drive has become the central social space for this community (Hill 1997c).

[266] See Monique Beaudin and Alexander Norris, "Panel rejects plan to expand Park Ave. gas bar," in the Montreal Gazette, September 6,1996.

The same thing has happened in smaller cities, as can be seen in the controversy over Ottawa's Byward Market (Hum 1995; Prentice,1995).

Again in Vancouver, the battle for the street between the new middle class and corporate capital was one reason why a second review of local area planning was conducted in

West End in 1985. (Rowland 1985). As one city councillor remarked (PI-17), it was the outcry that resulted from the demolition of several independent businesses along Denman Street by a large corporation so that a fast food restaurant could be constructed, which sparked a second local area planning exercise in the West End. This, in turn, resulted in the creation of a new zoning bylaw to control the corporatization of retail streets in the West End (CVPD-69), according to Gordon Price, a city councillor, during an interview held in 1994 (PI-17).

[267]Actually the first seeds of this turn around were planted as early as 1965, when the first spokesmen for a plan to transform False Creel appeared on City Council and in academia. Here two people stand out: Walter Hardwick (PI-9)- then an academic at UBC and Bob Williams (PI-25) - former planner and City Council member. During the mid 60s both introduced the idea of doing something with the False Creek lands, releasing the first salvoes in a decade long struggle with the proponents of industry to transform this space. While modernists favoured the retention of this industrial land the emerging ideologues of the new middle class were beginning to articulate an alternative, postmodern vision, for this land, starting the process of reconceptualization this space as a place of consumption and possible residential settlement which would result in the creation of South False Creek a decade later and begin the process of transformation which would see an even larger area transformed into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 248.

[268]Indeed, albeit with some revisions perhaps, this mind set still appears to remain intact among the middle class fraction that came of age in the 1980s and 1990s. In a recent survey of Canadians born between the mid 60s and the late 70s - an era of high under and unemployment - results quite different from the American stereotype of the Generation X generation were found. This group numbers 7 million or 26% of the population and earns on average income of $29,000. They buy more CD's, clothing, health and exercise equipment, beer, cola, fast food than baby boomers. They range in age from 18 to 36. Education is important and of all the fields they most desire to be in it is one which allows them to be an entrepreneur. Unlike the Hollywood, typecasting, except for their greater business orientation, they are much like their parents. In spite of uncertainty and harder times there is a general optimism according to a poll of 598 people in this category by Angus Reid, They therefore carry on many of the postmodern values of their parents but with some of the modifications seen in the second phase of its evolution, that is according to the values that have become more prominent during the age of the urban spectacle (VS-203).

[269]Again, here one only has to look at Pop Art and Andy Wharhol to see how this has become so.

[270]Also look at - VS-89b; VS-89bb; VS-107; VS-155; VS-158; VS-158a, VS-164; VS-166; VS-167; CVPD-134; CVPD-149.

Furthermore, If the prediction of a report written by Harris Hudema Consulting group for the Downtown Business Association is correct this pressure will intensify as a shortfall of 2.8-million square feet in commercial is predicted over the next 24 years. Since a 20 year inventory appears to be regarded as a norm a drop down to a 10 year inventory is predicted to cause land prices to skyrocket. The Report estimates that there is only a supply base of 11.6-million square feet by 2021- yet there is expected to be a demand for 10-million square feet for new office space and 4.4-million square feet for retail and hotel - leaving a 2.8-million square foot shortfall (See Derek McNaughton,"Crunch Coming," in Business in Vancouver, June 2,1997.

[271]Thus, developments like Granville Market (Gourely 1988), The Forks in Winnipeg (Roberts 1991; Gerecke and Reid 1992) or Harbourfront in Toronto (Reid 1986) are developments that are entirely unique to the postmodern era, creating a new kind of hybrid urban space which only first appears in a recognizable form in the mid 1960s.

[272]In this way Ghiradelli Square was a forerunner of what was to follow. It symbolized the shift away from futurism to the historicism and the growing importance of tourism and the economy of the urban spectacle associated with this.

For Vancouver and Toronto the attempt to preserve the physical shell of industrial buildings while transforming their function surfaces in new zoning bylaws adopted in each city. In Vancouver this started over 25 years ago when historic zones were put in place for Gastown and Chinatown in 1971 (CVPD-45a) and later for Yaletown, in the late 70s (CVPD-47). In Toronto, the same tendency has emerged, as can be seen by the recent adoption of new zoning bylaws for two warehouse districts situated on either side the downtown around Parliament and King Streets and King And Spadina Avenue. In these districts new kinds of zoning codes have been brought in to encourage the redevelopment and reuse of derelict or under used industrial space. In both cities these are the place where the economy of the urban spectacle that is taking hold. For example look at the plan for Yaletown (CVPD-48; VS-179) in the case of Vancouver. With regard to Toronto see King-Spadina Official Plan Part Two- City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, January 1996 and King -Parliament Official Plan, City of Toronto, Planning and Development, January 1996

[273]In Vancouver this would first become evident in the preservation of Gastown, The Warehouse District in Winnipeg and the rehabilitation of Yorkville in Toronto (Jennings 1997). A second stage for this would appear later, with the development of festival markets, which Granville Market, in Vancouver, provided the first model in Canada. It was to be followed by similar developments in Saint John, Halifax, The Forks, in Winnipeg, Montreal and a recent development in Calgary.

[274]Planners in Toronto were concerned about preserving some of this industrial base in the 1980's. As a result zoning was put in place to preserve industrial uses in the core. However with the great recession of 1989 this policy was re-evaluated and the zoning has since been changed to nurture the economy of the urban spectacle.

In Toronto, as in Vancouver, inroads into the industrial sector have provoked some concern (Barber 1996) but this issue has become more central in Vancouver because the densification process has become so extensive and intense.

[275]for example in places such as Steveston in Richmond (VS-135); the waterfront area of New Westminister (1996) and the City of North Vancouver (1992). Even away from the shoreline, for instance, in Burnaby, most of the densification is now occurring on former industrial land.

[276]Although this has started to happen in the inner city of Toronto, unlike Vancouver it has not yet spread into the vast zone of abandoned industrial lands that were built in the 1950s. which ring the core, in the inner suburbs.

[277]This factor has to do with the changing occupational profile for the middle class that resulted from the shift from Fordism to Postfordism. Particularly in the new sectors of the information and entertainment economies the shift to non bureaucratic formats for the organization of work and the production and consumption of goods and services have probably had a profound impact on the creation the background context that supported the artisan values associated with these new physical spaces that were created to house these activities, making them more relevant to this class than would have other wise have been the case had this shift not taken place. (Scott,1996; Phillips,1986; Bourdieu, 1984). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 258.

[278]As late as 1969 Time magazine could only reluctantly note that with "the national climate of openness about sex of all kinds and the spirit of protest" was allowing" male and female inverts" to organize and become visible " and then remark about the homosexual subculture as one which was only prominent in the arts but elsewhere was "a semi-public worked that was "shallow and unstable" (Time 1969).

However by the early 1980s there was a radical change in perspective that can be gauged by looking at the contrasting coverage given the gay consumer market in The Economist Business Brief in 1982, where the gay market is singled out as a very promising market that offered great riches to those who were willing to exploit it. By the 1990s this recognition would even penetrate into local business publications such as Business in Vancouver where the gay market was beginning to be recognized as an important niche market for business to exploit

(Wong 1995). With this development, not only has this sub culture become one of the cornerstones of the of the social transformation of the city, the normalization of this sub culture has also brought its intense commodification as well (Lukenbill 1995), which has made the gay market the vanguard for new modes of consumption that would become representative of the new consumer culture of the new middle class. To see this difference it is only necessary to compare the 1969 description of gay consumer culture with that set that out by Kurt Anderson in an article in Time Magazine during 1984 when he remarked that:

In such a city, thick with gays and yuppies (San Francisco), the similarity between those two demographic subsets is striking. An unexpected notion occurs. Yuppies are, in a sense, heterosexual gays. Among middle class people, after all, gay formed the original two income household and were the original gentrifiers, the original body cultists and dapper healthclub devotees, the trendy homemakers, the refined childless world traveller. Yuppies merely appended the term lifestyle and put a conventional sexual spin on things (Anderson 1984)

[279] In a statscan study published in Perspectives on Labour and Income, data from the Labour Force Survey shows that a drop in retirement age in all areas of the country and in all industries between 1976 and 1996, except among the self employed. For example workers who were with a company for 20 years tended to retire 3 years earlier than was the case twenty years ago (See Globe and Mail, "Canadian retiring earlier, p.A7, June 12,1997)

[280] The growing influence of these three consumer groups (Gay, non family, and seniors) should generate a great deal of demand for personalized consumer services and entertainment because of their discretionary income and the leisure time they have to expend. Thus, the seniors population and non familial subcultures should play a growing role in consolidating the new aesthetic regime that first came into existence with the arrival of postmodern consumer patterns during the counter culture (Schachter 1995). To the extent that this proves to be the case, then these groups can also be expected to play a role in making the city a more attractive place to live in than the suburbs, in advancing retailing along the street rather than in the shopping mall as well as giving further impetus to the continued transformation of industrial sites into places of spectacular consumption (Foote 1995). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 261.

[281] Once again the antimony represented by the archetype of the engineer and the artist is relevant to this understanding. Modernism's glorification of the engineer, which was one of the new professions that came into existence during the modern period had strong roots in the working class culture. In fact it served as a ladder of upward mobility for many working class men. And certainly the utilitarian world view projected by engineers seemed to have more in common with the situation faced by the working class than the post materialist sensibility commonly associated with artistic sensibility that has guided a great deal of the consumer culture of the new middle class and urban space that have been generated out of this sensibility. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 262.

[282] Often as not, the adoption of postmodern codes has as much to do with defensive strategies to hold on to urban space. For example, in both Toronto and Vancouver housing advocates have related how it has been necessary to dress up non profit housing as gentrified dwelling units in order to camouflage the presence of the lower status of the people occupying social housing.

[283] Since Jane Jacobs a second generation of postmodern ideologues has emerged. First there are writers such as Roberta Gratz who are actively involved in promoting the ideas of Jacobs (Gratz 1989; PI-41).[283] Then there are academic who are further developing her insights or using them as a point of departure in the evolving aesthetic discourse that has developed about urban design in both Canada and the United States. As a result there is still a growing and dynamic literature on the street. This can be seen in publications by American such as Allan Jacobs (1993) and William Whyte (1990). In Canada the work of Hok-Lin Leung (1992) and Edmund Fowler (1992) would also be examples of this train of thought.

[284]As stated earlier, while aspects of the utopian vision of middle class life are contained in the second generation postmodern aesthetic that has diffused outwards from the inner city and into the suburbs, its function as an ideological marker for the new middle class has been watered down with this journey from the inner city to the suburbs. With the incorporation of this aesthetic into a larger repertory of signs which capital, and not just the new middle class, now uses to market denser urban landscapes, many popular representation of middle class life in the city have been absorbed into mass culture and taken up by other social groups who are not part of this class but aspire to the status conveyed by embracing some of the physical symbols used by the new middle class. As with most symbols of popular culture, when they are absorbed into mass culture, the symbolism becomes truncated as alien and polyglot associations not originally present in the original representation become incorporated into the hybrid cultural forms that are produced with the displacement of symbolic forms.

[285] Here architecture is no different from music. Nor is urban space immune from the same process. All of this can be illustrated by looking at what happened to popular music forms. The most noteworthy recent case in point of this cultural the purchase by the Bank of Montreal of the right to use the song, The Times They Are A Changing, an arch disestablishmentarian song, Bob Dylan, to sell financial services to the new middle class (Strauss 1996). As with oppositional postmodern landscapes, pop melodies that were once thought to be subversive, have been successfully loosened from their original context and then used by capital to sell a wide variety of commodities, or neutralized so much that they can now even be used as elevator music or as musak in grocery stores.

[286]Here movies like the Handmaiden's Tale that was based upon Margaret Atwood's novel about the reactionary reinstitution of the nuclear family in a deformed form, comes to mind. When looking at the some of the values and aspirations that are beginning to congeal around the new urbanism a parallel between the dysutopian vision of the future sketched out by Margaret Atwood and some of the thinking which stands behind the popularization of some aspects of the new urbanism does not appear to be too far fetched. As with modernism, postmodernism has revealed its utopian and dysutopian face to the city.

[287] Here it is useful to consult with Clement Greenberg's description of Kitsch. Being one of the chief defenders of high modernism, in a 1939 essay on the subject, his description of Kitsch is quite unflattering. To Greenberg, within industrial society, if art is created by the vanguard then Kitsch is something created by the rearguard. It is not something that belongs to art but is something firmly anchored in mass culture. Greenberg felt that this German word adequately described the erstz popular, commercial art consumed by the "proletariat and petty bourgeois," which high culture needed to keep its distance from. As Greenberg states " Kitsch, using for raw material the debased and academicized simulacra of genuine culture, welcomes and cultivated this insensibility. It is the source of its profits. Kitsch is mechanical and operates by formulas. Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensations. Kitsch changes according to style, but remains always the same. Kitsch is the epitome of all that is spurious in the life of our times. Kitsch pretends to demand nothing of its customers except their money - not even their time (Greenberg 1972, p.153)."

[288] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 269.

[289]With the input of a planner who cut his teeth in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in the City of Vancouver in the livable city era, development controls were put in place in the City of White Rock which have lead to the creation of a landscape that successfully evokes the milieu of a seaside resort which is not just an illusion but in truly represents a real part of the geography and history of this community (VS-105a). Then there is the redevelopment of downtown Port Coquitlam (1983). Here luck and favourable circumstances created a situation that resulted in a successful experimentation in place making when the city hired a director of planning who was committed to good urban design in the early 1990s - just as the development boom in this city was beginning (PI-30; Taylor,1996). With the support of the mayor and Council the director was able to implement a successful postmodern strategy for the reshaping

of downtown Port Coquitlam. In the space of five years the struggling retail sector has been turned around. Usable public spaces have been created. And an urban ambiance has been created which encourages people to treat the downtown as an urban living room. If these favourable developments continue downtown Port Coquitlam may well emerge as the sleeper in the contest to create an authentic urban centres in the suburbs Greater Vancouver. Not designated as a major regional town centre, and with a working class rather than middle class population base, it may well become the first successful town centre. In this case an environment that was the product of accident and coincidence may succeed where the more grandiose attempts to create urban town centres such as Burnaby (Ito,1995; PI-33) Coquitlam (1995) Richmond (1991,1992) and Surrey (1991,1996) may fail, as they are still floundering about in terms of creating livable urban spaces that do not feel contrived or that actually function as urban rather than suburban centres.

[290] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 286.

[291] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 272.

[292] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 273.

[289] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 289.

[294]The suburban embrace of urbanity not only shows how postmodern aesthetic codes are being used to concentrate capital but also how these representations of the city are being used to alter the social image of suburban spaces. Once again we find that working class symbols are being erased or made invisible in the physical makeover of these suburbs. To see examples of this it is only necessary to look the attempt North York and Surrey have made to cast aside their previous image as low brow commuter suburbs so that professionals will be attracted to the new downtowns they hope to create (Quan January 8,1991).

[295]Moreover, not only are postmodern principles for the re-organization of urban space being applied to the recycling of inner city and older suburban spaces. Most noticeably they have become packaged into a recipe that is now increasingly put to use across the country, but nowhere else, perhaps, as in Toronto (Watson 1997), where this urban region is now reputed by some to be the centre for the new urbanism in North America, with plans for about 20,000 units in the development pipeline at this moment (Watson 1997; 199a). Consequently this form of development may soon house between 60 and 70-thousand people in the Toronto area over the next decade. What is noteworthy about all of this is that postmodern principles are now becoming an integral part of the development of greenfield sites where neo-traditional communities are being constructed on the edge of the built up area of the city, such as in Markham. Here, in neo-traditional developments higher densities are being allowed. For example in Toronto, within convention sub-divisions, usually between eight to ten units per acre are allowed in this area. In current neo-traditional developments 12 units per acre are being allowed and up to 25 units on 13.5 ft. to 22.5 ft. lots through one development called Berczy Village (Warson 1997a). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2 Chpt. 4, Note 291.

[296]Recently this has even happened in Edmonton where the community of Westmount containing 220 homes, has instituted zoning now common in RS-1 areas of Vancouver.

[297]For example, in the early 1990 The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto released a study entitled Metro Main Streets which examined the feasibility of using existing streets to absorb some of the 300,000 housing units that were being contemplated in a densification strategy for the region. At the same time the City of Toronto incorporated the recycling of streetscapes into its new official plan (but so far little redevelopment has taken place) (City of Toronto September, 1992, p.13.1; Procter 1992; Zeidler 1993).

[298]Formal recognition was made of this potential when a report on a Housing Opportunities strategy was released by the City of Vancouver Planning Department in 1990 (CVPD-95). To increase the housing capacity of the city, one of the four programs listed was a residential street's program. However, even before this report came out, action was being taken when amendments were made to commercial zoning regulations in 1989. These amendments allowed residential development to be more easily incorporated into existing main streets. The

expectation was that this measure would add 5,000 more housing units to the city's housing capacity (CVPD-95) Similarly, complementary policies to encourage the densification of the street were reaffirmed when City Council adopted CityPlan in 1995 (CVPD-122; CVPD-141). At first developers were slow to respond to these zoning amendments but this seems to be quickly changing. Unlike Toronto, the booming real estate market of Vancouver has made it easier for developers to grasp the potential for redevelopment along the street, something which has particularly become evident along West Broadway and Fourth Avenue where an entirely new streetscape has been refashioned since the late 1980s. However in Toronto the only significant development to take up the densification of the street is a development called the Beaches which has just begun (The Toronto Star 1997zb).

[299] On a smaller scale this has even become apparent in places like Port Moody. See the new plan for the redevelopment of the City of Port Moody (1996).

[300] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 296.

[301] Currently a proposal is being put forward by Canada Packers to transform 43 acres of industrial land into a residential development with up to 800 units. At first high-rises were proposed but they were adamantly opposed, now a mix of medium and single detached units are proposed plus some commercial space. In one meeting around 200 people showed up, but some council members and the public were leery of the design which basically reserved the river for the residents of apartment units with no linear parkway or pathway along the river proposed for the use of the general public. Since the rezoning of the property would increase its value by $50-million some questioned why some of this windfall could not be put into the preservation of more of the buildings (David Da Silva 1997c).

[302]The Planning Department has tried to do something but the rightward bend of council and even struggles within the department itself and the growing power of the market has played a role in making fear and not necessarily safety the background condition influencing the design of these second generation postmodern environments. Rather than communal solidarity a fortress mentality has increasing come into the fore with the trend towards exclusivity by the new middle class amplifying the demand for more fortress structures because of concerns about property crime. As the new middle class has become better established and more conservative it has sought compensatory design features to protect itself from contract with its lower class neighbourhoods, as it aggressively makes further inroads into areas that were the exclusive domain of the lumpen proletariat, a population which the middle class fear and wishes to have removed if it is able to do so.

[303]In regard to the Dowtown Eastside see VS-285 VS-391; VS450; VS-454; G/M 1997zm; CVPD-166; CVCO-45 - for Mole Hill see CVCO-27; VS-280; VS-386 and Petrie 1995- for Southeast False Creek see CVPD -166; CVPD-167;CVCO-24; CVCO-54.

[304]For example, this can be seen in the allocation of for affordable housing that is assessed through development cost levies (See CVCO-73; CVCO-66; CVCO-63a; CVCO-bab).

Chapter Five

The Postmodern Transformation of Vancouver

5.0 Introduction

After having looked at the material variables that are responsible for shifting investment patterns, it is now the appropriate time to look at how non-material and institutional factors enter in to the picture and affect the transformation of the city. In the last chapter this was done by looking at how a postmodern spatial matrix for the regulation of space came into existence. There is more to the postmodern transformation of the city than the generation of a new spatial logic by the new middle class. Other externalities, not related to modernity have also given the city a distinctive look and feel which set the modern city apart from the postmodern city Besides densification and the arrival of postmodern regulation, new demographic patterns and changing immigration patterns have also shapes the postmodern city. Once again, nowhere else has this become more apparent than in Vancouver. Thus in addition to the changes brought about by the densification process (which originated as a late-modern phenomenon in North America). and the emergence of postmodern spatial norms, a distinctive postmodern social ecology has arisen in city.[1]

When the first densification wave was washing over Vancouver, not only was a cultural revolution taking place, alongside and in conjunction with this cultural revolution, declining birth rates and shifting immigration patterns were to alter the demographics of the city in several fundamental ways. If the configuration of the property market played the most important role in shaping the evolution of the densification process, and the dialectic between market and bureaucratic rule framed the shift from modern to postmodern regulation, then the rising acceptance of birth control and the adoption of new immigrant strategies by the federal government were the keys that opened the way for the emergence of new kinds of social spaces, and from this, the creation of a new social geography for the late-twentieth century city.

Two quite different demograpic and immigrant profiles therefore set the modern and postmodern city apart. To look more closely at these demographic forces a shift in analytical gears is required. When looking the transformation of the postmodern city from a demographic perspective a more descriptive approach needs to be taken. Instead of being used as an analytical construct, as it was in the previous chapter, in this chapter postmodernism will be used an historic construct, which will be used to describe rather than analyze the changes that changes that have occurred since the late 60s. Instead of referring to a new regulatory logic, when used in this way, postmodernism becomes an umbrella term that can be used to outline the creation of new social geography that came about with the emergence of the late-twentieth century city, one that did not originate within modernism but one which nevertheless, coloured its evolution and final shape in the postmodern era.

Thus, demographics, and changes brought about by the national state (rather than the local state) because of changes in immigration policy, established the material basis for the evolution of two quite distinct social morphologies. Hence, external factors such as changes in fertility and shifting patterns of immigration became important strands in the urban fabric that was woven together by modern and postmodern regulation. In both the modern and postmodern eras two quite different demographic contexts existed for the transformation of the city. For example, the application of modern regulation matured during a time of high fertility. It also corresponded to an era when the vast majority of immigrants were European. As well, most of these immigrants were peasants or workers. Finally, modern norms took mature form at a time when the population was growing considerably younger. In turn, this provided the right material circumstances for the easy enactment and acceptance of a family-centred spatial ideology that would define the social dimension of modern regulation.

In contrast to this, the maturation of postmodern regulation of city corresponded to an era of low fertility. Furthermore, rather than Europe acting as the primary source for new immigrants, Asia became the major point of origin for the vast majority of new immigrants. Unlike the modern period, the percentage of middle class immigrants also increased

dramatically during the postmodern era. In turn, this changed the settlement geography of the modern city, as the capacity of immigrants to appropriate more desirable space was greatly enhanced, thus leading to the creation of new settlement zones in the city. Lastly, in contrast to the modern era, the general population was now aging (VS-307; VS-421f; G/M 1998co). Because of this, non-family social groups would become more influential in creating a demand for postmodern spaces. Unlike the middle class in the modern period, this development generated more discretionary spending, enhancing lifestyle marketing rather than child-centred activities, that had defined most spaces created during the modern era. Consequently, landscapes organized around consumption rather than reproduction had a much higher profile in the postmodern city. Compared to other Canadian cities, in Vancouver the impact of these changes would be more dramatic. As a result, by the late 1980s the morphology of the modern city was almost completely transformed. As new social spaces came into existence the settlement patterns that defined the modern era in Greater Vancouver were nearly completely erased.[2]

So, in addition to the presence of two regulatory logics, there were also two contrasting social geographies that set the late-twentieth century city apart from the mid-twentieth city. While the mobilization of the middle class during the counterculture set the stage for a new regulatory logic, changes in immigration policy, and lower fertility rates, would also have an impact on the postmodern transformation of the city. In combination with the regulatory matrix supplied by the middle class, these demographic shifts provided the political and demographic context for different patterns of social stratification to emerge in each era. Especially in Vancouver, this would alter the relation between the centre and the periphery that had been established during the modern era. Not only did this change affect the densification process, it also affected the regulation of space, as new settlement zones – which did not exist in the modern era – emerged in the postmodern city.

Hence, not only did this demographic pattern feed into the densification of Vancouver, different rules for the organization of space were being forged along very different demographic, racial and class lines. Thus, not only was space becoming much denser in Vancouver, as shall now

see, the middle class was becoming more influential in the spatial order of the city. As the relation between the centre and periphery was reversed in favour of the middle-class settlement of the core, the social order of the modern city was inverted. As a result, displacement became a major structural issue in the postmodern city, as densification and the middle class colonization of the inner city deconstructed the social geography of the modern city. With high, medium and low-rise forms of densification co-mingling with the new settlement zones, a new landscape was created. Together with the fact that the middle class that was aging and no longer reproducing itself, this along with a new pattern of immigration, one which was Asian rather than European, and one that was much more middle class rather than working class in social background, the demographic and class currents that had molded the modern city no longer existed in Vancouver.[3]

Until this happened, the settlement geography of Vancouver closely approximated the model for the industrial city that was constructed by Burgess (1925) and Hoyt (Theodorson 1961). Although each model was distilled from observations of Chicago in the 1920s, it became a reasonably accurate picture of other North American cities during the modern era. The empirical and conceptual match was more than just coincidental. As well as being a reflection of some of the economic and demographic forces that were shaping the city; indirectly, this portrayal of the North American city was also the condensation of a world view that reflected the progressivist ideology of a new stratum of middle-class professionals. This partially explains why these models became so popular: for these models served as a projection as well description of the modern city. Even when there was a gap between the form of a particular city and the model, conformity with the model would be attempted, as planners sought to discipline the unruly spaces of the *laissez-faire* city by using zoning and comprehensive plans to bring recalcitrant spaces into line. As well as describing the economic and demographic forces that were shaping the city, this model was a fairly accurate description of the North American city because it also expressed an order that was desired and, to a certain extent, imposed by the middle class. Therefore, besides its correct reading of the impact of immigration, these models

were an accurate portrayal of the city because they were also used as spatial idealizations of the type of city that was desired by the alliance that was forged between the middle class and the vanguard sectors of corporate capital during the progressivist period (Smith 1988).

As earlier mentioned, the rise of this middle-class began in 1880s and was conditioned by the ascendancy of bureaucratic rule. This prepared the ground for the modern order, as the first seeds of this spatial matrix were sown at this time. Despite the considerable lag between the formulation of new spatial norms and their implementation, this ideological and political mobilization by the middle class would herald the beginning of the end of the *laissez-faire* city, bringing with it, a period of transition that would last until the 1940s. Although it took several decades for modern norms to germinate and bear fruit as a formal institutional matrix for the regulation of space by the local state, the years between 1900 and 1930 would become important, as this was the time in when these new norms were incubated and experimented with before they matured into the regulatory system that was to eventually dominate.

The emergence of a distinctive postmodern social order would parallel what took place during the modern era. Just as with the modern city, hidden beneath the surface, the regulatory structures within the local state would be altered at the same times that the demographic and immigration profile of the city was changing. Inasmuch as the modern order of the city that Burgess and Hoyt described did not happen overnight, but took several decades to mature into a stable format, so too, can the same be said about the creation of unique and distinctive postmodern geography. As with the social geography of the modern city, these changes did not just happen. Instead, conscious as well as unconscious forces and motivations were at work in this transformation over a period of decades.

For example, if the federal government had not altered the Immigration Act – in 1967 and 1986 – to allow non-european immigrants, and a new investor class of immigrants, to come to Canada, the organization of settlement geography of the city and the competition for space would have taken on a completely different complexion from what can now be observed in Vancouver, in particular. Likewise, if the various provincial governments had not introduced

strata title legislation, or the federal government had not established the regulatory infrastructure for co-operative housing to flourish, the trajectory of middle class settlement in the inner city, and the configuration of the densification process in the Canadian city, might have had a taken a different path.

So, without naively accepting Burgess model as just a simple description of the city, it is possible, nonetheless, to use his classification scheme as a descriptive marker that can be used to highlight the distinctive postmodern geography that has emerged in Vancouver since the early 1970s. To this end, the five concentric settlement zones that Burgess used to divide up the city will be used in Vancouver to show the dramatic changes that have occurred to the physical and social morphology of the city (figure three). Similarly, just as Burgess also referred to a number of non-concentric settlement patterns in his analysis, in this overview of the postmodern social ecology of Vancouver, some attention will be devoted to a number of subsidiary -- but non-concentric -- settlement patterns that are of great importance in the postmodern evolution of the settlement geography of the region as well (figures eleven A and B).

Before moving on to describe how each settlement zone in Vancouver has changed since the modern era, the background forces at work in this process will be briefly sketched in to supply the context for the changes that have taken place. As indicated earlier, one of the critical factors in shaping the postmodern city had nothing to do with the institution of new regulatory norms, but the creation of new immigration laws which replaced the previous source of immigrants. As with most Canadian cities, when Chicago School theorists described the sorting out of each wave of immigration in the modern city, it was at a time when most new immigrants to North America were European.

Since immigration and migration were the fuel that triggered changes in land use, the changes to immigration act of 1967 are of no small importance. Furthermore, in 1986, when the federal government further changed the immigration act to allow a new investor class of immigrant to come to Canada, this would have another profound impact upon the settlement geography of Vancouver. Together, these two changes would dramatically alter the ethnic and

class composition of immigrants coming into the city. In the case of Vancouver, this would lead to the creation of entirely new settlement zones, which did not exist during the modern period, as a Zone of Asian Resettlement and a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement began to emerge after 1986.

Then there is the middle class. As already explained in the previous chapter, a new middle class stratum emerged in the 1960s. Unlike the previous professional stratum, this new fraction of the middle class emerged when market rather than bureaucratic rule became the ascendant force. Because of the expansion of the information and entertainment economies (Frank 1997), the new middle class was supported by a different economic base, one which gave greater weight to the chaotic and polarizing forces unleashed by the market. Because of the expansion of the university, this middle class fraction was also much larger than in any other era as well. Market power alone, therefore gave this stratum considerable power. And this was further enhanced by the retreat of bureaucratic rule, and the ascendancy of the market during the postmodern era. For this reason, unlike the modern era, the market itself, and not just the political mobilization of the middle class, would play a much more prominent role in the diffusion of postmodern regulation. Not surprisingly, the postmodern spatial matrix, which replaced the modern one, was more imbued with a petite bourgeois (or small shopkeepers) ideology rather than the corporatist one, which had coloured the regulation of the modern city.

In numerous ways, it would be because of the market power that existed within this class, moreso than its formal political mobilization, that would ultimately act as a solvent on the ossified structures that its middle-class predecessors had put in place in the middle to late 20s. By the early 1970s this new middle class had both market power and enough political sophistication to mobilize in its own interests within the sphere of the local state. In the City of Vancouver, the middle class did showed its new power by taking formal control over city council and by putting forward an alternative agenda for the city, one that stood opposed to both the high-rise and freeway - two artifacts of the modern era - which had become the most visible symbols of corporate capital and bureaucratic rule against which this class was rebelling. Instead of accepting either high-rise development, or the low-density sprawl of the

corporate suburb, experimentation with the production of medium-rise spaces was undertaken. As well, space that could accommodate a new consumer culture that was oriented to the street rather than to the shopping mall, was created. Like the reaction against the car and the corporate suburb, the embrace of the street also stood as a symbolize of the rebellion against the bureaucracy and corporate capital, which had cultivated the shopping mall. In turn, urban subcultures, which had been suppressed or criminalized during the modern era, were allowed to flower. In this way the political, social, and physical order, of the modern city was inverted. At first, these changes were quite localized. Confined to under-developed inner city neighourhoods, the earliest postmodern spaces only became visible during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In reaction to the ideal of the modern high-rise city, a space consisting of medium-rise dwellings was established. This established the material basis for the first postmodern settlement zone, as a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement began to take shape by the mid 70s. Being the first postmodern settlement zone to be generated out of the deconstruction of the modern city, eventually this settlement zone would expand, and completely surround the Vancouver's downtown peninsula.

Later on, as fertility rates declined, this middle class started to become stratified according to its domestic orientation. Beginning in the 1980s, a second-generation of the middle class arose. Less grounded in the domestic order championed by the first generation of the new middle class (that had come of age in the 1960s), this second generation was also more influenced by the market. Eventually these difference would become apparent in the rise of a second postmodern ideology and the emergence of a new settlement zone in the Core (figure six). Consequently, an alternative program for the postmodern city developed around the urban spectacle, and this vision began to challenge the livable city agenda, which the first generation of the new middle class were the chief advocates.With this stratification of the new middle class over time and space, two distinctive postmodern material cultures arose.

In contrast to the domestic and non-market orientation of the livable city ideology, a much more commercialized environment was created. New building forms, such as lofts (figures

twelve, twelve A to C), emerged to reflect the non-domestic orientation of this second generation. More significantly, there was a revival of high-rise apartment living - which been the bane of the first generation of middle class gentrifiers. In Vancouver, this also became reflected in the settlement geography of the new middle class, as this group began to colonize areas of the Core rather than confine itself to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Here the middle class became part of a larger collage, making up a *potpourri* of subcultures that would include Slavic immigrants, empty nesters, gays, affluent Asian immigrants, and various strata of the urban underclass, who would all compete for the limited space that was available within the downtown peninsula (figure six).

A third stratum of the new middle class would also appear. However, rather than locate in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement or in the Core, it would go the exurban fringe and claim choice pieces of the natural landscape for itself (figure eleven B). As in the core, conflicts over the use and control of space would arise, as the middle class sought to impose its ruralized vision of the livable city program on to other classes who still clearly operated within a spatial matrix that was modern rather than postmodern in orientation.

Finally, densification would be the last critical feature that would intervene to help shape the postmodern city. Although densification was present in the modern era, it was a localized phenomenon and where it occurred it was often regarded with a great deal of ambivalence. Reflecting the order-seeking nature of the disciplinary technologies that were now to be unleashed upon the city, for the modern city the Burgess model shows the city segmented in a dichotomous fashion. Spatially, power and influence were expressed in a dichotomous fashion. The elite would dwell in the Central Business District, and the middle class would live in the distant, low-rise, suburbs. Except for the elite, any other group that resided in the high density core face devaluation in social status by remaining near the centre of the city. Between these two polarities, there were settlement zones that acted as social filters. The more assimilated an immigrant group became and the higher its social status, the further out it would move from the core. In this way the concentric model of Burgess and the rest of the

thinking of the Chicago School of urban sociology was (indirectly) a spatial distillation of technocratic power, at the level of the city. Here, the well-ordered social elements of the city were clearly separated from the disordered ones. And in true bureaucratic fashion, a very rigid spatial hierarchy was established which was based upon the dispersion of capital rather than its concentration. The progress and evolution of the city therefore entailed dispersion.

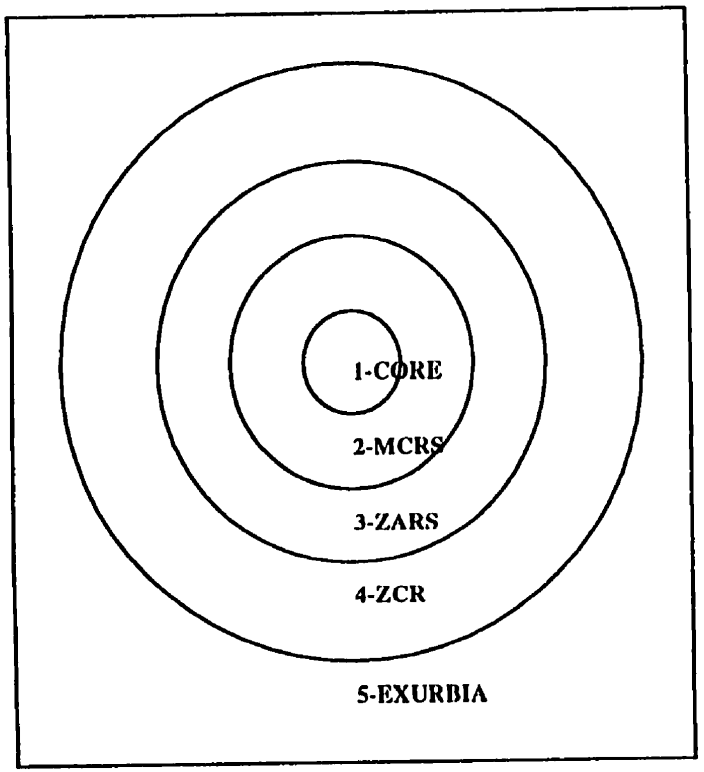
However, with the arrival of densification and the reconcentration of capital, the status of the city and the suburb would be inverted. While capital now started to flow into marginalized areas of the downtown and the inner city, at the same time, it began to abandon parts of the suburbs, transforming them into transition zones, where the marginalized elements of the population would be housed. Especially in Vancouver, from this a pattern of settlement that resembled the European city would be created. Densification would also change the filtering mechanism for migrants within the city, as well immigrants.Property markets would reflect this reality, as market forces broke up and dispersed the Working-class settlement zone. As well, areas traditionally inhabited by the lumpen proletariat (the urban underclass) would be threatened with elimination (figure nine A and figure ten). Meanwhile, a third zone would take shape as a result of the displacement that came about because of the creation of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement (figure eight). In turn, the the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement, would reverberate outwards, and create another wave of displacement, as family oriented members of the traditional middle class and the working class moved from the core of the region to the periphery, creating a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (figure five).

Unlike the the three zones located in the core, in this outer zone modern norms would remain firmly entrenched. In a curious and paradoxical way, the fact modern norms were in decline rather than being in ascent, has altered the significance of modernity in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. Now on the defensive, in relation to the progression of history and the evolution of urban space, this redoubt of modernism would now be situated in the rearguard rather than in the vanguard of new urban developments (as had been the case during the modern

era). The simple regression from the present into the past of this material culture meant that modernism had itself become part of history. Through this passage twentieth-century modernism itself became an ossified and conservative force in the life cycle of the city. Now captured by history, modernism has become subordinate to the postmodern matrix. As modernism itself became an object of nostalgia so too, did it become more of an anachronism to planners who had once championed its adoption.

Having sketched in how a new social geography and regulatory culture appeared, it is now possible to look at how each of the five zones into which Vancouver will be divided was altered with the arrival of this new mode of urban development that came with the articulation of these two forces.

Vancouver 1995
Post-Modern Social Ecology



Chicago 1925
Modern Social Ecology

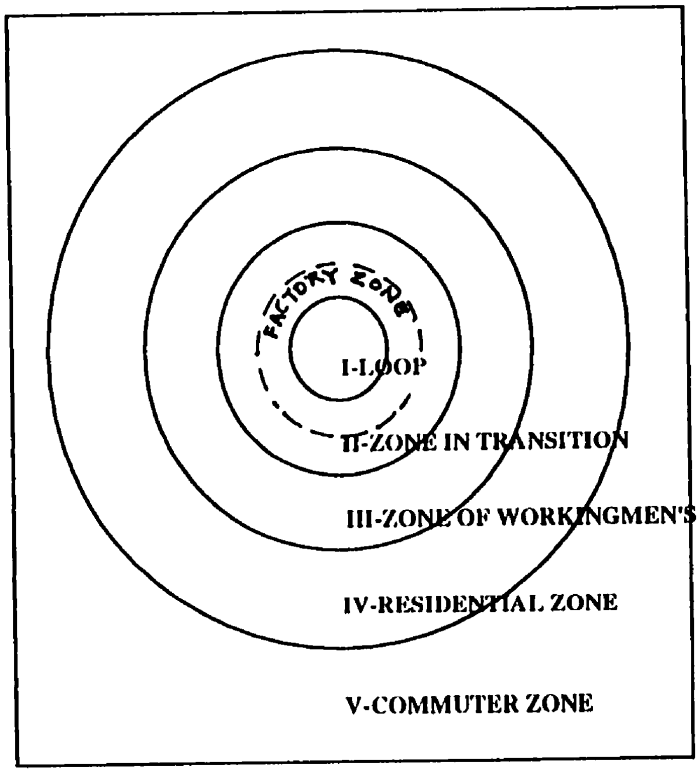
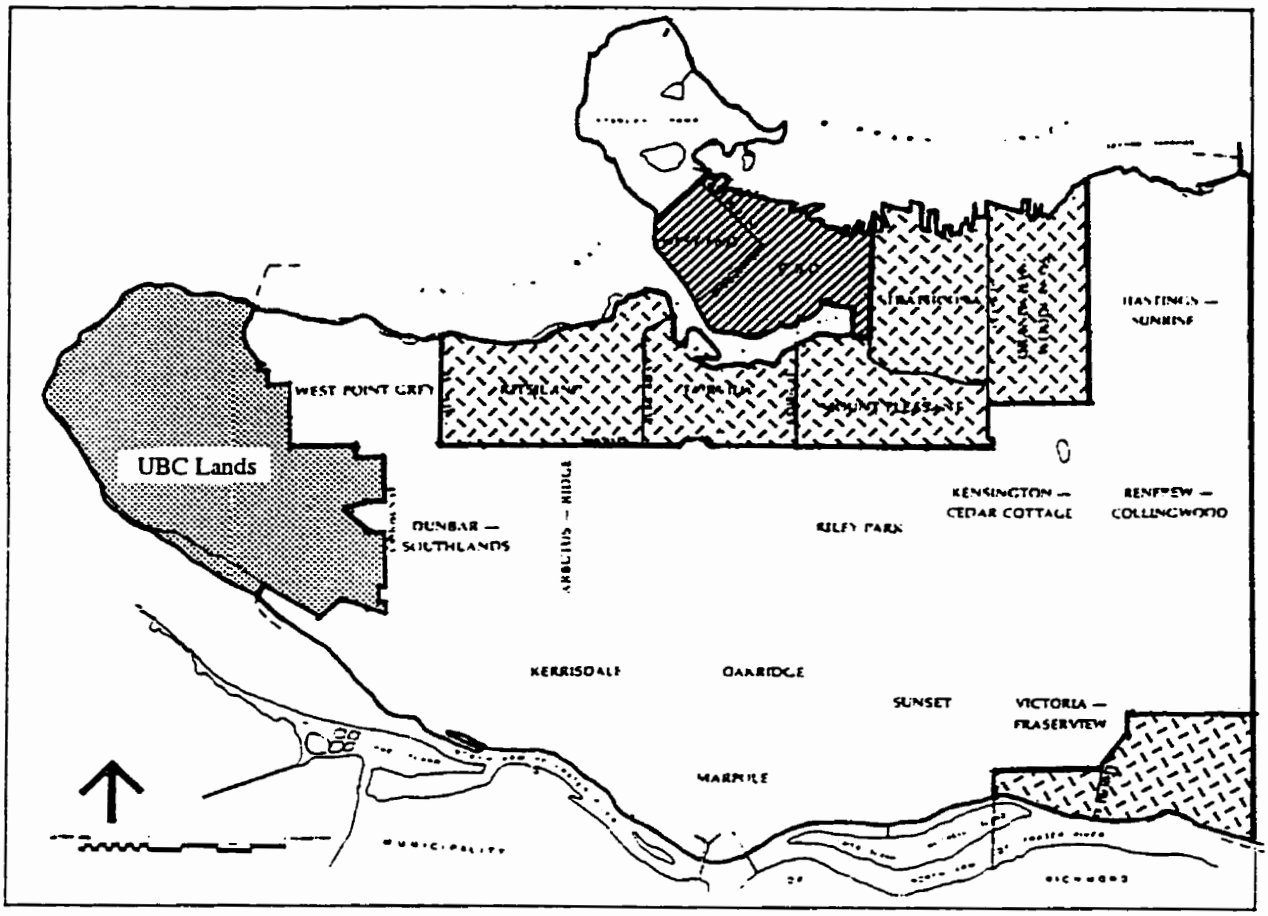


Figure Three

LEGEND

1 - Central Business District / Central Entertainment District - Centre of the Urban Spectacle
2 - Zone of Middle Class Resettlement - Centre of the Liveable City
3 - Zone of Asian Resettlement - Late Modern Landscape
4 - Zone of Caucasian Resettlement - Modernist holdover
5 - Exurbia - Zone of struggle between nature-oriented new middle class and working class

Figure Four **Social Ecology of the city of Vancouver**



Settlement Zones

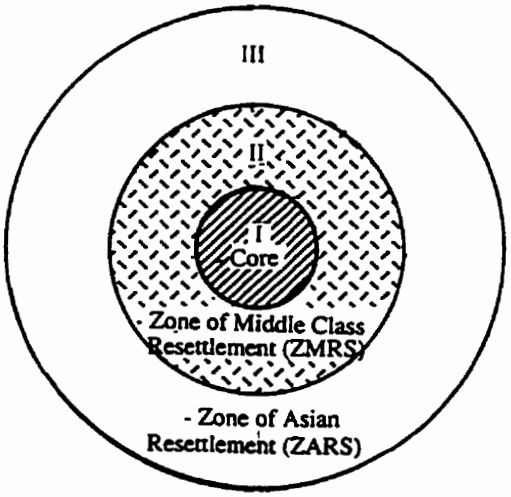
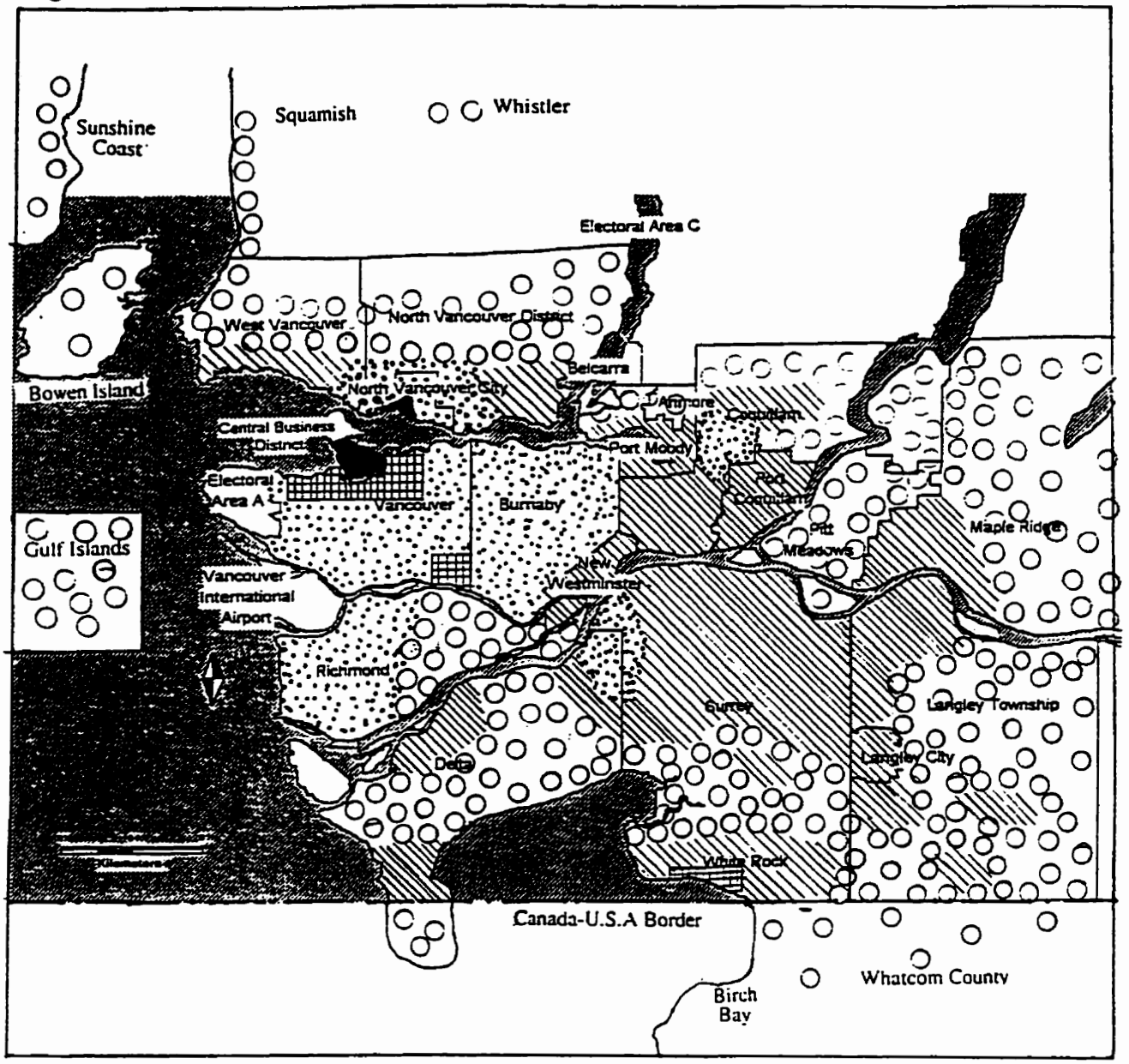


Figure Five Zones



Legend

- I - Core
- II - Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (ZMRS)
- III- Zone of Asian Resettlement (ZARS)
- IV - Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (ZCRS)
- V - Exurbia

5.1 - An introduction and overview of the postmodern social ecology of Greater Vancouver

Beginning with a survey of the five concentric zones, the first two zones only occupy one percent of the region's land mass but account for about twenty percent of the land area in the city of Vancouver. Broken down further, within the City of Vancouver the first zone accounts for five per cent and the second zone for fifteen per cent of the city's land area (figure three; table four). In 1991 the first zone had a population of 48,000 and the second zone had a population of 118,000. The first zone therefore contained ten percent of the City of Vancouver's population and three per cent of the region's population. In 1991, the second zone accounted for about twenty-five percent of the population of the City of Vancouver and about seven-point-five percent of the region's population.

Within the City of Vancouver, the third zone makes up about seventy-four per cent of the City's land mass. With 307,000 people residing here in 1991, this zone housed sixty-four percent of the City's population (figure three). However, because the third zone also straddles both the City of Vancouver and the inner suburbs of Greater Vancouver (table four) this zone takes in a much larger area than the suburban perimeter of the City of Vancouver. It also includes the suburbs of Burnaby, Richmond, parts of the City of North Vancouver and the District of North Vancouver. At the regional level, however, approximately 836,000 people live within the third zone. In terms of the region, the third zone accounts for about fifty-two percent of Greater Vancouver's population but only makes up approximately sixteen percent of the region's land mass.

The fourth zone mostly takes in the outer suburbs. It is primarily made up of the cities of Coquitlam, Port Coquitlam, parts of Surrey and Maple Ridge. With a population of about 400,000 the fourth zone only comprises twenty percent of the region's population but covers around 65,000 hectares or about twenty-five percent of the region's land base.

Lastly there is the exurban ring. This is the fifth and final settlement ring in Greater Vancouver. Covering 200,000 hectares, the exurban ring takes up more space than any other zone

and consists mostly of mountainous terrain, agricultural land and green space. While making up sixty-three percent of the region's land mass, the fifth zone only housed about 190,000 people in 1991, or about twelve percent of the region's population. This exurban zone holds most of the undeveloped residential land that is located in Maple Ridge, the District of Langley, Surrey, Delta and the North Shore. Lastly, White Rock and Bowen Island are included in this zone as are a number of communities that lie outside the formal boundaries of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. For example, this exurban fringe would include the Central Fraser Valley,[4] where the City of Abbotsford (with a population over 130,000 in 1996). Squamish, Whistler, The Sunshine Coast and the Gulf Islands (where about 25,000 people live), in and along Georgia Strait.[5] The region even extends into the United States, where Whatcom County functions as a foreign appendage to Vancouver. Although these areas are not incorporated into the population figures or the measurement of the land area they do form part of the exurban fringe (figure three).

Finally, even though the City of Vancouver only accounts for twenty percent of the region's land mass, and around twenty-seven percent of its population, most of this examination will focus on what has happened here because this is where densification, changing immigration patterns and the new middle class have had the most profound impact on the social ecology of the region.

For example, although the first two zones only make up one per cent of the region's land mass and account for about nine percent of its population, special emphasis will be placed upon what has happened in these first two zones because each provides the clearest example of how the densification process and the new middle class have affected the social ecology of the postmodern city. Furthermore, the first and second zones demonstrate how the goals of the livable city era and that of the livable city itself have been translated into regulatory codes that have resulted in the production of two contrasting built environments, one which is dominated by high-rise[6] and the other by medium-rise dwellings[7] and two different material cultures, as well: with the material cultural that has developed in the first zone more

expressive of the non-domestic fraction of the new middle class and hence the urban spectacle, while the second zone is more expressive of the values of the livable city era, as this is the settlement zone that has the largest concentration of the domestic fractions of the new middle class now live.

Considerable attention will be paid to the third settlement zone that lies within the City of Vancouver because it shows another facet of densification process and the impact that Asian immigration has had on the region. As with the first two zones, additional study of this third zone is warranted because what has happened here has been replicated elsewhere in the region. Like the other two zones, the most specialized and sophisticated regulations in the region have been put in place here to deal with middle-class concerns about the built environment. Only here the challenge has been created by the antagonism that has grown between the traditional middle class and an Asian middle class that has settled in this area. However since the suburban part of Vancouver is part of a larger Zone of Asian Resettlement, what is going on here is being repeated elsewhere. As well, it is in this third zone that the most elaborate attempt to promote and adapt areas zoned for single detached dwellings to low rise formats for densification in the region have taken place.

Consequently, the three zones that are located in the City of Vancouver will become the focal point of the investigation into the transformation of the social ecology of Greater Vancouver because each zone has acted as the point of origin and incubation ground for the three main formats that now shape the densification process across the region.[8] Similarly, the high concentrations of four different fractions of the middle class – that is the non-domestic and domestic fractions of the new middle class, the traditional middle class and the new Asian middle class – illuminate how the core of the region has become thoroughly bourgeoisified over the past twenty-five years and how, as a result, the social order that once existed here in the modern era has been inverted by the migration and immigration of the various middle class fractions into the City of Vancouver. Although the rest of the region will not be ignored, the additional attention that will be given to the City of Vancouver can be justified because it

clarifies a great deal about the changes that are happening to the rest of social ecology of the region.

Figure Six A The Core Settlement - Zone I

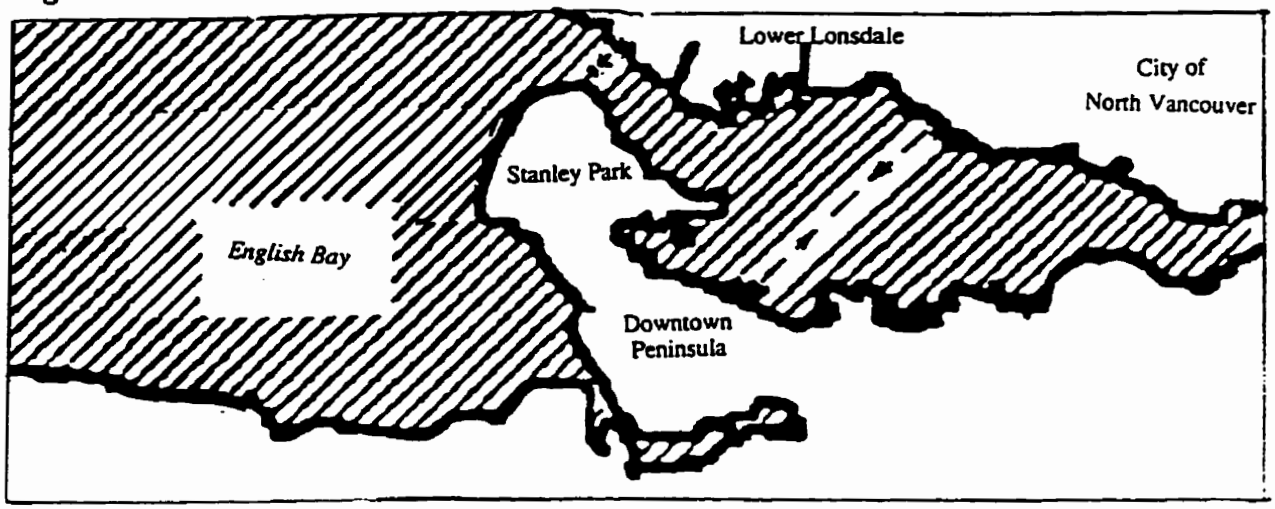
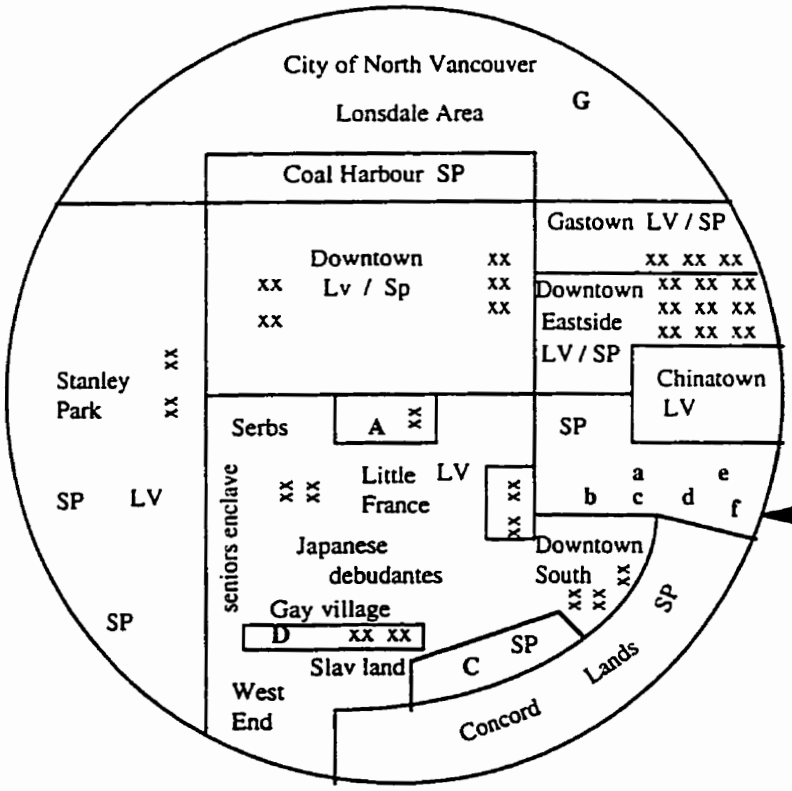


Figure Six B Collage City



Area of the mass spectacle:
a -Queen Elizabeth
b -Ford Theatre
c -Library
d -B.C. Place
e -G.M. Place
f -Tinseltown

The Dynamics of the Collage City

Advancing Non-Domestic new middle class
Receding working class
Dispersing underclass
Advancing visitor spaces
Receding seniors (wc & lower mc)
Gradually receeding working class chinese immigrants

Legend:
A-Robson Street-SP
B-Granville Street-SP
C-Yale town-SP
D-Davie Street-SP
G-North Shore Studios
LV-Livable city
XX-Dispersed underclass
SP-Intensified zone of the spectacle

5.2 - First Settlement Zone: The Core (Downtown Peninsula)

Beginning with the first zone, it is made up of two local area neighborhoods – the Downtown and the West End. It therefore includes only two of the twenty-two local areas that are used to subdivide the City of Vancouver (figure 4).

Although the first zone was an important incubation ground for the livable city agenda, since 1986 it has stood out as the most potent symbol of the urban spectacle in the region.[9] This is where the first zoning codes that were tailor-made to support the urban spectacle appeared, when a comprehensive zoning district called The B.C. Place Expo Comprehensive District was hived off from the False Creek Comprehensive District (which had shaped South False Creek) was created. As well, it is in the core that renewed experimentation with high-rise living was begun (e.g., CVC0-59; Berelowitz 1992). Also, as the awards granted to the Planning Department for innovation in the central area during the 1980s and 1990s point out, this zone was also the epicenter for a much more market-driven phase in the postmodern development of the city. The first zone is also the place where the most extensive privatization of the symbolic and physical spaces of the city has taken place as well.[10] Although the layer of development that grew during the livable city has not been erased the legacy of the urban development that took place during that time increasingly pales beside the social polarization, the stylization of the landscape and the privatization that has taken place here since 1986.[11]

It is important not to forget that what has happened here is not unique to Vancouver. Weaker versions of this spectacular landscape have appeared in the core areas of other Canadian Cities as well: in places such as the Forks in Winnipeg,[12] Eau Claire in Calgary (Calgary Herald 1997o; 1998r), or the Old Port area in Montreal (Montreal Gazette 1997l).[13] Yet the only other area that comes close to rivalling Vancouver in this regard is the former industrial and railway land lying adjacent to the Central Business District of Toronto. However, when Toronto's much larger size is taken into account (in terms of its mass)[14] nowhere else in Canada has the urban spectacle become so strongly imprinted or concentrated in such a small

area as it has been here since the mid 80s, and nowhere else has such an elaborate regulatory structure put in place to secure this second generation postmodern landscape.[15]

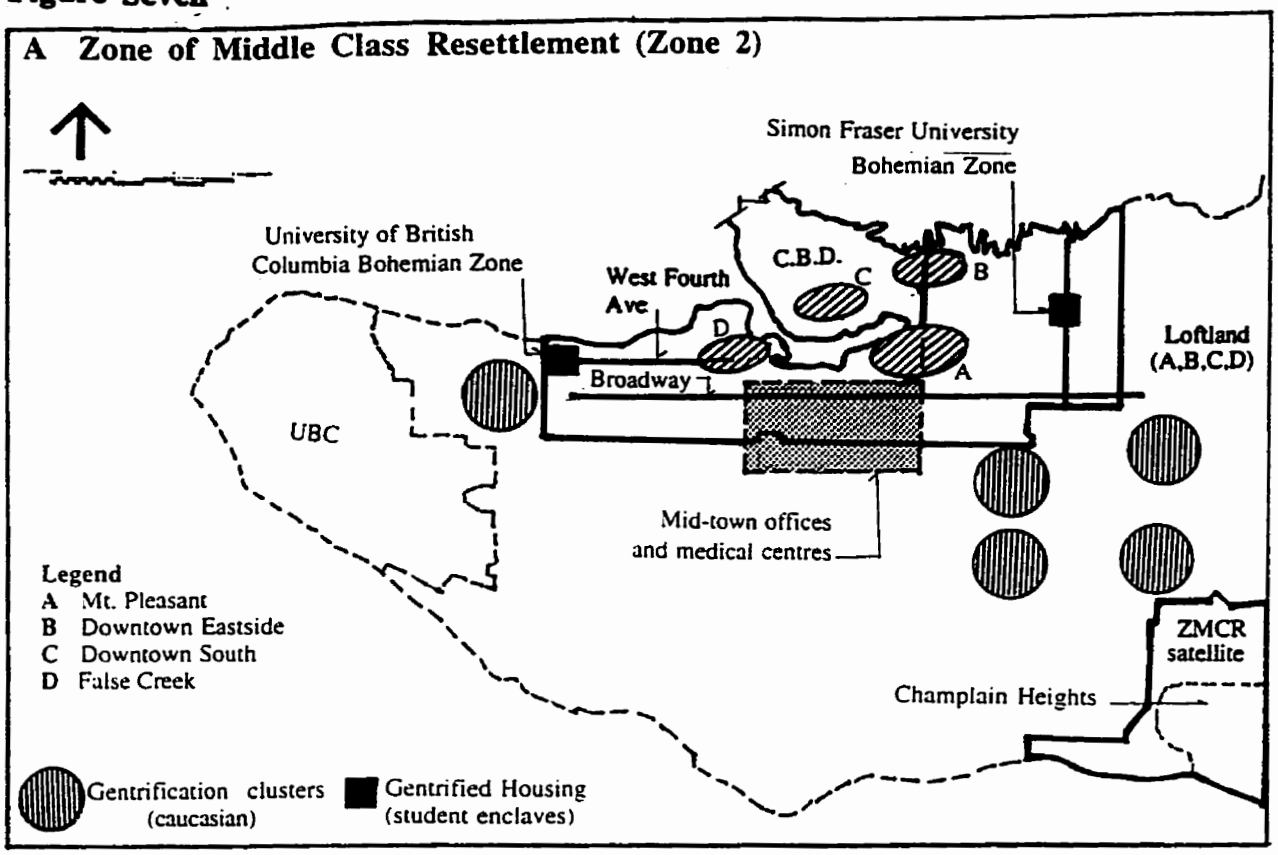
With regard to the philosophical dimension this can be seen in the evolution of zoning in the core since the early 1980s. Although space is still viewed in organic terms, the landscapes that are being built reflect the stylization and privatization[16] that has taken place since the 1980s. Equally, dialogical decision-making processes remain in force but with the protocols that have been adapted for mega-project planning (CVPD-113; Beazley 1994) there exists a much stronger corporatist slant that was largely absent in the 1970s.[17] Although participation by community groups and interested citizens still exists it is not as extensive or as open-ended as the consultation process was when the zoning regulations for Downtown Vancouver were put in place in 1975 (Olds 1995; Pierce 1997).

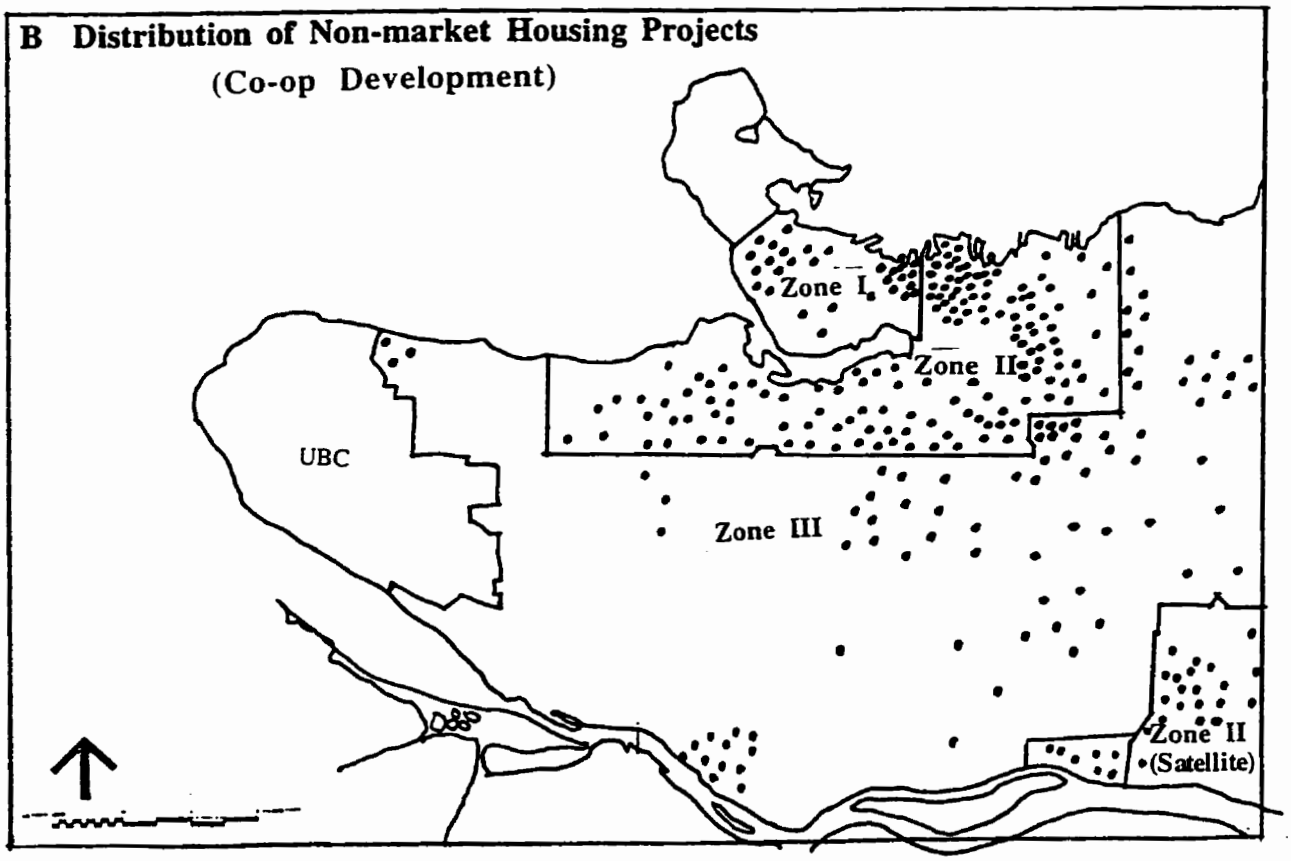
On the sociological level, the shift from the livable city to the urban spectacle is best illustrated by the growing emergence of a non domestic fraction of the new middle class. In this regard what happened to the gay community in the West End is quite instructive since it stands out as the ultimate postmodern social space in the region. To a lesser extent, the same can be said about the expansion and consolidation of the bohemian community on the downtown peninsula or in places like Gastown, Yaletown and Victory Square. Between the mid-1970s and the 1980s, these two lumpen bourgeois social formations were doubly transformed. Receiving formal recognition as communities, they were normalized.[18] At the same time, their function as important economic locomotives for the downtown was recognized and acted upon. For the gay community this happened when the city provided financial support for the Gay Games that were held in 1990. At a much earlier date, the same recognition was given to the arts community when a study was commissioned by Vancouver's Social Planning Department to measure the impact of the arts on the economy (CVSP-5a).[19]

In both cases two previously marginalized urban subcultures have not only become normalized, they have also become subjected to intense commodification. In the case of the gay community the best example of this would be the rise of a gay business class and the decline of

the gay left that provided the most prominent profile of the gay community in the 1970s, but not in the 1990s, as the transformation of Davie Street into a gay commercial village illustrates. With this change in status, they have also become strong competitors in the struggle for scarce space downtown. As these two groups become more involved in the gentrification of the downtown, growing class antagonism has developed between these middle-class social formations and the lumpen proletariat that also lives in the core.

Figure Seven





Going back to the gay community, its sudden eruption into a visible consumer sub culture can be tracked by looking at how Davie Street has evolved since 1980. For example, in 1980, along a three block stretch of Davie Street (between Burrard and Thurlow Street) only Gordon House, a non-commercial establishment, was listed in Angles – a local gay newspaper. By 1990 there were nine gay-owned or gay-friendly businesses on Davie Street and sixteen in 1996, according to the Gay Business Directory. Further investigation showed that by walking along the street and looking for symbolic markers which indicated that a business was gay-owned or catered to gay consumers, it was possible to identify forty businesses along the three block stretch of Davie Street.[20] More recent observations even show that this commercial strip is expanding and that consideration is being given to the establishment of a Davie Street Merchants Association (that would run from Burrard Street to Denman Street) to encourage tourism, further amplifying the features which characterize the urban spectacle (VS-199).[21] Interestingly enough this happened during the same time that similar commercial villages were established in the Church and Wellseley area of Toronto,[22] and East Ste. Catherine Street in Montreal (Montreal Gazette 1997b; Norris 1997).[23]

As well, the normalization and intense commodification of bohemia opened up career opportunities for commercial artists as Vancouver became a major North American Centre for film and T. V. production (VS-317). Similarly, the expansion of the bohemian community was also fueled by the concentration of educational establishments in the downtown. For example BCIT opened a major facility in 1997, joining satellite branches of SFU and UBC. This, combined with the recent expansion of Emily Carr School of Design and the opening of a film school (VS-317), is indicative of the growing infrastructure that is supporting the expansion and concentration of the bohemian community.[24] The subsequent growth in the arts, entertainment[25] and education sectors has enlarged this community and increased its social status and economic power, accelerating the competition with low-income residents. Bohemia had once existed in a benign relationship with this group, and this change has lead to increasingly bitter struggles over space as the redevelopment proceeds.[26] This can also be seen in the explosion of lofts in;

Yaletown,[27] Victory Square and Gastown[28] as well as the Downtown Eastside (Figure 10A).[29] Their presence can be interpreted as a symptom of the gentrification that has accompanied the expansion of design-and-information-oriented businesses associated with the commodification of the arts and the growth of entertainment,[30] and education establishments that are part of the bohemian community and integral parts of the economy of the urban spectacle (VS-461; VS-462).[31]

At the aesthetic level, the revival of high-rise living is the most striking aspect of the urban spectacle in the Core, but there are other examples that show other aspects of the shift away from the aesthetics of the livable city to that of the Spectacle. Here the contrast that can be drawn between Robson Square and the new library complex is quite revealing. Whereas Robson Square, which was constructed in the 1970s, makes a powerful statement about the progressive role of the state and makes strong allusion to the local landscape and importance of accessible public space, the library complex does the opposite. It is a baroque rather than a classical edifice. Rather than making allusions to the local landscape, it makes references to ancient ruins. Not only are the materials used inferior, much of the public space -- such as the interior atrium -- has been privatized. As stated earlier, the greater bow to glamour and status is also quite evident in the highly stylized high-rise apartment towers[32] that are now being constructed (Berwolitz 1992; VS-216; Gallant 1997).[33] The concern with style, and the watering-down of the livable city bias against height would also result in the relaxation of height controls for Vancouver. Significantly enough it would not be an office complex that would first breach the ceiling established in the 1970s. The first building to exceed the limit would be a hotel connected to the economy of the urban spectacle, and not an office building connected to producer services and the earlier vision of downtown Vancouver as an executive city. Here the debate that ensued over the relaxation of building heights in the core becomes instructive. Whereas the reason for instituting them had to do with preserving the views of local residents the thinking behind their relaxation had to do with the greater stress placed on image making and the marketing of space. The recent skyline study and the subsequent approval of building

heights up to 600 instead of 450 feet in 1997 to allow the construction of a hotel is therefore quite revealing. It would indicate the extent to which the livable city agenda was mutating to accommodate the new pressures exerted by the economy of the urban spectacle, as well as the increasing influence of market rule on all forms of regulation in general, but planning in the Core in particular.[34]

The social polarization and stylization of the landscape that are now expressed in the aesthetics of this second-generation postmodern landscape can also be pointed to by looking three community centres: Britannia Centre, The Roundhouse, and the Gathering Place.

The social polarization is symbolized by The Roundhouse and the Gathering Place.[35] Just blocks apart they serve two parallel universes that inhabit the same space but have entirely different needs (VS-282).[36] Similarly, the greater stylization of the environment and the contrasting environments that have been created to serve the domestic and non domestic fractions of the new middle class becomes apparent if The Roundhouse is compared with Britannia Centre (which was opened in the 1970s). Designed to serve families, Christopher Alexander's "pattern language" was used as a method to organize space in an organic and informal fashion. For this and other reason, Britannia Community Centre would stand out as one of the best examples of the domestic alignment that the most experimental and innovative architecture of the livable city era took (Thompson 1972).

The economic and political realignments that would provide the context for the deconstruction of the livable city agenda in the Core started with the province adopting a strategy to spark investment and promote Vancouver as a tourist destination and transportation entrepot in the late 1970s, when a successful bid was made to hold an international exposition in the subject of transportation. The political action required to alter the regulatory apparatus to facilitate this development had to wait until the victory of The Non-Partisan Association (NPA) and the election of Mayor Gordon Campbell in 1986. After this time, the province and the city would work in tandem rather than oppose each other in the remaking of the Core. Consequentl, the mayor would play a decisive role in the writing of the Central Area Plan that

was adopted in the early 1990s, and move aggressively to get rid of anyone who slowed down the development of the core, something that would eventually result in the departure of the existing planning director in 1989. The final event to secure the remaking of the core would have to do with the investment boom set off by the creation of a new investment category by the federal government, and Hong Kong's concern about the take over of the colony in 1997 by China. These events, plus the publicity for the city created by Expo 86, triggered a foreign investment boom in consumer rather than productive infrastructure, which was to be most intensely felt in the redevelopment of the downtown peninsula.

Having looked at the philosophic, sociological and aesthetic threads that have transformed this first zone into a prototype landscape for the urban spectacle, it is now time to look at an even more fundamental change that was to affect the social ecology of the Core. This would be the transformation of the Core into the fastest-growing residential precinct in the region.

In Burgess depiction of the first zone or the Loop, the downtown was primarily portrayed as a place of work and mass consumption.[37] According to Burgess this zone was the most centrally located space in the urban region, and was therefore the most intensely developed commercial node. While the role of the downtown as a centre for mass consumption is recognized,[38] clearly these functions were considered to be secondary to the function of the Central Business District as an employment node for the warehouses, factories and office buildings that dominated the skyline of the Loop. In short, most people came to the core to work, not to play and certainly not to live, especially if they were deemed to be middle-class and respectable (i.e., VS-275).[39]

In the Burgess model, residential space was a receding land use while industrial and commercial land uses were expanding ones in the Core. Although this pattern was based upon simplified picture of downtown Chicago during the 1920s a brief examination of land use maps for Vancouver (Macdonalds 1992) shows that this description approximated what was happening in the downtown peninsula of Vancouver as well from the tum of the century until

the 1970s. Except for the elite (the Gold Coasters and Fifth Avenue types) the downtown was considered to be a place for commerce, therefore unfit for normal residence and even moreso with regard to the raising of families. Accordingly, most residential land uses were expected to wither away. And what did not would be taken care of through urban renewal or the legal sanction of zoning bylaws that prohibited residential land uses in the core of most North American cities. Until the revival of the West End began, this accurately depicted what was happening on the downtown peninsula. Subsequently entire communities such as Yaletown would disappear during the modern era (Hardwick 1974; Hill 1997a).

Table Four[40]
(1991 Stats)

	(CC)	(ZMCR)	(ZARS)	(City)
Area (hectares)	531	2,240	8,534	11,305
% of land Mass	4.6%	19.8%	74%	100%
Population	47,290	118,626	307,294	473,210
% Population	10%	25%	64%	100%
Pop < (15 yrs)	1,315	10,822	73,710	85,847
% Pop	2.7%	9.1%	20.4%	18%
Households	31,870	63,245	104,820	199,935
% Households	16%	32%	52%	100%
1996[41]	56,600 e	125,822 e	332,578e	514,000e
	11% e	24%e	65%e	

Collage City = (CC)
Zone of Middle Class Resettlement = (ZMCRS)
Zone of Asian Resettlement = (ZARS)
City of Vancouver = (City)
Estimates = (e)

Even in the West End, until 1975 commercial land uses were allowed to invade the residential areas until new zoning put a stop to the expansion of hotels.[42] The Chicago School theorists only thought living in the core would be appropiate to the urban elite live who would

in mansions or luxury high rises. A bow was made to the high rise enclaves of affluence – such as Chicago's Gold Coast or New York's Fifth Avenue – but these places were not envisaged as settlement spaces for the middle class. That is why West End would stand out as such an anomaly during the modern period, since most of the apartment units were constructed for the middle and lower middle class. These people were expected to get married and go to the suburbs (Zorbaugh 1965; Theodorson 1961,pp.23-49; Smith 1988; Park 1967). Thus, with the exception of the West End, land uses in downtown Vancouver closely followed the description provided by the Chicago School (figure 10).

But, with the emergence of densification as dominant force in Vancouver and the switch from modern to postmodern protocols for the regulation of space, this pattern would be reversed. Not only would the relation between residential and commercial land uses be reversed – as residential land uses eventually became the dominant rather than receding and subordinate land use – there would also be an important realignment in the commercial geography of the core as warehousing and industrial land uses were first displaced by office complexes that housed producer services and then later, as we have seen, in the 1980s,[43] the urban spectacle and information economy (e.g., VS-223).[44]

As we shall now see, instead of there being just one dominant land use in the Core by the 1990s, three competing land uses would emerge there, and struggle with each other for dominance. If office buildings had been the dominant land use in the modern period, with the overbuilding of office buildings in the 1980s, the rise of Calgary as a regional competitor for producer services (VS-439; G/M 1997dh), and the on going dispersion of offices to the suburbs,[45] the need to expand infrastructure in the for the office sector in the Core would weaken. Coversely, the infrastructure required by the urban spectacle and the space consumed by the expansion of residential land uses would challenge office space as the dominant land use in the Core. In complete contradiction to the burgess' concentric model of the city housing, followed by the space needed to accommodate the infrastructure of the urban spectacle would become the dominant land use during the 1990s, and out distance in the office sector in the competition for

scarce space in the Core. The nature of this radical transformation of the space economy of the Core can be illustrated by looking at statistics which indicate the degree of concentration or specialization of each land use in the region.

In the case of housing, its ascendancy in the Core can be measured by comparing the production of new housing in the Downtown Peninsula with the production of new housing in the rest of the City of Vancouver and the region. For the economy of office economy (in other words - producer services) and the economy of the urban spectacle the concentration and dispersion of hotels and office space within urban region can be used to track what has happened to these two other components of land use in the core.[46]

Beginning with residential space, housing statistics for Vancouver show that between 1990 and 1996 the Core had become the fastest growing residential zone in the City of Vancouver as well as in Greater Vancouver. Nearly 11,000 new housing units were constructed in the Core between 1990 and 1996 (table six).[47] The intensity of this growth and the specialization of the Core into a an important regional residential space can shown by comparing residential construction in the downtown and the West End with the rest of the City of Vancouver and the region. With the core only comprising five percent of the city's land mass and ten percent of its population, it accounted for thirty-four percent of all new construction in the City of Vancouver (table six). When regional comparisons are made the intensity of this residential densification becomes even more obvious. When using this scale to measure the intensity of residential densification we find that while the Core accounted for less than one-half-of-one percent of the region's land mass (.3) and three percent of its population, thirteen percent of all new housing starts in the region were begun here between 1990 and 1996.[48]

Far from being a temporary aberration,[49] this frenzied housing activity is expected to continue beyond the next decade. With the number people living in the core predicted to increase from 48,000, in 1991, to around 80,000. A seventy percent increase over the 1991 population base line is expected by 2021 (CVPD-105). This will come close to the seventy-five percent increase that is projected for the region as whole by 2021.[50] When this happens gross residential

densities in this settlement zone will settle around 162 people per square hectare, probably making this the densest urban area in the country.

After the expansion of residential land uses the infrastructure of the urban spectacle is the next most dynamic sector. Largely centred around tourism, its growing influence will soon be symbolized in the construction of a hotel that will be the tallest building in the city. The rising profile of this sector represents less of a deviation than the expansion of residential land uses in the core since these functions were expected to be in the core in the Burgess model. What is unusual is the degree of specialization.[51] With the non-domestic fraction of the middle class rapidly expanding along with the tourist economy, the old working class has become increasingly marginalized and invisible. As recent events in Gastown and Main street by Skytrain show, more energy is increasingly being put into camouflaging their existence or rendering them invisible.[52]

The number of hotel units and the amount hotel revenue generated in the core tell just how important tourism has become.[53] Since half of the region's hotel rooms,[54] and sixty-five percent of all hotel revenues in Greater Vancouver are generated here (thirty percent within the province), with the exception of a large cluster of hotels located around the international airport,[55] no part of the region matches the Core.[56] (B.C. Stats 1996; figure 2).[57]

Finally, the third major land use consists of producer services. As the 1956 downtown Plan and the 1975 zoning bylaw show, during the modern period and the era of the livable city offices were expected to be the dominant land use in the Core.[58] With the overbuilding of office space in the late 1980s, the rise of Calgary as a competing office centre, and the decentralization of office functions to the suburbs and regional town centres, only 49 percent of the region's office space was located in the downtown (GVRD,1992) in the early 1990s. Furthermore, between 1975 and 1991 the office capacity of the downtown was reduced by nearly nine million square feet (CVPD-105) and realigned around the rapid transit system.[59] Moreover, very little office space has been added in the 1990s although low vacancy rates mean that a significant amount of new construction will likely occur in the late 1990s (VS-323). Still, the amounts contemplated pale

beside what is taking place in Calgary. With over three million square feet expected to started on in Calgary over the next year even with the surge in new office construction in Vancouver the amount of new space to be started upon in the next year is not likely to exceed one million square feet. If present trends continue over the foreseeable future more residential space as well as hotel and related entertainment space (i.e., convention centre space, tourist oriented retail and special attractions) facilities are likely to be built in the core than office space. This will further raise the profile of the Core as the centre for the urban spectacle -- setting the limits for a distinctly postmodern rather modern social ecology that will revolve more around the struggle between residential land uses[60] and the economy of the urban spectacle rather than that of producer services.[61]

More than this, the settlement of the Core by an ever growing non domestic fraction of the new middle class has not only exerted powerful displacement pressures on these two other land uses, in addition to this, their rapid settlement of the Core has affected the class composition of the Core. New antagonisms, which did not exist during the modern era, have emerged and the displacement of low income people on both the east and west sides of the downtown have accelerated.[62]

Exactly in the way that the Core has become more specialized as a residential and Central Entertainment District in the postmodern era, so too, has its social geography. What would have been thought as being aberrant or unusual is now regarded as normal. This fast growing residential precinct is not defined by family formations, as would have been the case in any fast-growing neighbourood in the modern period; instead it would be set apart from other settlement zones by the emergence of a wide variety of singles' subcultures -- forming a collage of different social spaces, which would set it apart from the other zones in the region. This can most clearly be shown by looking at the number of children in this zone. For example, in 1991, only two point seven percent of the population of the Core was under the age of fifteen, compared to eighteen percent for the city as a whole (table 4).

Twenty-five years ago, this divergence would have been the cause for considerable alarm by social workers. In the modern period such a skewed age profile would have been interpreted as an incipient sign of social pathology. But this is no longer the case. Not only is the downtown considered a premiere residential area, it is that the Core has come into its own as a singles' enclave that forms the basis for its successful marketing as a livable space. Rather than the absence of families making the core area less attractive, if anything, this extreme demographic asymmetry has only made the Core more attractive to a growing segment of the middle class that is not involved in child rearing, a fraction that has grown considerably since the 1970s.[63]

The evolution of house form and tenure would play an important role in the social ecology of the postmodern city, acting as filters for the sorting out and stratification of the new class formations and new urban subcultures, providing a material base for each group. In many ways the house types and tenure form would also establish the overall context for the competition and struggle for space as well as its use.[64]

To give an example, in the core area, the overwhelming predominance of non traditional households can be closely related to the usually high concentration of high-rise apartments and the near absence of any single detached dwelling units. With only 145 single detached units present in the Core in 1991, compared to the citywide average of forty-four percent, the percentage of single detached units in the Core was only point three percent of the total housing stock, whereas single detached units accounted for seventeen percent of all the dwelling units located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and seventy-four percent of all dwelling units in the third zone. When the different proportion of dwelling units in each of these zones is compared to the number of children, the correlation between the location of different material cultures and house forms become unmistakable. While there were just over 1,000 children in the first zone, there were nearly 11,000 in the second, and nearly 74,000 in the third zone. (table 7).[65]

Besides stratifying the population according to its family status, other variations in the social ecology of each zone can be related to variations in the housing stock and tenure form (table 7). For example, to a great extent the continuing ability of the Core to absorb a steady influx of new migrants and immigrants has a great deal to do with the fact that the West End has the largest reservoir of rental stock in the region. The flexibility provided by this huge rental stock is one reason why there is such an incredible variety of people housed in the West End. Despite low vacancies and high rents, the West End still remains an important reception area for immigrants and new migrants from elsewhere in the rest of the country. The permeable and fluid social spaces created by this rental stock was a critically important material pre-requisite for the transformation of social space within the Core into a collage space (figure six b). Particularly in the West End, this guality defines the social space that has evolved here, as this residential precinct has been transformed into a Collage City. (This is a term coined by Colin Rowe (1978)[66] in the 1970s to describe the plurality of social spaces and subcultures that can form small spatial niches in the city, creating a number of micro utopias which people will make sacrifices to dwell in.) And, indeed, this is what can be seen in Vancouver's Core, where proletarian and middle class micro utopias (McLaren 1997B) can be found in the east and west sides of the downtown peninsula.[67]

That is why the most complex and discordant elements of the city exist cheek by jowl with each other in the core - colliding or slipping around each other and even sometimes fusing with one another to produce the Kaleidoscope of subcultures that exist within the downtown peninsula. This rich weave is what writers such as Jonathan Raban (1976) referred to when they wrote about the soft spaces of the city, or Rowe - when he wrote about the collage spaces of the city.[68] Further complexity is added to this mixture in the Core because it is the place where the most specialized festivals and exotic venues for business and pleasure are located, particularly as tourism has increasingly become the economic dynamo that is supporting the economy of the Downtown and West End.[69]

Because this area has the region's largest and most varied rental accommodation it is the presence of this housing stock that provides the material basis for the existence of the Collage City.[70] Paradoxically, due to gentrification and the loss of SRO units, the near complete absence of new non-profit housing, and the fact that most new units will be strata title units,[71] the new infusion of housing into the core will probably result in the simplification rather than the diversification of the social spaces that presently exist in the Core. For it was the surge in rental units in the late 1950s and 1960s which provided the habitat for the unique collage that now exists in the downtown peninsula to emerge (CVCO-45). When the current boom runs its course, this is why the Core may end up looking more like a singles' version of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement because of this simplification of tenure and house forms. For the rental units that are being sacrificed to this boom not only affect the urban proletariat but also the immigrant and lower middle class groups that have long inhabited the Core as well.[72]

In 1991, eighty-nine percent of the total housing stock in Downtown portion of the Core was made up of rental units; However, this number had fallen to about fifty-five percent by 1996 and is still rapidly falling. Because there is a larger amount of rental stock in the West End and it is afforded greater protection because it is made up of purpose built suites rather than Single Room Occupancy units the decline here has been more gradual. Still, the loss has not been insignificant. For example, although the total number of dwelling units increased between 1981 and 1991 there was an absolute drop of one-thousand rental units in the West End (CVPD-132). Consequently, the proportion of rental units fell from ninety-two-point-six to eighty-eight point two percent of all dwelling units between 1981 and 1991.[73]

Meanwhile the proportion of strata title units in the entire core area has skyrocketed (VS-351): increasing from about eleven percent in 1991 to twenty-eight percent in 1996. In the downtown part of the Core the movement was even greater, as the strata title units rose from about six per cent of all dwelling units in 1990 to forty-eight percent in 1996 – a six hundred percent increase in just five years (tables three and five).[74] Indeed, if the expansion of strata title units can be viewed as a surrogate measure for gentrification then the expansion of

condominiums in the Downtown part of the Core during the 1990s suggests that gentrification is proceeding more intensely here than in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (Mills 1989,1991). This is another contrast that sets the settlement geography of the livable city era apart from that of the urban spectacle, because then it was the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement that experienced the most intense gentrification, especially in Fairview and Kitsilano, where the greatest expansion in condominium construction took place during the 1970s and 1980s (table three).

So not only is the economic function of the core changing with the rise of tourism and the growing influence of the urban spectacle, so too, is the residential makeup of the Core. The housing stock, rental stock and the number of single occupancy rooms is shrinking, reducing the market niche occupied by the urban proletariat and the lower-middle class (VS-346; VS-445). That is why both these groups are quickly receding while the middle class is rapidly advancing.[75] Indeed, the colonization of the Downtown section of the Core by the middle class has become so powerful it is now even displacing long standing commercial and industrial land uses as well (VS-295). [76]

The West End is also being buffeted by these same forces. However, because of its middle-class status and the fact that its rental units are better protected by zoning bylaws that restrain their conversion, the destruction of lower-middle-class rental stock is progressing at a much slower pace. For this reason, the lower- middle-class will likely be able to maintain its grip on space in the West End longer than non-middle-class groups will be able to in most areas of the Downtown especially in areas like the Downtown South (E.g., VS-22),[77] Victory Square and the Gastown: sub areas where the middle class invasion has been particularly aggressive and tourist land uses have expanded the most (VS-367).[78] In the 1980s this advance was cushioned somewhat by the production of social housing but this has almost entirely dried up.[79] Displacement should therefore accelerate much more in the 1990s than the 1980s.

For example between 1984 and 1993 the downtown core was allocated 215 non-market units each year. Since then this has fallen to 150 in the late 1990s and is still declining (CVCO-

45).[80] This, combined with the faster conversions of single room occupancy units for tourists and student (VS-222; VS-188; VS-166) makes the urban proletariat's hold on parts of the Downtown much more vulnerable to displacement - due to changes in tenure form and house types - than its lower middle class counterparts who are also non homeowners (i.e., Zillich 1997a).[81]

As a result of these changes, one of the important functions that the core performed during the modern period has been seriously eroded. Although middle class policy makers and politicians were repulsed by these areas, nonetheless, they provided a spatial cushion and an important safety valve that could absorb the unwanted and marginalized populations of the city. This combined with the existence of large holding institutions for the mentally ill provided some protection from the market (VS-364). However with the postmodern transformation of the Core and the dismantling of some of the bureaucratic structures of the modern era, which absorbed part of the marginalized population of the city, the fragile social ecology of the dispossessed has been seriously compromised if not permanently disrupted.[82]

Ironically, by attempting to erase the derelict spaces of the city postmodern regulation has made the marginalized populations more rather than less visible, dispersing them into areas where they had previously not ventured (G/M 1997zc), something most clearly seen by the increase of homeless people on even the best groomed streets of the city (Philip 1997a). The ramifications of this change will be far reaching. As this group loses control over the space it has traditionally occupied and its quality of life is further reduced the fate of this marginalized population will affect the population in general. This has become manifest in the rise of homelessness (Philip 1997g), and in the near hysteria about disease which was thought to have been banished from the modern city, but has returned with a vengeance in the late twentieth century as a large and growing indigent population moves out of the core and into the suburbs, affecting the health (G/M 1997zr) and well being (VS-284) of the entire region and not just spaces of discard that were once predominately located in the City of Vancouver (PI-50; Dillion 1997).[83]

The movement of prostitution into the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (Sullivan 1997; Appelbe 1994; Lowman 1984)[84] and its suburbanization[85] would be the most visible and controversial example of the expulsion of marginalized populations from the core. (VS-85a; VS-87abb). Other signs of this dispersion can be seen the appearance of foodbanks and the increasing presence of the homeless in suburban parks and malls as far out as the Sunset local area in Vancouver (PI-51).[86] In turn, this has raised fears about crime, which has affected the design of second generation postmodern landscapes, increasing the demand for the production of more cacercal (prison like) landscapes. Unlike low income housing the homeless will not just disappear but will simply peculate throughout the interstitial areas of the entire region (such as suburban parks and commercial areas) rather than remain centralized in the core (Zillich 1997; Barber 1997b; Henneberger 1993).[87]

Finally the situation in the Core has been further exacerbated by the vacuum that has been created by internal dissension and weak leadership displayed by the Downtown Residents Association since the early 1990s, which has seriously weakened its ability to struggle with the new middle-class interest groups that have formed during the 1990s to push forward their further colonization of the Downtown Eastside (Taylor 1996; Shutz 1995). Unlike the 1980s and early 1990s when DERA functioned as a very powerful and innovative grassroots organization that was able to act as a powerful political and social counterweight to the colonization of the east side of the Downtown by the middle class and corporate capital (Gerecke 1991a; Ley and Hassan 1994), in the 1990s its advocacy role diminished. Poor leadership and bad management practices nearly destroyed the organization, and it has only been the rise of the Carnegie Centre as an activist centre that political work and advocacy has been maintained since the early 1990s on the Downtown Eastside. While the numbers and organizational capacity of the middle class colonizers who have settled in the Downtown Eastside have increased spectacularly (VS-94; VS-95; VS-96; VS-97), the organizational strength of the Downtown Eastside has diminished dramatically just when its energies were needed most to counter this aggressive middle class challenge.

Unfortunately after the departure of Jim Green (Littlemore 1997) the capacity of the organization to mobilize the poor and engage in effective advocacy work diminished, and it became largely a service agency, the very thing the founders of the organization did not want it to become. If the Carnegie Centre, through programs like the Community Action Project, had not moved into the vacuum, no effective resistance to inroads of the tourist industry or gentrification would have taken place. With the outbreak of open class warfare in the Downtown Eastside, advocates have been put on the defensive as the preservation of turf has consumed most of their energies. Except for the Four Corners Bank, sheer survival, rather than innovations to improve the lives of the most marginalized population in the city have dominated the actions of community activists. Moreover, the fragility of the neighbourhood as a community has recently been undermined further by the alarm over drugs and HIV infection. Overblown accounts have helped to make it easier to have the area rerpresented just as a skid-row, something which threatens to turn the clock back to a time when the area back was a fiefdom for social workers, making it easier for middle class colonizer to demand even more punitive regulation of the poor who occupy this space (VS-362).[88]

So there is an institutional as well as economic dimension to the struggle over space that has also shifted the balance of power away from the urban proletariat, for the time being, placing this class on the defensive in the struggle for control over space, despite the somewhat contradictory efforts of the city to protect low income housing in the Core.[89]

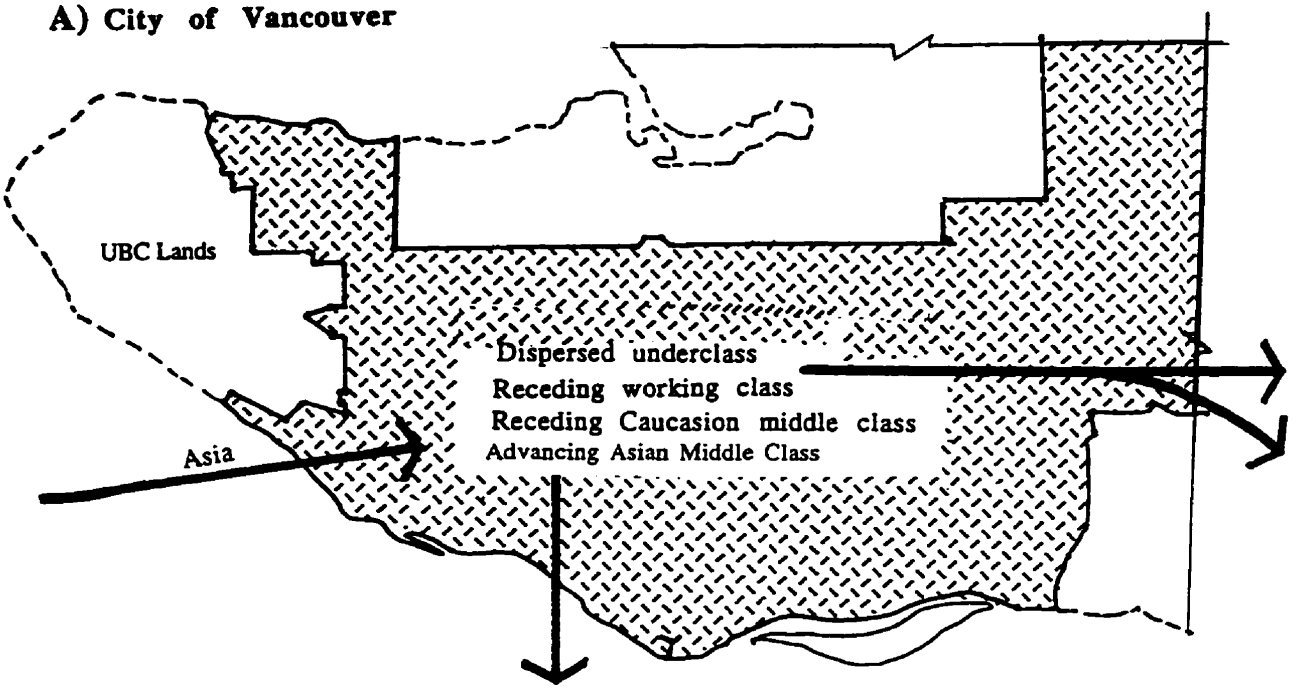
The recolonization of the inner city by the new middle class therefore poses many challenges. Unfortunately, the greatest burden of this change will be borne by the class that has the least ability to overcome the friction of distance created by its dispersal - the urban proletariat.

5.3 - Second Settlement Zone: Zone of Middle Class Resettlement

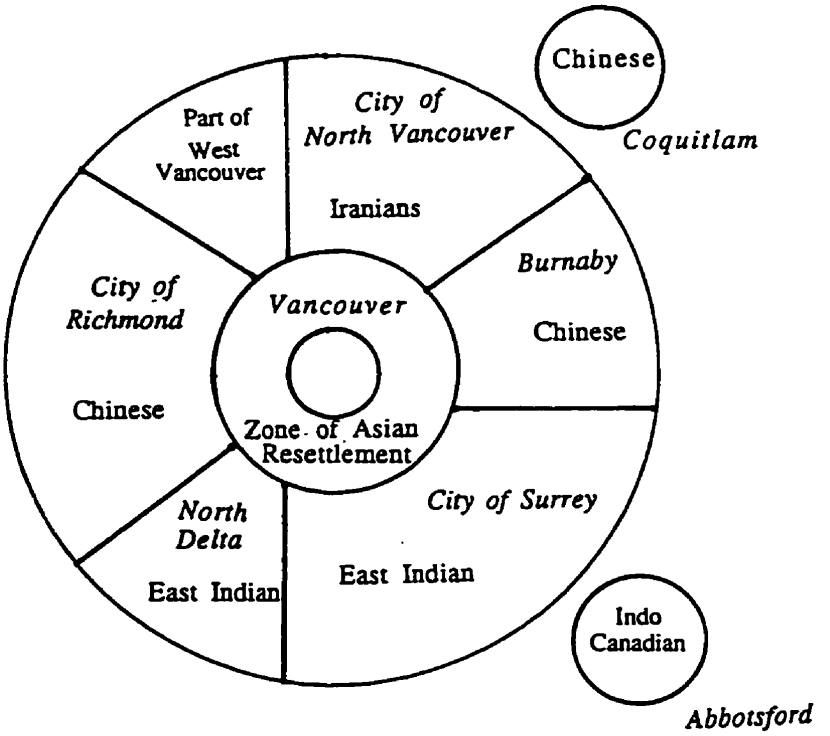
In Burgess's model the second concentric zone is most commonly known as the zone of transition or discard. In Sutton Brown's redevelopment scheme it was referred to as the collar of blight. Burgess applied other names to identify sub areas of this this zone. Names such as hobohemia, a zone of deterioration, a slum, or the badlands, were used. Because of the link between density, urban life and deviance, growth in this zone was described as being katabolic rather than anabolic. The implication was that unhealthy rather than healthy urban tissue was being produced, and that this was a place that supported vice, crime and disease (Burgess 1925, pp. 50 to 59). Except of course, for the settlement houses, and other civic institutions which acted as islands of modern rule, this zone was clearly a relic of the *laissez-faire* city. Unfit for respectable middle class settlement, this zone was expected to give way to industrial and commercial land uses or be cleansed through the process of urban renewal. Most certainly it was not expected to be a place where respectable middle-class people would attempt to raise children.[90]

Figure Eight - Zone of Asian Resettlement - Zone III

A) City of Vancouver



B) Greater Vancouver Regional District



In Vancouver this second settlement ring was known as the conversion of transition zone. Before it was transformed into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, just as with the Burgess model, Vancouver planners and politicians regarded this place as a zone of discard. Five communities - Kitsilano, Fairview, Mount Pleasant, Grandview-Woodlands and Strathcona make up this second settlement zone. Together they make up about twenty percent of the city's land area and point seven percent of the urban region's land base. In 1991 this zone contained about twenty-five percent of the city's population and around seven percent of the region's population. Although it only had twenty-five percent of the city's population, it nevertheless contained nearly thirty-two percent of the city's housing stock (table 4).[91]

Even more than the Core, until the early 1970s the development of the second zone converged with the description given by Burgess. But since the beginning of the postmodern era the evolution of the second zone had reversed direction and increasingly diverged from the model that he constructed. As a result, the relation between industrial, commercial and residential land has been completely reversed. The factory zone that Burgess sketched around the Loop (first zone) and Zone of Transition (the second settlement ring) no longer even exists in Vancouver. All that remains are a few isolated pockets of industry and even many of these remaining pockets are expected to soon disappear (figures seven-A; ten C; CVCO-33a).[92]

Instead of advancing, industrial land uses are clearly in retreat as residential land continually advance into and invade the rings remaining industrial land base.[93] Over the past twenty-five years a contiguous belt of middle class habitation has coalesced around the entire Greater False Creek Basin (that is the mud flats that were filled in earlier on in the century). As a result, a landscape of leisure rather than toil has been created. With these change the social ecology of the entire second zone has been turned completely inside out. As with most of the core, this zone no longer acts as a main entry point for immigrants but as a magnet for the new middle class for the region as well as the country.

Even though university education is just a perquisite for belonging to the new middle it can be used to mark out the conversion of this zone of working class and immigrant settlement into a Zone of Middle Class settlement by comparing the proportion of the population in each zone that has a university education over time. Another way is by looking at the large concentration of expensive medium-rise condominiums (table three).[94] However since it was not possible to construct a time series for the expansion of strata title units in this settlement ring, tracking the education levels had to be relied upon as the surrogate to depict the transformation of this area into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Not only was this measurement used to assess the intensity of the middle class appropriation of space, but by implication, it also depicts the receding influence of the working class and immigrant populations that once traditionally dominated this area.

Using university education as a surrogate measure for the new middle class, education levels of the population show that the percentage of adults in this zone with some university education climbed from twenty-five percent of the population in 1976 to thirty-nine percent in 1991 (table 5). While education levels have risen dramatically in every settlement zone in the city the increase in the percentage of the population with a university education has been much more rapid here. Because of this area acted as a settlement zone for students, even before the transformation of the second settlement ring, the number of adults with a university education was slightly above the city average, with the proportion of adults with some university background one percent above the average for the city in 1976. However, in 1991, this gap had increased to six per cent (table 5). Meanwhile during this time the population of the city increased by less than thirty percent, but this area had doubled in population, thereby further accentuating the absolute number of professionals who now live in this settlement zone.

Unlike the 1990s, when the Core and the third zone would become the centre for densification and the middle class colonization of the region, what these numbers reveal is that the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was the point of convergence for the densification process in the City of Vancouver during the 1970s - in the livable city era – and that this was the time

when City of Vancouver started to transform itself into a predominantly bourgeois city. Unlike the Burgess model and the trends that predominated during the modern era of Vancouver's evolution, the middle class were no longer being repulsed from this area. They were now being attracted to the inner city, reversing the polarity of middle migration in the modern city. Therefore, during the 1970s and 1980s there was clearly a strong link between class and the densification process, hence postmodernism and the progression of the densification process. This middle class colonization of the City of Vancouver becomes even clearer to see if the neighbouhoods most affected by this first wave of middle class resettlement are studied.

In the case of Kitsilano, for example, the proportion of the adult population with a university education climbed from twenty-six percent in 1971 to fifty-five percent in 1991 (table 5). Because of this migration the education gap between Kitsilano and the rest of the city widened even more than for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement as a whole. In 1971 this gap was nine percent. Nonetheless, by 1991 this gap had widened to twenty-one percent. The change is even more striking for Fairview. In 1971 there was only a gap of three percent. However by 1991 this had increased to sixteen percent. These figures become even more striking when we realize that as this was occurring, the city as a whole was becoming much more middle class (table 5).

Conversely, as this zone became a magnet for middle class migration its traditional role as a reception area for working-class immigrants withered. Although a few immigrant portals remain the general absence of new immigrants says as much about the postmodern transformation of the social ecology of this zone as the colonization of this area by the new middle class. While the middle class colonization of the Core and the second settlement zone will never be total or complete -- as some small enclaves like the Downtown Eastside will survive -- the question that arises about the social ecology of these two zones is how much more these modern social spaces will shrink before the limits of gentrification are reached.[95]

To see why this zone no longer functions as a catchment area for poorer immigrants, it is only necessary to take a more detailed look at what has happened to some of the most

inexpensive housing on the eastern side of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. If house prices in Strathcona and Grandview Woodlands are compared to the city and the region, the numbers tell the story quite well.[96] With rising prices and the dispersion of the pre-existing immigrant populations, the social fabric of this area has been dramatically reworked over the past thirty years. Rising housing prices, combined with increasing levels of university education and a declining immigrant base provides a picture of settlement zone where even the most inexpensive parts of the region can no longer function as a transition zone or as a primary reception area for new immigrant populations, but only as a space for resettlement by the new middle class.

For example, in Grandview Woodlands, between 1981 and 1991 the Italian population declined from seven-point-seven percent to four-point-two (CVPD-123,p.16). At the same time, the proportion of the population over the age of fifteen with a university education increased from seven point nine percent of the entire population in 1971 to twenty-five percent of it in 1991.[97] This rate of increase of was considerably above the citywide average. Whereas the proportion of the population with a university education in the city as a whole had risen by two-hundred-and-thirty percent over this twenty year span, the proportion of the university educated population had increased by 360 percent in Grandview Woodlands.[98]

In this regard the evolution of the property market in Strathcona tells us a great deal about why this zone functions less as regional catchment area for new immigrants. Similarly, changing property values also illustrate how most parts of this second zone now serve as a high-status residential enclave for the new middle class. As a result two population movements are shaping the social space of this settlement ring. For example, if we look at how housing prices compared in the rest of the city and the urban region during the 1960s, it becomes clear that Strathcona closely followed the scenario Burgess had described for the transition zone which acted as the primary catchment area for new immigrants in his model of the industrial city. In keeping with its situation in the zone of transition and discard, during the 1960s property values steadily declined in relation to the city and the region. This, of course, indicated that the area was not viewed as appropriate place of habitation for the middle class. However low and

declining property values would no doubt have made this area attractive for new immigrants who were seeking out inexpensive shelter. Thus between 1961 and 1971 property values declined, falling from seventy-seven percent of the median value of all homes in the city and seventy-four percent of the median price for homes in the region (SC-2a), to seventy-four percent of the median value for a home in the city and to seventy-three percent of the median value for home in the region (SC-4a).With these changes Strathcona retained its status as the key entry point for new immigrants into the late 1970s, with Census Tract 57, which covers most of the residential area of Strathcona, housing consistently more immigrants than any other of any other single tract in the city (SC-2a; SC-4a; SC-6a).

So even into the early 1970s the property market in Strathcona still reflected its traditional role as Vancouver's oldest and most varied entry point for new immigrants (Atkin 1994). While property values in Strathcona still continued to decline in relation to the city and the region during the 1970s, the rate of decline began to slow. By 1981 property values in Strathcona stood at sixty-five per cent of the city average and seventy-one per cent of regional average (SC-6a). However, between 1981 and 1991 there would be a dramatic turnaround in property values, one that would symbolize the material transformation of this zone into a postmodern rather than modern space in terms of its social ecology. As property values started to increase and the social status of the neighbourhood began to rise, it would begin to become incorporated into the Zone Of Middle Class Resettlement and become less of an adjunct of the zone of discard for the Core area. With these change it has ceased to function as a primary entry point for new immigrants. This modern function has been clearly subordinated to its newer postmodern one, which is its incorporation into an expanding zone for the resettlement of the new middle class.

This role reversal would become apparent in the reconfiguration of the property market of Strathcona. Instead of being below the regional average, by 1991 the average value of a home in Strathcona exceeded that of the region by around eleven percent, with an average value in the 1991 Census listed at $271,970 for Strathcona compared to the regional average of $244,539.

Although the value of housing in Strathcona remained below the city average, it had climbed from Sixty-five to eighty-six point five percent of the average value which then stood at $313,834 (SC-10; SC-13).

The effect that the reconfiguration of the property market has had on the traditional function of this zone as the region's primary catchment area for new immigrants can be apprehended by looking at how changing property values loosely correspond with the declining percentages of the population not having English as their mother tongue between 1981 and 1991. Since most new immigrants are not English speaking this would indicate that the status of Strathcona as an entry point for immigrants is diminishing, with the inference that only those neighbourhoods that have the highest number of non-English speaking people in them would perform this role. Conversely any decrease in the percentage of the population having English as a mother tongue would suggest that a neighbourhood is becoming more important as a catchment zone for new immigrants.

Looking once again at the five neighbourhoods in the zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the uneven nature of the transformation of this settlement zone from a reception area for new immigration to a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement surfaces in the data on the percentage of the population with English as their mother tongue in the 1991 Census (SC-10). The pattern that appears shows how intense the settlement of this area by the caucasian new middle class has become and the residual role that this settlement ring now performs as an entry point for new immigrants. Not unexpectedly, Kitsilano, Fairview and Grandview Woodlands constitute the core and are the least involved in carrying on this modern ecological function, which is left to the more transitional zones that form part of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement such as Mount Pleasant and Strathcona (figure ten). In terms of its situation as a middle-class habitat, Mount Pleasant is a transitional area that is not yet fully absorbed into the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This can be explained by two things. First on its western boundary, it still contains the one of the city's largest entry portals for lower-status immigrants. At the same time, at the western edge of the local area, it straddles the second and third settlement and

therefore houses a fairly large number of middle class Chinese households. In a similar but different way Strathcona does the same thing. Only in this case, it straddles the first and second zones and overlaps with Chinatown, where it also houses a large - but much older and more traditional - segment of the region's Chinese population. Moreover part of the cultural and institutional centre for the region's entire Chinese population is also located here.[99] This Chinese population therefore stands in sharp contrast to the one in Richmond that represents the most secular and commercialized element of the Chinese middle class and all the parvenu trimmings that go with this status (VS-89aaa).

Finally West Point Grey should be mentioned because its eastern boundary around Alma Street and along West Tenth can be seen as extensions of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement into the third settlement ring.[100] One sign of this is that it has a greater percentage of social housing than Kitsilano, generally less Asian immigration into the area than other parts of the third settlement ring, and a very active set of community organizations. Of course what sets it apart from the second zone is its zoning and the fact that it remains a suburban artifact of the early modern period that was built in the 1920s.

In part because of this, and its historic role during the modern period as a low income area, it is not an area that will not easily lend itself to gentrification unless massive demolition takes place. Not surprisingly, it is also the neighborhood in the zone that has the lowest median property values in the city. This is in an area bounded by Main Street and Clark, to the East and West sides and by Terminal Avenue and Broadway on the North and South sides (Census tract 050.1). With a population of 7,631 it remains one of the largest immigrant portals in the region. In this Census Tract only fifty-three percent of the population had English as their mother tongue compared to sixty per cent for the city and seventy-four per cent for the region. Not surprisingly, this was the tract where the most inexpensive dwelling units prices were located, where the average value of a unit was estimated to be $104,118 by Statistics Canada - a third of the city average of $313,000 and forty-three percent of the metropolitan average of $244,539 (SC-10). It is therefore one of the three large immigrant portals remaining

in the first two settlement rings. The largest and most securely rooted one, being the Downtown Eastside, straddles the Core and the second zone. While it still functions as a zone of discard, where deviant activities are allowed to be concentrated, and given some leeway to the enforcement of middle class norms. It is still a place which fits the settlement pattern described by Burgess. With about 12,000 people,[101] the Downtown Eastside (CVPD-173) constitutes the largest enclave of poor people in the region. While it attracts indigenous migrants (G/M 1997zw), it does not any longer function as a major portal for in the same way that Census Tract 051.1 does in Mount Pleasant. That area's large and varied of immigrant population indicates that it still serves as a general point of entry for a wide varietyof immigrants, rather than function as an urban ghetto for just one group. Also, the number of immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991 was greater than in the preceding years, further confirming this modernist pattern of population flow in a zone which has become predominantly settled by an Asian or Caucasian middle class[102] absorbing refugees and working-class people rather than the middle-class immigrants that have become typical of immigration flows in Vancouver during the postmodern era.[103]

However these are only remnant or relic landscapes. During the modern period they dominated the residential space of the inner city but now only exist as few small islands in a much larger sea of bourgeois settlement that will soon define and subordinate all other class formations in the City of Vancouver, except for the small enclaves that have just been described. Indeed, their numbers have grown so small that it is even possible to count them using the fingers of one hand. Besides, purpose-built housing for seniors, in the Core, Mole Hill, and a few older three-and-a-half storey buildings remain as the only significant enclaves of low-income housing in the West End. In the Downtown South this former enclave should largely be overrun by the middle class within the next five years, and most of the working-class history of this area as a marginal residential area will be washed away by the boom in high-rise construction. Only the Downtown Eastside will be able to defend the core areas of its territory for the poor (figure 7c).

Only three significant enclaves remain in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement: one in Strathcona, where purpose built housing for mostly Chinese seniors, will keep this precinct of low-income housing intact, as well as the adjoining purpose-built structures by social service agencies that lay north of Hastings Street. Elsewhere there is a zone of shoddily-constructed medium-rise apartment constructed during the 1960s and early 1970s between Nanaimo and Clarke Drive, north of Hastings, that will likely remain a low-income enclave and entry point for immigrants. Finally, as already mentioned there is one area in Mount Pleasant, bounded by Terminal/Broadway/Main and Clarke Drive that still exists as such an entry point (figure 7c).

Other than this, in the third zone the only area that is likely to remain an enclave for non-middle class residents is the Marpole area, where there is a dump of inexpensive homes, and a few clusters of public housing that were largely built to house people displaced from Strathcona in the Hastings Sunrise area, and in a small cluster of public housing near Little Mountain Park. However moreso than any other enclave except for the West End, Marpole appears to be the most susceptible to demolition, particularly if the strategy to develop industrial land around Hudson Street becomes a reality (CVPD-169.p.13).

While statistics on education levels provide convincing proof of the middle-class colonization of this zone (table five), changes in the pattern of Chinese settlement (table eight) show this area no longer acted as a reception place for new immigrants (table 8). Although there has been an absolute increase in the Chinese population between 1971 and 1991, (most especially after 1986) this increase has been miniscule in compariaon to the migration of middle class caucasians into this ring, and pales beside the absolute and relative growth in the Chinese and Asian population located further out in the third zone between 1971 and 1991 (table eight).

This indicates a great deal about the changing socio-economic status of Chinese immigrants over this time span, the impact that the reconfiguration of the property market had on settlement pattern, as well as political and cultural role influeces which grew out of the middle class colonization of this area between 1971 and 1991 that led to the dissolution of this settlement zone as an immigrant portal for low-and-high-income Asian immigrants. One

measure that gives a good indication of this change is the shift that can be observed in the percentage of the population having English as its mother tongue. While the metropolitan average was seventy-seven in 1981, by 1991, this had declined to seventy-four per cent. In turn, the percentage for the City of Vancouver fell from sixty-six percent to sixty percent in all five neighbourhoods with the exception of Mount Pleasant -- which would have also shown a decrease if one enclave that serves as a major immigrant portal were removed from consideration -- the percentage of the population having English as their mother tongue increased in each of the five neighbourhoods at the same time as it decreased at the urban and regional level.

While the Chinese population located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement increased from 11,200 in 1971 to 14,625 in 1991, in the zone of Asian Resettlement the Chinese population increased from 13,100 to 67,565. As a result, the proportion of the Chinese population within the City of Vancouver that is located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement fell from forty-four percent to seventeen point four percent while the percentage in the Zone of Asian Resettlement rose from fifty-two percent to eight-one percent between 1971 and 1991. While the overall Chinese population increased by nearly three-hundred percent -- as it climbed from 25,00 to 84,000 between 1971 and 1991 -- a different trend line developed in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Although the Chinese population in this zone rose by 3,200, this increase was a mere twenty-seven percent, far less than the three-hundred and fifty percent increase for the city and much less than the more than five-hundred percent increase experienced by the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Furthermore, since the Chinese population has increased by another forty-five percent between 1991 and 1996-- growing about four times faster than the overall population of the City of Vancouver -- by 1996 this population had grown to 121,840, or about 24 percent of the entire population of the city (GVRD 1997g). When more detailed statistic are released what they will probably show is that the relative percentage of the Chinese population has remained stable or further declined in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement while it has increased in everyother zone (see estimates in table eight).

What is even more unusual about the diversion of Asian immigrants from this zone, was that this took place at a time when (as table eight shows) Asian and Chinese immigration into Vancouver was skyrocketing. For example, until 1971 there were not even 90,000 Asian immigrants in the entire country, and proportionately the largest concentration of Asian people were located in the second zone, whre between twelve and fifteen thousand people of Asian ancestry lived. Regionally, at least sixty-five percent this was located in Vancouver, with the largest component made up of Chinese immigrants who accounted for sixty-two percent, or 36,000 of the 58,000 Asians that lived in the Vancouver region in 1971 (table eight; SC-4ab). Though less than twenty-five percent of the city's population was located in the second settlement ring it contained forty-four percent of its Chinese population. Even though there has been an absolute increase in the number of Chinese living here, the proportion of the city's Chinese population living in this zone declined to seventeen percent by 1991 and continued to fall between 1991 and 1996 if the estimates made for 1996 are not to far off – since the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is predicted to have only about thirteen percent of the city's population in 1006 – a fary cry from the forty-four percent that were once here in 1971 (table eight). In 1971 this zone contained the largest concentration of Chinese residents in the region. With the transformation of the second zone into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and the later emergence of a Zone of Asian resettlement, after 1986, the demographic profile of this zone has changed substantially during the postmodern era. Although the Chinese population has become the largest ethnic block in the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement there numbers in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement have only experienced modest growth over the past quarter century. For example, in 1986 the concentration Chinese residents in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was ninety-two percent of the that of the then emergent Zone of Asian Resettlement. However, by 1996 the concentration of Chinese residents in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was only estimated to be around fifty-four percent of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (table eight). For instance in 1971, with the Chinese population in the City of Vancouver only making up about six percent of the population, the Chinese population was over represented in the second zone by

nearly a margin of two. However by 1997, with the Chinese population accounting for more than twenty-four percent percent of the city's population, the number of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement nearly slipped down to fifty percent of the city-wide average (13% compared to 24%) -- even falling below the regional level, which was fourteen-point-five percent by 1996, with the percentage of as the percentage of Chinese residents living in this Zone of Middle Class Resettlement positioned between the regional average and the low level of Chinese settlement found in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, where less than five percent of the population was made up of Chinese residents (table eight and table nine).

Over time, what these figures depict is how a new landscape was created because of the intertwining of cultural and economic factors that did not exist in the modern period. With densification and the arrival of postmodernism this settlement has become so altered that it would now be almost unrecognizable to any one who had not visited this area since 1970.

On the one hand, the movement of the new middle class into this zone triggered gentrification that increased the price of housing, which would have displaced existing low income Asian immigrants. Similarly, gentrification eliminated low income housing that would have attracted newly-arrived low-income Asian immigrants. On the other hand, contextual zoning[104] that came with the livable city and the historicist mindset of the new middle class, would have put off wealthier middle-class Asians who had a modernist rather than postmodernist mindset with regard to urban aesthetics, preferring what was new because they were modernist but also because of the tenuous identification they would naturally have with a foreign landscape organized according to a different system of values. Ascribing to a modernist outlook, this new Asian middle class was just as inclined to go to the new Asian Mall in Richmond rather than patronize the street retailing, which had become the favoured venue for the caucasian middle class. The postmodern spatial aspirations of the caucasian new middle class and the use of traditional western motifs as signifiers of status simply did not resonate with this growing Asian middle class, and explain why new Asian immigrants, who could have bought into this market did not, but decided instead, to invest in the next settlement ring,

transforming the third settlement ring into a Zone of Asian Resettlement.[105] This set the stage for the conflicts that were to ensue between this Asian middle class and the traditional middle class fractions that lived in this settlement ring in the late 1980s and 1990s (Sullivan 1996).[106]

Finally, as the data in tables five, seven, and eight show, there is a significant connection between tenure and household forms and the way the resulting configuration of the property market filters the new migrant and immigrant population in different way, producing new settlement zones that were not present in the modern period. In this way, both cultural and material factors and their mutual interaction can be cited in accounting for the distinctive postmodern geography that arose not only in the second zone, but in next two settlement rings within the region as well.

This inversion of the social ecology of the inner city was not something unique to Vancouver. In the 1970s, evidence of the emergence of this settlement zone could be observed in a variety of other Canadian and American cities. However, with the exception of San Francisco, nowhere else would the colonization of the inner city become as pervasive as it had become in Vancouver. In a more diluted form, the same migration could be seen in cities such as Seattle, where the neighbourhood of Capital Hill would be the closest equivalent to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. In Calgary a much smaller zone, consisting of the communities of Inglewood/Ramsay, Sunnyside, Hillhurst, Scarboro and Lower Mount Royal would appear (Calgary Herald 1998m; 1998o).[107] In Winnipeg, with an even smaller and less dynamic new middle class, fewer such neighhourhoods would appear. And unlike most other zones of middle class resettlement, house prices in these neighbourhoods would remain below the metropolitan average long after middle-class colonization had begun - signifying the weakness of the middle class in this city [108] and the absence of densification and a less sophisticated development of a postmodern spatial matrix in this city.[109]

But in Toronto (Relph 1990; Caufield 1994; Lemon 1996) a thicker layer of middle class resettlement, which would rival Vancouver's, would emerge (i.e., Spadina/Palmerston area - to the east, The Annex to the north, Cabbagetown, Riverdale to the east and the Toronto Islands -

to the south). As with Winnipeg, Montreal is a declining city; so it has a middle class that is hemorrhaging. However, because it remains a cultural hearth for the French language in North America, more of its middle class population base has been preserved. Still, it is not as powerful or as large as those of Toronto or Vancouver. Consequently, this middle-class settlement ring is much thinner in Montreal (Taking in the Plateau and the McGill Ghetto to the north, the gay village on the east side of the downtown, and pockets of gentrification in Point Charles – to the east). [110]

Like most other similar areas in the country, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in the City of Vancouver can be identified by the presence of a medium-rise landscape composed of a mixture of refurbished houses, strata title units and non market units and co-ops (figure seven B).[111] Politically, in each city, this zone is distinguished from the rest of the region by the degree of community mobilization and the degree to which issues having to do with consumption were politicized. As larger background forces have shaped this class common patterns it hardly surprising to see Vancouver's Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has its counterparts elsewhere in the country. As the example drawn out from other cities show, a common set of attitudes and experiences molded this class and produced from this experential base one spatial code which eventually led to the emergence of similar settlement zones in each city. Later, this organic ideology would become formalized as it was absorbed into the institutional apparatus of the local state. As earlier shown, in the case of Vancouver's Planning Department, this sensibility would become formally codified into institutional culture of the city with the publication of documents such as *Shaping The Future* (CVPD-36).

Table Five [112]
%
Adult Population with University Education
Indicator of new middle class

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
CC	10,173		12,340	-	15,010
%	24%		29%	-	33%
ZMCR	22,186		25,940	-	1,145
%	25%		29%	-	39%
Kitsilano	26%	39%	44%	48%	55%
Fairview	20%	29%	40%	44%	50%
ZARS	51,411		54,310	-	79,533
%	21%		25%	-	32%
City	58,465	83,770	92,590	110,215	135,685
%	17%	24%	27%	30%	34%

Looking at this settlement more specifically in terms of the regulation of space, several unique aspects about this postmodern landscape emerge. On the philosophical plane, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is significant because it was the birthplace of dialogical planning in Vancouver and the place where organic representations of urban space were first codified into planning practice. This was the place where the revival of communitarianism was strongest in the city and the place where the anti market ethos of postmodern regulation became the most deeply rooted during the era of the livable city, affecting the configuration of space and the political culture in this area more than any other part of the region. With the initiation of a

community in Strathcona by the Social Planning Department, this was one of two places in Canada where local area planning was born, marking the death knell of urban renewal.

On the sociological level, the greatest change took place when this area gradually was transformed into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. The other change was the formulation of a domestic ideology for the city. Here more than anywhere else in the region, the notion that children could not live in the city was challenged – hence the experiment in False Creek South, which was a deliberate attempt to demonstrate that children could be raised safely in the city by ensuring that the number of children living in this development would equal the metropolitan average. Although this settlement was not family-centred (Mills 1989), as the traditional suburb was, nevertheless it was successfully transformed into an attractive and popular domestic environment.

In Canada's three largest cities this would become a hallmark of the first phase, as model projects exemplifying this new perspective would become the acme for the livable city in each zone of Middle Class Resettlement in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. In these zones the finest examples of the translation of the vision of the livable city into built form can be found. In Toronto this becomes obvious if we look at St. Lawrence Towne. Milton Park would be its equivalent in Montreal. In Vancouver we need only look at award-winning projects such as Britannia Centre, which are now mostly located now in the east end of the zone.[113]

In addition, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement contained the region's two largest bohemian communities. To the west, in Kitsilano, West Broadway Avenue and West Fourth Avenue served as the commercial spine for one bohemian enclave that catered to students attending the University of British Columbia. Later, to the east, in Grandview-Woodlands, Commercial Drive served as the commercial spine for another bohemian enclave that developed to house students and faculty members who attended Simon Fraser University, which had just opened in the suburb of Burnaby in 1965 (figure seven A). In a different way and at a different time in the evolution of the postmodern city, each bohemian enclave has served as an incubation ground for opposition movements, community building and experimentation in new modes of

consumption. For example what happened in Kitsilano would be more significant to the incubation of postmodernism than what would happen in Grandview-Woodlands, which only became an centre of an opposition strain of postmodernism in the 1970s rather than in the 1960s -- as was the case for Kitsilano. No doubt much of this had to do with the high migration of American into this local area (Haig 1996), who came here as either draft-dodgers or as resistors to the war.[114] The presence of these Americans and the strong links between the bohemian community and UBC provided a fertile ground and the intellectual resources for an oppositional urban movement based upon the revolt against modern bureaucratic rule, which was further reinforced by the anti-militarism imported into the country by this migration of Americans.[115]

Until gentrification dissolved most of this space of middle-class resistance and Grandview-Woodlands took over as the epicentre for the preservation of an oppositional form of postmodern regulation, this bohemian enclave was by far the most culturally dynamic place for the new middle class in Vancouver. And this was the place where artistic modes of consumption and production first began to flourish, creating a critical mass for alternative markets to arise which would further popularize bohemian ways of life and make it more acceptable for a larger cohort of the new middle class. In this way, a very powerful political and cultural brew was created that would trigger radical political action and social mobilization that would rock the Planning Department, as this mobilization of the new middle class would call into question all levels of modern regulation in the city. (Ley; 1996; Stobie 1979; Lemon 1996; Mills 1989; 1991; Lorimer 1972; Gutstein 1975).

From out of this experimentation and rebellion against bureaucratic rule some of the most noteworthy social and consumer spaces in the postmodern city were created.[116] The role that bohemia has played is critical to understanding the unmistable impact that artistic sensibility would have on the composition of the postmodern spatial matrix that was now to govern the City of Vancouver. Unlike the 1990s when Strathcona and Grandview-Woodlands serve as the oppositional core to the market and bureaucratic rule, during the 1960s and 1970s this task would be mostly the result of mobilizations originating in Kitsilano, except for some work carried out

by geograpy students under the auspices the Geographic Expedition, modelled after advocacy work undertaken by radical geographers such as Bill Bunge in the United States.

Thus enclave also became the breeding ground for postmodern ideologues who would construct an alternative program for the city which would informally coalesce into the ideology of the livable city. Not surprisingly, this not only crystallized a distinctive physical landscape but also firmly implanted a social and political culture that is still retained today, even as the era of the livable city has been left behind for that of the urban spectacle. The legacy of the communitarianism that arose out of this oppositional moment in the evolution of postmodernism can be still be seen in mutation of the ideology of livability into the current discourse on ecological sustainability, since Greenpeace was born here as well. As a result, but moreso in the more recent bohemia enclave in Grandview-Woodlands than in Kitsilano (figure ten),[117] a strain of postmodernism that is still somewhat resistant to both market and bureaucratic rule can still be found. As portrayed by the expansion of greenways and community gardens (pictorial diagram two) in this zone, middle class activists in this settlement ring are still able to carve away space from both the market and the bureaucracy. So not only is this settlement ring a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, it is also a green zone that contains the most vocal and active members of the environmental movement who live in the region.

For the more mainstream members of the new middle class this probably has less to do with the clearly articulated political agenda of the more radical members of the environmental movement, and has much to do with the emergence of alternative consumer patterns, as experiences in nature have become prized activities which act as badges to also enhance the social status of middle class consumers who become involved in the consumption of nature itself. This can be seen in the parallel mobilization of the new middle class in the exurban parts of the region as well as in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, as this class has become a heavy user of the natural landscape, with the congestion on some distant mountain trails as bad as that on the Seawalk of Stanley Park. In this regard, as well, it is certainly no accident that new age retailers that were begun in this zone, such as Mountain Equipment Co-op (G/M 1998bd) – a

retail co-operative that provides equipment for the middle class so that they can recreate in the wilderness -- has become such a success. In this regard the location of satellite stores area quite revealing, since they are only located in cities where there is a large and growing middle class population, such as Toronto, Ottawa and Calgary, and in settlement places in the inner city that exist as counterparts to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in Vancouver.

From out of the cultural mobilization of the new middle class, two related but different directions were taken with regard to social experimentation in these bohemian enclaves. As the example of Mountain Equipment Co-op would show, one direction taken led to the creation of a new kind of consumer market, which was a radical development, but not as much as the other direction taken: the attempt to construct a lifespace that existed outside the framework provided by the market and bureaucratic rule that came about as a consequence of the communitarian reaction to modern rule.

As with the development of alternative consumer markets, the most varied and concentrated expression of communitarian culture in the region would surface in this zone as well. This can be seen in the profusion of retail co-operatives such as Mountain Equipment Co-op and Uprising bakery, the presence of several art co-ops in Mount Pleasant, or service co-operatives such as the Women's Health Centre, in Grandview-Woodlands and the region largest community gardens, which are located in Strathcona (pictorial diagram two). Appropriately, even English Canada's largest credit union, VanCity, with assets of over $5.5- billion in 1997 (VS-376; VS-460), is headquartered in this zone (McLaren 1997a; Hardin 1996).

With regard to the configuration of physical space, what is more significant is that this area was transformed into the largest physical expanse of communal space that can be found in the region. If the non market housing located in Champlain Heights is included in this zone then approximately half of all the non profit units that exist in the City of Vancouver are located here even though this settlement ring only accounts for just over a quarter of the city's population and a little more than twenty percent of its land base. The contrast with the region is even more striking. While non-profits make up almost a third of the region's inventory of non-profit

housing, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement only accounts for around seven percent of the region's population and one percent of its land area: creating the largest concentration of non-profit and co-operative housing in the region as well as in Western Canada (table four).

However, as with the Core, especially on the west side of the settlement zone, the rapid spread of strata title units and the overshadowing of this communitarian infrastructure by the market in the 1990s has meant that many of the attributes associated with the urban spectacle have started to take hold with regard to the use and reconfiguration of space. The social polarization and privatization are most clearly revealed in the spread of strata title units and the further spread of gentrification. That is why the ring of co-operatives that surround False Creek now only appears as a thin wedge contained in a much larger layer of strata title development. This more than anything else shows, in graphic terms, how the communitarian phase in the evolution of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has become subordinated to the market. While this zone was once the most important staging ground for new immigrants and lower income migrants into the city, only three portals remain as vestiges of the social ecology of the modern city at this point in time (figure eight). Despite the effort to make this area more diverse, this zone has become more homogeneous and uniform than the Core.

On the aesthetic level, except for Gastown and Chinatown, this zone was the birth place of the historicist sensibility[118] with the introduction of infill in Strathcona and the birth of contextual planning that came with the local area planning that was first begun here (of which Granville Island, Britannia Community Centre and Strathcona are the most notable examples). This would also be tied in with experimentation in strata title unit construction that allowed the conversion of churches and other older building to be recycled into residential and commercial land uses. So not only did strata title legislation provide the institutional framework for gentrification to take place, it also granted the institutional means for the historicist sensibility of the new middle class to express itself in the restoration of old buildings.

The Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was also the where street life was revived and the expansion of machine space brought to a halt, as it was the centre of resistance to Sutton

Brown's freeway plan. As the example of Granville Island, (Gourley 1988) and the redevelopment of South False Creek, and the emergence of an artist's precinct in the Brewery Creek District indicates, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was also the place where the most extensive conversion of producer landscapes into consumer landscapes took place in the region. With development like Creekside Landing being proposed along southeast False Creek this process of conversion, which began in the early 1970s, is still advancing into the 1990s, erasing the last pocket of industrial land along False Creek.[119] With the street as its anchor, the second settlement ring also became the centre for alternative consumption and the production of communitarian landscapes (VS-157). As David Ley (1996) has shown for West Fourth Avenue, there was a significant re-alignment of retail establishments from the late 1960s to the present, as lower scale retail outlets, that were often auto oriented, were replaced by cafes and specialized retail venues that were pedestrian oriented and focussed on the street rather than the shopping mall.[120] In this fashion, along with Granville Island and other streets, the second settlement ring would become the precursor to the aesthetic regime of the urban spectacle that would only come into its own in the 1990s with the transformation of Robson Street and the proliferation of festivals.[121]

Being the last redoubt for the livable city (unlike the Core) this zone has resisted the revival in high-rise living. For political and aesthetic reasons the new middle class in this zone still vigorously resist any high-rise development. While much of this resistance had to with straight forward matters such as the protection of views, the opposition to high-rise development by this class also generated because it beleived that this housing form was not an appropriate domestic space. There was a political dimension to this opposition as well. This first happened during the counterculture, when the high-rise was became a symbol of corporate capital and bureaucratic rule, which this class was beginning to rebel against. Furthermore, the presence of high-rise structures were a threat to the territorial ambitions of the domestic fraction of the new middle class, since the spread of high-rises would impinge on the domestic ideal they hoped to realize in the city. Not surprisingly, the most vocal oppostion was

generated when there was demolition or blockbusting of housing stock, which this class would later claim for its own.

The high-rises therefore became a potent symbol of urban alienation to the middle class.[122] As a result, high-rise building became a lightning rod in the 1970s.[123] For a middle class that wanted to reconstruct a new domestic order in the city, this building form was also view as an impediment to community building and the communitarian ethos that governed the outlook and program of livable city, which set the agenda for the re-organization of space by the new middle class, during the 1970s. As recent criticism fielded against the high-rise development proposed for the south east section of False Creek indicate, this vision of the city has not weakened in this zone. Since the 1970s, criticism of the high-rise has also been supplemented by ecological rather social or asethetic opposition. Ecological sustainability as much as alienation are now brought forward by the middle class to oppose the introduction and further spread of high-rise buildings (VS-175; VS-176; VS-177).

Lastly, changes in taste the embrace of historicism and the movement away from a futurist aesthetic gave a new impetus to infill projects and the preservation of the existing housing stock in this zone. That is why the West End became anathema to this class. Moreover, it is important to realize that movement away from the futurist aesthetic of twentieth-modernism and the embrace of historicism was not an isolated occurrence. During the 1970s, oppositon to the high-rise and the redisovery of Victorian landscapes was part of a larger retrograde movement in postmodern culture. At first this aesthetic stood in opposition to corporate capital, but would later be absorbed and exploited by development corporations in the 1980s[124] Nonetheless, the revivalism and eclecticism that can still defines the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement still stands out as the significant spatial expression of the middle class populism of the 70s and not the corporatism of the 1990s, which the Core is now the symbol for.

Furthermore, in terms of aesthetics, what is interesting to note about the middle class and the creation of this zone is the link between aesthetics and the economy that can be seen in the decline of bureaucratic rule and the rise of the market and the attempt by the new middle

class to re-invent the Victorian city. Here more than coincidence was at work in the adoption of design cues from the *laissez-faire city*. If the Core has become the Laboratory for experiments in high-rise living and lifestyle marketing in the age of the urban spectacle, then the non-domestic fraction of the new middle class that have concentrated in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, an opposing symbolic landscape remains, revealing the variation that can be produced from out of the postmodern spatial matrix.

A domestic but non-family centric fraction of middle class has firmly anchored itself in the material and political culture that has taken root in this settlement ring. Its experimentation with the production of medium-rise rather than high-rise environments would set the trajectory for the evolution of this zone. Not surprisingly, the demands and aspirations of this fraction of the middle class would be replicated in the organization of the Planning Department during the Spaxman era, when the Local Area Planning Division was put in charge of managing the transformation of this zone of discard into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement(CVPD-86; CVPD-88).[125] If the mandate of the Central Area Division, (which was in charge of the Core) revolved around channelling and reshaping the densification process around high-rise formats,[126] the specialty of the Local Area Division would become the provision of institutional supports for policies that would channel and mold the densification process in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement towards medium rise formats. Just as the Central Area Division was the primary institutional organ within the planning responsible for transforming this zone into a middle class enclave; it was the Local Area Division of the department that was mostly responsible for regulating the outward movement of the densification process into the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in the 1970s and 1980s. It also played a role in the conversion of industrial land that was located in this zone, into residential land.[127] So while middle class activists and the Local Area Division of the Planning Department were generally able to deflect high-rise development away from this area,[128] densification proceeded nonetheless, but it progressed within a series of protocols for

redevelopment that had been devised in a partnership between this class and the planners who worked for the Local Area Planning Division.[129]

As alluded to several times earlier, the persistence of two strikingly different middle-class environments has a great deal to do with the demographic of the new middle class in each zone. Despite the attempt to create more diversity, this also explains why the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is less diverse than the Core. Despite the aggressive colonization of the Core by the new middle class it still remains a collage city, while the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is much more uniform in look as well as in social composition. Much of this has to do with a powerful set of common interests created by the domestic orientation of the new middle class. This combined with the presence of a weaker (but still active) communitarian culture now acts as a counterweight to the rampant commercialism that defines the material culture of the Core. The persistence of communitarianism in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement ring and the higher proportion of families and children in this zone function as a buffer to the market. As a result, this zone remains the regional heartland for the third sector -- or the informal economy – where communal ventures are still being incubated. This stands in contrast to the Core, where, befitting the commercialism of the urban spectacle, interaction between people is more defined by the rules of contract, that is the relation that exists between buyer and seller, rather than reciprocity and mutual obligation, which is more common in domestic spaces that have been produced in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This can even be seen in the greater profusion of informal spaces that function outside the strict confines of the market or bureaucratic rule (greenways, community gardens, co-operatives).

As the numbers and percentage of children in each zone demonstrate, if this middle class is not as family centric in orientation as its more traditional counterparts in the third zone, compared to its counterparts in the Core,[130] children make up a much larger proportion of the population within this middle class stratum. Thus, as table four shows, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement straddles the non-domestic environment of the core with the much more child-centred environment of the suburban zone. In comparison to the Core there are three times

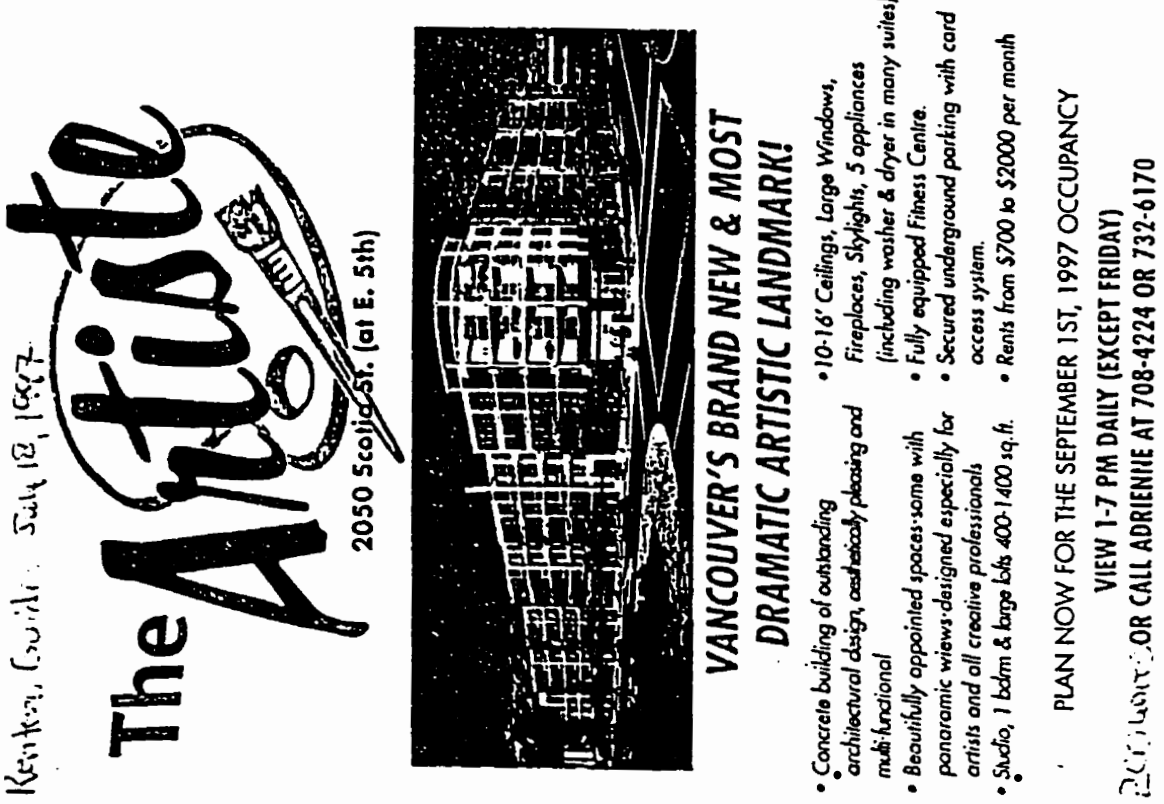
more children in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. However compared to the suburban areas of the city that make up the third settlement ring, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement only has a third the number of children. And if the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is compared to the city average, it only has half the proportion of children present in the city as a whole. So what this indicates is that in spite of the domestic ideology of the new middle class and the greater propensity for this more domestically oriented fraction to be engaged in child rearing even though not in such an extreme way as their counterparts in the Core -- they are, nonetheless, a non-child-centred social formation, consisting of a large middle class population that is essentially childless.

Hence 1991 data for each zone clearly illustrates nuances that exist between this important distinguishing element of the material culture of the different fractions that make up the middle class, of which the new middle class is but a subset. For example, in the Core only two point seven percent of the population was under the age of fifteen, in 1991, but in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement this was nine-point-seven percent, half the city average of eighteen percent, and three times more than that of the core, but considerably less than the twenty-percent-plus reading found in the third settlement zone, where the Asian and traditional caucasian middle class reside (table 4).[131]

Finally, despite the overall homogenization of the social classes that live in the second settlement ring due to the experimentation in new housing and tenure forms that have taken place in this zone, this is still the place where the most varied fractions of the middle class can be found.[132] Also, because this area was the first place where there was an institutional articulation between densification and postmodern regulation, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement became the first distinctive postmodern landscape to be created in the region.[133] The concentration of postmodern house types and tenure forms– such as strata title units,[134] lofts,[135] and non-profit housing,[136] -- into a distinctive as a medium rise landscape. Here a pastiche of historical styles was created, producing a new kind of space, which did not exist in the modern period and stood in direct contrast[137] to the high-rise landscape of the West End.[138]

Unlike the high-rise landscape of the West End or the low-rise landscape of the suburb (where single detached units predominated) the new middle class resolved the problems posed by densification by experimenting with medium-rise environments. This would be significant for the region because it became the dominant format followed by the densification process in Greater Vancouver (See figures seven A; twelve, twelve A; twelve B; twelve C). [139]

Pictorial Diagram One



As with the Core, the distribution of these three postmodern house types and tenure forms have affected the rate of displacement and the extent of the gentrification in each neighbourhood that makes up the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Similarly, the presence of rental units not easily convertible into strata title units has acted as a buffer against further middle class expansion, slowing down the gentrification process. For example the high concentration of public housing and non market housing in Strathcona has limited gentrification to those areas where single detached units or recyclable industrial and institutional building predominates. In Mount Pleasant, the other local area, that has been least affected by gentrification, the presence of cheaply-constructed medium-rise apartment in the late 1960s and 1970s has sterilized a large part of north Mount Pleasant from a middle class invasion for the time being. Because these structures were a physical barrier that violated the historicist sensibility that attracted the middle class to this area (Census Tract .051) will largely be

avoided by the caucasion and Asian middle class until they are demolished. As with St. James Towne in Toronto (Philip 1997e), these utilitarian and ersatz modern structures serve as a bulwark against the gentrification, preserving a remant of the modern social ecology that once made this area a reception place for recent immigrants and the working class.

But in those areas where postmodern tenure and house forms have taken root the middle class have generally been able to displace other social classes. In either case, this area has the highest concentration of these postmodern house types and tenure forms in the region so whereever these houses or tenure forms are present, densification and middle-class recolonization of the area has taken place.[140] Nevertheless, with the development of three distinctive types of house forms in this zone, the new middle class itself has become stratified into indefinable subgroups according to the type of medium-rise accommodation it occupies.[141]

As with the broad brush comparisons that had earlier been made between house type and the existence of different material cultures in each zone, it is possible to infer from this the existence of similar variations in the middle class appropriation of urban space by looking at which fractions of the middle class have moved into these three types of postmodern residential spaces.

For example, the predominance of mid-rise strata title units provides considerable insight into the institutional innovation that allowed developers to harness the powerful proprietary instincts of the middle class that made denser living in the inner city popular for a domestically inclined fraction of the new middle class, providing them with a bridge into a house form that they could comfortably move into as they entered into the career cycle of their lives. In the modern period this option did not exist. Other than equity co-ops, of which several were constructed in the West End in the 1950s and 1960s, denser urban living would have involved moving into a high-rise apartment. As a result, there were very limited choices for middle class people wishing to remain in the inner city and, often as not, this involved a loss in proprietary status since rental accommodation was usually the only contemporary accommodation that was available.

Of course, with the advent of strata title units, this changed, as this tenure form allowed middle class people to live in denser, multiple units dwelling without losing the social status, ownership subsidies and other prerogatives that came with home ownership. At the same time many of the burdens of suburban home ownership were lightened, as domestic upkeep became commodified, with management companies put in charge of general maintenance and upkeep, freeing time up for other activities. Simultaneously, as a consequence, the domestic sphere was being socialized and privatized at the same time by the arrival of strata title units.

With approximately thirty percent of all dwelling units made up of strata title units (table three) this zone has the highest concentration of this kind of housing in the region. Although the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement may eventually be overtaken by the Core -- since already nearly fifty percent of all dwelling units in the Downtown part of the Core strata title units -- for the medium term, at least The Zone of Middle Class Resettlement will retain a commanding lead in number of strata title units. For example, in 1991 it still had more than five times above the metropolitan average for the country and fifty percent more than the region, which presently has the highest number of strata title units in the country (table three; Lo 1996).[142]

This alone would make the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement stand out; however the unique nature of this settlement space is further highlighted by it having the largest proportion of non profit and co-operative housing units in Greater Vancouver. With 7553 non-profit housing units located here, this house form makes up the second-largest component of the postmodern housing stock in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (figure seven-B; table seven). This housing constitutes the most important physical legacy of the progressive period of the postmodern transformation of Vancouver, when the livable city agenda was at its pinnacle. More than the other house types, these units were deliberately constructed to accommodate families. For this reason they stand out as the most aggressive attempt to re-introduce middle-class families back into the inner city, giving physical form to the domestic orientation to the fraction of the new middle class that recolonized this settlement ring. Indeed, until the early

1980s, co-ops made up the largest number of new housing units constructed in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This would change during the 1980s, with the move away from the livable city agenda and the beginning of the era of the urban spectacle, as the production of strata title units overtook and left far behind the production of non profit units (CVPD-66; CVPD-88).[143]

Moving on to the last postmodern dwelling type, in the 1980s a third housing form was incubated in this zone. If the large scale production of medium-rise non-profits symbolized the era of the livable city, then, in the housing field the growth of strata title units became the most important aspect of the urban spectacle. Another sign was the growth in the number of artist live/work studios. Along the the rapid expansion of condominiums, they are the clearest expression of the growing significance of the non-domestic orientation of the urban spaces constructed during the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city-- something which is most apparent in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement as well as in the Core (pictorial diagram one; figure, figure 12, figure 12C). For here the clearest example of the mixing of culture and economics, and the fusion of the entrepreneurial and artistic sensibilities can be seen in the production and use of live/work studios. While live/work studios are the 1990s version of affordable housing in a period when communitarianism has clearly taken second place to the ethos of privatization, these studios are also emblematic of the greater stylization and social polarization that sets the era of the urban spectacle apart from that of the livable city era, as artistic modes of living rather than the experimentation in domestic living, associated with the production of non-profit housing, have become more central in the marketing of urban space (Leidl 1995): something that is readily apparent in the way that loft units have been promoted (Promotion 1997; Real Estate Weekly (West End, etc., 1997B) where the city as a place of spectacular consumption, and the images of bohemia have been integrated into the promotion of these developments (figure twelve E)[144] Not surprisingly the gay market has become an important focus group for the marketing of these units, with regular advertisement for lofts appearing regularly in the city's two gay newspapers.

Table Six[145]
Residential Densification
(1990-1996)

	CC	ZMCRS	ZARS[146]	City
Total units	10,960	6,782	14,654	32,387
%	34%	21%	43%	
Single Detached	0	165	7,199	7,364
%	0%	2.4%	49%	23%
Strata Title	8,468	4,661	5,404	18,525
%	77%	69%	37%	57%
Rental	717	767	1785[147]	3269
%	6.5%	9.5%	12%	10%
Non Profit	272	462	742	1476
%	2.4%	6.8%	5%	4.5%

Since they were only recognized as a legal house form by the City of Vancouver, in 1987, live/work studios are the most recent, and consequently the smallest, component of the postmodern house stock that can be found in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the city as a whole.[148] While there were over 40,000 strata title residential units in the city in 1996 (table 6) and around 20,000 non profit units (table 6) in 1991 there were only 52 studio units. However by 1995 this had increased to 740 (figure seven A), with most of these located in an industrial district in Mount Pleasant known as Brewery Creek where a special zoning designation (IC-3) was created to specially allow the construction of these units (CVC0-22). While planners have projected that only a modest increase in the number of live/work studios would occur, with the total number of units projected not to exceed 2,000 units within the next 15 years (CVC0-33a,p.7), this number is likely to be surpassed sometime in 1998, as city council allocates more land for this type of housing. Another sign that this sub-market will

Table Seven[149]
1991 statistics
Tenure forms

	CC	ZMCRS	ZARS	City	*1996 (e))*[150]
Total units	31,880	63,660	104.475	199,935	221,000
Rental units	28,415	37,395	51,300	118,160	*120000*
%	89%	59%	49%	59%	*55%*
owned units	3440	16265	62140	81.8	-
%	11%	41%	51%	41%	-
Single detached	145	10,520	57170	67,4	*64,000*
%	0.3%	15%	54%	33%	*29%*[151]
Non Profit units	3763	7553	6,184	17600	*19000*
%	11.6%	12%	6.0%	9%	*8.5%*
Strata title units	3630	17240	5130	26000	-
%	11%	27%	5.0%	13%	-
Strata Title(96)	12098	21,901	10,534	42,000	
%	28%	30%	10%	19%	

become a permanent and growing fixture of the postmodern landscape is visible in the specializationof some private development companies, such as Pacific City Land Company, in the construction of this type of housing (Risdon 1996).

As with non profit units in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement since live/work studios represent the 90s version of affordable housing they deserve special mention because of the messages they convey about the second stage of the postmodern transformation of the city.[152] Moreover they are most concentrated in the eastern section of this zone where most of the 1000 live/work studios in the city are located because this is where the most inexpensive industrial land that can be converted to residential land use exists (figure seven A). Unfortunately this housing form will probably play a role in further gentrifying areas of the zone where the middle class have not yet colonized. And it is here where most of the additional

900 live work studios that are projected to be built by the Planning Department are likely to be located - in industrial areas like Mount Pleasant where a special industrial zone IC-3 was been created to accommodate this housing form (CVPD-135a).

The concentration of postmodern house types and tenure forms on the east side of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, especially lofts, has enlarged and more firmly anchored the bohemian subculture on the east side of this zone. Although a bohemian formation still exists on the west side in parts of Kitsilano and West Point Grey. Because of the existence of student housing, some non-profit housing which-- in percentage terms -- exceeds what can be found in Kitsilano - as well as the fact that fewer middle class Asians have migrated to this area than to other parts of the west side -- West point Grey is actually a transitional space that separtes the Zone of Asian Resettlement from the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This is reflected in the social and political culture of the neighbourhood, where the lvel of middle-class activism is similar to that found in neighbourhoods located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement.[153] Even though single detached rather than medium-rise dwelling predominate along the boundaries of the neighbourhood and West Tenth Avenue, medium rise structures bleed into the suburban fabric of this community. However, as with Kitsilano: the fate of the bohemian formation that have always been apart of these neighbourhoods remains tenuous. Particularly if the redevelopment of UBC proceeds, and the targets for housing staff and students on the endowment lands are met, gentrification and intervening opportunities created by the redevelopment of the endowment lands -- as well as new transit initiatives -- may change student settlement patterns (Applebe 1997c; 19978j; GVRD, 1996a).

The problem of displacement even exists in the bohemian node that serves Simon Fraser University, on the east side of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlemtn. Here gentrification and displacement has also become visible as residential and commercial densification around Commercial Drive densification have begun to move this area up-market as well. [154]

The revival of street retail and the sudden popularity of residential units over retail establishment along street fronts is also another medium rise format in which this settlement

zone leads the way in the region.[155] Because of the bohemian propensity to mix work and living spaces it is probably no accident that the most successful densification along main streets in the urban region, if not the country, has occurred in the bohemian precincts located in the east and west sides of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (VS-157; Smedman 1997).[156]

Table Eight[157]
Chinese Settlement

	1971	1976	1981	1991	1996[158]	1998e[159]
City	25,350		49,885	83,625	139,000	-
%	5.9%		12.2%	18.4%	27%	
CC	1,055		950	1445	5000e	-
%	4%		1.9%	1.7%	4.0%	
ZMCRS	11,200		12,815	14,625	16000e	-
%	44%		25.6%	17.4%	13.0%	
ZARS	13,100		36,120	67,565	114000e	-
%	52%		72%	81%	82.0%	
CMA[160]	36,285		67,212	130,000	279,040[161]	290,000
	3%		5.3%	8.4%	14%	14.5%
Asian CMA	58,000		92,000	182,000	517,000	
	5%		7%	12.0%	25.0%	

City of Vancouver Statistics:[162]
City of Vancouve: Population - 1996 - 514,000 Chinese 139,000 - 27% - Asian 199,000 39%e
City of Vancouver Population - 1986 - 431,000 Chinese 56,275 - 13% - Asian 78,000 18%e

ZMCRS % of pop Chinese 1986 - 12 % of 110,000 ZARS % of pop Chinese 1986 -15%
ZMCRS % of pop Chinese 1996 - 13 % of 125,000e ZARS % of pop Chinese 1996 -30%e
ZMCRS % of pop Asian 1986 -14% of 110,000e ZARS % of pop Asian 1986 - 22%e
ZMCRS % of pop Asian 1996 - 17% of 125,000e ZARS % of pop Asian 1996 -40%e[163]

Regional Statistics: (**Core** of ZARS - **Vancouver** (ZARS), **Burnaby** and **Richmond**)[164]
Percent of region's population **1986** - 422,000 - 30.5% /**1996** - 669,000e - 37%
Chinese **1986** - 13% / **1996** - 29% Asian **1986** - 23%e / **1996** - 40%e[165]

To bring to an end to the discussion about the formation of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement: densification, the emergence of a new middle class, and the accession of a postmodern regulatory order, these things, plus the successful institutionalization of the livable city agenda through local area planning, as well as the mass acceptance of postmodern house and tenure forms, account for the most significant changes that were to transform this settlement zone and create a distinctive new social profile, one that was postmodern rather than modern. Among other things, the emergence of this zone appears to have deflected a great many middle-class Chinese immigrants from the second to third settlement zone. Meanwhile, for the Caucasian middle class this reconfiguration of space has accomplished precisely the opposite effect. (figure 9A).[166]

On the metropolitan level this can be seen by looking at how each group moved around in the region between 1986 and 1991. Whereas the proportion of the Asian population making up the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement remained stable, at around fourteen percent, between 1986 and 1991 -- when the influx of Asian immigrants became a flood -- as it increased from eleven to nineteen percent of the total population of the region. As a result, in relation to the region and the city the proportion of Asian immigrants living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has steadily declined. For example, in terms of the city, in 1971 the percentage of Chinese residents eight times the average for the city. However, between 1971 and 1991 the percentage of the city's Chinese population living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement fell from forty-four percent to seventeen-point-four percent. So by 1991 it had fallen below the citywide average, which was eighteen-point-four percent (table eight). And by 1996 estimates show that the percentage of Chinese residents even fell below the region- wide average, which was So while the relative number of Chinese residents was rapidly increasing in the city and the region, in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the percentages were cascading steadily downward.

Conversely, although statistics reveal that the large Asian influx of immigrants is being deflected to the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver, and its adjacent suburbs, the number of migrants living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has remained stable – at twenty-nine percent between 1986 and 1991. This is significant because the percentage of migrants in the city and the region has fallen over the same time (figure nine A). For example, in 1986 the same percentage of migrants could be found in the region and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. While the perecentage remained the same in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, for the region as a whole, the percentage fell from twenty-nine to twenty-four between 1986 and 1991. What these diverging figures point to, is the function that the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement now plays as a magnet for middle class migrants from elsewhere in the region and the country (figure nine A). Meanwhile, the number of immigrants in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlemtn fell from thirty-six to thirty-four percent. What is important to note is that this took place at a time when the immigrant population for the region increased from twenty-nine to thirty percent, and from thirty-nine percent to forty-one percent in the City of Vancouver (table nine). Between 1991 and 1996 this trend gained further momentum. While detailed statistics from the 1996 Census are not yet available, figures show that the percentage of immigrants living in the city has increased to about forty-five percent (VP-54) .

More significantly, Although the size of the Chinese population in Vancouver more than doubled between 1986 and 1996 the fact that this population only increased at a tenth the rate of the city as a whole reveals that this area was deflecting a great deal of the new immigrant population. So while there was an absolute increase of twenty-four percent in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement between between 1986 and 1996, in relative terms there was a dramatic decline in the proportion of Vancouver's Chinese population living in this zone. In 1981, for example, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement housed twenty-six percent of the City's Chinese population. This fell to seventeen-point-four percent in 1991 and then to about thirteen percent by 1996 (table eight). If the estimate for 1996 is accurate (table eight), this would also mean that the percentage of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement

has moved from well above, to just below the regional average over this ten year interval. For example, although far fewer Chinese residents were now concentrated in the the Zone of Middle Class Resettlemet, in 1986, the concentration of Chinese residents was still about two- and- a - half times the regional average. While twelve percent of the residents in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement were Chinese in 1986, this was well above the region wide average of five-point- five percent, when only 76,000 Chinese speaking residents lived in Greater Vancouver. However, by 1996, and with the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement this changed. With about 279,000 Chinese residents now living in Greater Vancouver, Chinese speakers now accounted for about fourteen percent of the region's population. But in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement estimates show that the percentage of Chinese speaking residents had now fallen below the regional average of fourteen percent, since only thirteeen percent of the residents in this zone were estimated to be Chinese.

When comparisons are made with the city and other settlement zones within the City of Vancouver, the special nature of this settlement zone becomes even more apparent. As late as 1981 the number of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement matched the city. However, in 1996, the proportion of Chinese residents living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement would only be about half the city average. Whereas the percentage of Chinese residents living in the city had risen from thirteen to twenty-four percent between 1986 and 1996, the proportion of Chinese residents living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement had only moved from about twelve to thirteen percent of the total population in this zone. Moreover, as a Zone of Asian Resettlement came into existence between 1986 and 1996, the contrast between the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the next zone would become even starker. With the consolidation of Chinese settlement inside the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement this place would become the most concentrated area of Chinese settlement in the entire region. For example, while the proportion of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Clas Resettlement only increased by one or two percent between 1986 and 1996, the proportion of Chinese living in the

inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement would rise from fifteen to thirty percent of the total population that lived in this zone (table eight and figure eight).

Simultaneously, two things were therefore happening. On the one hand, in the Zone Middle Class Resettlement, the Chinese population was becoming diluted. However, further out, in the next zone, the Chinese population was becoming significantly more concentrated because of the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement in the early 1980s. That is why the percentage of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement fell below the regional average during this time, as the proportion of the City of Vancouver's Chinese population living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement fell from about twenty-six percent to thirteen percent. On the other hand, within the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement -- that makes up the suburban areas of Vancouver -- the proportion of the City's Chinese population living in this zone continued to swell, moving from seventy-two percent, in 1981, to an estimated eighty-three percent in 1996. As a result, the percentage of the population that was Chinese in this zone went from below fifteen percent to thirty percent (table eight). Because of the different demographic polarity of each zone, different forces of attraction and repulsion two different ethnic profiles for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and Zone of Asian Resettlement were produced. In 1986 there was only a two percent spread between the proportion of Chinese living in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the Zone of Asian Resettlement. However, by 1996 this small gap had become a chasm. From two percent, in the short span of ten years this gap had widened to about seventeen percent (if the estimates (e) in table eight are accurate).

Last of all, as already suggested by the geographic variation in postmodern housing forms, the transformation of this landscape into a middle class enclave is far from uniform or even.[167] With regard to the middle-class colonization of this zone, there is an obvious settlement core for the new middle class that is anchored in Kitsilano and Fairview, with a larger transitional area taking in Strathcona, Grandview-Woodlands, Mount Pleasant and small strips of West Point Grey: where the population and built environment show that part of this local area is a continuation of the bohemian area that that extends out from Kitsilano.[168]

This becomes obvious just by looking at the uneven distribution of non-profit housing units: which range from nearly fifty percent of all dwelling units in Strathcona down to sixteen percent in Grandview Woodlands to only three-point-five percent in Kitsilano (figure seven A; CVC0-19).

Notably, this is where most of the communitarian and oppositional elements of the livable city program have been filtered out and replaced by programs more closely associated with the urban spectacle. Consequently, there is a social and political divide that is connected to the distribution of different house types and tenure forms between the east and west sides of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Except for a small pocket in Kitsilano, where there still remains a strong commitment to the livable city agenda, the middle-class block that continues to support this agenda is now mostly located on the east side. Meanwhile, the middle class power block aligned to the attributes more closely associated with the urban spectacle are situated on the west side of this settlement ring – in Kitsilano and Fairview, where the highest concentration of strata title units exists.[169] Not surprising, it is in the peripheral neighbourhoods of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement – in these transitional areas where gentrification process has not yet completely overwhelmed these areas – that it is still possible to find some signs of the collaboration between the new middle class and working class constituencies that made up the political block that originally made the livable city agenda a powerful instrument of change: one that materialized into the production of oppositional spaces with the surge in a communitarian ethos and the ideology of inclusiveness that accompanied this agenda.[170] In this regard Strathcona,[171] Mount Pleasant and Grandview-Woodlands are probably the only places in the city where this ideology still plays an active role in fashion the politics of space.[172] Except for a small pocket of activism in Kitsilano the postmodern program that now guides the rest of the city is more attuned to the values associated with the urban spectacle.

5.4 - Third Settlement Zone : The Zone of Asian Resettlement

Moving to the next settlement ring – in Burgess' model the third concencentric settlement sone was referred to as a zone of working class settlement. In the modern city this settlement ring functioned as a transition zone that separated the chaotically organized land uses in the second zone from the more uniform residential land uses that were present in the fourth zone. In the modern city, the third zone also acted as a buffer and filter, which separated lower social status neighbourhoods from more respectable middle-class neighbourhoods that were located further out in the suburbs, in the fourth ring.

Hence except for the elite, in the modern city the social ecology of the region was structured like a sieve. The further out one went, the more assimilated the population was expected to become. Again, except for the non-middle class elite, the further out from the core one went the higher the social status of the group residing in each zone was expected to be. No doubt this representation of the city reflected the rural bias, and a latent anti-urbanism, which was built into the models of the city that were constructed by the Chicago School. However, this correlations also reflected middle class attitudes and expectations, and so, ultimately, how space was to be regulated during the modern period. Since single detached homes were viewed as a symbol of middle class respectability and as a vector for assimilation, this zone was where the respectable working class was expected live in the Burgess model. It was also the zone where partially assimilated, as well as second generation immigrants were expected to live.

What becomes so significant about the transformation of the Zone of Working Mans houses is the inversion of this pattern during the postmodern era. With the emergence of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in the 1970s, the appearance of a Zone of Asian Resettlement in the late 1980s, and the rapid gentrification of the Core by non-domestic fractions of the new middle class in the 1990s, the relation between the centre and the periphery that once existed in the modern city has been completely reversed in Vancouver.

Different demographic polarities -- that are the reverse of the modern city -- now exist in Vancouver. Instead of the middle class being repulsed from the centre of the region -- as was the case during the modern period -- the core, which contains the first three settlement zones, now acts as a magnet for a variety of indigeneous and foreign middle class fractions. While small upper-class enclaves -- such as Shaunessey, Rosedale, Rockcliffe Park and Crescentwood -- had always persisted in the core of the Canadian city, as with the United States, the general tendency was for the middle class during the modern era was to abandon the city for the suburbs. But with the reconfiguration of the Core in Vancouver, and the emergence of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and later, the creation a Zone of Asian Resettlement, three different middle-class fractions began to reoccupy the core of the region. Here three distinct layers of middle-class settlement have been created in the core of Greater Vancouver. Places where the working class were once expected to dwell were now taken over by the middle class, and once respectable areas in the suburbs began to lose status, as the working class started to migrate to these zones.

This inversion did not occur until the 1970s. Up to this time, except for the sectoral configuration of the third zone, the Burgess model provided a fairly accurate portrayal of the stratification of Vancouver. Paticularly on the for the east side of Vancouver this was case. The only characteristic that was not captured in the picture drawn by Burgess was the division of the third zone into two separate sections. During the modern period, in Vancouver the western side of this settlement zone was middle class rather than working class. Only the eastern part of the third ring was mainly working class. In the case of Vancouver, since the third zone was divided in a linear as much as concentric fashion, the actual configuration of this ring during the modern period appeared more as an amalgam of Burgess' concentric settlement model and Homer Hoyt's sectoral model. Moreover, this division extended outwards from the City of Vancouver and into the adjacent suburbs. To the south, Richmond would become a continuation of the middle sector portion of this zone while, to the east, in the suburb of Burnaby, this inner suburb would

function as an extension of the working class section, which predominated on the east side of the City of Vancouver.

The third zone covers about sixteen percent of the land mass of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. With a population of around 850,000 in 1991, this third concentric settlement zone housed approximately fifty-two percent of the region's population. Furthermore, it is possible to subdivide the third zone into an inner and outer ring ,as well as a core areas (the inner ring plus Richmond and Burnaby) and a non-core area. While the inner ring only takes in the suburban part of the City of Vancouver, the outer ring lies outside the City of Vancouver, and includes the inner suburbs of Richmond, Burnaby and the suburban part of the City of North Vancouver and the inner part of the District of North Vancouver (figure eight). Lastly, if the core area of the Zone of Asian resettlement is taken into account, using data based on the number of visible minorities (rather than mother togue which was used in the 1986 and 1991 mesurements) by 1996 this core area housed 688,000 people, of which twenty-nine percent were Chinese and about forty percent were Asian (table eight).

Besides the concentration of Asians, this settlement ring is set apart from other concentrix settlement rings by the Zoning that is in place. Compared to the other two core rings, this is an areas largely government by zoning for single family housing. Because of this, land uses are more homogeneous than the first two zones, since the largest tracts of land are regulated by RS-1 zoning. As a result, single detached dwelling units predominate in the third zone. In 1991, the inner ring of this zone housed 307,000 people. Making up sixty-four percent of the City of Vancouver's population, the inner ring covered 8,534 hectares (figure four)– or about seventy-four percent of the city's land mass. While the Core contained two local areas, and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement contained five local areas, the Zone of Asian Resettlement overlaps fifteen of the City of Vancouver's local areas - or thirteen – if Killarney and West Point Grey are excluded because of their status as satellites, or transition zones for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement.[173]

Outside of the City of Vancouver, the outer ring of third settlement ring takes in all the urbanized areas of Burnaby and Richmond, parts of the City of North Vancouver, the District of North Vancouver and the City of West Vancouver. However, if the core area of this zone is only considered – which would be those areas where the percentage of Asian immigrants stands well above the regional average – only Burnaby and Richmond, as well as the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver would be included. Like the City of Vancouver, the core and the outer ring is mostly zoned for single family residences. In 1996, around one million people lived in this zone. When more detailed data from the 1996 Census is released what will likely be shown is that there has been a moderate increase in population in this zone between 1991 and 1996. But within the core area of this zone there has been considerable population growth between 1986 and 1996 (table eight). While the overall population of the region increased by about twenty-five percent, the population of the core area of the Zone of Asian resettlement increased by nearly sixty percent. Because most of this area was already built up, what these figures indicate, is that resettlement of the core area by Asian immigrants has been accompanied by densification. This can be seen by looking at construction figures and the inflation in assessment values that has occurred in the core between 1986 and 1996 (BIV 1998d). For example, between1991 and 1993 the median value of homes sales on Vancouver's west side went from $450,00 to over $600,000 in 1993 – a thirty-three percent increase in three years, in one of the region's most expensive real estate markets (Nagle 1994). In Richmond the inflation in house prices was even more dramatic, as the median homes sales went from below $240,000, at the beginning of 1991 to $380,00 in 1994 – a fifty-eight percent increase in just three years (Nagle 1994). In 1991 the average price of home stood below the regional average (which was around $300,000) for a single detached home but has since risen well above the regional average. For example, in 1997 the median price of a single detached unit in Richmond was $557,788, compared to the regional median of $511,250 – a difference of nine percent (CMHC 1997k, table 19). The presence of of all three kinds of densification in the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement also support this contention. Here the greatest amount of low-rise densification in the region has taken place (figures nine B

and ten C). As a result, during the 1990s about a quarter of the 5,000 single detached units that have been started each year, have taken place in this zone. While much larger homes have been constructed, there has been little net addition to the pre-existing housing stock since most of this new stock has been replacement stock that has come about as a result of the demolition and replacement of existing single family homes in the core area. In turn, this is one reason why modern zoning codes have been brought in to replace modern RS-1 codes. Because of the resistance of the Caucasion middle-class discretionary and context bound and place centred zoning has increasingly become the preferred way to manage the densification of areas zoned for single family land uses in the suburbs (CVPD-175; CVPD-176; CVPD-178).

Conequently, largely due to low-rise densification in the Zone of Asian Resettlement about twenty-five percent of new single detached starts each year are replacement stock rather than net additions to the existing housing stock. This contrasts with the national average of six percent. For this reason, the production of denser housing is actually higher than what is suggested in the number of housing starts each year. Thus, instead of high and medium- rise accounting for seventy percent of new housing stock, when this replacement stock is taken into consideration, medium and high-rise dwelling starts actually account for between seventy-five and eighty percent of the net addition of new housing stock each year (SC-6a; SC-18; SC -24; SC-54; CMHC 1996c).

Besides this, because the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement also contains two of the most dynamic regional town centres in the region – Metrotown and Richmond Town Centre – a significant amount of high-rise development has also taken place. As well, because the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement is also bisected by the regions majaor transit corridor, substantial amounts of high-rise and medium rise development have sprung up in places such as Collingwood Village or Edmonds Station (figures nine B and figures thirteen A, B, C).

While all this activity reveals that a great deal of in-migration has taken place, unless the population of the Zone of Asian Resettlement is further disaggregated, the presence of

two population waves is concealed. As aggregate figures show the transformation of this zone primarily took place between 1986 and 1996. During this ten year time span the percentage of the region's population made up of citizens of Asian origin increased from eight-point- six (or about 118,000) to about twenty-five percent (over 500,000 - see table eight). And this is the demographic current that has affected the third zone the most. As a result the character of this zone has radically been reshaped. Not only has a huge wave of immigration from Asia washed over this zone, an entirely new kind of social space has been created. Furthermore, the effect of this immigration wave has been amplified by the presence of a powerful demographic undertow, which has drawn the existing Caucasion population out of the third settlement zone and relocated much of this population into the fourth and fifth zones – or outside the region altogether (figure nine A). In this way two population waves have reshaped this settlement zone over the past ten years. Consequently, there has been even more movement and population flux than what the overall increase in the Asian population would at first suggest.

Simultaneously, a wave of middle-class Asian immigration rolled over into this zone, while a rapidly receding Caucasian population made up a second demographic wave was created, that deposited a large segment of the pre-exising population outside this zone, creationing another migration pattern, which created another distinctive postmodern settlement configuration in the fourth zone, which can be described as a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. When more detailed data from the 1996 Census is released, it should further confirm the emergence of Zone of Asian Resettlement between 1986 and 1991, and its accelerated growth and maturation from 1991 to 1996.

For example, between 1991 and 1998 the region's Asian population has increased from nineteen percent to about twenty-five percent. However, if data on visible minorities is used to construct estimates based on 1996 a around forty percent of the population in core areas of this zone is Asian and twenty-nine percent Chinese. If current trends continue, by the year 2000 the number of residents of Asian origin in this zone could easily pass the fifty-percent mark. In the inner ring the precentage of Asians may already be approaching the sixty percent mark, which

would mean that the concentration of Asians within the inner ring would be almost three times the average for the entire region. Moreover, if a comparison is made with the core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (table nine), the contrast in settlement patterns becomes even more striking, as the concentration of Asians would nearly be about seven times greater in the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement than it is in the core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. While Asians make up about nine percent of the population within core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (table nine), as earlier stated they make up atleast forty percent of the core area population in the Zone of Asian Resettlement -- over a four fold difference. Moreover, this trend is strengthening rather than weakening, as the Asian population will likely reach the fifty percent mark, or even go beyond this point by the year 2000 (table nine).

With the great majority of the approximately 500,000 citizens of Asian origin within Greater Vancouver living in this zone in 1996, and most of the approximately 190,000 immigrants who came to Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 moving here, the power of this imigration becomes irrefutable. For with this flow of middle-class immigrants the inner suburbs of Vancouver have been radically transformed over the past ten years (SC-53).[174] For example, if data from the survey of visible minorities is used (VP-57), the core area of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is about twenty-nine percent Chinese -- twice the regional average. Meanwhile, Asians account for nearly forty percent of the population - sixty percent above the regional average and four times the proportion of Asians found in the core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement.

Moreover, as already implied, what more detailed data that will soon be released, should also reveal, is that this area has become more middle class, as the largest percentage of this Asian immigrant population is middle class. Although within this broad class category there may be a wide range of the position of either economic or education capital indicates that this population is largely middle class. Combined with the movement of the Caucasion middle

class into the city the City of Vancouver is fast being transfored into a middle class city, something that can inferred from data on tax returns.

Historically, the City of Vancouver has always had the largest pool of low income people in the region. However, as recent tax returns between 1987 and 1994 show, this is changing, as the income gap between the city and the region has shrunk significantly. In 1987 the average income tax return was still only ninety-seven-point-four percent of the regional average. By 1994 average incomes in the City of Vancouver had increased to ninety-nine-point-nine percent of the regional average, nearly eliminating the gap between the region and the city (GVRD 1997g). Since Vancouver accounts for nearly one-third of the region's population, this two percent shift constitutes a dramatic income shift. Furthermore, if this trend has continued, the average income for the City of Vancouver should now be above the regional average.

Whatever the exact number is at present, there is little doubt that this income shift has already transformed the social ecology of the region. In the Burgess model, their was a strong correlation between occupation of space in the core of the region lower socio-economic status. The further away a community was located in the core, the higher its socio-economic status. However, with the postmodern transformation of the city this correlation is turned around. Except for a few low income enclaves and immigrant portals (figure ten), the core rather than outer suburbs of the region have become the epicentre for middle class settlement (figure seven and figure nine A). As a result, in the case of Vancouver, the income gradient for the postmodern city has been inverted, as income valleys have been turn into hills.

In addition to the ethnic transformation of this zone there has also been a dramatic change in the class composition of the third zone. With the movement of this Asian middle-class into the inner suburbs a third concentric layer of middle class settlement has been laid down in the core area of the region since the beginning of the postmodern era. Conversely, not only has there has been a massive displacementof the pre-existing Caucasian population, in addition to this, the class profile of the third zone has changed, with working and blue-collar era broken up. This has also had an impact on the ethnic composition of the inner ring of the third zone, as

lower income Asians have increasingly been forced into the outer. The best example of this would be relative decline of Punjabi speaking population(figure nine A).[175] In the inner ring these changes have turned the postal districts, where this Punjabi population is concentrated, into a low income enclave.[176]

Although Vancouver is unique because of the degree and intensity of this transformation, there are examples of similar reversals elsewhere in the country. Albeit on a smaller scale, similar migration patterns can found in Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Calgary. While the new middle class has become the dominant social formation in these inner cities, Vancouver is perhaps unique, in that of the four most populous metropolitan areas, it is the only region where an immigrant middle class has migrated into the core of the region and become the dominant group in a a zone once inhabited by an indigeneous middle-class and working-class population. In other large cities, while lower-income immigrants have largely avoided the first and second zones as well, they have tended to concentrate in the third zone. But in Vancouver, except for some low income enclave -- such as the Sunset local area in the City of Vancouver -- high housing prices in the Core (Central Business Dictrict and its Frame), and the high proportion of strata title units in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement have much of the inner city out of bounds to non-middle-class immigrants. This, combined with the general non-family orientation of the first two inner settlement zones, combined with premodern social structures and beliefs (which can be seen as a late-modern phenomenon), plus the desire of new immigrants to own single detached homes, have generally made the first two zones unattractive to many recent Asian immigrants. While the third zone has attracted the largest number of recent Asian immigrants, it has been hard for non-middle class immigrants to establish a toehold within the inner ring and core area of the third zone because of high land values. While the presence of single detached units have made this area attractive, blue and pink-collar fractions of the of the recent wave of Asian immigrants have tended to move to the from the inner to outer ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, where land is less expensive and larger sites are available for extended families to be housed. While home ownership in the core area of the Zone of Asian

Resettlement is usually too expensive for low-income immigrants to affor, as demographic prolfie of the west-side of the City of Vancouver reveals, this is not the case for middle-class Asian immigrants who come from one of the most expensive real estate markets in the world.

The reconfiguration of this zone into nexus for foreign middle class settlement can be illustrated by looking at how the three main Asian immigrant have become stratified within the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Since Chinese immigrants comprise the largest foreign-middle-class, it is not surprising to find they are mostly concentrated in inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, and in the affluent middle-class suburb of Richmond as well as in a more exclusive satellite base that is development around the Westwood Plateau and Coquitlam town centre that is development in Coquitlam. Consequently, in 1996 about fifty-four percent of the region's Chinese population was located in the City of Vancouver. Within the Zone of Asian Resettlement the East Indian population and Filpino populations are stratified quite differently. Because of the blue-collar profile of the Punjabi speaking community, and its lower income, the centre of gravity for this community has moved steadily from the southeast corner of the City of Vancouver to the outer ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement-- in North Delta and Surrey. Like many other communities the much of the cultural and retail infrastructure of this community has remained intact -- even as the population of a particular sub-culture has declined or only grown slowly. For example, while the domographic centre of the East Indian population has moved acrosse the river to North Delta and Surrey, the area between 41st Street and 49th Street, along Main Street, still remains an important symbolic space for this community. The same could be said for other postmodern social formations such as Chinatown and the West End -- in the case of the gay community.

For Vancouver's Punjabi population this turn has only happened since 1986. For up until 1986, Vancouver's Punjabi population was still considerably larger than Surrey's. Between 1986 and 1996 this would change. While the Punjabi speaking population in Vancouver increased by about 5,000 or sixty percent over ten years, the rate of increase in Surry was much higher. From just over 5,000, in 1986, the number of Punjabi speaking residents in Surrey rose to 35,500 by 1996 --

nearly a seven fold increase in ten years, completely overwhelming the old population centre in south east Vancouver - which became a low-income enclave in fast expanding sea of middle-class Asian resettlement. With this migration the northwest section of Surrey, and the northeast part of Delta became the demographic centre for the region's East Indian population (figure eight). In recent years this trend has accelerated rather than slowed down. For example, between 1991 and 1996 the number of people who speak punjabi increased by nearly eighty percent in the region. However, in the City of Vancouver there was only a twenty percent increase: as the number of Punjabi residents only climbed from 10,700 to 12,885 between 1991 and 1996. But in Surrey, the number of Punjabi speaking residents increased from approximately 15,000 to 35,500 – an increase of two-hundred and forty percent in just five years. Although the City of Vancouver contains fifty-four percent of the region's more affluent Chinese population; this is nolonger the case for the Punjabi population, as it as become a increasingly peripheral population cluster within the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. In the Sunset local area, along with a relatively large Filpino population, they now constitute the core group of one of a relic landscape that now makes up the largest low enclave within the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (VP-55).[177] Not surprising, within the inner ring this is also one area that has some of the lowest concentrations of middle-class Chinese immigrants on the east side -- an area that was once almost exclusively working-class but is now increasingly a middle-class settlement zone. With the relocation of the Punjabi population from the inner to outer ring, it is now Surrey that has the region's largest Punjabi speaking population. As a result, the 1996 Census shows that Surrey now has fifty-one percent of the region's Punjabi speaking population (GVRD 1997g; SC-10).

Because of the pink-collar profile of the Filpino population and their greater assimilation into the host culture, the third largest Asian immigrant group is the most evenly distributed throughout the region even though, of the three major Asian groups, it is most recent to arrive in large numbers. Although the majority of Tagalog speakers live in Vancouver, they are far less concentrated in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Whereas over fifty percent of the

Chinese and Punjabi speaking population are concentrated in either the inner or outer rings of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, only forty percent of the region's Tagalog speakers are concentrated in eastern part of the inner ring, where nearly 10,000 Tagolog speakers reside in the eastern part of the City of Vancouver. However, unlike the Chinese population, which is more concentrated on the west side of the inner ring, and in the single family areas of the east side of the City of Vancouver, the 1991 census showed that region's largest concentration of Filpinos was located in one of the few remaining low income enclaves and immigrant portals (i.e,, census tract 051.1) that was situated in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, with another large concentration in the Sunset local area (VP-55), which is a remnant low-income enclave in fast changing sea of middle-class settlement (figure ten).

Otherwise, elsewhere in the Zone of Asian Resettlement Filipino immigrants tended to be under-represented. For example, while Tagalog speakers account for one-point-two percent of the region's population, they only make up one-point-one percent of the population of Burnaby and point seven percent of the population Richmond. Furthermore, of the largest Asian groups it is significant that Filpinos were the only group that was over-represented outside the core area of the region. For example, while Filpinos were over-represented in Vancouver -- where they made up one-point-eight percent of the city's population, compared to the regional average of one-point-two percent -- it is significant that the most concentrated cluster of Tagalog speakers in the entire region was located in White Rock (.8%) and West Vancouver (2.4%) -- where an unusually high number of residents speak Tagalog or are from the Phillipines(GVRD 1997g; VP-57). Not only does this point to the greater assimilation of this ethnic group, their concentration in affluent Caucasian communities is probably explained by the concentration of Filpino workers in the service field-- that is, in the pink rather blue or white-collar sectors. This profile is present in other cities as well. For example in Ottawa's most exclusive suburb -- Rockcliffe -- Filpinos were the second largest visible minority recorded in this small, but extremely affluent suburb (Ottawa Citizen 1998g).

In Canada, the suburbanization of the immigrant population in Canada was noted as far back as the late 1970s, when a study about the urbanization of Toronto's suburbs described how an number of immigrants living were living in public housing projects located in the suburbs (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto 1979). Recognition of this new trend indicated that the social order of the modern city was beginning to dissolve. This has since become one of the defining features of the postmodern city. With the movement of lower income immigrants to the suburbs, European rather North American patterns of urbanization have taken hold in several Canadian cities. With the exception of Winnipeg, perhaps, during the postmodern era this has become a point of divergence between American and Canadian cities.

In empirical and conceptual terms, what changing immigration flows is a radical departure from the picture drawn of immigrant settlement sketched out by the Chicago School in the 1920s or the empirical reality that defined the location pattern for recent immigrants up to the mid 70s (figures eight A and nine A).

Because of the high proportion of middle-class immigrants moving to Vancouver this group was large and wealthy enough to create a contiguous concentric zone of Asian resettlement within the more expensive housing market of the third settlement ring. In Toronto a different pattern evolved. While the number of middle-class immigrants that has moved to Toronto is larger in absolute terms; however, because of the size of the city, a different economic base, and the presence of a larger and more varied flow of immigrants, the impact of this flow of middle class was diluted. Because of this, a different settlement configuration, one that is different from Vancouver, has evolved in Toronto.

Rather than a concentric settlement pattern, in Toronto a sectoral configuration has taken shape with regard to the settlement geography of a foreign middle class. Instead of concentrating in the inner settlement rings (that is the first three settlement rings), middle-class immigrants in Toronto have showed a much greater propensity to move to the periphery of the region (the last two settlement rings). Especially for middle-class Chinese immigrants, this has been the case. As result, the north east part of the region has become an area of resettlement by

the Asian middle-class.[178] Hence, unlike Vancouver, in Toronto the third settlement ring has remained a proletarian space. For this reason, it still functions as primary entry point for lower income immigrants. That is why Toronto's third settlement zone probably has the highest concentration of refugees in the country.

Although not as obvious, in Ottawa a similar pattern has emerged. Statistics from the 1996 Census show that recent middle-class immigrants are under-represented in working class areas such as Hull or Vanier, where lower status Black and Arab immigrants are most likely to be found. Conversely, it is now in the outer settlement rings rather than in the core, where the highest concentrations of middle class Asian immigrants are to be found in Ottawa. Avoiding the working class areas of the city this gorup can be found in the more affluent western suburbs, such as Neapan or Kanata, in particular. Compared to the regional average the Chinese population in these communities soars over the regional average by over thirty-percent. Unlike the modern era - where Ottawa had the highest concentration of new immigrants; in the postmodern era this has been reversed. For example, Kanata now has the largest concentration of Chinese residents in the region, with approximately four-point-two percent of its population now Chinese compared to three-point-two for the City of Ottawa. Similarly, other fast-growing and more affluent communities, such as Neapan also have a higher proportion of Chinese residents than the City of Ottawa (Ottawa Citizen 1998g).

With a smaller flow of middle-class Asian immigrants into Montreal, the space taken up by this group is even smaller than in Toronto or even Ottawa. Like Toronto, the settlement of this Asian middle class in Montral has taken place in the fourth rather than third settlement ring. With the Asian population accounting for an even smaller percentage of the total immigrant population in Montreal, the suburban enclave that has emerged here is not as big as the one in Toronto. For example, the 1991 Census shows that the largest suburban concentration is mostly confined to Brossard, which is located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence (SC-10).[179]

With Calgary emerging as the next largest centre for middle class Asians, it is likely that a suburban enclave, but one which is even smaller than Montreal's, will have emerged here

as well, particularly since the Hong Kong proportion of immigrants arriving between 1991 and 1996 increased significantly (Calgary Herald 1997q).[180]

Looking more closely at the demographic profile of Vancouver's Asian population, preliminary estimates from the 1996 Census show that Chinese, East Indian and Filipino immigrants make up the three largest groups. With around 270,000 Chinese immigrants in Vancouver, this is the largest group. For the most part this group this group is now largely middle class.Nevertheless, this Chinese population is quite diverse. Arriving from Hong Kong, Mainland China and Taiwan, as well as speaking different dialects, this largely middle-class group is far from being homogenous. Particularly for Chinese immigrants from Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong, there are considerable variations in the economic power as well as the outlook and role that each group perceives itself playing in the larger host culture.

When more detailed data from the 1996 Census is released, with the exception of Coquitlam, what the figures are likely show is that the Chinese population is located mostly in the inner band of the Zone of Asian resettlement, as well as the suburb of Richmond. Moreover, casual observation also suggests that the Chinese population has grown large and varied enough for a more segmented and somewhat polarized specialization in land uses to become visible. On the one hand, it is possible to speculate that the larger parvenu population from Hong Kong has settled around the commercial suburban node that has emerged in Richmond, and on the west side of Vancouver. On the other hand, the older and more traditional elements of the Chinese population have remained more anchored to Chinatown, and the east side (WestEnder 1998a). In contrast to Richmond, which appears to have emerged as the main commercial centre for the Hong Kong Chinese community, Chinatown appears to becoming more specialized as a cultural rather than commercial precinct. With the construction of numerous housing complexes for seniors it has become more specialized as a retirement node for seniors as well.

The second largest Asian group is East Indian.[181] Compared to the Chinese, who account for about fifty-four percent of the region's Asian population, the East Indian population appears to be more blue-collar. With about 86,000 East Indians in Vancouver, this group makes up around

twenty percent of Vancouver's Asian population.[182] The working-class orientation of this population is reflected in the different geographies that have emerged for the East Indian and Chinese communities. East-Indian and Chinese settlement patterns have therefore diverged significantly with the maturation of the Zone of Asian Resettlement between 1986 and 1996. While Chinese immigrants have tended to locate within the inner band of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, the East Indian community has gravitated more to the outer ring of this settlement zone.

For example, as pointed earlier, in 1986 the City of Vancouver was clearly the demographic centre for the region's Punjabi speaking population. With 7,775 Punjabi residents mostly located in the Sunset local area of Vancouver (figure four), and only 5.010 Punjabi speakers in Surrey, at that time the Punjabi speaking population of Vancouver was fifty-five percent greater than that of Surrey's (SC-8a). However, by 1996 the ratios would be completely reversed. Wheras the number of Punjabi speakers in Vancouver had increased to 12,855, in Surrey this population had increased to 35,000. As a result the Punjabi population here has increased by a factor of seven since 1986. Whereas the Punjabi speaking population in Surrey was only sixty-five percent of the Punjabi speaking population in the City of Vancouver, by 1996 the Punjabi speaking population of Surrey expanded so rapidly that is was nearly two-point-seven times larger than Vancouver's (GVRD 1997g).

Again, as with the stratification that can be observed in the Chinese community, it is possible to speculate that a dichotomy may be developing between the older and newer segments of the punjabi community as well – with the older and more traditional elements of the East Indian community remaining in Vancouver, while the newer and more commercial segments of the population moving to the south shore of the Fraser River. When one planner from Vancouver was asked about this (PI-13), her remark was that cheaper housing and larger lot sizes were probably the most important factors that were attracting East Indians from the suburban zone of south east Vancouver to Surrey and North Delta, which were located on the south shore of the Fraser River.

The Filipino population makes up the third largest Asian group, with about 23,430 people that speak Tagalog, and 40,000 claiming to originate from the Philippines, of the three largest Asian migrant groups, this is the most recent group to settle within Greater Vancouver in large numbers (SC-46; SC-53). Whereas the Chinese account for about fifty-five percent of the Asian Population, and Punjabi speaking residents account for nearly over seventeen percent of the region's Asian population, while the third largest group is made up of immigrants from the Phillippines, who account for about eight percent of the region's Asian population. Altogether, these three group make up approximately eighty percent of the Asian populaton that now lives in GreaterVancouver.

Furthermore, if data on the mother tonque of each group is cross checked with data on the place of origin of each immigrant group the other interesting thing to emerge in by examining recent census data is the high level of English speaking Filpinos, and the relatively low proportion of the Filpino population that has declared Tagalog as its mother tonque. Whereas eighty-five percent of the Chinese population declared Chinese as its mother tonque only fifty-seven percent of Filpino immigrants living in Greater Vancouver declared that Tagalog was their mother Tonque.[183] What this suggests is that of three largest immigrant groups from Asia, the Filpino population is likely the group that is the most acculturated to the host culture (SC-53).

What makes this even more striking is that the Filipino population is the most recent immigrant group to come to the city in large numbers. Even as late as 1986 this population was not deemed large enough to be disaggregated in the Census tract data (SC-8a), so the rapid emergence of this ethnic group was quite abrupt in Vancouver. For instance, as recently as the 1980s Winnipeg – a city located in the middle of the continent, only a third the size of Vancouver (SC-10) – had more Filipino immigrants thanVancouver. Compared to Chinese and East Indian immigrants, Filipino immigrants appear to be concentrated more in the pink-collar or service sector. Earning less income, they are less able to buy into the expensive real estate market that constitutes the Zone of Asian Resettlement. As earlier stated, this population is

more concentrated in the immigrant portals that remain in the second and third settlement rings. Having a better command of English but less income compared to their Chinese and Punjabi counterparts (*since English is the second language in the Philippines and so many are concentrated in domestic service -- which accounts for the higher number of female immigrants who are Filipino*), they are more dispersed throughout the region because of cheaper accommodation, or the greater dispersion of jobs, since many domestic jobs are located outside the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Thus lower pay, and the greater dispersion of jobs in the pink-collar sector probably account for much of this dispersal, as the does the greater acculturation of the Philippines to the West. Unlike, China or the Punjab, the Phillipines was a colony of Spain for a long time, and was later heavily influenced by the United States during the twentieth century.

While not as large as the three main Asian immigrant groups, another population that sticks out, is the Iranian population. Presently around 20,000 people of Iranian origin now live mostly on the north shore (figure eight). With around 5,000 Iranians migrating to Vancouver between 1991 and 1996, this group accounted for about three percent of all recent immigrants, and stood in sixth place among the various groups that made up the latest round of recent immigrants to the region (Business in Vancouver 1998j). Like most recent Chinese immigrants, Iranians appear to be middle rather than working class. As with many recent Chinese immigrants, they also appear to have access to significant amounts of capital (VS-106b; VS-125).

Although there are some homogeneous bands of middle-class settlement, such as the occupation of the inner ring by Chinese immigrants, nontheless, because of the different places of origins for recent Asian immigrants, and their different socio-economic and occupational status, both the inner and outer parts of the Zone of Asian Resettlement are polyglot rather than homogeneous settlement rings. As recently as the end of the 1970s, the profile of the third zone bore little resemblance to what now exists here (VS-397). At that time, the third zone was still predominately European and working class. In the late 70s, the Chinese population probably

made up less than fifteen percent of the inner ring of the third zone, while now, with some extrapolation, the percentage may be near to forty percent. When other Asian groups are added to the Chinese population, the percentage of Asian immigrants in the inner belt of the Zone of Asian Resettlement might now even be over fifty percent (table three).[184]

From a conceptual and functional perspective, compared to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the changes that have taken place here are even less in conformity with either the Burgess or Hoyt model for the modern city. The only exception to this is the gradually erasing of the working class and middle class distinctions, which set the west and eastern parts of the inner ring apart from each other in modern era. With the large influx of middle class Chinese into the east and west sides of the inner belt a contiguous concentric settlement ring of middle class settlement has been established. Consequently, earlier sectoral divisions are being erased.[185]

Recent changes also highlight the shifting class compostion of the third zone. In the Burgess model this zone was supposed to be a working class space (figure three), Instead of evolving in this direction, which at least the eastern part of this zone was doing, in the modern period, the third zone is rapidly being transformed into a concentric zone of middle class settlement, and not that of a zone of working men's homes, as suggested by Burgess in the 1920s.

Instead of a working class settlement ring being maintained, the influx of Asian immigrants has created a third layer of middle class settlement in the core of the region. Because of this shift in class as well as ethnicity, a close correlation has developed between the densification of the inner suburbs and the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement. Consequently, new social formation that were still rooted in the modern ethos, but, at the same time different from it, led to the creation of a late-modern landscape in the third zone, as can be seen in the introduction of postmodern zoning protocools to protect a modern landscape, the emergence of secondary suites, and growing significant of low-rise densification that has been sparked in the third zone by Asian immigration (see shaded area in figures nine B and ten C), facilitated the introduction of postmodern regulation (CVPD-175; CVPD- 176).[186] In turn, these

changes in the ethnic and class compositon of the third have triggered a reaction which led to the creation of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement that is different from the late-modern landscape that evolved in the third zone between 1986 and 1996, as this fourth zone has become the last redoubt of modernism in the region -- where car culture and the material culture centred around the single detached dwelling unit and the nuclear family still predominates.

As already implied, the other difference that can be pointed to is the shift from a European based to Asian based flows of immigration. Instead of a little Italy or Greektown, new ethnic villages from Asia, such as little India, have appeared in the third settlement ring. Significantly, this has not happened in the second zone (figure eleven A).[187]

The transformation of the third and fourth zones was far from accidental. What happened in both places flowed out from decisions made by the federal government when changes sere made to the Immigration Act in 1967, which allowed more non-Europeans to enter the country.[188] The other important change change occurred in 1986. Unlike the changes that were made in 1967 later amendments to the immigration act would alter the class profile rather than the ethnicity of new immigrants. In the late 1970s, but morse in 1986, the federal government created a new class of economic immigrants. Especially for Vancouver, when this was done the socio-econonomic profile of immigration changed significantly. Until the late 1980s, the full impact of these changes would be muted because of low levels of immigration. However, when the federal government dramatically increased the number of immigrants allowed into the country in the middle of the 1980s, nowhere was the shift from European to Asian immigration and working class to middle class immigration felt more profoundly than in Vancouver.

For example, before the late 1980s, on average in each succeeding decade after 1945 immigration ranged between 140,000 to 150,000 a year. However, since the mid 1980s immigration levels have moved past 200,000 (SC-44).[189] They were further amplified by the increased concentration of all new immigration into just two cities: Toronto and Vancouver. Of the approximately one million immigrants that came to Canada between 1991 and 1996, sixty

percent of all immigrants arrived in Toronto and Vancouver even though both urban region's only accounted for about twenty-one percent of the country's population (around six million), as about 600,000 immigrants moved to either Toronto or Vancouver (SC-44; G/M 1997bm).

The takeover of Hong Kong by Mainland China, is another important factor, as this led to a dramatic movement of capital and people from Hong Kong into this zone, which played an important part in the diffusion of densification into the inner suburbs. In turn, this movement of people and capital became an important trigger for the outward diffusion of the densification process. These massive changes have fundamentally altered the function of this zone. No longer does it act as a zone of assimilation and a place of stability, inteade, since 1986 the third settlement zone has experienced an unprecedented level of flux. Rather than remaining a zone of assimilation, as was the case in the modern era, the third settlement ring had become a place of increased heterogeneity, composed of unassimilated recent immigrants which becomes most obvious when looking at the number of non-English speaking students in the core areas of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. For example in 1997 a survey conducted by Ethnimark, for the B.C. Ministry of Eduction, found that English speaking students represented only forty-five percent of the student population compared to the regional average of sixty-four-point- three percent - difference of seventy percent between the average for the region and the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (VS-511). While the approximate number of students from kindergarten to Grade Twelve in the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement accounted for about forty-one percent of the region's population but only about thirty-nine percent of the region's total population, it contained approxmately sixty-four percent of the region's non- English speaking student population.[190]

Because the Zone of Asian Resettlement has become a prime area of investment it is likely that there are probably a large number of absentee landlords, who rent out homes, which given this area an additional late-modern rather than modern complexion. This may be another reason why this area probably has the largest proportion of secondary suites in the region. Like the large number of rental units in the West End the abundance of secondary suites has acted as a

shock absorber, which has muffling the middle-class colonization of the third zone, perserving a large reservoir of lower income housing in one of the region's most expensive real estate markets. While steeply rising housing prices put home-ownership out of the reach of working class residents in this settlement zone it has opened up a large market for rental accommodation that largely functions within the confines of the informal rather than formal economy. That is why the area still has a large low-income population, which would have been displaced much more quickly had these secondary suites not been made available. [191]

The heterogeneity that can be seen in this zone not only applies to the differences that exist between the host and immigrant culture, but is also one that exists between various Asian groups that now make up the largest segment of the population that resides in this settlement ring. For example, there are strong differences that have surfaced in some of the antipathies that can be observed between old and new Chinese immigrants (VS-130). As well, within this zone there are difference that smolder underneath the surface between Hong Kong, Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese immigrants. Therefore, despite the general absence of visible racial, ethnic or class antagonism, tensions nevertheless exist between the host and advancing immigrants cultures (VS-390; VS-397; VS-399). So there are tensions that even exist within exist with the various communities which make up the Chinese community, which is, by far, the dominant Asian group in Vancouver.[192]

This polygot mixture is further differentialted when other more distinct groups are taken into consideration. In addition to the conflicts and division within the Chinese community itself, there are the more obvious ethnic and class differences that exist between the East Indian, Filipino and Iranian populations. So by no means is the social friction that comes with the interaction of new groups only the product of the friction generated by the co-mingling of the larger Caucasian host population. It is also quite probably that there may also be growing resentment and even social friction between the hegemony of the Chinese population in this zone, and other groups who have recently arrived from Asia struggle for a space of their own (G/M 1996).

What also makes the Zone of Asian Resettlement distinct is its rapid transformation. As a result, the changeover here has been abrupt rather than gradual. In less than ten years a completely new settlement zone has appeared. Even more remarkable, this transformation has involved some of the most desirable residential spaces in the region. For the Caucasian middle class, who are being displaced, this has raised issues about the rate of change. But what has been surprising so far, is the lack of open social friction. Whether this continues to be the case, will be dertermined by how long the rate of change proceeds at its current pace, and the ability of the population at large to absorb the vicissitudes of rapid transformation (VS-261; VS-389).

Here, in Vancouver, there has been a unique twist to this common tale of adaptation and assimilation by recent immigrants. In the modern era, working-class neighbourhoods usually had to bear the brunt of new immigration flows. However, in the postmodern era this has changed, as middle-class rather than working-class neighbourhoods have had to face the most rapid change. Unlike the modern era, that is why the most vocal complaints about new immigrants have come out of the west side rather than the east side of the city -- from areas that were immunized against the need to adapt to rapid change. Consequently, this time around immigration has tended to spawn a nativist response among the middle-class rather than working-class. Since the control of space by the class as been put into question, the indigeneous middle-class living within this zone has been put on the defensive for the first time.

Some indication of how rapid this change has been and how this time around, it has been the middle class as much as the working class that has been effected, can be seen by looking at what happened to the west side of Vancouver since 1986, as this areas is the wealthiest part of the City of Vancouver, and therefore the area traditionally most resistant to change. Here the affect upon the settlement geography of the third zone and the rising hegemony of Chinese immigratns can be grasped by looking at the rise of the Chinese population in these middle-class and upper middle-class areas located mostly west of Granville Street.

Figure Nine A **Changing Social Spaces/ Social Flows** **GVRD**

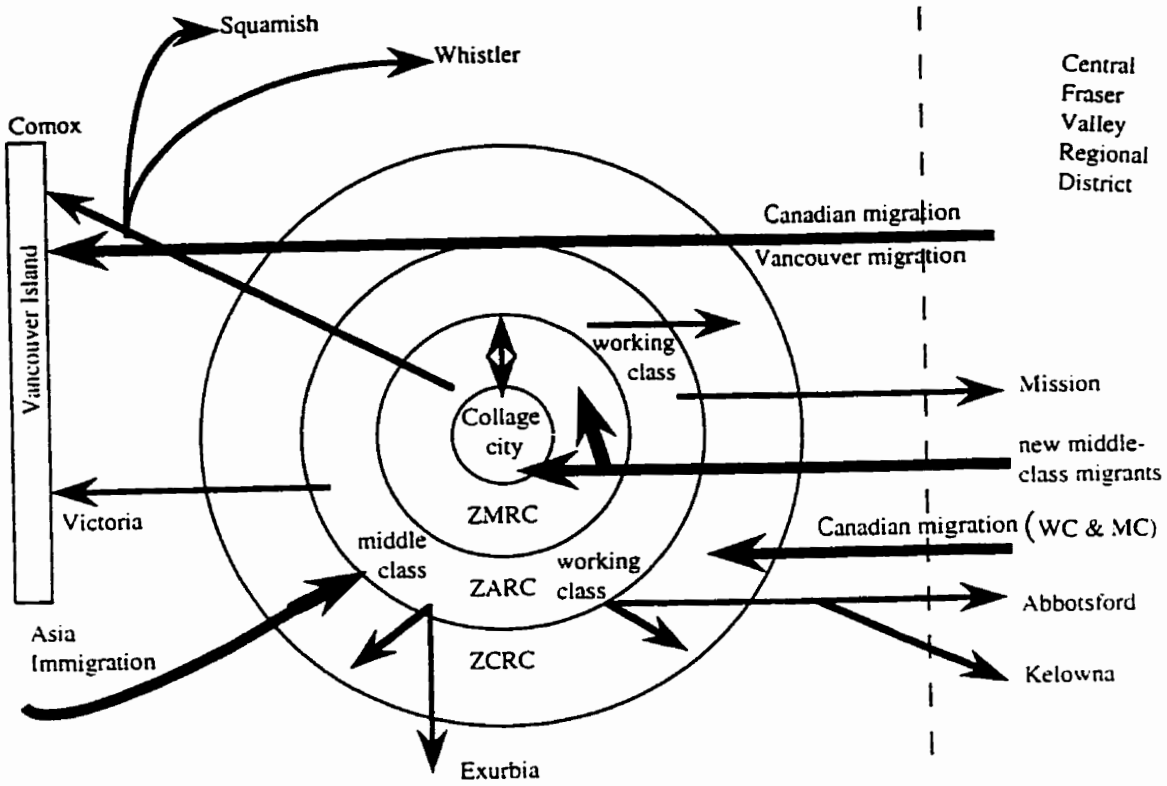
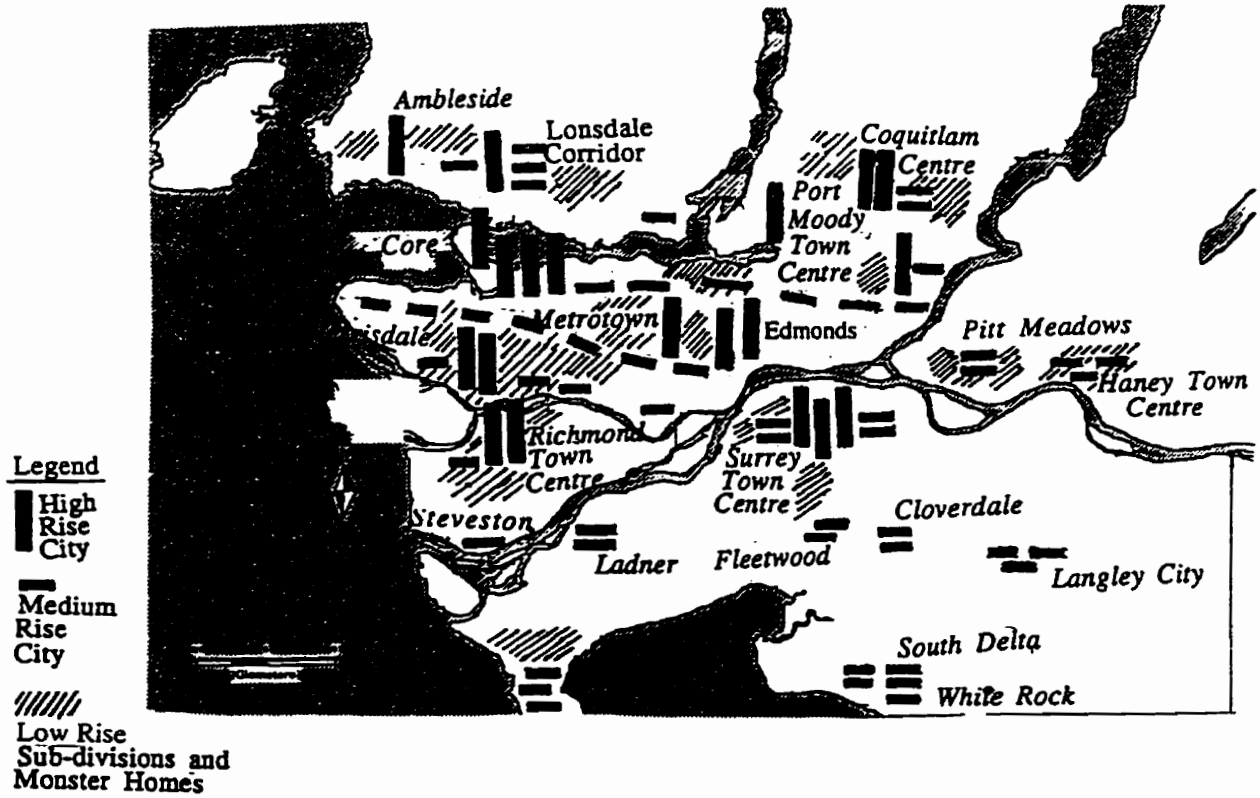


Figure Nine B **Physical Face of Vancouver**

The Three modes of Physical Densification:
High/Medium/Low rise development



As figure ten A shows,[193] in 1986 there were only about 3,600 people of Chinese extraction in western part of the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlemnt. Consequentl, only about fourteen percent of the Chinese population that lived in the City of Vancouver at that time was located here. Altogether the Chinese population only accounted for about five-point-five percent of 65,000 that lived on the West side of Vancouver in 1986. Since the proportion of Chinese residents living in the City of Vancouver was about fifteen percent, this meant that Chinese living in the west side were under-represented by about sixty percent. However, with the creation of a new entrepreneurial category of immigrant, the attention that Expo 86 drew to Vancouver, this, along with the uncertainty about Hong Kong, and the bargain basement sale of the most valuable vacant land in the city to Asian capitalists (VS-105), turned Vancouver into a destination point for Asian capital and middle-class immigrants overnight.

With these developments, between 1986 and 1991 the Chinese population increased by over two hundred percent on the west side: climbing from from 3,600 to 7,600.[194] With this increase,the proportion of the Chinese living in the west side rose from six to fourteen percent. What such a rapid increase in the Chinese population indicates is that upper middle class immigrants, and not only middle class immigrants, have been moving into this area. For example, between 1971 and 1991 the percentage of Chinese living in Shaughnessey -- one of the regions most exclusive neighbourhoods (figure ten A) -- increased by a factor of ten. For instance, in 1971 the Chinese population living in Shaughnessey was seventy percent below the regional average. By 1981, the number of Chinese living in Shaughnessey had grown slightly higher than the regional average. However, by 1991 the number of Chinese living in this neighbourhood was nearly double the regional average of eight-point-four percent. With over fourteen percent of Shaughnessey now Chinese, this was even above the overall average for the west side of thirteen-point-nine percent (table eight).

By 1991, the percentage of Chinese in other middle-class and upper-middle-class neighbourhoods on the west side was much higher as well. For example, in Oakridge the Chinese population exceeded thirty percent of this local area by 1991. This was double the city

average of eighteen percent, and nearly three-and-a-half times the regional average of eight percent. However, in transitional neighbourhoods, such as West Point Grey – which overlaps and straddles both the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the newly emerging Zone of Asian Resettlement – the increase was much smaller, with the number of Chinese living in this local area resting at five-point-eight percent in 1991: well below the regional and citywide averages, and less than half the average for the west side as a whole. [195] So even though there was more growth in the number of dwelling units and population Point Grey between 1981 and 1991 than in most other parts of the west side, far less the growth here was due to the influx of Chinese immigrants than elsewhere on the west-side (as the population of Point Grey increased by ten-point-three percent versus six-point- three percent for the west side as a whole).[196]

Because of the rapid influc of Chinese immigrants (table eight; figure ten A), the long standing gap between the proportion of Chinese living on the west and east side of the city has begun to converge. In 1986 this gap was two hundred percent. However, by 1991 it had diminished to twenty percent and data from the 1996 Census will likely show that the gap may have disappeared altogether. Hence, while the overall increase in west side population was 4,710, or six-point-three percent, the Chinese population incresed by 6,070, or about two hundred and twenty-four percent. What these numbers also reveal is that at least one-thousand people were probably by this migration in a five year interval, or about two percent of the pre-existing population. When more detailed figures from the 1996 Census area released, it would therefore not be surprising to find that the percentage of Chinese immigrants living on the west side may have even reached the citywide average -- which would mean that in 1996 that the Chinese population would at least be 21,000 -- a remarkable shift in just ten years, since this would represent a four hundred percent increase.[197] For as survey of house sales in Vancouver during the mid 1990s noted: up to eighty percent of all home sales on the west side were being made to Chinese buyers (VS-103),

Outside, the City of Vancouver, in the inner suburbs, the changes have been even more dramatic. Especially in Richmond this has been the case. Located on the southern edge of the

inner suburbs, Richmond has become the second focal point for Chinese immigrants, with a series of Chinese shopping malls constructed in the 1990s now rivaling, if not surpassing Vancouver's Chinatown, in terms of commercial dominance (VS-99a).[198] It has also become the centre for Hong Hong immigrants, with sixty-one percent of all recent Chinese immigrants coming from Hong kong, compared to forty-six percent for the City of Vancouver.[199]

Again, what is so remarkable about this transformation is that this zone came into existence in just ten years - between 1986 and 1996. Here numbers tell the story. In 1986 there were approximately 6,500 Chinese in Richmond. But in 1991, this had increased to 16,435. And by 1996, the Chinese population living in Richmond had risen to 43,325. Representing twenty-nine percent of the population of this municipality, the number of Chinese in Richmond stood over two hundred percent above the regional average. So in just ten years this population had increased nearly six hundred and seventy percent. Between 1986 and 1991 the population doubled, moving from six to about thirteen percent of the entire population. But, in the next five yearsthe number of Chinese residents nearly tripled, as the percentage of Chinese speaking residents (especially from Hong Kong) flocked to Richmond.[200] As a result the percentage of Richmond's population made up Chinese speaking residents rose to twenty-nine percent -- surpassing the City of Vancouver for the first time, as only around twenty-four percent of the population in the city of Vancouver was Chinese in 1996 (GVRD 1997g; City of Richmond 1997c; 1997f; VS-203a).

To a lesser but still significant degree, Burnaby is the other inner suburb that is also fast becoming an integral part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. In this case, as with the eastern part of the City of Vancouver, it is a working rather than middle class population that is being displaced.[201]

Significantly, between 1986 and 1996, what the number show is that Richmond and Burnaby became firmly incorporated into the Zone of Asian Resettlement.[202] In 1986, only six percent of Richmond's population was made up of Chinese speakers. For Richmond the number of Chinese residents in 1986 was only slightly above the regional average, since only about five-

point-five percent of the region's population was Chinese speaking in 1986. But, in Burnaby only three-point-four percent of the population was Chinese speaking in 1986. At that time the proportion of Chinese residents living in Burnaby was way below the regional average. Unlike Richmond, where the Chinese population was slightly above the regional average, in Burnaby the number of Chinese resident was nearly forty percent below the regional average in 1986. In the next ten years this would change. While the years between 1986 and 1991 can be considered to be the watershed years for the creation of an inner ring for the Zone of Asian Resettlement, the years between 1991 and 1996 can be considered as watershed years for the transformation of the inner suburbs into part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. And nowhere would this become so apparent as in Burnaby, as this inner suburb became fully incorporated into a completely new zone that had not existed in 1986.

Hence, by 1991, for the first time the numnber of Chinese residents in Burnaby would surpass the regional average. Compared to the regional average of eight-point-four percent, the proportion of Chinese residents living in Burnaby was eight-point-eight percent, as the Chinese populatin increased to 14,300. Later on, by 1996 Chinese immigrants would make up about twenty-one percent Burnaby's population – resting about fifty percent above the regional average, which was just over fourteen percent in 1996 (table eight).

The expansion of the Zone of Asian Resettlement into the inner suburbs coincided a larger overall shift in the ethnic composition of immigrants. Between 1991 and 1996, for the first time, the proportion of Asian immigrants in B.C. would exceed those from Europe. As recent as 1991, fifty percent of all immigrants in B.C. were still of European origin, and only thirty-three percent were Asian. However, by 1996 these ratios would were reversed as only forty percent of all immigrants were European, but forty-four percent were Asian. Since most of these immigrants moved into the Zone of Asian Resettlement, this dramatic shift became most obvious in the third zone. Not only did the concentration of Asian residents grow substantially above the already rapdily increasing average for the region; in addtion to this, the third zone expanded outwards from the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver, to take in most of the inner suburbs,

and some satellite zones in order to absorb the massive increase in the Asian population that occurred between 1991 and 1996.

Thus, after rising experiencing a quantum leap 1986 and 1991, between 1991 and 1996 the Chinese population in Burnaby doubled, as the Chinese-speaking population grew from 14,300 to 33,200 (and 39,410 when Chinese residents are enumerated as part of a visible minority). With the ethnic composition of the inner suburbs changing so quickly, the the Zone of Asian Resettlement had firmly consoldiated its hold over the inner suburbs by 1996, as the Chinese population in Burnaby increased by nearly seven hundred percent, far surpasssing the quite substantial overall increase of four hundred and thirty percent, which was recorded for the Chinese population residing in the region as a whole.

As Burnaby and Richmond illustrate, the shift from Europe to Asian immigrants was magnified in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. In 1986 there was no sign that Burnaby would later become part of an Asian settlement zone. At that time, its Chinese population was forty percent below the regional average. However, by 1996, Burnaby had fifty percent more Chinese residents than the regional average -- a radical and unprecedented shift in just ten years. The only parallel to this would be sudden surge of immigrantion that came with the great European migration at the turn of the century or the sudden surge in Hispanic immigrants in Miami. While the immigration surge at the turn of the century established the demographic profile of the modern city that Chicago School theorists were to describe, this pattern would begin to dissolve in the postmodern era, as a new pattern emerged in Vancouver between 1986 and 1996. For with the new postmodern demographic profile it would be Asian rather than European immigrants that would become the dominant players in the invasion and succession of land uses and control.

In the same short ten year span, the same transformation would affect Richmond and the northwest part of Surrey. Only, in the case of Surrey, the dominant Asian group would be Punjabi rather than Chinese. As already pointed out, in 1986 there were only about 5,000 Punjabi speaking residents in Surry (SC-8a). As with Burnaby, in Surrey between 1986 and 1996, the dominant Asian group would increase by 660 percent, as the number of Punjabi speaking residents

grew from 5,000 to 35,500 (table eight and nine). In 1986, although the Asian population in Richmond was slightly above the regional average this did not foretaell what would happen over the next ten years. However, by 1996, the percentage of Chinese residents in Richmond would soar two times beyond the regional average, with the Asian population of Richmond even eclipsing the overall average for the City of Vancouver for the first time.

So large has the Chinese population in the Zone of Asian Resettlement become that is now has sufficient numbers to stratify into distinctive sub-groups. For instance, mainland Chinese immigrants have remained more concentrated in the inner ring, while Hong Kong immigrants have shown a stronger propensity to move to the suburbs (figure five and eight). Hence the percentage of the Chinese population made up of Hong Kong immigrants was fifty-five percent in Coquitlam and around sixty-one percent in Richmond. However, in Vancouver this percentage was only forty-six percent. Conversely, Chinese immigrants from Mainland China made up thirty-eight percent of recent Chinese immigrants in the City of Vancouver, but only twenty-two percent in Richmond and just eight percent in Coquitlam.[203]

Finally, just as satellite spaces for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement have emerged, so too, for the Zone of Asian Resettlement satellites have surfaced as well. One has grown up in Abbotsford, which is outside the Greater Vancouver Regional District, but where sixty-one percent of all immigrants that settled here between 1991 and 1996 were from India (figure eight).[204] The second satellite is located within the Vancouver region, but is largely composed of Chinese immigrants who settled in the north eastern section of Coquitlam. In 1986, there were only about 400 Chinese speaking residents living in Coquitlam. However, by 1991 this number had grown to 3,970 ;and to to 14,700 by 1996 -- a thirty -three-fold increase in just ten years. This increase, no doubt, explain why Coquitlam was the fastest growing immigrant settlement space in the region between 1991 and 1996. With the number of recent immigrants in Coquitlam growing by sixty-five percent (11,235),[205] the number of Asian immigrants living in Coquitlam accounted for about twenty percent of the population (VP-57; figures five and ten B).

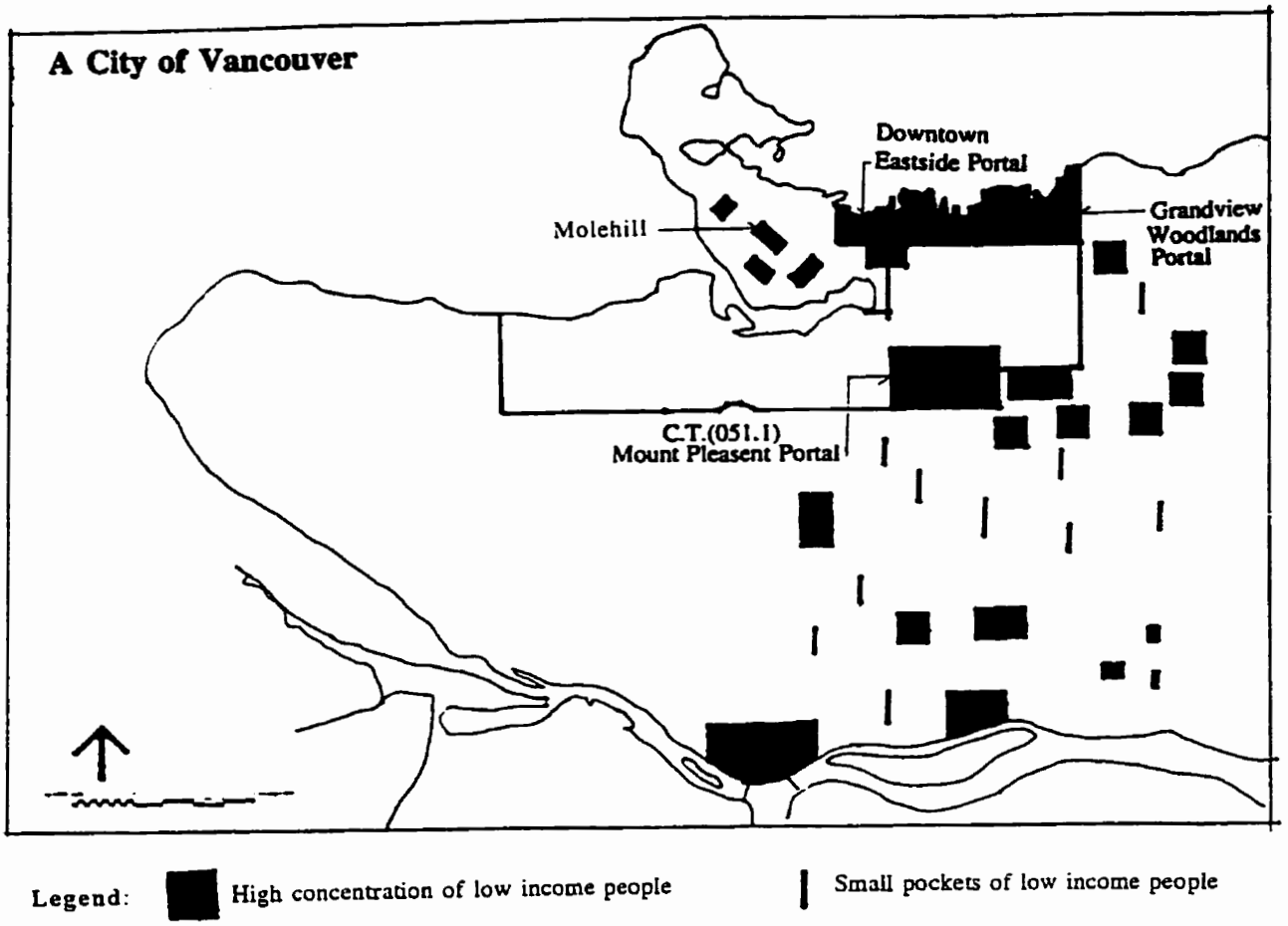
Because of the social and economic friction that was produced with the emergence of Zone of Asian Resettlement considerable displacement has resulted. The most obvious result of this population movement would be the creation of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, as the fourth zone would become a refuge for working-class and middle-class and upper-middle class Caucasians, who were vacating the third zone.

As the Shaughnessey example shows. this invasion, succession and retreat has affected the upper middle-class Caucasian population. Similarly, Asian resettlement on the east side of Vancouver and Burnaby, has had a profound impact upon the Caucasion working-class, who have vacated much of this zone and moved further east into the valley. Lastly, as changes in local areas, such as Oakridge -- in the City of Vancouver -- and the changing immigrant profile of Richmond illustrate, this has affected the broad settlement pattern of the Caucasion middle-class as well (figure nine A and figure ten A).

Using a few simple mathematical calculations a statistical handle can be created that provides a basis for establishing a floor level of displacement experienced by the Caucasian population in the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement between 1986 and 1996. This floor estimate of displace is easily derived by comparing the overall population growth of this zone with the net inflow of immigrants and then looking at the difference. From this calculation it is possible to deduce that at least five percent of the Caucasion population that once lived within the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement was displaced between 1986 and 1996. Even with this low estimate, this is a considerable number of people, as it would suggest that atleast 10,000 Caucasions were either voluntarily (by the sell off of property) or involuntarily displaced because of rising taxes, high rents or inflated housing prices in the ten years between 1986 and 1996. This would mean that on average there has been at least a net absolute loss of 1000 Caucasians from the inner ring each year. Similarly, in the core area of the outer ring at there has been some displacement. In Richmond for instance, at least three percent of the Caucasian population has been displaced as a result oof the incorporation of this municipality into the Zone of Asian Resettlement between 1986 and 1996.

Again, these are low estimates. In reality the level of displacement has probably been considerably higher than what floor estimates and percentages suggest.

Figure Ten **Working Class and Underclass Landscape in the Post modern City**



Furthermore, there is a interesting structural link between the displacement of the indigenous Caucasian population, and arrival of a the low-rise form of densification in the suburban areas, where RS-1 zoning codes supports the preservation of single detached housing (figure nine B), and the colonization of this third zone by the Asian middle-class. With the rapid escaltion of housing prices in the third zone, a new market configuration was created that attracted Asian buyers, but repulsed Causasians consumers, thereby altering investment patterns. Particularly in Vancouver and Burnaby, older homes were demolished for larger and newer ones.This form of densification further intensified the resettlement of this area by the Asian middle-class because migrants from within and outside the region could not afford to enter the market because the average price of a single detached unit was twice the regional average and about three times the national average.[206] In turn, this led existing homeowners to cash in on the windfall capital gains that accrued to them (figure nine A). At the same time, for many middle-class Asian immigrants who were coming from one of the most esxpensive real estate markets in the world, what seemed too expensive to Canadians, was viewed as a bargain by these new-comers.

Hence, for a middle-class Asian immigrant coming from the most expensive residential real estate market in the world, a median selling price of $800,000 for a single detached unit would be perceive more as an incentive rather than a barrier to homeownership. Unlike their Caucasian counterparts, who would have to sacrifice space to remain in this zone if a new home were to be purchased, the Asian buyer would be able to consumer more space, not less. While high prices are a major deterrent for migrants and local people (CMHC 1997c), it has been just the opposite for many of these new immigrants, as can be seen by their swift appropriation of the bastions of privilege on the west side of the city. For the traditional Caucasian middle-class the sudden transformation of the a large part of the west side into a Zone of Asian Resettlement has caused considerable consternation. Unlike its working-class counterparts to the east, as earlier pointed out, the more traditional member of the middle class are not used to rapid social

change, or the novel experience of finding itself becoming the subject of displacement, as west side neighourhoods suddenly became an entry point for new immigrants.

By this mechanism a unique sub-market evolved which further reinforced the flow of Asian capital into the Zone of Asian Resettlement. With the core of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (i.e., the suburban part of the City of Vancouver, Richmond and Burnaby) holding about thirty-six percent of the region's population in 1996, this part of Zone of Asian Resettlement attracted appromixately 74,500 Chinese immigrants, or nearly eighty percent of all Chinese immigrants that arrived in Vancouver between 1991 and 1996. And if the satellite Zone of Coquitlam is included, this percentage climbs to about eighty-six percent of all Chinese immigrants who came to Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 -- almost two-and-a-half times the region wide average. Since this increase was far greater than the overall population increase, this meant that some displacement of the existing population had to take place in order for these new immigrants to be accommodated.

With the average multiple listing for a housing unit sold in Canada going for $151,000 in 1995 (according to figures supplied by the Canadian Real Estate Association)[207] and the median price of single detached home going for $700,000 dollars in the City of Vancouver, $584,000 for Burnaby and $554,318 in Richmond, (table 5) powerful economic, as well as demographic forces, were therefore at work in the creation of this zone because of the preceding price differentials that existed within the submarkets within Vancouver as well as the rest of the country, and the one that existed on the otherside of the spectrum, between Vancouver and the Asian property market, which made Vancouver property appear inexpensive to middle-class Asian buyers.

In such a mardet, a Canadian buyer wishing to buy a single detached unit in Vancouver would have a strong incentive to avoid the Zone of Asian Resettlement and go elsewhere in the region. With housing prices twice the national meidan, there would be a strong incentive for those buyers wishing to own a single detached unit to move to those places in the region where the median value of a single detached house was more in line with the national average --

hence the fourth and fifth zone. However, with an average single detached unit going for $309,000, the average cost of a single detached would still twice the national average. With the price of a new still going for $276,000, in the lowest cost sub-market (Maple Ridge which had the cheapest housing located in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement), the cost of a new home would still be more than eighty percent higher than the national average. So even in the most inexpensive housing market in the region, the cost of buying a single detached dwelling unit would be considerably more than the national average, encourging a switchover to multiple dwellng units in even the lowest priced market in the region (Ottawa Citizen 1998h). In the core part of the Zone of Asian Rettlement -- where the price of a single detached unit was around twice the least cost market in Maple Ridge the pressure to substitute a single detached unit would be even greater. For local and national buyers wishing to purchase a new home this would almost guarantee that some form of strata title units would have to be purchased. This explains why densification is so pervasive throughout the region, and why a city like Calgary -- with only a third the population of Vancouver -- generated twice the number of starts for single detached units in 1997.[208]

As these price differentials turned the third zone into a specialized market the movement of house prices became more tied into local rather than global markets. Between 1986 and 1996 this led to the inflation of this housing market. Conversely, with most Asian economies entering into crises, between the summer of 1997 and 1998, these same global forces have had a deflationary effect ib housing prices within this zone.[209] As a result the property market in the region has been shaped by three rhythmns: one which is connected with the emergence of the Zone of Asian Resettlement,[210] a second one to the recolonization of the inner city by the new middle class, and a third rhythmn, that is connected to internal migration within the region and external migration from the rest of the country (VS-436).[211]

For example, in a survey on the cost of living that was carried out by Corporate Resources Group (based in Geneva), Hong Kong was found to have the second highest cost of living in the world -- just behind Tokyo -- while Vancouver placed 120th on the same scale, even though it

had Canada's highest housing prices (Theobald 1997). The articulation of the housing market in the third settlement zone to the global market has therefore created a powerful filtering mechanisms: attracing middle class Asian while repelling Caucasian migrants. Similarly because of the control of the second zone by the new middle class, this in conjunction zoning, house type and the non-family orientation of the second settlement ring have deflected Asian working - and middle-class immigrants from the second to the third zone. Meanwhile, particulary for migrants interested in raising families, the built environment and price differentials created by the new middle class and the Asian middle-class, have established an invisible economic and cultural barrier that has discouraged non-immigrant families from settling in the core of the region. Whereas the new middle class were displacing immigrants in the second settlement ring, in the third settlement ring the tables were turned around, as immigrants were displacing the indigenous population that was once dominant in the third settlement ring.

Just to buy a single detached house (in Vancouver, Richmond or Burnaby) would involve paying three to four times the national average simply to enter the housing market of the inner suburbs. As well, there would be problems with social adjustment, since the concentrations of Asians is so high, that migrants from elsewhere in the country would probably feel out of place, especially when a high proportion of recent immigrants cannot speak English. This probably works both ways, as Asian real estate agents steer Asians into this emergent Asian settlement area while the opposite takes place with regard to Caucasian buyers, something which no doubt is further reinforced by the operation of different spatial values and aesthetics that come into play to produce a late modern landscape in the third zone in the postmodern era.

The colonization of the west side appears to have been aided by realtors. Here the steering of Caucasian and Asian buyers by realtors may have further reinforced market trends created by the price differential, which have been described. For example, one Caucasian realtor complained about the unwillingness of a Chinese realtors to show him homes in Kerrisdale -- a place where he had grown up as a child -- because he was not Chinese (PI-44). In addition to the economic pressures the sorting out of the population into Asian and Caucasian settlement rings may have been partially institutionalized on an informal level by realtors, although the extent and significance of this behaviour remain unclear -- the fact that two large real estate firms which specialized in marketing property to Asian migrants have recently folded in Richmond in the current downturn, is highly suggestive (VS-467), and is a topic which no doubt deserves more attention. Although long recognized as force shaping property markets in the North American city, where there is a long train of documentation about this in the United States (Harvey 1973; 1982; 1985), in Canada very little research appears to have been carried out the role realtors play in the ethnic stratification of the regional housing market. This no doubt is taking place, what remains unclear is the extent that real estate agents in Vancouver function as important gatekeepers in the ethnic sorting out of the population.[212]

So more subtle non-economic forces may be at work in solidifying the status of the third zone as one of Asian Resettlement. Once a critical mass for one ethnic group is established in an area, it is possible to speculate about the creation of a tipping response, one which real estate agents no doubt plays a part in fostering, since they have often acted as informal steering and filtering agents for different social classes and ethnic groups in the North American city. For this reason, it would be interesting to further study how some realtors in Vancouver have probably sped up, rather than slowed down, the invasion and succession of the Asian middle class in the third zone (VS-132).[213]

Although Asian realtors may currently be the most active institutional agents in the steering process (as the initial marketing of the Concord development along North False Creek

reveals - Olds 1995), to a lesser extent this practice probably exists elsewhere, with non-Asian realors (VS-112aa), as Asian and Caucasian realtors probably respond in a similar way to the need for each group to seek out familiar terrain where some control can be aserted over space by filtering buyers -- especially when the rate of physical and social rate of change becomes too uncomfortable and there is a need to re-establish a social equilibrium that may have been disrupted. Thus, simple fear of the unknown, and the mere concentration of people with different customs and languages, is probably establishes the sufficient motivation for non-cosmopolite segments of the population to leave behind areas that are suffering from a great deal of flux, making areas that are perceived as being more homogeneous more desirable places to live for this population. In large measure, this propensity to search for what is familiar, plus economics, probably accounts for the simultaneous emergence of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and a Zone of Asian Resettlement. This would appear to be the case for many former Richmondites who have left the Zone of Asian Resettlement for places like Tsawwassen and White Rock, provoking some observers to dub these places "Little Rhodesia" (Lett 1997b).

When more detailed statistics from the 1996 census are released a clearer picture of this process of should become available. Although the 1996 Census is likely to show that the more traditional and less cosmopolitan segments of the Caucasian middle-class population that once inhabited the third zone has diminished significantly in size, as disputes over zoning and the preservation of the landscape reveal, this middle class fraction is unlikely to completely disappear. While its numbers may be rapidly declining, its political influence has not necessarily declined in tandem with its falling numbers. Moreover, part of this population will likely attempt to adapt to the economic pressure created by the influx of Asian capital by integrating its demand for housing into the regulation of the densification process, and by the creation of market for less expensive and space consuming strata title units in the third zone (Applebe 1997c). Indeed, this is what much of *CityPlan* is all about (CVPD-175; CVPD-176; CVC0-78).[214] For in the longer term, if the children of the traditional middle-class and their aging parent are to remain in this area some densification will have to result.

For the Asian middle-class, different cultural values, along with the price differential that exists in the property market of the third zone, and a stronger propensity to buy single detached homes has created a unique dynamic to the densification process in this zone, with smaller houses torn down to be replaced by much larger ones (Applebe 1997). With the value of existing homes usually only a fraction of the land value there is a great incentive to buy up single detached dwellings in this zone and rebuilt them on a much larger scale.[215] As one community activist noted, the B.C. Assessment Authority put a valuation of $230,000 on the land but only $15,000 on the house that he and his parents lived in (PI-51). This explains why the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver have been the most active market for the construction of new single detached dwellings for the entire region since the late 1980s – a process that is now spilling over into the inner suburbs of Richmond and Burnaby, causing the existing population to demand stricter controls on sub-division, something which has also facilitated the adoption of more postmodern forms of contextual zoning, as the remaining Caucasion middle class seek to preserve the modern suburban character of the inner suburbs. That is why postmodern formats have been adopted in north shore, almost over the entire suburban west side of Vancouver, and in parts of Burnaby (figures eight and ten).[216]

Thus, together, the transformation of the third settlement ring into a Zone of Asian Resettlement and the related diffusion of the densification process into this area frame the regulatory transformation that took place in this space.

Beginning at the philosophical level, densification and cultural conflicts over the design and use of space that came about with the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement would lead to the amendment of single family zoning (RS-1), one form of regulation from the modern period that had remained untouchable until now. This deconstruction first began on the eastside of Vancouver, where RS-1 regulations were gradually modified to allow secondary suites while controlling the nuisance effects of density produced by greater site coverage and the shadowing resulting from higher dwelling units (McAfee 1987; Petite 1991). In the middle of the 1980s this eventually lead to a massive secondary suite review of single family areas in the City

of Vancouver and the creation of a new zoning district named RS-1S that would allow secondary suites (CVPD-83). With this zoning the formal deconstruction of the modern suburbs began in Vancouver (table ten). On the west side the agitation against densification grew, but different motivations were at work. Rather than traditional utilitarian concerns that had to do with nuisance such as the blocking of sunlight, on the west side the struggle centred around aesthetics. Instead of RS-1S zoning, much more elaborate regimes was developed because of this aesthetic reaction. As a result, RS-5 and RS-6 codes were put in place between 1993 and in 1997 in order to preserve the pastoral image of the suburbs on the west side (e.g., CVCO-53).[217] Since that time it has almost completely replaced the RS-1 zoning which governed the regulation of single family homes on the city's west side (table ten).

Whereas the subdivision of larger lots, the construction of so called monster homes and the alterations to the existing landscape had long gone on in the east side, this represented a challenge to a way of life on the west side, or at least the representation of a way of life that was connected to the ideal of the pastoral suburb, which was considered to be the most desirable and prestigious landscape during the modern period (Gibson 1972). Being a symbol of the most conservative and powerful segments of the modern order, any challenge to its dominance was met with an immediate and vigorous reaction.

Because of this, what was once the most inert area of political activism in the city become a hotbed for middle-class activism. A wide variety of new community association came into existence between the late 1980s and early 1990s because of this mobilization, but with a slightly different twist from what took place in the 1970s (PO-1; P0-3). Then the conversion zone was the locus for citizen's mobilization in the 1970s and the object was the large corporate developer. In the 1990s the battle lines had moved out to the third zone, only this time the object of attack was other middle class homeowners. The only difference was that these homeowners were Asian rather than Caucasian – a foreign middle class, which, like themselves, may have adhered to a modern conception of the city, but not exactly the same ones that were held by the traditional Caucasian middle class, since the actions of this foreign

middle class were marked by a form of hyper modernism with regard to the production of space that threatened the stability that had long been guaranteed by RS-1 zoning. Of course, except for areas such as Kerrisdale, these struggles took place within a different regulatory context. Here the clash over the regulation of space had centred around the revision of RT zoning (a zoning category established for boarding houses where there was a great deal of mixed land uses) rather than RS-1. For up to the beginning of the postmodern era single family zoning had inoculated most areas from redevelopment.

As with RT zoning in the 1970s, in the 1990s local area planning processes were set up to deal with densification and middle-class concerns about aesthetics in the RS-1 zones. However since these new developments happened in the era of the urban spectacle a much more truncated and corporatist approach to local area planning was followed. Instead of years, each review was reduced to a period of months. Furthermore, rather than being open ended processes were they were guided by an overall strategic plan, in this case *CityPlan* – that had as its ultimate aim the further densification of the third ring (i.e., CVCO-48).

To a less elaborate degree, similar struggles and planning process were later undertaken on the north shore and in Burnaby. But it is in the City of Vancouver and to a lesser extent Surrey – that the most elaborate regulations for the densification of existing suburbs have been developed (Young 1997; VS-400). As with the other physical and regulatory contexts for densification, experimentation with new house types, small lot developments (VS-379), Flex housing and grow homes has begun to develop in a low-rise format governed by RS-1 zoning schedules across the country as well (Bartlett 1907; Lamey 1996a; CVPD-175; CVPD-176).

While the City of Vancouver may have developed the most complex regulations to deal with the deconstruction of the modern suburb, so far. Montreal is the place where the most innovative and extensive experimentation in the production of new types of higher density, single detached housing units, has taken place. Here thousands of affordable infill single detached units have been constructed during the 1990s. Similarly, in Edmonton new regulations to control the densification of its mature suburbs have been put in place and will soon be made a

generalized feature for all the older suburbs in the city that had been built before 1970. Thus densification is producing a late modern rather than high modern landscape in older suburban areas outside in places other than Vancouver although the changes have been most rapid here.[218]

Again, as already mentioned, the other significant change to occur at the philosophic level had to do with the addition of yet another middle class layer of settlement space to the core. This created friction, because unlike the new middle class, this middle class had pre-modern and modernist (rather than postmodern) perspectives on the use and regulation of space. Being a self-made, this foreign middle-class had less interest in the livable city agenda, which had governed the City of Vancouver during the 1970s. With the growth of this large Asian middle class the political block which had supported the 1970s version of the livable city agenda was undermined by the hybrid modernist sensibility that came with the immigration of this middle class. Along with the turn to the right by the other fractions of the middle class, in part, it is possible to view the demise of COPE as one consequence of this middle class immigration. For with its complete elimination from the formal civic scene in the 1996 election, the last civic party with roots in the counterculture and the great middle-class mobilization of the late 1960s came to an end (VS-145a).

At the same time, this foreign middle class has more easily adapted itself to the agenda of the urban spectacle, where market rule is more prominent. Since the largest component of the Chinese middle class is made up of an elite or parvenu middle-class fraction from Hong Kong, the play of the market associated with the urban spectacle fits in much more closely to their outlook than the livable city program. Not surprisingly, this lack of identification with the livable city program became the basis for many of the aesthetic struggles that were to follow between the various Caucasian fractions of the middle class and this newly-arrived Chinese middle class.

With its hyper-modernist attitudes towards space, it is hardly surprising that this immigrant middle class was not interested in the conservation of built environment. Preserving

the artifacts of a foreign culture was obviously not a priority. This social stratum, like many other Asian groups, has tended to place less emphasis upon the preservation of the built environment, and so understandably, many of the postmodern values that had to do with the goal of perserveation run against the grain of the predominant Asian sensibility that exits towards the regulation and use of space. Thus in a culture which has paid little attention the conservation of its own physical spaces, regulations which attempted to preserve and contextualize development of a different culture would naturally be of less interest to it.

Conversely, in a regulatory system that supported non-traditional family formations at the social level of regulation, this system would also be less attractive, but for different reasons, since these middle-class immigrants were more tightly bound up in family bonds than their Caucasian counterparts -- bonds that were often as not, premodern rather than modern in their construction (Chan 1996; Goldberg 1985). Because of these cultural inversions it will be interesting to see how future compromises will unfold as these two different value systems begin to mesh together (Smart 1996). So far the social friction that has resulted has mostly been confined to the middle class. For the Caucasian working class that might also be working within a modern framework, the attitude towards space would certainly not be as divergent as with the local middle class and being more used to immigration, the shock created by this sudden immigration would not be as great. So if problems about the influx of this Asian middle class have surfaced with the working class and older European immigrant class, it does not express itself along this aesthetic or philosophic dimension of regulation.[219] If these groups have become alienated, their main response seems to have taken the form of selling off their homes and moving elsewhere, into more familiar surroundings (VS-397).[220]

In part the changes that would take place in the social regulation of space have already been brought up in the previous discussion about zoning and house form. With the increase in secondary suites and Flex houses; the separation of work and residence and the primacy of the nuclear family no longer the linchpin for the physical and social organization of space -- and particularly as the traditional Caucasian population has aged -- a late-modern

landscape has emerged, where a built environment organized around the needs of the family remains in place, but there are either hardly any children (Holdsworth 1994) or the form of the family has changed[221] (as is the case with the advancing Asian population) where late modern and pre-modern family formations have entered this zone. While the pre- modern family takes form as the extended family,[222] the late modern variant is a highly secularized and ultra modern one created by astronaut parents and satellite children (Beers 1997a).

At the social level a hybrid late modern landscape has therefore been produced. The social regulation of the third zone remains modern because the focus on the family and the maintenance of a built environment dominated by single detached dwellings remain in place,[223] because of the appearance of a middle class immigrant population, the evolution of a variety of new family formations, of which the nuclear family is now but just one of many forms, the third zone no longer symbolized the classic social landscape that modern regulation idealized in the 1950s, when the nuclear family provided the ideal from which to organize social life in this zone. Not surprisingly, because of densification and the generation of new family forms this zone has become the place where the greatest concentration of secondary suites can now be found.

In this regard it might be possible to a cetain extent to establish a correlation between the decay of the classic nuclear family and the transformation of the single detached dwelling unit into the various forms that have triggered so much controversy throughout this entire zone and indeed every place where single detached units predominate in the region as well as the country. While the family and the single detached unit will remain the social and physical foundation of this settlement space, the look of both will be quite different from the high modern period, as a diversity of forms rather than one ideal about what is appropriate will govern the use and perception of space here. At length, even in suburban areas that are focussed around child-rearing things have changed, which – because of the drop in the birth rate – in a sense, had made all suburbs late modern landscapes. Although the raising of children is central to the social *raison d'etre* of these landscapes, fewer numbers of children along with an aging

population have made these family-centred environments less child-oriented and hence late-modern rather than modern, social landscapes.

Then there are the regulatory changes that have taken place at the aesthetic level. The irony here is the use of postmodern zoning codes by a traditional middle class to preserve a modern landscape.[224] Like the preservation of modern buildings this is one of the most poignant reminders that the modern age has indeed passed. Thus even the modern suburb has become part of the past. And it is this clash between the future and the past which now rages between the traditional middle-class and the Asian middle-class that more than anything else, expresses the passage of the modern era (Ray 1997).

While part of the conflict rests in the hyper-modernism of the Asian middle class, this has been exacerbated by the use of a pre-modern aesthetic, or *Feng Shui* practices, where some street numbers and the manipulation of the landscape have been made to fit in with the principles of *Feng Shui* rather than the design traditions associated with the vision of English pastoralism that dominates the look of the west side suburbs (VS-112; VS-112a; VS-115; VS-143A).

Besides this, much of the antagonism may also have its roots in the constitution of part of the Asian middle class that has migrated to Vancouver. Because many immigrants from Hong Kong are part of aparvenu class,[225] some resentment appears to have congealed around the rift that always exist between old and new wealth (VS-97ab; VS-97abc).[226] As with all parvenu social groups in history, such aspiring classes usually offend and ruffle the feathers of more established groups.[227] In the case of Vancouver this may have contributed to some of antagonism that seems to have built up between the more settled and traditional Asian and Caucasian groups that may have been put off by indiscreet and ostentatious displays of wealth by this parvenu group (PI-51; VS-97abb).[228]

Thus because of the ostentatiousness of much of this new wealth numerous landscaping and design issues have been raised by the densification of the inner suburbs, which Asian capital has played a pivotal role in sponsoring. As a result a great deal of conflict over the preservation

of low-rise single family dwelling units, issues of site coverage and the sub-division of larger lots into smaller lots (Applebe 1997; figure 10 C) as well as the preservation of trees have become issues of acute concern in middle class suburban areas (Applebe 1997e).

In the City of Vancouver, these are the issues (CVPD-143; CVCO-48; CVCO-50) which the Community Planning Division is now dealing with.While experience gained from the reshaping of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement into a enclave of medium-rise residential spaces in the 1970s, and the experience gained by the Central Area Division in the 1990s, with the creation of a high-rise residential environment in the Core, have produced models (Berelowitz 1992), in the 1990s the CityPlan Division and the Community Planning Division will be the Divisions that will be responsible for establishing a model for the densification of the third ring, something that can already be seen in the selective introduction of medium-rise dwelling units into vacant or underused spaces in the third zone (e.g., CVCO-48; CVCO-53) and the encouragement given to the production of experimental low-rise rather than medium-rise housing projects (infill/subdivision/Granny Flats/regulation and the creation of secondary suites and the like).[229]

Lastly, the complexity of the aesthetic regulation of this zone has not only increased because of the adoption of postmodern zoning codes; the use of *Feng Shui*, has added another layer of aesthetic regulation to this zone which appears to be responsible for the development of some interesting pockets of settlement by the new middle class, who have moved into small areas in the third zone where poor *Feng Shui* appears to have deflected Asian buyers while attracting the new middle class, particularly if heritage homes were situated in sites with poor *Feng Shui* (PI-51; PI-52).[230]

This twist to the aesthetic regulation of space and the profusion of secondary suites in this settlement ring mean that this zone is unlikely to be completely transformed into a Zone of Asian Resettlement or become uniformly middle class. Although the Asian middle class have become the dominant social class in the third settlement zone, some patches of lower-income housing are likely to remain. As well parts of the this zone are liable to be sprinkled with

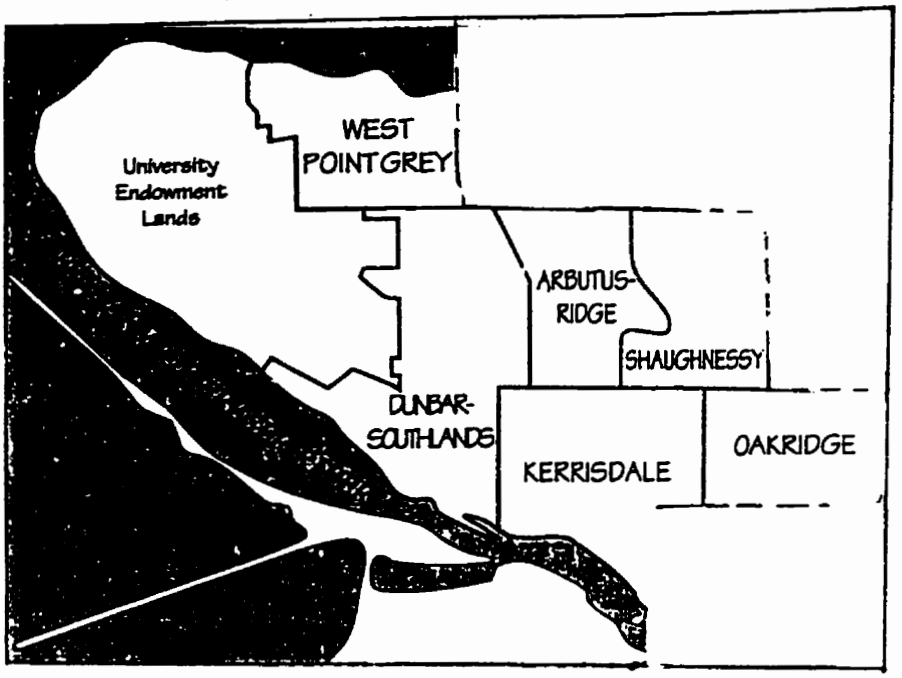
small nodes of Caucasian settlement wherever unique spatial conjunctures created by zoning, poor Feng Shui and the presence of heritage housing create small settlement gaps which will be filled by non-Asian fractions of the middle class.

Whereas downzoning in the West End and to a less successful extent, in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, was deliberately carried out as an attempt to slow down the displacement of existing social groups, the mild downzoning that has come with the new RS zoning for the third settlement ring appears to be motivated more by the desire of the traditional middle class to preserve the physical landscape rather than the existing social space in the third zone.[231] In this regard, it is interesting to observe how very little open tension has so far surfaced between the older European immigrant population or the indigenous working-class population who are cashing in on the rush of Asian immigrants into this zone, as they rapidly vacate the third zone for the fourth, buying less expensive housing further out in the region with the windfall received from the escalating house prices that have accompanied this Asian resettlement.

However there have been other clashes over the symbolic appropriation of space elsewhere in the zone. One example would be the disputes that have erupted over the use of language when only non-English signs have appeared in retail areas. This has happened in Richmond where complaints were raised because there were no English signs in some of the retail establishments set up by Chinese businessmen. Similarly, in North Vancouver, the same problem recently surfaced regarding a Farsi sign that was erected on a new commercial establishment (VS-146).

Thus far most of the social friction that has surfaced in the third zone appears to be culturally rather than racially motivated, with different perceptions about the use of space responsible for many of the disputes that have arisen.

Fig 10A



Chinese migration into the West Side

	1971	1981	1986	1991
AR	245 -1.9%	405-3.3%	710-6.0%	1,835-14.4%
DS	285-1.5%	590-3.2%	800-4.3%	2,050-10.2%
KR	90-0.7%	585-4.9%	605-5.0%	1,815-14.1%
OK	715-6.7%	1,510-15.2%	1,780-18.6%	3,290-32.4%
SH	105-1.0%	542-6.2%	725-8.1%	1,295-14.3%
PG	80-0.7%	340-3.0%	330-2.9%	745-6.0%

AR=Arbutus-Ridge/DS=Dunbar-Southlands/KR=Kerrisdale
OK=Oakridge/SH=Shaughnessy/ PG=West Point Grey

If estimates of Chinese immigration are correct and the proportion of Chinese in each of these districts is maintained at the 1991 level then it is quite possible that the 1996 Census could show that the proportion of Chinese inhabiting the West side may have doubled.in just five years With the exception of West Point Grey perhaps, which appears to be a transition neighbourhood that straddles both the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the Zone of Asian Resettlement, this would mean that 30% of the West side is now Chinese and that some neighbourhood might even have up to 60 per cent of their population made up of Chinese immigrants, further confirming the transformation of the entire suburban sector of Vancouver into a Zone of Asian Resettlement.

Fig 10B

"I have to avert my eyes when the bus stops in front of your building. How dare you show that little boy's privates in public."

Irate caller to *The Sun*, 1966



GLENN BAGLO/Vancouver Sun

The naked son in The Family unleashed a jihad of prudery at the statue's unveiling in 1966 at 2250 Granville.

Fig 10C



Residents of the west side of Adera fear the loss of a series of large, well-landscaped lots (above) across the street.



They contend that if the lots are subdivided, the block will look like neighbouring Cornish Street, above.

Residents of two sides of 8400-block Adera have different views

Street faces off over future

By Alison Appelbe
Staff writer

RESIDENTS LIVING ON EITHER SIDE of a quiet residential block in the Southwest Marine Drive area are pitted against each another.

Those on the west side of the 8400-block Adera, north of Marine, want the small houses and well-landscaped lots across the street to stay as they are.

They're afraid that if the 50-foot lots are subdivided, as the property owners want, they'll look out on a crowded strip of mega-houses, ruining their pleasant view.

They have reason to fear. Running parallel to Adera, one block from Granville, is Cornish Street, where a developer bought the entire west side of the 8400 block several years ago, and bulldozed everything, including trees and vegetation. He then built two- and three-storey houses that, while large and expensive-looking, appear like they're part of a uniform subdivision.

"That's the image of new houses that the people on the west side (of Adera) have reservations about," said city planner Bob McGilvray.

In recent years, the city has subdivided thousands of 50 to 70-foot lots to create two lots of 30 or more feet.

On Cornish, the developer-built cheek-by-jowl on 30-foot properties. In contrast, the east side of Adera retains its original 50-foot lots.

"The east side of Adera wants to sell out and cash in," McGilvray said. "By subdividing they'll increase the value of their property."

Residents on the west side oppose the sub-division plan.

Last summer, the city surveyed all the residents of the 8400-block Adera and found they were divided down the middle of the street.

Residents also differ over a planning department proposal to introduce house design guidelines that would affect the look of the new homes.

Those on the east side favour R6-type rezoning that requires new houses to respect existing heritage designs. Most on the west side are opposed to RS-6 zoning, according to a senior city planner.

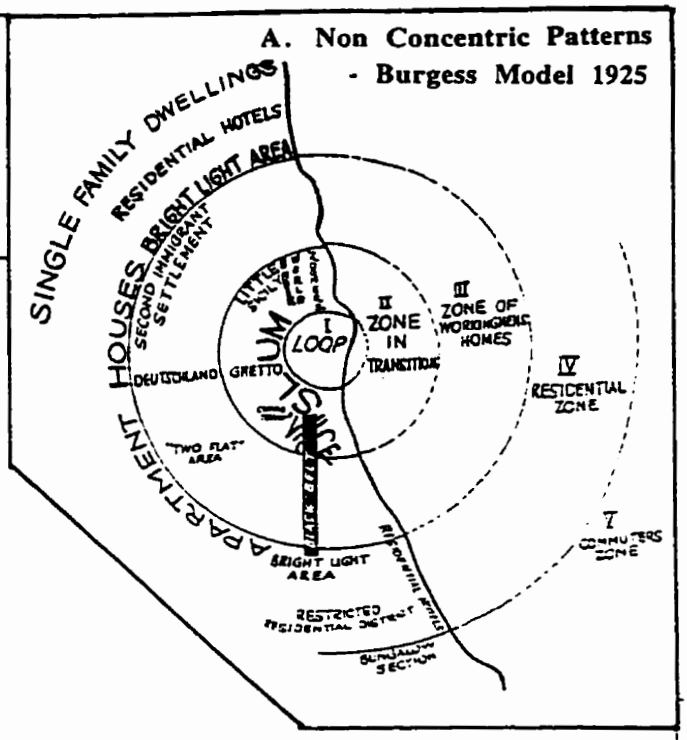
Resident Larry Meyer told city council that the east side of Adera will be rebuilt gradually, and that design controls will prevent the construction of oversize houses like those on Cornish.

Another resident, when approached Monday about the possible demolition of the attractive houses on the east side, including his own, said angrily: "I'm not going to discuss anything. I'm not going to discuss that."

"There are two issues," summed up McGilvray. "To get the east side lots reduced in size, and to change the zoning to give the residents of the west side some comfort that the houses on the east side will be built to a reasonable standard."

City council will discuss the situation later this year.

Figure Eleven



B. Non Concentric Settlement Patterns
- Vancouver 1995

leisure node (Whistler)

retirement node

Gulf Island
Bowen Island
Sunshine Coast

new age telecommuters & retirement & recreation spaces for seniors

chinese node

retirement nodes

Midtown offices satellites of the core

I

II

III

IV

potential zone of flux

linear zone of flux

transit led densification

Kerrisdale

gated communities

gated communities

retirement nodes

retirement nodes

Steveston

Seniors node

White Rock

Recreation spaces for seniors

Birch Bay

Tsawassen

new age telecommuters

Legend

dispersed working class enclaves (or field of working class settlement)
- ie Hammond Haney Langley City Parts of New Westminister Parts of East Vancouver

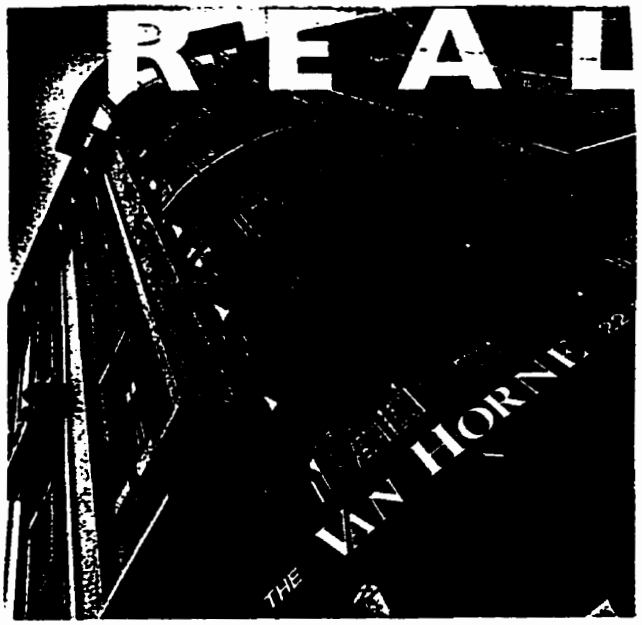
String of migrating caucasian middleclass

telecommuters

Mixed pockets of high & medium rise

Figure Twelve

AFFORDABLE ARTIST LOFT NATURAL LIGHT 16 FT CEILINGS REINFORCED & EXPOSED CONCRETE — VIDEO ENTRY SECURE UNDER-GROUND CAR & BIKE PARKING ON SITE NIGHT GUARD

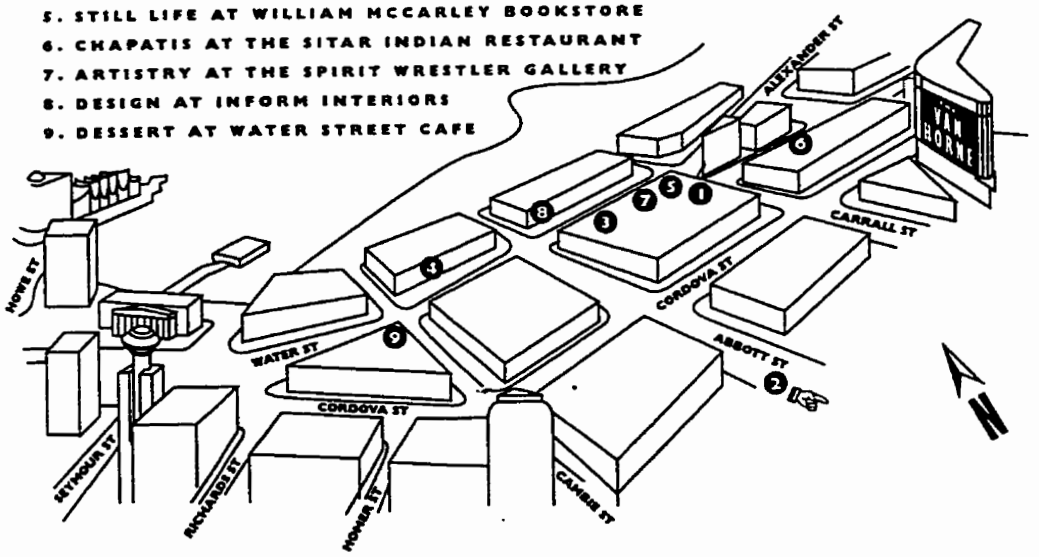


MOVE IN

GASTOWN

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2. LIVE CRAB AT T&T SUPERMARKET
3. LIVE BANDS AT THE TOWN PUMP
4. NIGHT LIFE AT THE PURPLE ONION
5. STILL LIFE AT WILLIAM MCCARLEY BOOKSTORE
6. CHAPATIS AT THE SITAR INDIAN RESTAURANT
7. ARTISTRY AT THE SPIRIT WRESTLER GALLERY
8. DESIGN AT INFORM INTERIORS
9. DESSERT AT WATER STREET CAFE

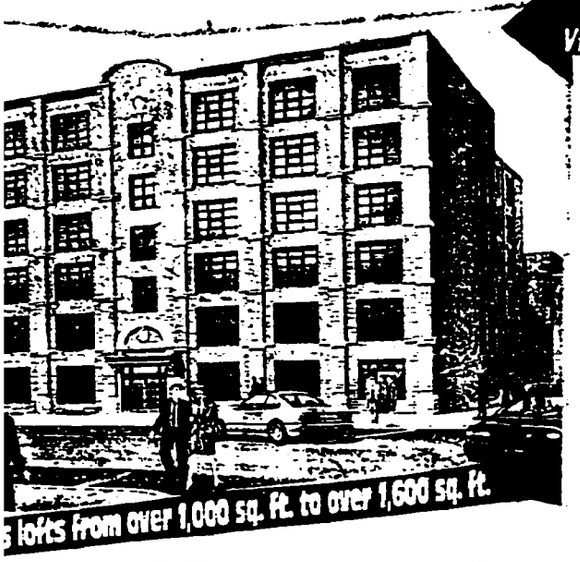


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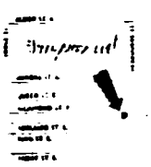
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: Downtown's first all high-rise lofts



aluminum and glass railings to t
loft and an open floor design th
makes the most of every inch
bright, airy two-level space. Th
Spot's unique two level suites cap
ture maximum views from ever
home. For example, the fifth floor
the equivalent of the ninth or tent
floor on a conventional high-rise.

The options available are virtually
endless, allowing owners to create
one-of-a-kind city home. Buyers car
choose from hardwood floors, carpe
in the loft, stainless steel upgrade
appliances, and additional kitcher
cabinets. All of these are included ir
one designer package that also
includes slate floors in the bathroom
and stainless steel countertops in the
kitchen and bath. You can add
washer and dryer to the generou
loft storage area, or install a hom
workstation. As well, there are tw
designer schemes to choose from
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Amenities at The Spot are geare
to downtown living. There is a fu
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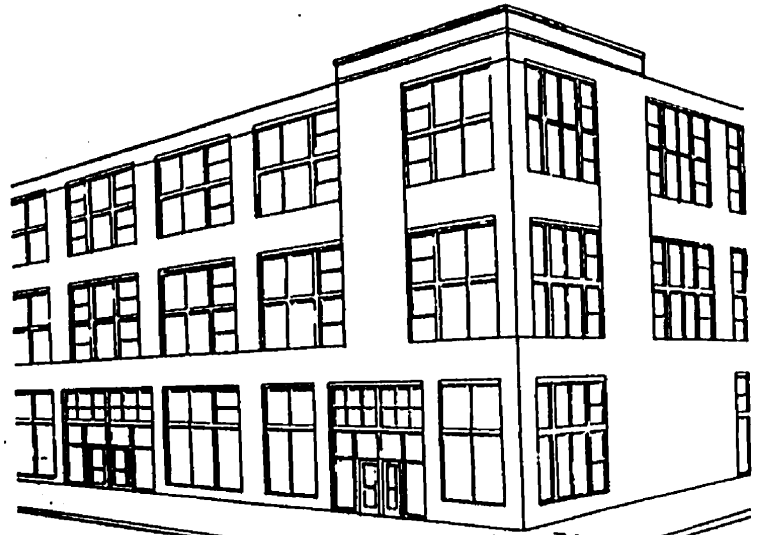
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The Georgia Straight July 3/1997

Realestate News 1996 a

Lofty vision of Gastown value

GASTOWN LOFTS *from* $84,900

CARRALL STATION

Carrall Station, the new loft condominiums in Gastown, finally delivers what many buyers are seeking: townhouse and loft-style city homes with a New York flair and affordable prices.

With suites priced from $84,900 and a superb location at Carrall and Cordova, Carrall Station is being built to exacting modern standards, yet with a Heritage-style facade merged seamlessly with the best of Vancouver's historic architecture.

Gastown is happening right now. New shops, restaurants, clubs and condominiums have raised the urban tempo -- and the real estate investment potential -- in this continually evolving area. Gastown after all, is mere minutes from Vancouver's business district, the new Library Square, GM Place, False Creek and Chinatown. Protected by a Vancouver Heritage designation, Gastown is an enclave of lovingly restored turn-of-the-century buildings - and the best housing prices downtown.

Carrall Station is destined to become a Gastown landmark, not only for its thoughtful, low-rise design but for true residential value. Divided into two separate buildings, Carrall Station offers a choice of two-level townhouses or open-plan condominium suites, each representing an outstanding buy for this calibre of construction and location. There are also eight street-front commercial strata-suites available.

The four townhomes, all with ground-level entry, are fireplace-ready and are available as either one or two bedroom floor plans. Floor sizes range from 587 square feet to 1,020 square feet and are priced from $139,900.

Like the suites, the townhouses have European-style kitchens and bathroom cabinets, three white appliances, washer-dryer hook-ups and such touches as track lighting and ceramic tile tub surrounds.

The five-storey main building offers a wide choice in floor plans and finishings. For example, fifth floor suites have fireplace capability and skylights installed over the loft area. There is a good selection of loft suites with 16 foot high ceilings. They come with a completely finished loft, featuring open wood stair access, metal railings, wood subfloor and even track lights. All of the suites come with smooth concrete flooring. An allowance of $2.00 per square foot of suite area, excluding lofts, will be credited at closing as a floor covering allowance.

Security is assured at Carrall Station with secure underground parking, the latest in full sprinkler fire protection, and the five year New Home Warranty program.

By taking advantage of the flexible, open floor plans and finishing options, you can create your own loft condominium as Carrall Station steams towards completion in May of 1997.

Right now is the time to choose your new home at Carrall Station. Today's low mortgage rate financing is assured to occupancy, 5% down mortgage insurance is available for eligible buyers and pre-completion prices are now in effect.

Carrall Station's sales office is located at 2 Powell Street, Gastown and is open every day from 12 noon to 5 p.m. For complete details, call 683-3943 or MacDonald Realtors at 263-1911.

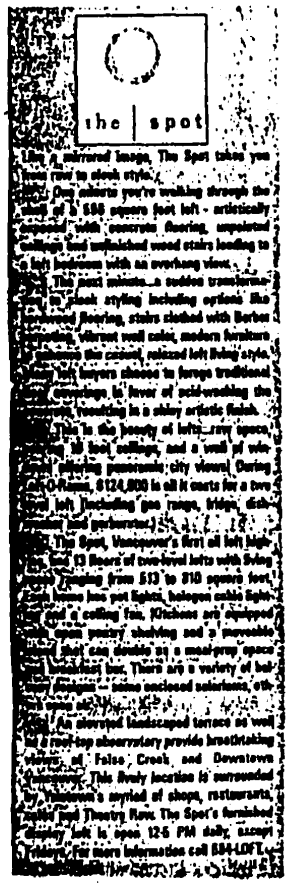
LOFT-O-RAMA!

VANCOUVER'S LEGENDARY LOFT SALE

- Photos and story by Janine Mackie -

Vancouver's legendary loft sale, Loft-O-Rama, began July 12th. With two level lofts from $124,900, this is the perfect time to live the loft life!

During Loft-O-Rama, The Spot, Carrall Station and The Van Horne are offering unique incentives. Imagine a $1,000 shopping *spree at The Spot for custom designing!* Carrall Street Station and The Van Horne lofts in Gastown, are featuring three month mortgage *holidays, plus incredible* savings between $4,000 and $50,000 on lofts with expansive 16 foot ceilings and dramatic downtown views. All sites offer an *incredible* mortgage package with an all inclusive legal package!



Like a mirrored image, The Spot takes you from raw to sleek style.

One minute you're walking through the shell of a 688 square foot loft - artistically exposed brick, concrete flooring, unpainted ceilings and unfinished wood stairs leading to a loft bedroom with an overhang view.

The next minute...a sudden transformation to sleek styling including options like hardwood flooring, stairs clothed with Berber carpeting, vibrant wall colors, modern furniture, and even the current, relaxed loft living style. Some loft buyers choose to forego traditional ceiling coverings in favour of acid-washing the concrete, revealing in a shiny artistic finish.

This is the beauty of lofts...raw space, exposed 10 foot ceilings, and a wall of windows offering panoramic city views. During Loft-O-Rama, $124,000 is all it costs for a two level loft including gas range, fridge, dishwasher and garburator.

The Spot, Vancouver's first all loft high rise, has 13 floors of two-level lofts with living spaces ranging from 513 to 810 square feet. Each home has pot lights, halogen cable lights and a ceiling fan. Kitchens are equipped with open pantry shelving and a peninsula counter that can double as a meal-prep space or breakfast bar. There are a variety of bathroom options - some enclosed solariums, others open concept.

An elevated landscaped terrace on level 14 and a roof-top observatory provide breathtaking views of False Creek and Downtown Vancouver. This lively location is surrounded by Gastown's myriad of shops, restaurants, Imperial Theatre Revue. The Spot's furnished display loft is open 12-6 PM daily, except Fridays. For more information call 684-LOFT.

The Loft Story

From industrial eye sores, illegal housing, to en vogue stylish living....lofts have experienced a miraculous evolution!

"Lofts offer an exciting alternative to urban apartments and a way for individuals to express themselves through where they live," says Brad Holme, the owner and chairman of Pacific City Land in Vancouver. The Team at Pacific City Land originated modern condominium loft living in Vancouver.

Over the years, the very meaning of lofts has expanded. "Loft is a misused word," says Holme. Because there is no legal definition, *marketers often use the term*, "loft," to describe any condominium with high ceilings. "We only use the term to describe lofts in the sense of a Manhattan or San Francisco style with 16 foot ceilings and *a second floor mezzanine.*"

Loft living represents one of the major trends in urban redevelopment in the last 30 years. After the industrial revolution, warehouses throughout Europe and the United States sat empty. Gradually these spacious old buildings became illegal sleeping quarters for the homeless, and in the late 1960s, artists in New York's district of SoHo found these old industrial buildings ideal as inexpensive studio space.

During the 80s, Vancouver artists began occupying illegal lofts along Powell Street. Confrontation brewed between City Hall and the artist community over the lofts failure to meet fire and health regulations. Artists were evicted, and the tension grew stronger. After much debate, City Hall responded by allowing the conversion of old buildings (that met health and safety standards) into artist live-work studios. Could anyone live there? No, you had to qualify as an artist.



Lofts offer an exciting alternative to urban apartments

Pacific City Land saw the potential in this burgeoning expression of housing and created several successful artist live-work studios in the Mount Pleasant community.

"Many people began contacting us saying they would like to live in a loft building but were not artists," said Holme. Seizing this opportunity, Pacific Land Corporation responded with The Space - loft living at 1238 Seymour Street without artist restrictions. Their approach was to build new buildings that blended with the existing historic architecture of the neighborhood.

"We've tried to offer an alternative living space, one that is not only affordable, but also plays to people's creativity and individuality," says Holme. "Lofts give you a sense of space, a sense of height, and allow you to be non-conformist in your decorating flare and self expression!"

Loft design continues to be refined - from sound proofing to design options. *Pacific Land Corporation's latest loft projects* include The Spot, Carrall Station and Van Horne.

LOFTY LIVING IN GASTOWN

Part of the seductive appeal of a loft has always been the dream of an Avant-garde existence in an unusual part of town.

The Van Horne lofts at the corner of Carrall and Cordova, blend with the *heritage of Gastown, where* Vancouver began. Today, the area is a charming mix of new and old with its cobbled streets, Victorian architecture, and unique tangle of mews, courtyards and passages housing eclectic boutiques, funky eateries and art galleries.

Video and security card entry, secure underground parking and a night guard have made these homes a popular choice with single women who love the loft life.

Colossal 10ft floor-to-window ceiling windows, exposed concrete and lofts tough and ready in an open studio design enhance individuality. "These suites are truly original," says Van Horne sales manager, Howard Krauchke. "The finishings are above average with large soaker tubs and ceiling fans included. It's fantastic to see how each individual personalizes their suite."

From the display loft, downtown views seem to stretch past the horizon. Interior decor demonstrates how to work magic with creative design ideas like a bed suspended with wire cables, sheer window treatments to emphasis the expansive windows and a minimalist approach to furniture. Studios start at $89,900, and lofts range in price from $129,900 to $299,900. Best of all, homes are ready for immediate occupancy!

Across the street from Vanhorne Lofts, you'll find Carrall Station, a heritage style community of studios lofts and townhomes.

"These homes have been immensely popular with the 25-40 crowd," says Krauchke. "Being able to customize and personalize both your environment has been the best selling *feature.*"

And these Gastown homes are definitely selling fast. In just a few months over 50% have sold. "These homes combine great views with a vibrant heritage environment," says Krauchke.

Popular among tourists, Gastown is experiencing revitalization in terms of restoring historic buildings, as well as new construction. You'll never be short for exciting entertainment or tasty *food ... night life at the* Purple Onion, latte at the Talking Stick, dessert at the Water Street Café, or dinner at one of many ethnic restaurants.

Carrall Station will be complete by the end of this July. Studios are priced from $79,900, two level lofts start at $129,900, and Carrall Station townhomes range in price from $199,900 to $219,900.



Floor to ceiling windows offer panoramic views.

Take a closer look at Van Horne and Carrall Station, located at the corner of Carrall and Cordova in Gastown. Open every day (except Friday) 12-5 PM. For more information call 893-3943.

"With a loft you can express and showcase what an individual is all about," says Jim Toy of False Creek Design Group.

Jim is one of Vancouver's loft specialists when it comes to interior design. He recently created the display loft at The Spot. "I want to show the broad cross of purchasers how easy it is to adapt a loft to reflect your lifestyle." Talk about reflecting West Coast life, Jim's considering installing a climbing wall at The Spot's display loft!



Display loft at The Spot showcases design options.

Here are a few of Jim's suggestions for making loft space work for you:

1. Storage: Lofts generally have more wall space than floor space, and many lofts do not have built-in closets. Therefore, we've provided the best opportunity for storage. From high armoires, architectural chests to simple stacked boxes. A shelving unit on casters can also double as a privacy wall or a bedroom headboard.

2. Colour: Use color to define and add character to loft space. Instead of thinking about different colored rooms, choose one double-story wall as a feature wall. Or as well as one wall. With such volume you can make an impact by using a bold color. Paint the entire wall in a neutral shade. Use color to highlight the strength of the architecture and at the same time make it truly yours.

3. Furniture: Think flexibility. A bed or sofa that doubles as a wardrobe can double as a buffet or breakfast bar. Your dining table can be your work desk in the day. If you choose a large sofa, create balance by choosing smaller tables and accessories.

4. Window Treatments: While we will love exposed brick, we're not a fan of many concrete or standard home designs, they are very important to loft spaces, because of the mixed use daytime light diffusion and nighttime privacy. This is where you can really showcase your creativity: parachute cloth, cotton sheering, awning material or dye, my Lady can make a statement just cascading over a simple rod. Another option is a rolling transparent shade.

5. Artwork: Make a statement! You can either go really oversized with an oversized print or full wall sculpture. Another option is to go small and reputative, as is seen at The Spot with a procession of small storage boxes mounted on the wall.

Designing Beyond The Box

Hatton Place

Elegant architecture, superior service, and attention to detail.



Hatton Place. West-Side style in Burnaby, two blocks from Skytrain.

BURNABY--There's a certain excitement in the revitalization of an older neighbourhood, watching it come alive again. It happened in Yaletown. Now it's happening in Burnaby's Edmonds area.

Leading the way is Hatton Place, Natland's innovative community of one-level condominiums, two-level cithomes and three-level townhomes, all with private outside entrances. These homes present an ideal equity building opportunity based on the growth patterns evident in this quiet residential area of Burnaby.

Hatton Place's Tudor styling is reminiscent of Vancouver's West Side--contrasting with the existing older homes on the street, but reflecting where the neighbourhood is headed. The quality of the interior finishing matches the classic exterior, but a more contemporary application has resulted in bright, inviting living spaces.

"People love the location," says sales manager Barbara McLeod. "We're only a short three-block walk from the Edmonds SkyTrain Station, and even closer to Kingsway in the other direction, yet this is a very quiet street."

Purchasers have found that Hatton Place offers them the quality and style they would expect on the West Side, at an attractive Burnaby price, she adds. "For those who want a certain style or a certain amount of space, but are discouraged by West Side and downtown prices, Hatton Place is the perfect balance. We're still close enough to downtown for easy commuting for work or entertainment, but we're more affordable." The chance for immediate occupancy is also attractive to many people.

Hatton Place is open daily from noon to 6 PM with two fully furnished display homes available to view. The Birks offers a traditional three-level townhome, where the entire third floor is devoted to the master suite, with a sumptuous ensuite bath, walk-in closet and private balcony.

The second display is a two-bedroom, two level Arpels plan. "The back yards on these courtyard homes are amazing," says McLeod. "They're up to 25 feet deep--just great for children or pets. The yards are fully fenced, too."

There are only 35 homes in this village-like community. The Birks homes face 16th Avenue, with patios and backyards on the central courtyard. The two-level homes facing the courtyard have the largest backyards, while the one-level homes above them feature generously sized balconies, some offering Mount Baker views. Two bedroom homes are available on one or two levels, while three bedroom homes are offered in two or three level configurations.

Most ground-level homes have direct access from the secured underground parking to their residence. Moving the parking underground has resulted in a very visually appealing, pedestrian-oriented community, with a lushly landscaped central courtyard inviting you to stop and enjoy a peaceful moment.

Prices start at $148,200 for condominiums, while two level cithomes start at $184,500. Three-level townhomes start at $219,900. Prices include blinds, appliance package and in-home security system. All homes have also been pre-wired for Rogers Wave for immediate Internet access.

"The level of finishing here is phenomenal," McLeod says. "These homes represent a great opportunity for investment in your future, and give you a beautiful home to live in right now."

Call the Presentation Centre at 522-8820 for more details, or visit Hatton Place at 7238-18th Avenue in Burnaby, any afternoon between noon and 6 PM.

PAGE 17 ●

Fig. 13B



Fig. 13A

This Is Where You'll Want To Be.

SAVE NOW ON PRECOMPLETION PRICES



Fig. 13C

One Bedroom Suites Starting at Only $139,900

Now Completed

As little as $7,300 down and $866 a month*

You can move into Orca Place TODAY!

Enjoy a superior downtown location at an incredibly affordable price and easy term financing

From $145,900

ORCA PLACE

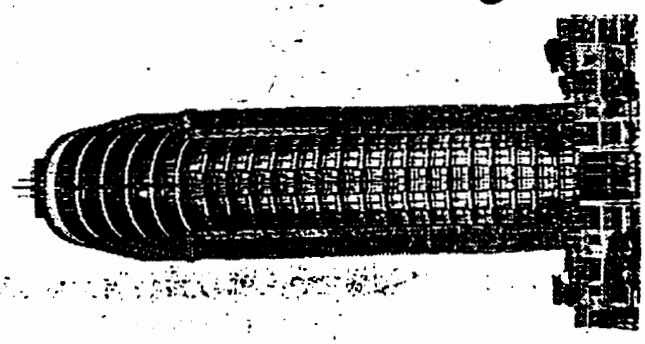


Fig. 13D

Thus in the postmodern era not only have the settlement patterns of new immigrants changed in Vancouver, so too has the profile of the typical immigrant. Unlike the modern period when most immigrants originated from low status backgrounds, for Vancouver in particular, this has changed, as a sizable segment of this immigrant population is now made up of professionals or entrepreneurs. Consequently, instead of moving into the lower status spaces of the region they have taken over large tracts of the most desirable areas of the city.[232]

Because the settlement geography of Vancouver is now so radically different from the modern period, a more complete picture of the changes that are taking place should become apparent when the Metropolis project -- a broad and wide ranging study of the impact that immigration is having on the evolution of the postmodern city -- is completed (VS-125).[233] For along with the new middle class, immigrants are currently most active agents with regard to the postmodern transformation of space and the densification of the Vancouver region.

5.5 - Fourth Settlement zone: Zone of Caucasian Resettlement

Whereas Burgess had identified the fourth zone mainly as a concentric ring of middle-class settlement in Vancouver the sectoral geography that was describe when the third zone was discussed was replicated here. Indeed, as the third zone appears to be fusing into a broadconcentric band of middle class settlement dominated by immigrants, the displacement and deflection of the Caucasian population from the third to the fourth zone has replicated the divisions that were once evident in the third ring.[234] To the south and north the population on the West side of the region the population has evolved into middle-class corrider. By contrast, the north east section of the region has evolved more as a working class area.

Made up entirely of Langley City, Port Coquitlam, New Westminister, and Delta and about half of West Vancouver, Maple Ridge, Surrey Coquitlam and parts of the District of Langley and Pitt Meadows, this fourth zone covers about 65,000 hectares or about twenty percent of the region's land mass. Furthermore, it contains approximately 450,000 people or twenty-five percent of the region's population (GVRD,1996; GVRD,1996aa). As with the other concentric

settlement zones, this fourth zone can be broken down into a core area. The core area is made up of areas that are overwhelming Caucasion. As well, compared to other settlement zones, this area is set apart by the high level of migrants moving to this area from within and without the region. Conversely, it is also distinguished by very low levels of non-Asian immigrant settlement. And where there is significant migration, and (except for the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement) immigrants tend to be non-Asian. Between 1986 and 1996 the population of the core area of the Zone of Caucasion Resettlement increased from approximately 300,000 to 405,000, an increase of thirty-three percent. While this was greater than than the aveage for the region, which was twenty-five percent increase, it was only half the rate of growth experienced by the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, which grew by around sixty percent over the same time period (tables eight and nine).

What also sets this area apart from the rest of the region is the higher profile of European immigration. In most of the communities located in the core of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, immigrants from the United kingdom usually made up the second or third largest group of recent immigrants between 1991 and 1996 (VP-54).[235]

Finally, with over fifty percent of the households in the lower mainland not having children, the other feature which stands out is the family centred nature of the population in the fourth zone (VS-315). Unlike the first three zones, where postmodern (that is non-family centric social formations) or late-modern formations (pre-modern and hybrid nuclear families affected by immigrant cultures and North American noms) predominate, in the fourth zone the nuclear family is still viewed as the norm to strive for, which makes this landscape a modern one in terms of social regulation (VS-315). As well as being the most family centric zone in the region, it is also the last redoubt of modernism. This can be seen by looking at the material culture which is most pervasive in this zone. In particular, if comparison are made with the first two zones, but also the third one as well, consumption patterns and personal interactions in the fourth zone is still organized around the autombile and the needs of the nuclear family. Machine space and the needs of artchetypal modern social formation are still given priority in this zone.

That is why this area has the largest number of single detached starts in the region and the largest number of children in relation to the total population (VS-353; VS-382). Consequently in the near future the number of students in the Surrey School division is expected to pass the City of Vancouver School District for the first time These conditions also provide an explanation for evolution of the fourth zone into a seed bed for the counter-reaction to postmodernism. This is the place where the largest new churches are being constructed, particularly those of evangelical persuasion. Not surprisingly, it is the place where organizations like the Christian Heritage and Family Coalition Party were based, and the Citizens Research Institute are located (G/M 1998bx; VS-522).

Furthermore, within this core area a further subdivision can be made. As with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, where Kitsilano and Fairview function as the core area of the second concentric settlement zone because these two local areas best embody settlement characteristics most clearly associated with colonizaton of the inner city by domestic fractions of the new middle class; and the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement -- consisting of suburban areas of Vancouver (that were mostily regulated by RS-1 zoning) and the municipalities of Richmond and Burnaby --- where the most significant distillation of Asian resettlement can be found --- with regard to the Zone of Caucasion Resettlement it is possible to identify a similar core area. Only here the core is defined by characteristic that have to do with migration patterns where the resettlement of space Caucasion residents is most prominent.

The core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement would therefore make up those municipalities where the proportion of Asian immigrants falls below the regional average. The core would also take in places which have higher than average migration rates (table nine),. As well it would take in those areas where the percentage of English speaking residents is well above the regional average. Because significant Asian populations exist in Surrey (VS-406; VP-56; VP-57) and Coquitlam, even though the percentage of Asian immigrants is below the regional average, nevertheless, it is high enough to be excluded from the core area if municipal boundaries rather than census tracts are used to divide the region into separate concentric

settlement zones. like Mount Pleasant and West Point Grey – in the second and third zones -- Surrey and Coquitlam are part of transition zone rather core area. Straddling two concentric settlement zones the settlement characteristics of two zones can be found co-mingling together (VS-406).

Furthermore, with regard to the Zone of Caucasion resettlement, it is even possible to make an even finer sub-division. Whereas the core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement was delineated by deviations from the regional average, it is also possible to identify a heartland within the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, where the level of Caucasian settlement is even above the national average. While this stratification would not raise much comment in the most Prairie, Atlantic or Quebec urban areas (excluding Montreal), the evolution of such a space in Vancouver becomes very significant in light of the high level of Asian immigration into the region. Made up of the City of Langley, and the District of Langley, this heartland had a population of approximately 102,000 in 1996 and made up five-point-six percent of the region's population .[236] What stands out most is the low percentage of Chinese residents living here. According to recent data on visible minorities, in 1996 only one-point-three percent of the combined population of these two communities was Chinese -- less than fifty percent of the national level and only about point-three percent of the average found in the core of the Zone of Asian Resettlement.[237] This figure stands out even more in context relation to the rest of Vancouver, since the region is by far Canada's most Asian city (SC-53). When comparisons are made with the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement the contrast between the two zone becomes striking. Whereas Chinese residents account for one-point-three percent of the population of City of Langley and the District of Langley – a level which even falls below the national average of three percent -- with the concentration of Chinese residents only around one thirtieth of the level found in the core area of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, where Chinese speaking residents account thirty percent of the core area population.[238] As a result there is almost fifteen fold difference in the number of Chinese residents living within these two demographic extremes. When the Asian rather just Chinese population is taken into

consideration the same contrast applies. With only about 4,000 Asians living in the heartland of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, this immigrant group accounts for approximately four percent of the entire population. Compared to the regional average of approximately twenty-five percent, this means that in 1996 Asians were under-represented in the heartland of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement by a factor of six (VP-57).

Table nine provides a more detailed sketch of the changing demographic composition of the fourth zone between 1986 and 1996. As the population movements recorded in tables nine and eight indicate, except for the zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and the Core this zone attracted a larger percentage of migrants from the rest of the country, and far fewer Asian immigrants, even though the Asian s population has grown the most since 1986. Although the foreign born population has risen in the fourth zone, it is made up of older European or new European immigrants. Consequently, Asian immigrants in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement o accounted for less than thirty percent of the entire immigrant population that resided here (table nine). This can be seen in population figures for the years between 1986 and 1991, as the Asian population increased from three to five percent. However, at the same time the immigrant population as a whole increased from seventeen to twenty percent of the total population of this zone, which would suggest that the Asian population was increasing less rapidly than the non-Asian immigrant population. So even by 1991 (which can be viewed as the mid-point with regard to the evolution of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement) the gap between the core of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and the region had grown to a factor of four in 1991 to approximately five in 1996, as the Asian population residing in the region began to approach twenty-five percent while the percentage in the core still hovered around nine percent, or about one third the regional average (according to the estimates that were made-table nine).

What is also interesting to note is the changing location pattern of the migrant population. While the percentage of the migrant population remained the same in the City of Vancouver between 1986 and 1991, for the region it declined by five percent. With the rapid

increase in the Asian population located in the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver and its stable growth rate in the rest of the city, this meant that Caucasian migrants were largely avoiding the Zone of Asian Resettlement and moving to the Core or the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Even more striking, was what was happening in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. Although the percentage of migrants in the region fell by five percent between 1986 and 1991, the percentage of migrants remained the same in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. This meant that the attractiveness of this area for migrants had increased significantly over this five year time span. As a result, compared to the region, in 1986 there were two percent fewer migrants in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement than in the region as a whole. However, by 1991 the number of migrants in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement was three percent above the regional average. Overall, these figures show that there has been a significant change in the flow of migrants with the emergence of Zone of Asian Resettlement and a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. High migrant flows into the first two zones suggests that non-domestic segments of the migrant population were concentrating in the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Likewise, the same figures suggest that more family-oriented members of the migrant population were becoming increasingly concentrated in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement.

Indeed, except for Miami, no other major metropolitan region in North America has been so affected by movement of a foreign middle class into its core and the exodus of the the indigenous Caucasian population into the periphery of the region (Portes and Stepick 1993). Like Vancouver, immigration in Miami has reshaped the internal geography of Dade County and other adjoining areas. For example, as recently as 1960, only five percent of Dade County was Hispanic. However, by 1990 this had increased to fifty percent. And more recent estimates for 1995 suggest that the Hispanic population may now make up 1.1 million of the 2 million people that live in Dade county, or fifty-six percent of the population, of which Miami and Miami Beach are part of (Navarro 1997). While the population of Dade County only increased by 75,000 between 1980 and 1990, there was a 331,000 increase in the Hispanic population.

Conversely there was over a 200,000 (Winsberg 1994,p.488) decline in the non-Hispanic Caucasian population. Although Vancouver is only twenty-five percent Asian at present, if current immigration patterns persist, this percentage should increase by about one percent a year. So over the next ten years the Asian population is likely to pass the thirty-five percent mark and approach the fifty percent mark by 2020.

The other interesting parallel that can be drawn between Miami and Vancouver is the migration pattern of the migrant population. Not only has a foreign zone of middle class resettlement developed in Miami and Vancouver, in each region a non-domestic migrant population has flocked to the central core In the Case of Dade County this would be Miami Beach. For Vancouver, the equivalent area would be the Downtown peninsula, composed of the Downtown and the West End. At the same time, but for different reasons, the family oriented segments of the Caucasian population and migrants from elsewhere in each country, who are not single or who are elderly, have moved to the fringe of the region. For Miami this would be the periphery of Dade Country and the exurban counties that are adjacent to it. In the case of Vancouver this would mostly be the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and, to a lesser extent, the exurban zone, that lies further out and makes up the fifth concentric settlement ring. As with Miami this is where white families are settling. As the demographic profile of White Rock, illustrates this is where the elderly white are also concentrating as over thirty percent of White Rocks population is over sixty five years of age – approximately three times the regional average (GVRD 1997g). Not surprisingly, this is also the area that has the highest concentration of gated communities in Vancouver (figure ten B).

Table Nine[239]

Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (Core area) 1991
( ) = 1986 values

	POP	Migrant POP	Immigrant POP	Asian POPe	Asian PoP 1996[240]
Delta	88.979	24,236-27%	19,335-21%	7,120-8%	13,680-14.4%
D of L	66,040	17,590-27%	10,665-16%	1031-2%	2,698-3.75%
C of L	19,765	11,185-56%	3835 -19%	475-2%	805-3.5%
NWST	43,585	2,725-6%	9.985-23%	2,755-6%	6,125-12.5%
PTM	17,712	4,560-25%	3,645-20%	600-0.4%	2,361-11%
MR	48,422	13,115-27%	7,305-15%	1485-3%	2,451-4.3%
PM	17,712	3,661-20%	3,645-20%	585-3%	980-7%
POCO	36,773	8,640-23%	7,629-21%	2,630-7%	6,580-14%
WR	16,314	6,454-39%	4324-26%	145-.6%	510-3%

ZCRS	355,302-22% (22)	96,166-27% (27)	70,200-20% (17)	16,826- 5% (3)
ZMCR	118,626-7% (8)	34,000-29%e (29)	42,000-36%e (34)	16,625-14% (14)e
CV	471,844-29% (31)	113,450- 24% (24)	191,830-41% (39)	135,291-29% (20)
CMA	1,602,502	388,530-24% (29)	476,630-30% (29)	210,410-19% (11)

1996 Statistics[241]	Non-English	Asian	Chinese (approx)
CMA-1996 - 1,830,000	565,000	25%e	279,000 -14%
ZCRS (Core) -1996-400,400 - 21.9%	75,000-18.0%	36,190-9%e	13,020 - 3.25%e

Finally, with detailed statistics from the 1996 Census not available yet, it is still possbile to take a snapshot of the unique demographic profile of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement by looking at home sales and school statistics.[242]

Beginning with housing sales, a 1996 survey provides clear proof of the emergence of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement when the geographic buying patterns of Chinese and Caucasian home buyers are compared. Although Chinese immigrants made up about fourteen percent of the region's population in 1996, in the Zone of Asian Resettlement they accounted for anywhere from forty to sixty percent of all purchasers of single detached homes. However in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement the number of home buyers with Chinese surnames dropped off sharply: ranging from three percent in Maple Ridge, seven-point-five percent in Delta, and fifteen-point-nine percent in West Vancouver (VS-103).[243] Moreover, because of the family centric makeup of the population and the strong desire for single detached units this is the areas where the most experimentation in small lot development is taking place (VS-328a; VS-379).

The difference between the fourth and third zone also emerges if ESL (English as a Second Language) statistics are compared.[244] The expansion of the Zone of Asian Resettlement into the inner suburbs show up in ESL statistics, which show that the number of ESL students in the suburbs now exceeds those for the City of Vancouver for the first time. Not only do these figures show that the Zone of Asian Resettlement is rapidly spreading into the inner suburbs, but that this expansion is mostly confined to the Zone of Asian Resettlement, and not the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement -- where, unlike the Core or the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, reproduction is the one defining social function that both of these zone share in the region. Consequently some alliance between the modern sensibility of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and the late-modern sensibility of the Zone of Asian Resettlement can be seen in the alliance recently forged between Hindu and Christian sects that has occurred in the Surrey because of the controversey surrounding the introduction of gay literature into the school system (G/M 1998bt) -an issue that highlights the non-domestic orientation of postmodern ideology – a sensibility which is strongest in the first two concentric rings that make up the core of the region.

With ESL enrollment in the City of Vancouver climbing from 21,383 to 26,972 between 1991 and 1995, these students made up forty-eight percent of all students in Vancouver. Furthermore, most of these students were located in the third zone that makes up the Zone of

Asian Resettlement. Similarly, the same trend can be observed in Richmond, Burnaby and the parts of Surrey that make up the inner suburbs that make up the outer ring of the third zone. Here the changes have been more dramatic than in the City of Vancouver. In Richmond, for instance, the number of funded ESL students rose from 2,241 to 9,329, between 1991 and 1995, as these students accounted for forty point four percent of total enrollment. While not as large or as sudden, ESL students in Burnaby increased from 2,174 to 4,350 between 1991 and 1995, accounting for nineteen-point-five percent of all student attending school in Burnaby. In Surrey the number of ESL students increased from 2,334 to 6,982 between 1991 and 1994. ESL students therefore made up thirteen-point-nine percent of all students in Vancouver's largest suburb (VS-303; VS-141).

When we venture into the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement quite the reverse happens. Here there is a dramatic drop off in ESL enrollment. Since this zone is the fastest-growing residential area in the region, it also has the highest increase in students.[245] Yet ESL enrollment is quite low. What this suggests is that migrant families from elsewhere in the region or the country cannot afford to enter the housing market of the third zone and have concentrated in the fourth zone. CMHC (1995) housing surveys and conversation with numerous people who have moved out of the core of the region suggest this is what is happening. For example, a recent community survey conducted for the District of Langley (1993,p.6) showed that seventy percent of new residents (i.e., people living in the District for three years or less) in this fast growing municipality had come from other communities in the Lower Mainland. Not surprisingly, other than Maple Ridge, the District of Langley is the municipality which has the lowest priced single detached units in the region.

Yet despite the rapid growth of the school population in the District of Langley and Maple Ridge, and the even faster increase in the Asian population that took place at this time throughout the region, what becomes striking is the very small increase in ESL enrollments in these school districts. Hence between 1991 and 1995 Maple Ridge had grown by fourteen percent, well above the ten percent increase experienced by the region (GVRD,1996aa). Nonetheless, due to its location in the Caucasian Zone of Resettlement there was only a very small increase in ESL

students. As a result, between 1991 and 1995 ESL students had only grown from 147 in 1991 to 190, or one-point-five percent of the student body compared to forty percent in Richmond or twenty percent in Burnaby. The same contrasting pattern is repeated in other municipalities that are located in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. For example, in Delta the percentage of the student body enrolled in ESL programs was only six-point-three percent, and in the District of Langley only two-point-five percent (VS-141).[246]

The deflection of the migrant population to this zone and the displacement of the Caucasian population living in the third zone has played a role in buttressing the role that this settlement zone has taken on as the last redoubt of modern regulation in the region. While postmodern regulation operates as a hegemonic influence in the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and as an ascendant force in the Zone of Asian Resettlement, despite the inroads that it has made in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, it is clearly subordinate here.

Despite ethnic and racial differences both the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and the Zone of Asian Resettlement have an over-arching commonality that has to with their function as spaces of reproduction. Within the larger region this is a characteristic sets up larger cultural divide that separates the core of the region from the periphery. With the emergence of the Zone of Asian Resettlement and concentration of the domestic Caucasian population in the fourth zone the divide that exacerbates the difference between the periphery and the core of the region has been amplified, particularly with the concentration of the most conservative and least cosmopolitan segments of the population into this fourth settlement ring.

At the philosophic level, the regulation of space still adheres to the engineering mindset. The regulation of space is still viewed as an administrative process that is the domain of the realtor, the planner and the engineer, with the politician usually standing in as the representative of the reality in most of these municipalities (VS-122). Interviews with citizen activists in Maple Ridge revealed that citizen participation is frowned upon and usually held in open contempt (PI-50). With the recent defeat of a mildly reform council, in the District of Langley, in 1996, things are even worse, with councillors who question the real estate block

openly harassed (VS-470). As the development practices in places like Surrey, Maple Ridge and the District of Langley show, land is viewed as an abstract space that is considered as a blank slate for profit making, which is one of the chief duties of the municipality to nurture along. Design standards are usually lower than they are in the core of the region. But this is not entirely so, since many of the larger developers have their base in the core of the region, and are used to the higher standards that they have been forced to comply with in these settlement zones. The most obvious political manifestation of this break is the growing conflict between the postmodern strategy adopted for the region by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (1996e) and the opposition of a reactionary block that has become anchored in Surrey (VS154a; VS-384) and Langley (VS-352).

However even though densification is weakest here, its persvasiveness throughout the region means that some form of rudimentary dialogical planning has developed and that some bow to more organic representations of space have likely occurred. This has been further helped along by the fact that many of the municipalities in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement also straddle the Fifth Zone, where farmers and more ecologically-oriented members of the new middle class have settled over the past twenty years. Land use controversies in the District of North Vancouver, Maple Ridge, Surrey and Langley show that citizen's groups have become an unwelcome presence and irritant to many realtors, planners and politicians who represent or subscribe to the modern spatial matrix (VS-206; VS-285; VS-377).

At the social level the contrast is just as glaring because of the existence of two material cultures based on house form and tenure and lifestyle. While the focus on family rearing in the Zone of Asian Resettlement and the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement provides a social bridge between these two settlement rings, this commonalty is not enough to unify them. The greater emphasis placed upon pre-modern family forms such as the extended rather than the nuclear family and the existence of late modern family formations such as astronaut parents and satellite children (Beers 1997a) give a different colouring to child rearing that is the primary focus of each zone. Although the classic ideal of the nuclear family is also in decay in the Zone

of Caucasian Settlement it is still held up as an ideal to strive for. As a consequence, the connection between density and social pathology is still implied the mindset of many that live in this zone. Although this is where the most of the net additions are now made to the stock of single detached units, this housing form is under considerable pressure. As a result, all sorts of strategies to preserve this house form in the face of rising land costs are being attempted. The sudden profusion of small lot developments is one example of this, as single detached units are being located on lots only half the size of standard lots (VS-379). Nevertheless, even with these innovations, strata title development predominates in many of the municipalities located in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement.

Moreover, despite the decay of the nuclear family more emphasis still seems to be placed on more traditional gender roles. One example of this would be the visceral responses to the recent display of gay literature in the libraries of Maple Ridge and in Surrey (Samis 1995). As well, the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement is usually the home of the most reactionary social movements in the region with pro-life groups and proto-fascist groups more often based here than in other parts of the region. It is also the place where spaces for public life are the most limited and constrained, as testified by the large concentration of gated communities in this zone (Da Silva 1997b).

At the aesthetic level the contrasts are even more striking. By and large the organization of space is still geared to the needs of the automobile rather than pedestrian (TC 1997a). And as the recent outcry in Coquitlam over bus routes that limited road capacity and the petition which was launched against pay parking, this is still the place where the highway dominates over the street.[247] Since space is usually viewed in abstract rather than organic terms, except for the opposition provided by middle class activists living in the exurban ring, a futurist rather than historicist mindset informs the aesthetic regulation of space. In part this has to do with fact that there are few historic structures in this zone but even where there are it is often difficult to preserve them or establish zoning that provides a suitable setting for them to remain. This is most clearly illustrated in Maple Ridge, where municipal council allowed an

expressway to completely divide the old town of Haney from the river, and the difficulty council has had in abiding by the regulations it had put in place to preserve the few remnants of the old town. In most cases, the idea of progress (that is the spatialized notion of futurism) still takes a front seat to historicism. Again, because there is very little aging industrial land and most space is taken up by recent residential developments, there is little if any conversion of industrial land into residential or recreational space.

Finally, as the recent attack on the City of Vancouver by Surrey (VS-256; VS-257; VS-282) reveals, there is an abiding anti-urbanism present in this zone (Marsh 1997a). It is also expressed in the conflict over the use of space, with this area the place where the strongest demands for additional expressways and freeways can be found. Since most of the commuter traffic originates in this zone there is more pressure exerted for the extension of machine space into the core so that commuting will be more easily facilitated. The most obvious example of this would be the widening of the Barnet Highway and the disfiguring of Hastings Street, in North Burnaby, where the needs of the street were subordinated to the needs of the highway: as parts of sidewalks were sliced off to give more room to automobiles, and an expressway was built from North Road in Coquitlam over Burnaby Mountain to the quasi expressway into which Hastings Street was transformed (VS-329; VS-340; VS-355; VS-360).

At each level of regulation, despite the gradual diffusion of postmodern norms, these areas still remain the last redoubt of modernism, something that has no doubt been helped along by the concentration of the most conservative and reactionary social groups that live in the region into this one zone.

5.6 - Fifth Settlement zone: Exurbia - Zone of Middle Class infiltration

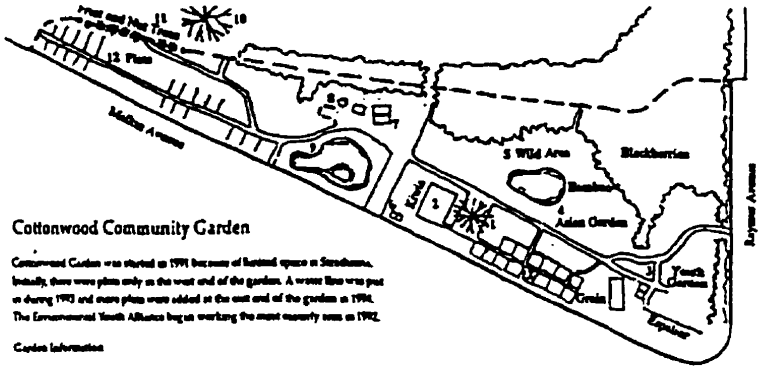
The last concentric settlement ring Burgess labelled the commuter Zone. In Vancouver this zone would comprise parts of Surrey, Maple Ridge, Coquitlam, the District of North Vancouver, West Vancouver, Port Moody (VS-385; VS-377), Langley Township (VS-421c; VS-

422) and Delta (VS-433) where small towns and villages are located or where acreage predominates. All of Anmore, Belcarra and Pitt Meadows (VS-352a; VS-398) would be included in this fifth concentric zone as well. All together, the exurban portion of the region that is located in the Greater Vancouver Regional District takes in over 200,000 hectares, and comprises about sixty-three percent of the land mass of the region. It also contains around 220,000 people or about twelve percent of the region's total population. This zone takes in most of the agricultural land (VS-419) and the green space in the region as well. Because of the migration of the new middle class into this zone there is a parallel between the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and Exurbia, as producer spaces are increasingly giving way to ruralized versions of the urban spectacle and consumer spaces. Here no doubt the centre of this transformation along the Squamish highway leading up to the resort of Whislter and beyond to Pemberton (VS-468a). However, there are other middle class enclaves that take in part of Pitt Meadows and the western part of Maple Ridge. Finally, Fort Langley, the area around Indian Arm, as well as White Rock make up islands of middle class settlement that exist in exurbia.[248] Because many the migration of many residents from the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement into exurbia a political culture which resembles the one in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has begun to flourish here as well. That is why a postmodern political culture has taken root here, has leap frogged over the reactionary modernism that persists in fourth zone and become firmly anchored in exurbia (VS-466).

This commuter zone goes far beyond the boundaries of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Therefore the population figures and the land area are only part of this settlement ring. Hence parts of the Central Fraser Valley would be included in the commuter zone to which Burgess refers. To a certain extent, this zone even reaches as far as the Okanagan Valley (VS-292) where the struggle between modernism and postmodernism that have occurred in Vancouver has metastasized, because of the population overspill, the construction of new superhighways and better air service even the economy of the Okanagan (VS-293) has become more closely integrated to that of Vancouver's.[249] Whatcom County (across the border, in the United States)

the Gulf Islands, the Sunshine Coast and even Whistler can also be considered part of this settlement ring (figure five).

Pictorial Diagram Two



Cottonwood Community Garden

Cottonwood Garden was started in 1991 because of limited space in Strathcona. Initially, there were plots only on the west end of the garden. A water line was put in during 1993 and more plots were added at the east end of the garden in 1994. The Environmental Youth Alliance began working the most recently area in 1992.

Garden Information

1. Carrot tree - The area under the largest tree is being developed into a shaded social area for the garden. Red clover seeds were planted this spring to provide a green manure which will contribute to the building up of the soil.

2. Kiwi Arbor - The kiwis were planted in 1994 but will not provide fruit until the plants are four to six years old. The vines will be trained along the cables to provide a leafy canopy.

3. Youth Garden - This area was surveyed with blackberries until 1993. The variety soil has been built up using leaf and cardboard mulches and green manures. The Environmental Youth Alliance works in this area with a variety of youth groups and programs. They are establishing an espalier orchard and a fruit and berry area. Five garden, herb garden, compost area, and a green growing area.

4. Asian Garden - This area has been planted with varieties of edible, medicinal, and fibre producing trees such as Persimmon, Chinese Pear, Paper Mulberry, Kiwis. Once the bamboo plants are established, they will provide staking, fencing, and trellis material for the gardens.

5. Wild Area and Pond - Most of the north edge of the area has been left for wildlife habitat. Indigenous trees and shrubs have been planted to diversify the vegetation. Bee boxes will be placed in this area in the next year. In 1994, a new pond was created to increase the range of plants and animals that could be maintained. The pond is lined with a mixture of sand and bentonite - a type of clay that swells when wet to provide a seal to retain water.

6. Compost - There are several bins holding different stages of compost. The finished compost is available to all gardeners and is also used for the fruit trees which benefit from the addition of nutrients. Some gardeners have their own composting systems in their plots.

7. Greenhouse and Shed - The shed was started in late 1994. Most of the wood for the shed came from a memorable windfall near Nanaimo, and the siding was salvaged from a house before it was demolished. The greenhouse has not been assembled.

8. Shed, Fire Pit, and Information Board - The shed holds the tools and books for use by the gardeners. The Information Board provides a place for notices, minutes of meetings, messages, and 'local' wildlife observations.

9. Lotus Lake - This wet area is planted with cat-tails, irises, lilies, and other water plants. Ducks, other birds, and frogs use the area for habitat.

10. Cottonwood Tree - A pair of red-tailed hawks have been roosting in this tree for several years. One offspring was hatched in 1994. The hawks help to control the rat population in the garden.

11. Nut and Fruit Trees - The nut trees planted along the boundary will be trained into a hedge that will provide more bird habitat.

12. Plots - There are approximately 55 plots and 68 gardeners in Cottonwood.

A Brief History of the Garden Sites

1860's The area is tidal flats around a sandbank, and a stream estuary.

1880's Once the Canadian Pacific Railway reaches the coast, the land around False Creek begins to be developed, industrial and domestic wastes are released into False Creek Flats.

1910's Great Northern Railway and Canadian National Railway are given title to all land below the high tide mark. The inlet is dammed at Main Street, and the flats are drained during the following decades.

1920's Both gardens were still overtaken with water but are isolated from tidal flow. Strathcona develops into a working class residential neighbourhood. The area is used for pasture, swimming, and cow jumps. Water continues to flow over the area.

1930's A hobo shantytown develops on the Strathcona Garden site during the Depression. After it is dismantled by the City, an attempt to establish a recreational park begins.

1940's Work on False Creek Park (now named Seaforth Park) gets underway with filling of the remaining wet areas. Before the park is completed, Canada enters World War II and the area is used as a military training field.

1950's Water filling is done as the water has returned. The Cottonwood Garden site is filled with alternating layers of garbage and soil. The area south of the gardens, part of the original park area, is developed into a vegetable wholesaling area. The park land is open when Hawks Avenue is constructed through to Maple Avenue.

1960's The area is used as a city works yard.

1977's A new freeway route is proposed through the southern areas of the new garden sites. The construction of the five lanes on the west side of the Strathcona Gardens reduced the park area further.

Strathcona Community Garden

work began on the site in 1985. The present garden contains approximately one acre each of orchard and herb garden, wild area, and plots. In 1993, the garden was granted a ten year lease with the City of Vancouver.

Garden Information

1. Children's Play Area and Water Pools - The water pool design is based on a Mesopotamian water garden design. It is used as a play area, a reflecting pool and a cooling device.

2. Greenhouse - The greenhouse was built as a prop for a local film shoot and was given to the garden when the filming was finished.

3. Nursery Beds - Used to store fruit stock, and stock for extension areas.

4. School Beds - Used by Strathcona Elementary Pre-School.

5. Vine walk - Grapes, kiwis, clematis, honeysuckle, jasmine.

6. Future Garden House - The garden house will provide space for meeting, seed collection, herb drying, archives, and library. The goal is to create a building using sustainable and reclaimed materials, and to use natural systems such as solar power and rain water collection. The garden house will be built with volunteer time and labour, and with the assistance of community fund-raising.

7. Herb Garden - The plan is based on a Tibetan Buddhist mandala form with gates in four directions. There are dozens of varieties of herbs and flowers, and a number of trees. To the northwest are Eastern White Pines.

8. Espalier Orchard - This espalier uses the oblique cordon system with the tree stock grafted onto dwarf root stock. There are many varieties of apples including heritage varieties.

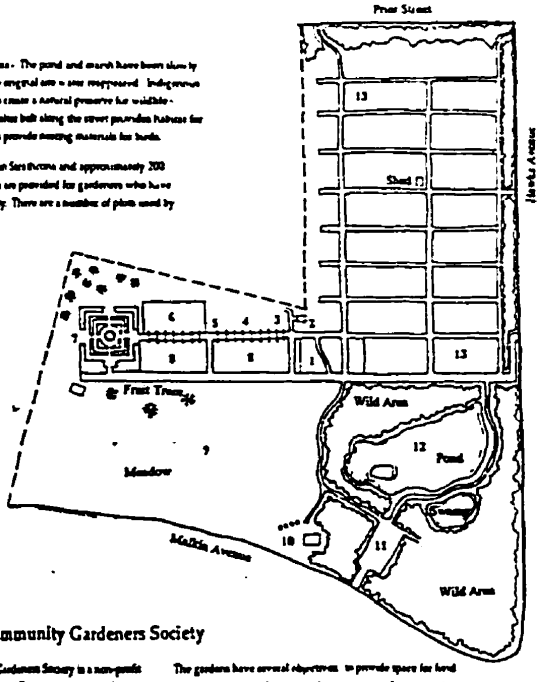
9. Orchard - This is a less formal fruit tree area with mainly apple and plum trees. The area is slowly evolving from a grassland to a meadow.

10. Bee Shed and Bee Hives - The bee shed was built in 1995 to provide an on-site place to harvest the honey. Bees are important to the gardens for pollination of the fruit trees.

11. Compost - The aim of the compost system is the next step up from domestic composting. Bins are labelled to indicate the different stages of the process. Weeds such as morning glory and dandelion plants should not be added to the compost.

12. Pond, Marsh, and Wild Area - The pond and marsh have been done by development as an area where the original site was repurposed. Indigenous trees and plants have helped to create a natural preserve for wildlife - ducks, bullfrogs, birds. The shelter belt along the street provides habitat for the birds. Thistles and cat-tails provide nesting materials for birds.

13. Plots - There are 250 plots in Strathcona and approximately 300 gardeners. Several raised beds are provided for gardeners who have demonstrated strength or mobility. There are a number of plots used by community groups.



The Strathcona Community Gardeners Society

The Strathcona Community Gardeners Society is a non-profit charitable society with a Board of Directors made up of gardeners from both Strathcona and Commercial Gardens. Membership dues are $10 per year and plots are rented for $5 per plot per year. There are monthly meetings and regular work parties for working on common areas - paths, fruit trees, compost turning, clean up, building projects.

The gardens have several objectives: to provide space for food growing to area residents, to reclaim, restore, and maintain the gardens using organic methods, to improve the wildlife habitat by diversifying the range of plants that can be grown, to use the gardens as an educational aide for gardeners and the community as a whole through workshops, tours, and day to day exchange, to provide a place for residents to meet and enjoy.

Like Burgess' model this is a place where many commuters live. Unlike his model but more like the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement it is also a place for recreation and consumption rather than production or work. In this sense, many parts of the exurban ring can be viewed as a countrified version of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. With this, sharp conflicts between middle class and working class sensibilities have often erupted over the appropriate use of resources and land uses. As with its counterpart the fourth zone, exurbia has become an important place for people displaced from the core to resettle, and for Canadians arriving from the rest of the country to move into or visit.

Because this outer ring is in a state of flux, the colonization of this zone by the new middle class is only patchy. There are many forms of regulation in place here. In some places the livable city program is operation while in others that of the urban spectacle or modern regulation is still present. For example, in places like the District of North Vancouver (VS-423) and parts of Port Moody (VS-488;VS-510) -- where the new middle class have been able to assert themselves -- echoes of the livable city are visible Thus in places like Fort Langley a ruralized version of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has appeared.[250] Similarly Whistler (VS-468), and to a lesser extent, Harrison Hot Springs (VS-332) can be viewed as satellites and extensions of the economy of the urban spectacle that is centred in the Core.

Unlike the fourth zones where modern regulation is still clearly dominant, the regulatory picture in exurbia is much more mottled. However, as earlier stated, the infiltration of the new middle class into this zone, and the appropriation of larger pieces of territory of exurbia by this class, even if they don't live in this zone, has greatly expanded the influence of postmodern regulation. In turn, this has set up another front which postmodern regulation is able to advance into the Zone of Caucasian Resetdement. One reason for the presence of postmodern regulation this far out has to do with the impact of the counterculture on exurbia. During the 1960s a significant contingent of middle class individuals moved out of the suburbs to the outer reaches of the region rather than into the inner city, bringing with them this new spatial sensibility. Depending where one goes in the fifth settlement ring, the spatial matrix that

governs the production of urban space can vary a great deal. It can either be modern or one of the two postmodern programs that have been mentioned: with the livable city ideology clearly present on the Gulf Islands and in places like Fort Langley (VS-489) or the urban spectacle, something more apparent in towns like Whistler or Harrsion Hot Springs, and in proposed theme parks that are being considered for this zone (VS-461; VS-462).

As with the fourth but unlike the third zone, the major struggles therefore revolve around the aesthetic dimension of postmodern regulation, except here more emphasis has been given to ecological issues, which is understandable since this is where natural and rural rather than urban landscapes predominate. Consequently struggles have arisen over resorts, golf courses and unwanted development or development that it feels to be inferior. The other difference is that unlike the Core the middle class have allied themselves with farmers rather than the working class to control development.

Since it is a zone that is increasingly being devoted to consumption and recreation, conflicts between the productivist ethos associated with modern spatial practices and postmodern ones associated with leisure and the stylization of the landscape have broken out between distinctly working class constituencies that still remain here.

However, where the middle class has begun to organize itself the way space is represented and perceived has changed. What is more important, perhaps, is the struggle over how space is to be used. Throughout the exurban zone this has generated some very intense political conflict.[251] This can be seen along Port Moody's North Shore, in the District of North Vancouver,[252] in Maple Ridge,[253] in Pitt Meadows[254] and in the District of Langley (VS-149)[255] where, to the chagrin of politicians, the regulation of urban space has become quite volatile and politicized. Consequently, the pro-development slants of many local councils have been challenged if not overturned, as citizen's groups have begun to flourish here as they have long done in the Core and in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. A generation after dialogical planning had become the norm in the City of Vancouver it is now surfacing along the outer periphery of the region.[256]

Communications technologies have also redefined the nature and function of the commuter zone making it a place of work as well as place of residence (Gurstein 1995). And, as earlier stated, this zone includes important recreation spaces which extend well beyond the boundaries of the Greater Vancouver Regional District and act as an informal part of the region's park system. In addition, there are places which also act as satellites of the urban spectacle, where congestion on some popular mountain trails can be as bad as that experienced along the Seawalk in Stanley Park, in the Core.

With the transformation of part of this zone into residential and recreational space for the new middle class some lower-income workers has begun to suffer from displacement. This has become the most obvious in the town of Whistler. With an average individual income of $18,000 in 1996 and the average price for a single detached home in Whistler going for $483,659, even the middle class are being priced out of the market.[257]

With workers forced to find accommodation as far away as Squamish or Pemberton, Whistler is the most extreme example of displacement pressures created by the middle-class infiltration of this settlement zone. However, the same displacement pressures can also be found on the Gulf Islands and along the Sunshine Coast.

5.7- Non concentric settlement patterns

In addition to the five concentric settlement rings that Burgess mentioned, there were other spatial configurations to which his colleagues pointed (figure eleven A and B). Chief among these were the nodal and sectoral models for the city that were advanced by Ullman and Harris (Eyles 1986 p.309) and Hoyt (Theodorson 1961). Thus, more than forty years before Garreau (1991) popularized the notion of edge cities, more reputable intellectualrepresentations of this phenonenon had already been introduced into the literature by Ullman and Harris (Eyles 1986,p. 309). In the case of Vancouver, Ullman and Harris's multi-nuclei arrangement can be seen in the appearance of town centres and regional town centres. And Hoyt's focus on sectoral

configurations can be connected to rail lines that now form the basis for transit oriented development corridors that have emerged in Vancouver (figure one).[258] But even in the context of Burgess' original concentric pattern model some mention is made of non-concentric settlement formations (figure eleven A). In this way non concentric settlement patterns can also be shown to be part of the postmodern urban morphology that has emerged in Greater Vancouver.

As stated before, the most powerful non concentric settlement pattern to emerge in the postmodern era is the transit oriented development corridors and regional town centres. This is a very recent development in the postmodern settlement geography of the region, as transit oriented development only became a defining feature of the landscape with the opening of Skytrain in 1986 (figure one).

Furthermore, besides these non-concentric patterns, the transformation of the three concentric settlement zones that make up the core of the region into a middle class space has dissolved the once contiguous zone of working class settlement that once existed on the east side of Vancouver in the modern zone, breaking up a continous zone which also extended into Burnaby, New Westminister and Port Coquitlam, and as far as into Maple Ridge (figures ten, ten B and eleven B). As this working class zone has been broken up and dispersed, a much more fragmented settlement field has evolved, with patches of working class space emerging in low cost apartment districts, such as in Whalley and Burquitlam (TC 1998c), and the extreme eastern and western (Sapperton) portions of New Westminister outside the City of Vancouver, or in run-down single family areas in Langley City and Maple Ridge (figure ten B and eleven B).

As well as the various concentric layers of settlement, satellites and residual enclave patterns from the modern era persist, further complicating the postmodern geography that has been described up to this point. Examples of residual enclaves would be the Sunset local area, that is located in the City of Vancouver, which functions as a residual island of working-class immigration settlement in a sea of middle-class immigrants that makes up the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (VP-55; figure four). Examples of satellite formation would be White Rock and Champlain Heights in the Case of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, and

Coquitlam and Abbotsford in the case of the Zone of Asian Resettlement (figure five and figure ten B).

However, as already mentioned in the Chapter on densification, the development of regional town centres and transit corriders have emerged as the most important non-concentric settlement formation in the postmodern city. Instead of the amorphous low-density sprawl that defined urban development in the modern era, in the late-twentieth century a much more structured pattern has become manifest in the hub and spoke pattern that almost erased during the modern era with abandonment of the inter-urban railroad in the 1950s. Unlike the modern period, in the postmodern era linear as well as concentric settlement patterns are both reshaping the settlement morphology of the region (figure eleven B). This does not necessarily contradict the Burgess scheme, for if we look closely at his idealized model, deviations and mutation from the main concentric patterns can be found in the model that he constructed as well (See figure eleven A). So it is not the presence or absence of non-concentric patterns which defines the evolution of specific type of postmodern landscape in Vancouver, but its growing influence on the organization of space that becomes critical to understanding the morphology changes taking place with regard to the postmodern transformation of the region. While clearly a subsidary phenomenon in the Burgess model, the linear spoke and hub pattern that has taken shape in Vancouver in the postmodern era has become just as important as the transformaton of each of the concentric zones.

Again, the most powerful non concentric pattern is the transit-oriented development corridor that has surface along the Skytrain line (VS-406c). Which ever concentric settlement ring it has passes through considerable land use flux has followed. As a result, social and physical spaces have been mixed up in these transit corridors, complicating and muddying the clearly defined settlement rings that have been described. Hence linear rather than concentric settlement vectors have been established whenever a transit-corridor or regional and local town centre has been established, scrambling the predominate spatial order of the concentric settlement zones that it crosses.

These transit lines have also created new interstitial spaces within and between each concentric settlement zone. To a certain extent these pathways now function as conduits for the underclass and marginalized components of the population that have been displaced from the Core. Conversely, it is also drawing these elements to the Core, aggravating some problems while relieving other.[259] Moreover, the appearance of Skytrain also appears to have changed the geography of crime in the city as well, diffusing it outwards to places once relatively isolated by crime because they were inaccessible. (Buckley 1996; VS-133a).

Thus, as the transit infrastructure of Vancouver further develops, a linear as well as concentric and multi-nuclei metropolis is emerging. From this, a hybrid urban form that mirrors a recombination of the three most recognizable models developed by Chicago School theorist has emerged: that is the sectoral model of Homer Hoyt; the concentric settlement model of Burgess, and the multi-nuclei model of the city formulated by Ullman and Harris. So with the construction of up to five rapid transit lines contemplated for Vancouver, the concentric and linear patterns of development are likely to become the most noteworthy of the three urban patterns (figure One).[260]

Another important settlement pattern to emerge with the overspill of the middle class and Asian immigrants from the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the Zone of Asian Resettlement is the creation of satellite communities (figure one).

The first satellite community was formed on the edge of the City of Vancouver in the Killarney local area and the north shore of the Fraser River (figure 7B). More suburban than the second settlement zone it nevertheless embodied many of the aesthetic features and social aspirations of the livable city program that shaped the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. As with the Zone Of Middle Class Resettlement this community is made up of a blend of medium rise co-operatives, non-profit and strata title units. And like South False Creek, despite attempts to rein in the automobile, the city was not successful in putting a good transit network in place to serve this area as well (PI-12; CVC0-51).[261] Furthermore, like the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, much of the land that was redeveloped was industrial or discarded space.

For example, much of Champlain Heights was built on a garbage dump and the Fraser lands were built on underused industrial land. However, unlike the main centre of middle-class resetttlement, this enclave is situated within the Zone of Asian Resettlement. As a result, it t has a larger Chinese population than the main area of middle-class settlement.[262]

The City of White Rock can be viewed as a second middle class satellite. In social terms it acts as the West End did in the 1950s and early 60s, operating as a large reservoir for well to do seniors in the region, with over thirty percent of the population over sixty-five (GVRD 1997g), the seniors population is about three times the average for the region. In physical terms, White Rock resembles the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement rather than the West End. Not surprisingly, the long term consultant and planner who was responsible for planning in White Rock, came from the City of Vancouver, and was heavily involved in the transformation of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement during the mid 70s. This planner also played an instrumental part in setting the framework which would define the direction of the official plan for the city that was adopted in 1995 (City of White Rock 1995).

Although located in the exurban part of Vancouver, White Rock has so successfully copied the ambience of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, when trying to sell houses here, developers and realtors often make comparisons with Kitsilano to entice buyers. As with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the City of White Rock is a place where the densification process has been successfully guided by postmodern norms. In a similar fashion, it has also become a place of leisure and consumption rather than work or child rearing.[263] While there are children the demographic profile of this cohort is more similar to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement than it is to the other suburban part of the region. Compared to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the biggest difference is that White Rock caters to older members of the middle class.[264]

Two satellite communities from the Zone of Asian resettlement have also been spun out into other settlement rings. One exists in the fourth settlement ring and is located in the northeastern part of Coquitlam. The statistics show it is primarily Chinese. Between 1986 and

1991 the Chinese population increased from 2,045 to 5,195, and the Asian population as a whole has increased from ten to fourteen percent of this rapidly growing suburban municipality – a level considerably above the average recorded for Asians living in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement in table nine, which the City of Coquitlam is part of. With a survey showing that nearly forty percent of all new homes have been purchased by people with Chinese surnames in 1996, when more detailed data from the 1996 Census figures are released, it should show a further quantum leap in the percentage of Asians living in Coquitlam (VS-112aa; VS-132).

The second Asian enclave is located further out and is East Indian rather than Chinese. Compared to Coquitlam it is also more blue-collar than white-collar. This other satellite is not even located in the Greater Vancouver Regional District, but is situated in the adjacent Cities of Abbotsford and Mission. Here the East Indian population has grown from about one point five percent of the Central Fraser Valley's population to around seven percent in 1991 and will probably reach 15,000 (or around eleven percent of the population) when the 1996 data on ethnic origins of the population located in the Central Fraser Valley is released by Statistics Canada.[265] If the 1996 population for the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the Central Valley Regional District were combined, this would create a population somewhere around two million, and an East Indian population of just over 100,000, which would make the make the population of this East Indian enclave twice as concentrated as the overall average for the region, which rests around five per cent (SC-18; City of Abbotsford August 22, 1995).

Another non-concentric configuration that has lately appeared is the gated community. The construction of these kinds of spaces can be linked to the aging of the population, and the stratification of more affluent seniors, who have moved to more exclusive environments where defensive design features have created landscapes of fear. In Greater Vancouver, these gated-communities are mostly clumpted together in Delta, the District of Langley and in Richmond. These communities stand out as one of the best examples of the class polarization that has come about in the era of the urban spectacle. Along with the fear of aliens, which has become more pronounced with the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement, it is not surprising to find that

gated-communities are mostly found in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. However, it is also necessary to see these communities as a manifestation of a new landscape of leisure. For besides fear, the greater interest that seniors now show in leisure and travel in the 1990s, and the desire to protect housing units that are not lived in for a large part of the year, is likely one reason why this type of housing has caught on with a certain segment of the population.[266] Like their American counterparts, that is why these fortress communities tend to be located in the outer suburbs, and in exurbia (figure eleven B). Not surprisingly, Kelowna, the most distant city within the exurban field that extends out from Vancouver, is the place that probably has the highest concentration of gated-communities in the country.

These complexes represent the dark side of the postmodern development of the region. They have only become noticeable in the Lower Mainland in the 1990s, where they still exist on a minuscule scale compared to what is exists in the United States. Nonetheless, they embody many of the worst values of the second-generation postmodern landscapes that have been built in Canada. In this regard, it is not too far fetched to say that they represent the diffusion of the carcercal landscapes that were incubated first in the core but have now travelled out to the suburbs -- with exclusivity and fear rather the inclusiveness and social solidarity acting as the motivating values that animate the organization of space in these residential complexes (Buckley 1997).

Another interesting reconfiguration of the physical landscape is the breakup and dispersion of working-class landscapes. In the Burgess and Hoyt model this concentric or sectoral pattern of working class settlement was shown to made up of a large contiguous zone. Until the 1970s this roughly approximated the pattern that could be observed in Vancouver. Except for working class suburbs, such as Port Coquitlam, Maple Ridge and Surrey, most of the working class was concentrated in the core area of the region. With the reconfiguration of the property market that came with the colonization of the core by the middle class and the creation of two new zones of middle class resettlement, this working class landscape was fragmented and broken apart.

Rather than appearing as a contiguous settlement zone, it has broken up into a settlement field composed of fragments -- a Van Allen belt so to speak -- where much of the working class is caught between a transitional area created near the boundary of the Zone of Asian Resettlement and the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement (diagram 10B). As well, smaller enclaves of working-class settlement have remained (so far) intact in part of Maple Ridge, the City of Langley, Port Coquitlam, and New Westminister.

The change reflects the dwindling influence of the working class, as Vancouver becomes more of a middle-class city and as the city as become more specialized as a destination point for tourism, which creates jobs but reduces the clout of the organized working class, as pink-collar rather than blue-collar jobs are created. This is also a reflection of the transformation of Vancouver from a place of production to one of consumption. While Vancouver has been more of a trans-shipment centre rather than a manufacturing centre, the disappearance of the wood mills and log booms that once predominated along False Creek and the transformation of False Creek into a recreation inlet stand out as the most poignant metaphor for the erasure of the working class from the core of the region.

What has happened is also a reflection of the historical and philosophical bias that postmodern regulation has toward working-class representation of space. Most noticeably, this can be seen in the transformation of producer landscapes into consumer landscapes, the creation of consumer niche markets, which charged a premium, and the vilification of mass markets. This would also emerge in the glorification of the artist icon of the new age and the downgrading of the engineer. Together, these changes would have spatial repercussions. Economics and social exclusiveness would make the working class invisible in much of the core, especially as it is increasingly being dispersed to the northeast sector of the region or further out yet -- into the Central Fraser Valley -- to places such as Mission and Abbotsford.

Because the working class generally have greater access to automobiles, this displacement and dispersion from the centre has not been as severe for them as it has been for the urban proletariat, who are located lower down on the social scale. Often lacking access to

automobiles, this class was more dependent on centrality and the existence of a coherent spatial enclave because of their dependence upon a thick layer of social services and personal networks that have traditionally been concentrated in the first and second zones, places close in enough so that movement could be made by foot or transit without too much difficulty.

With densification and the middle class colonization of the core, the rapid escalation in land and housing prices and the decline of larger modern institutions that once housed marginalized people the filtering mechanism of the modern city has been reversed. No longer is the core as able to absorb the marginalized segments of the population, especially with the dismantling of large institutions that absorbed a large segment of this marginalized population. With the dismantling of large psychiatric institutions like Riverview and Woodlands (VS-391; VS-394; G/M. 1998cp) and the shrinking of space in the core areas able to absorb the region's marginalized population homelessness and vagrancy have increased dramatically, and spread over a wider swath of territory, producing some panic and discomfort. Paradoxically, by destroying the few abandoned spaces in the core that could absorb individuals that other parts of the region could not, poverty and urban pathology have become more visible rather than less so.

As figures ten B and nine A show, both the working class and the urban underclass are now being squeezed into leftover urban spaces located on the periphery, creating a pattern that is not dissimilar to that which can be found in many European cities, but one that is uncommon in North America, where the bourgeoisie has moved to the suburbs and exurbia, and left the core behind where the urban poor could be kept out of sight and out of mind. However, because of the unique social ecology that has developed in Vancouver a European pattern has emerged which is beginning to do just the opposite.

While working class landscapes exist as buoys in a bourgeois sea, the urban underclass and the new population of homeless individuals do not even have these islands with which to attach themselves. Instead they are being squeezed into the interstitial spaces of the city. Over time they have increasingly cropped up in leftover spaces created by abandoned buildings, along

sidewalks, parks, any space, in fact, which is not actively occupied. According to one neighbourhood activist (PI-51), within the past year this population has even dispersed outside the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and moved into the third suburban zone, becoming visible in places like Pandora Park.

Thus changing land markets and shifting immigration patterns have broken up the proletarian spaces that defined the urban morphology of the modern city in Vancouver. Over the past twenty years the integrity of these spaces has been lost and a rather chaotic settlement pattern has emerged, in which it is too early to speculate upon which new pattern might ultimately solidify in the new postmodern order.

So far what can be observed is that low income people are moving into interstitial spaces of the region: that is to places that have not yet colonized by the Asian or Caucasian middle classes. Patches of working class landscapes are still to be found in working class suburbs like Port Coquitlam, Burnaby and New Westminister, but these places are rapidly becoming more middle class, especially with the adoption of postmodern regulation which seeks to remove them or make them invisible. Except for the Downtown Eastside, Whalley and part of New Westminister, which are under attack as low-income settlement spaces, with the wider institution of postmodern regulation further helping to dissolve these landscapes, there are no longer any contiguous working-class landscapes that exist in Greater Vancouver. Only patches exist.

Without more detailed study these areas can only be alluded to by looking for areas with low rental apartments and homes, places with higher crime rates -- since poverty is usually connected with the underground and informal economy in place of the formal economy (SC-10).[267] Such areas can also be identified by looking at census tracts that show lower-than-average property assessments and rents, and a disproportionate number of secondary suites which also have lower than average rents (figure ten A and B). Finally, another way identifying rapidly fragmenting proletarian spaces is by by looking where incomes fall below the regional average (VP-55).

In a curious example of the return of the repressed, the displacement and dismantling of modern institutions and the modern social ecology of the city is coming back to haunt the middle class, as this growing marginalized population is now beginning to graze on the property of the middle class that have settled in their space.[268]

5.8 - Summation

What this survey of the postmodern social ecology of Vancouver has shown is that the lose spatial logic that once sorted out and stratified the region's population while also determining what land uses were acceptable and where they should be located is no longer present. The modern city is dead! In its place a postmodern one has arisen. As a result, a different spatial logic for the regulation of urban space has begun to crystallize. This has become most apparent in the transformation of the concentric zones of the city and the emergence of regional and local town centres, as well as transit corridors. Settlement spaces in the region have therefore become much more complex, something that is even apparent when just looking at the transformation of the five concentric spaces, as transitional spaces such as West Point Grey, core areas such as Kitsilano and Fairview and the inner settlement ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, and heartland areas -- such as the City of Langley and the Township of Langley -- in the Zone of Caucasion Resettlement illustrate, there are nuances and permutations within each settlement rings that have to be taken into account as well.

What also become clear from this overview of the changing settlement geograpy of Greater Vancouver is how the articulation of the densification process with postmodern regulation has established a new spatial logic for the organization of space. This has created a unique postmodern urban geography for Greater Vancouver that stands in opposition to the geography of the modern city that once existed.

New settlement zones, which were not present during the modern period - such as the Collage city of the Core, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the Zone of Asian Resettlement

and the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement - have surfaced. As well, new social formations such as the new middle class and an Asian middle class have emerged, which have completely transformed the social ecology of the region. This combined with densification and the growing influence of postmodern regulation have created a unique settlement geography that has nothing to do with some of the glib pronouncements which have been made about the existence of a super-regional urban entity named Cascadia.

A more careful assessment of what is shaping the Vancouver region would would show that the existence of such a super-region is an artificial construct. For the most important forces that are shaping Vancouver lie further afield – with changes made by the federal government with regard to immigration policy and the specialization of Vancouver as a destination centre for international tourism – an evolutionary take which has nothing to do with Cascadia. These are macro economic and political forces that have established the conditons for Vancouver to evolved differently from other Canadian cities, and even moreso, its regional counterparts in the Pacific Northwest. That is why cities like Seattle and Portland supply little insight into the most important forces that will affect the further evolution of the Vancouver region. Indeed, it is not to the Pacific Northwest, but to San Francisco, Los Angeles and Miami where more significant parallels can be found. By no means does this mean that what is happening in Seattle and Portland is not of interest, or that something cannot be learned from the regulatory techniques that have been pioneered in these two centres; but when it comes down to fundamentals, it soon becomses clear that Vancouver occupies a different economic and cultural universe than either Seattle or Portland. While there is some overlap in the formal regulatory logic used to guide development in each city is still moving along quite different trajectories.

To a lesser degree, the same can be said about other Canadian cities if they are compared to Vancouver. This is most noticeable in Winnipeg. Althoug we live in a postmodern era, the regulatory logic that governs the organization of space in Winnipeg represents a hold out, since it is one that is decidedly modern, and the investment patterns which organize the production of space here are dominated by land-extensive rather than land-intensive regimes of

accumulation. While Vancouver is becoming the most European of our cities in terms of physical appearance and the organization of space, Winnipeg has become the most American, as a social ecology has developed here that mirrors Detroit more than it does Vancouver, Toronto or Calgary (G/M 1997bw).

With regard to the organization of space, Toronto comes the closest to matching what is happening in Vancouver. Here as well, there are significant differences. Although Toronto has the largest new middle class and the largest Asian middle class in the country -- both these populations are much more concentrated in the core area of Vancouver. Furthermore, while Toronto leads in absolute terms, in relative terms, Vancouver's Asian middle-class is much larger. What also sets Toronto apart from Vancouver is that Toronto has become the chief magnet for refugees entering Canada. It is also the focal point for manufacturing in Canada, which is not the case for Vancouver. As a result, there is a much larger working class in Toronto, and this is reflected in the internal geography of the region, where, unlike Vancouver, a contiguous zone of working class settlement still remains intact in the third concentric zone.

Moreover, instead of being a command centre, Vancouver has become the centre for the economy of the urban spectacle and an entrepot (Hutton 1989; 1990; 1997), something which separates the region more from its immediate regional hinterland than is the case for Toronto, where automobiles are a prime generator of regional economic activity (Toronto Star 1998eb). Similar conditions exist in Winnipeg, where the grain economy still provides a crucial link between the well-being of the city and the economic development of its hinterland and even Calgary, where, despite its stature as the headquarters centre for Western Canada, oil ties the city more closely to the resource base of its hinterland than seems to be the case for Vancouver.

Again, much of this probably has a great deal to do with the modification of the economy of Vancouver into a place of consumption within the national and international order, something even revealed in the behaviour of investor immigrants. Although over fifty percent of these immigrants have settled in Vancouver only a small amount of their investment has gone into productive investment within the region, with most the money they have brought with

them so far going into the consumer economy, particularly property, rather than into the production of new goods or services that can be exported outside the region (VS-395).

Table Ten[269]
Regulatory Landscapes
Philosophic Strand of Postmodern regulation
City of Vancouver

CC			ZMCRS			ZARS			City	
(Z)	(D)	(A)	(Z)	(D)	(A)	(Z)	(D)	(A)	(Z)	(CD)

(E) = Estimate (Z) = Zone (D) = Date (A) = Area (CD) = Comprehensive District

Modern Regulation
1956-1973

CM-1 1956	M-1 1956	RS-1 1956 17 1
M-2 1956	M-2 1956	RS-2 1956
RM-4 1956 280	RT-1 1956	RS-3 1956
C-2 1956	C-2 1966	C-2 1956
M-1 1956	RT-2 1956	M-1 1956
CM-2 1957	(RT-1+2) 789	
	RM-3 1956	

Area (Acres)	1380	5,536	21,020	27,936

Postmodern Regulation (Phase One) 27
livable City era
1974-1984

FCCDD 1974 683 (acres)	FCCDD 1974 648	RS-1A 1973 73
HA-1 1974 28	RT-2A 1976 268	
Ha-2 1974 27	FM-1 1976 40	
DD 1975 309	RM-3A1 1976 56	
WED 1975 292	C-2B 1976 21	
CWD 1979 180(e)	C-2C 1976 11	
DOED 1982 80 (e)	C-2C1 1976 11	
M-1A 1976 5		
RT-3 1976 60		
RM-3A 1976 204		
RT-1A 1977 166		
RM-3b 1977 98		

Area Controlled by Phase one Regulations CIRCA 1981: [270]	90%	24%	25%

Postmodern Regulation (Phase Two)
Era of the Urban Spectacle
1984-

BCPED 1984	RT-4	RS-1S
SEGS 1984	RT-4N	RS-1B
RM-5 1989	RT-5	RS-5 1993
RM-5A 1989	RT-5N	RS-6 1996
RM-5B 1989	RT-6	
RM-5C 1989	RT-7	
RM-6 1989	RT-8	
CH 1990	IC-1	
False Creek North	IC-2	
Downtown South	IC-3	
HA-3	I-1	
HA-4		

Area Controlled by Phase One and Phase Two regulation: (Circa 1996)	100%	90%	65-70%

60

RS= Single family residential C= Commercial IC-Industrial district (Postmodern)
RM= Apartment district RT=Two Family Dwelling District

CM= Downtown Commercial M= Industri

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[1]The best contemporary example that can be cited is Israel. This country has been in a state of perpetual war since its inception yet, unlike its rivals, both individualism and a sense of social solidarity are highly developed.

[2]For an interesting statement about the significance of changing fertility rates refer to G/M 1997ct; an account of U.S. study about population growth in Tri-City News 1997. Also refer to McArthur 1997 and Leitch 1997 for other related articles on changing fertility rates.

[3]When the term postmodern is used in this instance it is being used as an umbrella term, in a descriptive rather than analytical way, carve a specific time to contrast to another rather than necessarily to the presence of a specific regulatory logic or a postmodern spatial matrix which has also been named as being postmodern.

[4]According to Baxter's estimates this adjacent urban region - the Fraser Valley Regional District, but more to the point the old Central Fraser Valley designation in the census classification would include the new city of Abbotsford and Mission that makes up most of the Census designation of Matsqui and contains about 140,0000 people, with areas further to the East, such as Chilliwack having over 60,000 people. All together the Fraser Valley Regional District contained 10.4% of the population of Greater Vancouver in 1991, or 191,0000 and is expected to climb to 229,000 by 1996, climbing to 10.9% of metro Vancouver's population (Baxter 1997).

[5]See The Globe and Mail 1997dj.

[6]While the 1975 rezoning of the core was influenced by Ray Spaxman and the influence of the livable city agenda, The Central Area Plan that was adopted in 1991 was mostly the work of Mayor Gordon Campbell and the growing influence of the values associated with the urban spectacle.

To a great extent the Core Area Plan functioned as the means of consolidating and distilling the planning initiatives that were pressed forward by Mayor Campbell, who was in a rush to see development take place. Hence the most important element of the Central Area Plan was concerned with mega-projects that were already in progress by the time the Central Area Plan was formulated and adopted. (PI-6; PI-13)

[7]There is a certain irony in the fact that this zone received numerous awards for design innovation by the architectural profession but as with the subordination of utility to aesthetics and image many of these dwellings were poorly constructed. As a result, in Vancouver alone it is expected that $100M will have to be spent on correcting building faults (VS-325).

[8]It remains to be seen whether this will be the case. But already municipalities like the District of North Vancouver (VS-373), Burnaby, New Westminister have followed examples of contextual zoning and infill that were pioneered in Vancouver. And with the creation of a special program by the City of Vancouver to allow CD-1 changes in RS-1 area for innovative experiments in housing, Vancouver may well emerge as the most important incubation ground for the promulgation of all the three physical scales in which the densification process is now proceeding along in the region. Hence even the hybrid late modern landscape that is made up of modern and postmodern features in the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver may become a gestation area for new ways of managing and promoting low rise densification in areas dominated by single detached units and RS-1 zoning.

[9]As recently as the late 80s these changes do not appear to have been adequately recognized by the Planning Department as the Vancouver Planning Commission critiqued the lack of attention devoted to the subject of entertainment (PI-3). However, this would soon change in the 1990s as more time and resources of the Central Area Division were consumed by projects associated with the promotion of the urban spectacle such as casinos, convention centres and related issues having to do with the regulation of entertainment in the downtown (PI-6)

[10]Larry Beasely (PI-1) took issue with this point, making an interesting point, stating that not having these lands under public control gave the Planning Department more leverage to

negotiate with Concord Pacific, extracting benefits from the developer that is the envy of other jurisdictions. While this may be so, as Beasley himself has remarked, this was also made possible by the fact that the developer had basically taken ownership of the land for next to nothing. Another senior planner remarked that if the City had held out and not proceeded so fast with development it might have been able to build all the non profit housing projected for the area at no cost to the public. So there are varying interpretations on what the final public benefit will be from the privatization of the North False Creek lands.

[11]With the re-evaluation of higher density a two pronged strategy towards densification appears to have informally taken shape in the department. As far back as the Goals For Vancouver this could be seen but was more clearly articulated in the CorePlan process (VP-46). What informally evolved was that high rise residential development was to be channelled into the central area and so become the concern of the Central Area Division while medium density development was to be allocated to the rest of the city, with the Local Area Division concentrating on medium rise developments in the transitional zone and the outlying suburban areas of the city. With the passage of The Central Area Plan in 1991 and the adoption of CityPlan in 1995 this tacit division of labour seems to have become more formalized and made more explicit in the programs and allocation of responsibilities that have been made. Whereas the Central Plan sets out the direction for high rise development that will be the responsibility of the Central Area Division to implement, a similar game plan has been devised for the Local Area Planning Division, now renamed the Community Planning Division, which will work in conjunction with the CityPlan Division to implement CityPlan through an initiative called, Bringing CityPlan to Neighbourhoods (CVPD-154) that will commence with Dunbar and Kensington - Cedar Cottage in 1997 (CVCO-37).

[12]Although this format is scattered and more diluted this would also include Osborne Village and Corydon Street. But as with the livable city, weak and incompetent leadership and the failure to fine tune these conceptions to the economic and social realities to a city that is stable or in decline rather than one that is growing have even threatened the most successful expression of the urban spectacle in this city (See Guttormson 1997).

But even here there are problems which stand outside the ones already mentioned and that is the dispersion of the existing retail market to shopping centres and the low regard Winnipeg is held as a tourist destination which is one of the most important supports of the economy of the urban spectacle. In the surveys taken so far most people want more green space and consultation, but because of the mandate for self sufficiency, more commercialization of the site has been allowed (Guttormson, Kim June 30,1997,p.1). After opening in 1987 The Forks has faced continual financial difficulties even with a mandate that says it has to break even. In Toronto, this mandate was given to Harbourfront in Toronto. The promotion of private development that resulted eventually lead to a huge public outcry over the quality of development allowed along the waterfront.

[13] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 9.

[14]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 10.

[15]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt.5, Note 11.

[16]This has even affected the symbolic landscape. Consequently many strategic spaces have been treated like bill boards. This trend even become too much for the pro-development Council of Vancouver as can be seen by the criticism lobbied at the Bank of Nova Scotia for putting its $2M donation into question if a neon bill board was not allowed even though the building was to be named after the bank. (See Appelbe 199k and VS-308).

[17]Larry Beasely (PI-1) felt differently about this point. He claimed that the privatization of land has given him more room to negotiate with the Concord Pacific than would have been the case if the government had retained ownership of the North False Creek Lands. While this may be true with regard to securing amenities and preserving livability, as Beasely pointed out, the Planning Department was successful in preventing the original lagoon scheme from going through. Nevertheless, other objectives such as social equity have been unquestionably

compromised by the sell off of these lands. So while the physical program for the area has generally remained intact this is not the case for the social program.
(Up to the first quarter of 1997 about 1,700 of the over 6,000 units planned for the concord lands have been sold. Also there some of Concord's ownership has been transferred to another Asian Company with interests in Toronto - See VS-255).

[18]The most important symbol of the recognition of the gay subculture as a community came with the Mayor Harcourt's proclamation of Gay Pride week in the early 1980s. For bohemia, other than favourable studies by the Social Planning Department on the favourable impact the arts had on the city's economy, the most o recognition and support given to this community probably came when the city created a special zoning district for the construction of inexpensive artist live/work spaces called Brewing Creek (CVCO-33a). Although this area is physically part of the second zone, it is adjacent to the core and is managed by a planner located in the Central Area Division.

[19]The growing role of arts in the economy of the inner city has translated into civic subsidies. According a 1997 report for the city of Winnipeg entitled "Into the 21st Century - Arts and Culture in Winnipeg, by the City of Winnipeg Cultural Review Panel, Vancouver grants to the arts were the highest per capita in the country in 1996: standing at $12.82 per capita versus $3.03 for Winnipeg $7.44 ($1.97M) for the City of Toronto, $4.05 ($4.75M) for Montreal ($7.3M), Quebec City $6.95 ($1.1) (city population of 165,000), Calgary $2.42 ($1.8M), Edmonton $2.99 ($1.89M), Regina, $3.77 ($674,000), for Ottawa $$3.79 ($1.2M) - For Ottawa Carleton $1.22 ($870,000) Greater Vancouver $0.06 or ($117,000), $2.58 or $5,97M for Metro Toronto. Expenditure of Culture groups in 1996 was $50.99M in Winnipeg, $70M in Vancouver, $206M in Metro Toronto, $36M in Edmonton, $28M in Calgary, $15M in Ottawa (Source Winnipeg Growing From Within by Winnipeg 2000, the Winnipeg Economic Development Corporation and the Winnipeg Free Press, October 1997 - insert in October 25th Saturday edition of the Winnipeg Free Press).

[20]This survey was conducted on a Sunday in the Spring of 1995. 27 businesses were identified along the South side of Davie Street and 15 along the North Side.

[21]Again this group stands out as perhaps the most representative group of the non domestic fraction of the new middle class and is the most closely aligned to the urban spectacle. For this reason it contrasts with the more domestically oriented fraction of the new middle class that lives in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Although the outlook and values for both groups are similar, nevertheless one can be contrasted with the other because of the stronger influence of domestic values and the increased emphasis placed upon child rearing within this middle class fraction.

In part this difference comes out in a recent reader survey of gay consumer habits carried out by X-Ttra West, a gay publication that has a circulation of about 30,000 and a readership of 60,000 in Greater Vancouver. What the survey found confirmed many of the aesthetic values of the linked to postmodern forms of aesthetic regulation but most particularly to the period of the urban spectacle rather than the livable city era. Having no children the survey found that the gay population surveyed had a higher propensity to own businesses (hence the entrepreneurial edge mentioned earlier), 47 percent took one or two holidays by air a year, 45 percent owned a condo or home, 58 percent got o sees movie three or more times a month, 78 percent dined out at least once a week, 65 percent have university degrees and 47 percent earned more than $40,000. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 17.

[22]For example in the 17th annual gay parade held in June 1997, in Toronto, organizers estimated that there were 750,000 people who attended this event. The corporate presence has also grown much larger, with a group representing gay businessman in the 1997 parade doing a walk called the fraternity strut. Last year an economic impact analysis was carried out which showed that 70,000 people were at the festival at anyone time, giving many retail owners in the area a significant boost. Especially in the Church and Wellseley Street area sales were found to have tripled over the week of the gay festival (Glover June 30th,1997).

[23]The siren of dollars and the altered status of this previously crimminalized sub culture is no more better illustrated than in the recent all out effort by the City of Montreal to capture the Gay Games which was originally established in 1982 and have since been held in San Francisco, Amsterdam, Vancouver, New York. This is in marked contrast to the early 1980s, when this community was forced to become invisible when the Pope visited the city. Now, by contrast, the red carpet treatment received by gay officials from San Francisco, where representatives were greeted by the Mayor, the provincial Minister for Montreal Serge Menard, Bloc Quebecois leader Gilles Duceppe and a number of city councillors illustrates how much social space has been travelled and how influential the gay economy is perceived to be (Norris 1997)

[24]This industry fits in perfectly with the economy that has arisen around the urban spectacle, since image and the stylization of reality become the very essence of this activity. The growth of this industry, whose epicentre is in the Core has truly been amazing. From just $12 million in 1978, the film and television industry is expected to spend around $700M in 1997 and there are hopes that this will reach a billion by the turn of the century. Besides the revenues generated this industry also employs 10,000 people directly and peaks at 25,000 people if occasional and seasonal workers are added. Apparently Vancouver has become the number one place for the foreign production of films in Canada and has achieved second place in the production of one hour long television dramas, recently surpassing New York City in this regard. So far 16 television series, five animated productions, and an"unprecedented 41 movies of the week have been shot in the first half of 1997.

One reason for the popularity of film and TV. production has been labour stability, which the N.D.P. has tried to keep despite complaints made about vastly lower wage rates for similar work in the US and Canada and complaints that have been made about the marginalization of Canadian actors in the production process. With an average wage of $7,000 many actors depend on waiting and other part time jobs to make ends meet. Like other part of the economy of the urban spectacle this industry is intertwined with the tourist industry, where we see both polarization and stylization emerging as salient characteristics in this and other fields connected with the economy of the urban spectacle (VS-317).

[25]With regard to new zones of spectacles see abbreviation in Figure 6B, More recently another entertainment zoning precinct has been created along a three block stretch of Granville, Street where up to 1000 places may be created for people seeking entertainment (See CVCO-47 and VS-195).

[26]Here displacement has been very severe. According to the Hastings Community Development Society there has been a 35% drop in SRO units over the past 18 months, as the number of units fell from 1,258 to 826 (See - Granville Street,p.3 in the WestEnder September 4,1997). Soon commercial displacement is likely as planners and business owners seek to upgrade Granville Street (see Janet Smith August 21,1997 in the WestEnder "Revived hotel joins fast-changing streetscape: tourist boom will feed the emerging entertainment row). Particularly in this area the contradictory nature of actions of the Planning Department are observable as it has been complicit in the gentrification in the Downtown South while, trying to preserve SRO units in the Downtown Eastside.

[27] See VS-173a; CVC0-60; Johnson,1997a; Westender, September 4, 1997,p. 3.

[28] See Ward 1997; PO-8; Hill 1997; VS-89c; VS-98d; VS-95 VS-96.

[29]With the first loft sale in Vancouver these units range from $80,000 to $182,000 (Real Estate Weekly-West End etc., 1997b). So far the tallest loft structure is on 933 Seymour Street, in the Downtown South - over 20 stories tall it is called the classiest loft building in the city by Realtors where prices will range from $125,000 to $182,000 compared to east side lofts like those on Carrall Street in Gastown where the price range will be from $80,000 to $130,000. Also see Real Estate Weekly - West End, 1997b; PM-2; PM-5.

[30]Here the Ford Theatre can be found, along with B.C. Place Stadium, G.M. Place. In addition to these projects another one called Tinseltown in International Village is soon expected to be

started (PM-3; VS-216). As well nearby a second convention centre will further add to the economy of the spectacle that is developing here (Sarti VS-188a). Also see Johnson 1997; 1997d.

[31]With this, more displacement of the urban proletariat has followed. For example with the opening of BCIT's new downtown campus on Seymour Street a hotel which once provided inexpensive accommodation for $450 a month will be renovated and $2500 will be charged instead (See "Renovated St. Regis hotel with brew pub, restaurant part of a new downtown upgrade - sparked by the construction of the new BCIT downtown campus the once-shabby area around Seymour and Dunsmuir is being transformed by new business," by James Risdon, Business in Vancouver August 20,1996).

[32]To quote Paul Gallant at some length: "For a sense of what can become of well-used leftover spaces, take Granville Island, This odd, once swampy piece of land under a bridge has been shaped into a dynamic and integral part of the city. It's not even finished, and probably will never be."

'we've left all kinds of left over spaces on Granville Island' says Norm Hotson. He was the master planner for the development when it was transformed in the 1970s from an industrial area to a mixed use areas with retail, recreation and housing. Hotson says he wanted the island to grow in phases rather than be a large -scale development (a criticism a disciple of Jane Jacobs- Roberta Gratz has made about the mega projects in Vancouver - PI-41) What isn't built up automatically becomes public space without specific use which a good thing.

'Your're letting things happen as they happen. Kids go and skateboard. Somebody plants a garden' Hotson says, It becomes more of a neighbourhood, a place people want to be in'

Of course the advantage of Granville Island has over other spaces is that it's owned by the government and run by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It's the government's role to coax the private sector to create spaces where things happen as they happen rather than leave fenced in vacant lots.

In contrast, the private Concord Pacific project on the former Expo lands deliberately attempts to allocate and use every square inch. Louise Watson, manager of corporate communications and public affairs, says less than half the site is building space, and the remainder is a highly planned mix of roadways, parks, semi-private and community oriented space.

Critics of the project say such master planning creates sameness and sterility. There's no tension to create excitement . . .But Graham McGarva (concentrated on Roundhouse area), who is involved with master planning Concord Pacific says the length of time it takes to plan such a project creates changes and dynamics. There may not be any leftover spaces, but because of the time needed for the development, there is room for unexpected uses and surprises (See Leftover Spaces by Paul Gallant in the August 17,1997 issue of The Vancouver Courier)

A similar remark was also make by Michael Dennis in his work on St Lawrence Towne and Canary Wharf where he notes any large project usually takes 20 years before it is realized (Milner 1997).

[33]In part, the popularization of high-rise living symbolizes the dilution of the domestic vision of the livable city, which had emphasized the importance of introducing families into the inner city. However, with the further growth of a non traditional single's market within the new middle class and the aging of the population a diverse and much larger fraction of the new middle class has surfaced that is far less opposed to high-rise living and probably less interested in the program relating to urban domesticity that was central to the livable city ideology during the 1970s. No doubt both these factors have probably played a role in creating much larger and more diverse market for high rise living in the core in the 1990s than was the case in the 1970s.

This can certainly be seen in new projects such as the $120 million Europa project at 505 Abbot that is now being marketed in the Downtown Eastside. Composed of 177 condos and 17 townhomes on a podium, it will have a fortress type configuration layout that will keep low income people who currently abound in the area out while still conveying a sense of urbanity,

According to the promotion literature the two primarily markets sought after are people who live in the West End and the new Asian population. There will be a 300,000 square foot commercial component which will be largely contained within an interior atrium - at the developer's insistence. With 14 different floor plans the price per unit is expected to vary from about $90,000 to $264,000 and the size from 427 sq. feet to 1,348 sq. feet, which will have three bedrooms (See VS-216).

[34] Refer To SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 28.

Here it is interesting to note that the middle class fractions that recently lead the fight against higher buildings are located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement , especially Fairview. According to planners only about five sights in the downtown are eligible for these heights, however this has provoked a challenge from middle class activists who voiced concerns about the creation of a concrete jungle. (See "Vancouver approves taller buildings downtown," by Frances Bula, in the Vancouver Sun May 7,1997, VS-183).

Again, as stated earlier, it is also important to note that one reason why there was a reappraisal in high-rise living was the increasing concentration of non traditional families in the downtown. Whereas the reaction against high-rises was fueled in part by the domestic ideology of the livable city this has been less the case during the era of the urban spectacle.

As the previous analysis of the origins and diffusion of the densification process in Vancouver have shown, it was the initial differentiation and stratification of households in the West End which first triggered the densification process. That is why the first zone can also be viewed as the institutional incubation ground for the new mode of urban development and not just the point of origin for both the densification process and the incubation ground for postmodern norms. For this was the place where both of these transformative attributes of the postmodern era began to mutually interact with each other for the first time, something that can easily be tracked by looking at the symbiotic relation that developed between densification and zoning in the West End.

[35]The city provides the centre with one million dollars a year. 4,600 people are members and about 1,500 students attend various classes with courses taught by two teachers lent by the school board. About 39 staff are employed at the centre which has a volunteer force of about 150 to manage activities that are primarily devoted to street youth(VS-282).

[36]Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 30.

[37]This can be seen in the stadium mania which now rivals the rush to subsidize and promote office development that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Montreal, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa have all recently built stadium or significantly modified them since the mid 80s, with Winnipeg unsuccessfully trying to join the pact (Silver 1996). In the United States this mania has even become more obvious with over $3-billion in football stadium projects possibly taking place in the next five years, most of which, will be subsidized by the public (See R. Borden, Stadiums: How Seattle plan stacks up," in The Seattle Post-Intelligencer June 13,1997).

In Toronto the same issues have arisen over the Maple leaf gardens (Demara 1997) and in Montreal a similar controversy surfaced over the need to build a new baseball stadium just south of the Molson Place Arena.

[38]A new retail geography has evolved in the core to cater to the urban spectacle and much of the luxury consumption that is related to it and the growing tourist sector. For instance, in one local publication in 1996 (source Business in Vancouver in 1996 - however exact date is not available) the amount of high end retail space in the downtown had been estimated to have tripled between 1990 to 1995, moving from around 80,000 square feet to 240,000 square feet. The influence of these changes can also be seen along Robson Street and even the internal modifications made to department stores like Eatons, in the downtown.

[39]How far Downtown Vancouver has strayed from the Burgess model, which was accurate for the city up to the mid 60s, at least, can be seen in a recent comparison made between Downtown Seattle and Vancouver (VS-271). Using figures supplied by the Downtown Seattle Association

and the Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association an idea of how much more intensive the postmodern transformation of the Core in Vancouver has been during the period of the urban spectacle can be gained. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 34.

While the Central Business District remains intact what emerges from the comparison is that downtown Vancouver is a large settlement zone and not just a Central Business District where residential land uses are peripheral. Secondly what the comparison also shows is that Vancouver function as the Central Entertainment District for the region and international tourism has far surpassed what has taken place in Seattle even though Seattle has developed many postmodern characteristics in its own with regard to the land use regime that has evolved in its downtown over the past 10 years. However, what has happened here does not come dose to what has taken place in Vancouver.

Hence although Greater Seattle is one third larger than Vancouver there is only 3.25 million square feet of retail space versus 7.5 million in Vancouver. Seattle has 26 million square feet of office space while downtown Vancouver has about 18.8 - million square feet. In Seattle there are 8,200 hotel rooms downtown but in Vancouver there are 9,685 and a building boom in hotel construction currently taking place in Vancouver should soon result in a nearly 50 percent expansion in the number of hotel rooms. Although the resident population of downtown Seattle stands at 17,700, which is fairly high for an American city of its size, this pales besides the 55,000 people that live in downtown in Vancouver. Finally 170.000 people work in Seattle while only 125,000 work in Vancouver. What these work and residence numbers therefore reveal is that the Core of Vancouver is more of a place of consumption where the economy of the urban spectacle play a much larger role in the overall economy.

[40] Data was taken from CVPD-123.

[41]The calculations are approximations based on the net addition of housing stock to each sector.

[42]In the North American context, what was also unusual about the West End was that it became a place for massive private investment in residential high-rise construction, and not preservation - which there were some examples of in other inner cities. So rather than being abandoned and downgraded, as the Burgess model would have predicted and something that was generally the empirical norm for most cities in North America at the time, with the exception of some parts of Toronto, perhaps, the West End was probably the only place where large scale private redevelopment of low rise residential space in the inner city was taking place in North America during the modern era (Gaylor 1971).

[43]While the Planning Department has not formally articulated a tourist strategy for the Central area - other agencies supported by the local state have. This can be seen in the budget for Tourism Vancouver- which is responsible for the promotion and nurturing of the urban spectacle. Its significant can be seen in its budget, which nearly equals the entire budget for the Planning Department, with 7.7 million dollars expected to be raised by 2% hotel the tax in 1996. And, indeed, as a report to council shows (CVCO-38), tourism has been a very dynamic sector in the city's economy but most particularly for the Central Business District where increasingly it is becoming just as accurate to refer to the downtown as the Central Entertainment District rather than the Central Business District. Thus visitor spending - with the largest part taking place in the downtown - has risen to more than $2.1-billion a year in Vancouver, over a 50% increase since 1988. Furthermore, half the hotels in the region are located downtown to accommodate the 7.7-million visits that were recorded in the region, up 35% since 1988. Extrapolating from these figures, even with a conservative estimate, this would mean that probably 4 million tourists visited the Core. When programmed local events such as mass sports are taken into consideration another 2 million people can probably be added to the total number of spectators coming into the Core.

[44]The most recent example of this would be the controversy over a new trade and convention centre. According to one article this would significantly boost the hotel industry but others have noted that such facilities have generally raised land values and there is a concern about speeding up gentrification in the eastern part of the downtown. That is why in one proposal

$5.2 million in mitigation funds for housing was put forward as one means to remedy this problem (Tromp 1997).

[45]See SNC, Bibliographic Appendix, Business in Vancouver, Mair, December 8th, 1977.

[46]This can also be seen in the number of overseas visitors arriving in British Columbia. In 1974, only 168,000 overseas travellers entered British Columbia. After this the number of travellers grew modestly, reaching 366,000 in 1985 (CVPD-132). But since then the number of overseas visitors has skyrocketed, with the number nearly tripling between 1985 and 1994 as nearly 900,000 came to the city in 1994 (CV-19) with this number exceeding 1 million in 1996. Hence Vancouver now accounts for nearly a quarter of all overseas visitors coming to Canada (SC-19). Another good illustration of this would be the growth of the convention industry. With only 26,000 delegated coming to Vancouver in 1959 the city was not a major destination point for conventions in Canada (Smith,1963,p.59). However by 1995 more than 150,000 delegates a year were coming to the city (CVPD-165,p.32). With plans to build a new convention centre this market can be expected to further expand (CVCO-33; CV-29; VS-93a). Even more significant has been the increase in cruise ship passengers. In 1980 only around 75,000 passengers visited the city, but in 1995 over 600,000 were docking in the Core (CVPD-165,p.31). With 750,000 expected in 1997, it is assumed that they will generate 200 million dollars worth of business (See Alan Daniels, "Cruise business here to stay, line says," in Vancouver Sun June 16,1997). Similarly the increasing number of passengers at the international airport gives yet an indication of Vancouver's new position as an emerging entrepot. For example in 1978 the number of passengers was below 6 million in 1978, However, by 1995 this number had risen to but to 12 million (CVPD-165,p.31).

[47]This was more than for the entire Census Metropolitan Area of Winnipeg, which had a population of 650.000 instead of 50,000. Here, between 1991 and 1996 less than 11,000 units were added to the total housing stock (SC-24).

[48]So while amount of new housing stock grew by 12 percent in the City of Vancouver between 1990 and 1996 and the region by approximately 15 percent, new housing stock the housing stock in the Core grew by 30 percent - a growth rate which was twice the level of the region and nearly three times that recorded for the city between 1990 and 1996.

(Using figures provided by CMHC (1996) to make a loose estimate there was probably a net addition to the housing stock of about 91,000 units between 1991 and September 1996 for Greater Vancouver.)

[49]The pace of this advance shows up in statistics on new residential construction. Between 1990 and 1996, 10,960 new units were constructed within the two local areas that are located on the downtown peninsula which make up the core. With 2100 units started in 1996 (CMHC December 1996), the number of new housing units added to the core each year is now approaching the frenetic pace of development that was evident in the West End during the first densification cycle, in the late 1960s, when over 3,000 units a year were added on several occasions (Gray 1976). More recent statistics for new housing construction in the first seven months of 1997 show how intense and sustained this boom still is. While the City of Vancouver accounted for 38% of the region's new housing starts between January and the end of July, in 1997, or 3,390 of 8860 units the Core accounted for 17% of the region's new housing construction or 1536 units. As a result this accounted for 45% of all new units begun in the City of Vancouver. Up to the end of July the downtown core even beat out Surrey, the regions largest suburb and second largest housing market in terms of new residential construction since only 1531 units were constructed there (CMHC 1997e).

[50]Furthermore, most of this growth will be concentrated in the Downtown rather than the West End. This will result in the radical re-alignment of the residential geography of the Core area. Soon residential development in the Downtown will begin to approach the level now found in the West End. For example, in 1981 the population ratios of the east and west sides of the core peninsula were 9 to 1 in favour of the West End. However, by 1991 this had fallen to 4 as the population of the West End stabilized around 39,000 while the population of the Downtown

rose to about 9,000. Finally, by extrapolating to the year 2020 the difference between these two residential zones should almost completely disappear as the ratio should then approach one.

[51]The effect of tourism and organization of consumption around the urban spectacle can also be gauged by looking at changes in the retail geography of the Core. In the modern era department stores dominated the retail geography of the Core since they were the focal point for retailing in the region and catered to the mass market. During the postmodern era this changed. Sears closed and then later Woodwards, while the number of boutiques rose. While the Core has declined significantly as a regional retail node for the mass market its attractiveness as a specialized niche market has become unmistakable, particularly if what has happened to Robson Street is taken into account, with some of the most expensive retail rents in the continent demanded here as some rents have spiked past $150 per square foot.

[52]See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 44.

[53]For example, according to Broadway (1993) downtown Montreal had 10,662 room in its downtown in 1991/2 while Vancouver had 9,878 rooms in 1995. Since very little new construction has taken place in Montreal even if only half of the projected 5,600 new units that are forecasted to be constructed in Vancouver are located in the Core this will mean that Vancouver's Core will pass downtown Montreal as the node with nations second largest concentration of hotel rooms even though the metropolitan population of Vancouver is only half that of Montreal's and the population of the immediate hinterland that it can draw from is much smaller than Montreal's. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 45.

[54]This is quite a change from the early 1960s when were only 1,720 hotel rooms in the downtown compared to over 10,000 that now exist (Smith 1963, p.60; BC. Stats 1996).

[55]Even here problems are arising due to the need to construct additional infrastructure for the facilities that house the urban spectacle. For example in Richmond where most airport oriented hotels are located this can be seen in the dispute over a new bridge to be called the Moray Bridge, which will allow visitors easier access to the airport. With six hotels or major hotel renovations forecasted to occur in the area of the new bridge its cost and completion has become a major dickering point between the Ministry of Transportation and Highways and the Vancouver International Airport Authority. In this case the government feels that the major beneficiaries of this development should contribute to the construction of this bridge, which is expected to cost $34 million, according to the Ministry of Transportation and Highways and the BC. Transportation Financing Authority. In terms of hotel investment what is at stake here is the addition of around another 1,000 hotel rooms, located just north of the regional town centre (See Eng July 8,1997).

[56]This is even more the case if only the largest and most exclusive new hotels are considered.

[57] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 51.

[58] This notion still persists and business analysts are now complaining about the high costs of renting and running an office in Vancouver. But much of this is simply the result of the operation of the market itself in the face of an absolute shortage in land and to a lesser extent a plan adopted by the City of Vancouver and the regional government to decentralize office space because of concerns about traffic congestion. For this reason, competing for headquarters on a least cost basis is simply not feasible Vancouver. Besides there seem to be other things in store for Vancouver in terms of economic specialization. The first of course is Tourism. The second in the operation of the region as an entrepot - something highlighted by the relocation of shippers to Vancouver, as there are now 22 offshore shipping located here - with Valles Steamships, Fairmont Shipping, Oak Marine and other shippers from Hong Kong, in particular, moving based in Vancouver. So far they employ 325 people and have generated a payroll of $17 million. Here because Vancouver is competing against the Asian rather than North American market higher costs that would act as a disincentive for other Canadian enterprises is less a factor. While office rents and operating costs in Vancouver will never likely undercut those in Calgary (Ladner 1997), when it comes to shipping firms, as one Hong Kong shipper, executive director, David Koo, of Valles Steamships noted: "In Hong Kong I

would pay eight times more rent and not get the same quality,"(VS-200).

Moreover with the completion of the $224 million investment in the Delaport container terminal, the recent expansion of Vancouver airport and the new open skies policies this entrepot function has been greatly enhanced. After seven years of planning and construction this facility will make Vancouver much more competitive with Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland. According to Ron Longstaffe Vancouver, since Deltaport will double the container handling capacity to 1.2 million foot equivalent units, this facility will not only have the capacity to serve Canada but also to serve the American Mid West and the American East Coast. Furthermore, Delatport is 3 hours and 50 minutes closer to Asian ports than Seattle and 4 hours and 50 minutes closer than Tacoma based on a sailing speed of 18 knots. As a result the new terminal is expected to create 790 direct jobs and 553 indirect jobs and goods and services worth $100 million a year. Built on a 40 hectare site and paid for by the Vancouver Port Corporation - of this $179 million was paid for by port authority, Terminal Systems, a Vancouver stevedoring company put in $40 million and CP and CN put in $5 million (VS-201).

Because of high land prices, that is why in part the concern about B.C.'s failure to attract major new offices is misplaced, particularly if the recent report by the Vancouver Business Association about a future shortage of developable commercial sites in the downtown core is correct. Thus the fact that only three of the top 50 companies in Canada are based in Vancouver and 12 of the top 100 companies are in Vancouver compared to 20 for Calgary or the fact that the number of these head offices has grown from 12 to 20 in the case of Calgary between 1995 and 1997 and only from 10 to 12 in the case of Vancouver (according to the Financial Post) Vancouver seems destined to specialize as an international centre in a different way from Calgary or Toronto. Perhaps a symbol of this coming of age was Vancouver's appearance on the front cover of Time Magazine in November of 1997. Just as a similar appearance in the early 1970's by Toronto announced the new profile this city had now taken in North America, this could be the same for Vancouver - however not as the livable city but rather as one of the epicentres for the urban spectacle.

With limitless land resources and a much greater capacity to subsidize corporations and low taxes because of the billions of dollars worth of resource rents pouring into the Alberta Treasury there is no way for Vancouver will be able to compete with Calgary on the basis of cheaper rents of lower labour costs. If competition is to occur it will have to be along other lines. Again, this only highlights the importance of entreport functions and tourism and perhaps the usefulness of exploring how the profile of high-technology industries might be enhanced since they are less dependent on factors such as inexpensive labour and land.

[59]Compared to the modern era, when most office space was expected to be located in the core and when, as well, they were allowed to spread out over ever larger parts of the downtown peninsula, because everyone was desperate for development, this consolidation and reduction in the amount of allowable office space represents quite a change in direction. Even since the late 1970s, when the first postmodern strategy for the downtown was still centred around the notion of the executive city, there has been a major change in the status of the Core. For example, over the past two years more office space has been constructed in Burnaby than in Vancouver. As well, just as with industrial land the uses, permitted functions carried out in office building have changed, blurring this land use category (BIV-1997d, August 12th). Also, for the first time, the area allocated to office uses had contracted for the first time. This can be seen especially in the Downtown South and the Triangle West area. There have even been some inroads by hotels by and residential land uses into the very central core of the office sector, located between Thurlow and Granville North of Georgia (VS-223 - One of the best examples of this would be the construction of a high-rise residential apartment tower on the site of the former terminal club on Hastings street).

This has even begun to set off some alarm in the business community. Just recently a study was commissioned by the Downtown Business Association to show that there was not an adequate inventory of commercial space in the downtown core (See Mc Naughton 1997).

[60]Although the movement of people back into the core of Vancouver has taken off in the 1990s, what is even more unusual about this process was is that it actually began in the early 1950s, when the first of three large migration waves deposited different layers of single people into the West End. This provided the population base for the qualitative transformation of social space in the core that would turn the West End into a quintessential postmodern space by the 1980s. With the layering of three different non family sub cultures, a landscape that was the physical and social antithesis of the material culture that had evolved around the automobile, the single detached dwelling unit and the existence of the nuclear family, which modernism idealized, had come into existence as an opposing middle class formation. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 52.

[61]No better is this struggle over space more evident than in the expansion of residential land and the contortions the city has gone through to keep the Molson Indy in the downtown.

[62]Of all the communities this is the most threatened by gentrification. In 1970 there were about 14,000 (Figure 1) low Income housing units in the core. By 1996 this number had dropped to about 11,000. If a rather large scale non profit housing program had not taken place the number of low income units would now only stand at 7,000 units and be mostly composed of single occupancy rooms. Between 1984 and 1993 the Downtown Core received about 215 non-market units a year. Since the Federal withdrawal this number has dropped to 150 units. Meanwhile there has been an average loss of 228 units of low income units a year between 1970 and 1996, although this declined has slowed down to 80 units a year over the last ten years. With 300 units threatened with conversion to tourist uses the city is now proposing that the province amend the Vancouver Charter to allow it to regulate such conversions (CVCO-45).

[63]The only notable exception to this state would be the recent influx of children that have come with the settlement of nearly 3,000 Slavic immigrants in the West End since the early 1990s (Beers 1997; PI-28).While the West End remains the most varied and concentrated adult environment in the region, at the same time, this recent increase in children, illustrates the remarkable capacity of the West End to accommodate the full spectrum of households. Again, this underlines how this area has evolve into one of the diverse and malleable residential spaces in the region.

[64]What makes these comparisons even more interesting is that different tenure and house form changes can be related to the diffusion of the densification process from the core area to the rest of the city. In each settlement zone different social groups predominate and in each settlement ring this corresponds with a different house form and tenure type. In addition each zone has a distinctive regulatory regime to guide the regulation of space. As pointed out earlier, these differences are reflected in the division of labour that has evolved in the City Planning Department of Vancouver, with the Central Area Division in charge of regulating the high rise city dominated by the non domestic middle class, the urban underclass, the foreign elite. Meanwhile, until recently, at least, Community Planning was chiefly in charge of regulating the environment occupied by the domestic fraction of the new middle class. Finally, Community Planning and the CityPlan Division have been given the responsibility for regulation the space occupied by the Asian and Traditional Caucasian middle Class population (table 7; table 9).

[65]In the second zone the number of children increases as the house type moves down from high-rise to medium-rise dwelling units and the tenure form shifts from rental to strata title. Just as with the first zone this second zone is still a middle class settlement zone there are significantly more children located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement than in the Core. Also refer To SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 57.

[66]Foucault looked at these types of spaces as being a hetrotopia (See Soja 1996; Watson and Gibson 1995,p.255).

[67]While middle class observers might be inclined to discount this space this habitat does constitute a proletarian micro utopia of sorts which has flourished at the bottom of the housing chain. So even with one of the marginalized populations in the core, and with a population

that has hardly any room to maneuver in a settlement space has formed whose dynamic is as much influenced by social as well as the economic factors. While economic necessity establishes strict limits for the existence of this space, when looking at the hard spaces of the city, it is also because of the soft spaces of the city (Raban 1976), a word that conveys the informal and underground economies, the social networks and familiar institutions that make the Downtown Eastside a magnet for certain social groups (VS-391). For some people it is home (VS-346) and not just a dumping ground for dysfunctional males and drug addicts (VS-371; VS-374; G/M 1997bu; 1997bwa). For some of the people who live here probably could move elsewhere if they wanted to (Downtown Eastside Housing And Residents Survey, 1989; CVSP-8).

Turning from the East to the west side of the downtown, another micro utopia can be identified. While one of the most important material preconditions for the growth of the proletarian micro utopia was based on the existence of a large number of SRO units; the material precondition which allowed the gay and Slav communities to establish their own micro utopias was based upon the production of a large stock of rental accommodation. This produced an extremely porous space since they were not necessarily directed at the luxury market. Hence, what is remarkable to note about the West End is how it continues to operate as a receptacle for new immigrants and migrants despite having some of the highest rents and lowest vacancies in the region.

For example, in 1995, the average rental for a Bachelor in the West End was $589. It was $691 for a one bedroom, $1,057 for a Two bedroom and $1,571 for a Three Bedroom. Respectively, these rents were 7.3%, 4.5%, 11.8% and 27.5 % above the city average. As well, between October 1990 and October 1995 the average rent increase for Bachelors in the West End was 4.4%, (-1.0), 3.7%, 5.2%, 3.5% versus .6.% 5.2.% 5.5. 2%, 5.5%, 5.5%, 4.6%, 4.8%, for the citywide average. Hence rents rose by 15.9% in the West End versus 12.7% for the City. One Bedroom units in the West End moved up 10.1%, 1.6%, 3.3%, 1.8% and 2.4%, rising 19.2% versus 18.4% for the city. Two Bedroom increased (9.5%), 12.8%, 1.5%, (-1.4%) and 4.3%, climbing 7.7% versus the city average of 8.8% for the city. Lastly, except for a three year period between 1991 and 1993 since 1985 vacancy rates for the West End have been less than the city. Since 1994, this has been particularly the case, as vacancies have been extremely low: varying between .4% and .5%, one third the regional average and half the city's overall vacancy rate (See Vancouver CMA October 1995, Rental Market Report, by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation).

[68] Additional examples of the existence of these special micro social formations abound in the core. Again, this reinforces the status of the Core as a collage.

More so on the West rather than on the East side, the idea of the Collage City seems to be especially pertinent. For example the West End has become an asylum for well to do Japanese debutantes seeking refuge from the constraints and limitations of a traditional patriarchal culture that seems to have no place for them (PI-36; VS-133). At the same time, immigrants from the other end of the economic spectrum have come to the West End over the past ten years, as the West End has become the preferred destination for groups of Slavic immigrants who now hail mostly from former Yugoslavia and now number around 3,000 people (Beers 1997). Quite unexpectedly this has lead to a significant surge in children in the Core, As one elementary teacher in the West End noted: about a third of the children in his class are of Slavic origin (PI-36). As with informants from the gay and seniors populations of the West End who make up the two largest subgroups that here when one Russian waiter was queried about why he and his friends chose to live in West End the answer was not dissimilar from that received from gay and senior residents who were asked the same question. Like this groups the Russian waiter casually remarked that he could conceive of no other place in the city where a Russian would care to live (PI-39).

For various migrant groups from the rest of the province or the country theWest End also is perceived as a micro utopia and preferred destination point. For example population statistics show that the West End is a magnet for French speaking people from Quebec. As one

ex Montrealer and specialist in Francophone settlement in BC remarked: all the French people from Quebec that he knows live in the West End. It is not Maillardville or the Francophone cultural centre that makes up the core of the French community in Vancouver but the West End (PI-37). This observation by this researcher into Francophone populations in British Columbia is supported by statistics that show that the number of people having French as their mother tongue was 3.6 percent in West Enders versus 1.5 percent for the city in 1991, the highest percentage in the region (CVPD-123).

In addition to being a destination point for Francophone migrants, anecdotal evident obtained from interviews with retired and younger gay men who had moved to the West End from elsewhere in Canada suggest that the West End also acts as a focal point and important settlement space for gay men from outside the city. Just as with the Russian waiter, the reasons given for settling in The West End were quite similar, as older and younger gay men indicated that they were quite willing to pay an extra premium to remain in this neighourhood.

If even a finer mesh were used, it would be possible to see the presence of sub groups within sub groups. In this instance the most obvious case would be the expanding gay HIV population that appears to be gravitating towards the West End. Not surprisingly the emergence of this community has surfaced in mortality and health statistics kept for the various local areas that make up the City of Vancouver.

[69]This idea of a collage space and the existence of micro utopias provides a more nuanced way of looking at the sociological dynamic that frames the struggle over space among competing groups in the Core. Generally the social ecology of the city is determined by the relative economic power of each group to compete for space and their willingness to substitute other consumption for the right to occupy special pieces of territory if necessary. In fact, in slow growing cities, with large underclass formations, as may be the case in Winnipeg, this process can even work in reverse. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5 Note 62.

[70]As already pointed out, it was the presence of such a large stock of rental housing in the West End that has made it a destination point for so many groups. This explains why the West End is the most fluid social space in the region Had this large pool of rental units not been present the first major postwar migration of seniors to the West End would not likely have taken place. Nor would the growing Slav population and the gay ghetto have taken root here in the way that they did. Had the West End remained a single detached dwelling area or a place where more strata title units first expanded into, the West End would have likely evolved more along the lines of Kitsilano, producing a much more uniform and homogeneous mix of people.

[71]Here, in a curious way, the 1975 and 1989 plans for the West End have been deliberately used to slow down the displacement of the lower middle class of the West End, making it something quite different from the specialized nodes of affluence for the urban elite which Chicago School Theorists viewed was the only possible segment of the respectable part of the population that could live in the Core. This has must be seen as one of the better moments for the Planning Department, which, except for Mole Hill, which has more to do with City Council and a reactionary Parks Board, it has largely succeeded in slowing down the displacement of the lower middle class. How it may work out on the East side where, the political and social climate is much more hostile to measures that would preserve this proletarian landscape remains to be seen.

[72]If the rental stock is broken down into its three main components the different impact of the loss of each types of rental units can be assessed. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 66.

[73]Although existing zoning has slowed down the gradual cannibalization or redevelopment of the rental stock of the West End, the stock of rental housing has still continued to diminish into the late 90s. Although the rate of change has not exceeded the two per cent loss which Council established has a limit there has been a steady drop and this not bode well for the West End's future as a Collage City.

At present there is a policy under consideration that would change the rate of change in rental units to zero from two per cent but the actions of the city with regard to Mole Hill

indicate that this is not likely to happen. Only recently two developments were allowed, which involved the demolition of the few rare boarding houses that remain. One was located at 1000 Broughton and Barclay. Here 23 rental units will be lost. In this and other ways the total number of rental units in the West End is steadily dropping. Hence with this small development the total number of rental units will drop from 20,947 units to 20,970 in 1997. Moreover, the number of single detached units in the West End may now even have fallen below 130. Yet, despite the loss of rental units the number of dwelling units has continued to rise in the West End. For instance, in another development proposed on Barclay, seven housing units and the demolition of two single detached boarding houses will result but 20 dwelling units will be added, creating a net addition of 13 units in this case (See CVCO-57).

[74]In 1996 there were approximately 13,400 units present or under construction and 6,550 of these units were made up of strata title units. If present trends continue the proportion of strata title units may well exceed 60 percent of the entire housing stock in the Downtown.

[75]Tourists and visitors are also taking up more space and making their presence increasingly felt to both the middle class and working class residential populations that live in the Core. While the concentration of entertainment functions and the infrastructure of spectacles into the Central Area was given very little attention in the 1991 plan it appears to be emerging as one of the most challenging tasks now faced by the Central Area Division as the increasingly middle class population is reacting more negatively to its expansion working class advocates are pressing the panic button harder as the very survival of much of the working class community is threatened with obliteration. Hence, when Larry Beasely, the Director for the Central Area Division, was asked about this, he remarked that coming to terms with sector will be one of the most important challenges facing planning in the core (PI-1).

[76] Since many of the strata title units will likely be rented out some fluidity in the housing market will remain but this is unlikely to assist working class population although it may assist lower income middle class fractions.

[77]Now the Royal and the Hotel California are being transformed into tourist accommodation because they fear that the city's proposed bylaw to curb the loss of SRO units will curtail their ability to exploit the growing tourist market. As a result, tenants paying $500 a month for a room are now being faced with eviction (VS-222).

[78]For instance the conversion of Single Room Occupancy units in the core was 140 units in the 1970s; in the 1980s the rate of conversion climbed to 170 a year. And in the first six years of the 1990's this conversion rate has been limited to 240 units. But now tempo seems to be increasingly again as up to 550 units have been lost so far in the 1990s and 300 units are threatened as the Dominion, Niagara and Cambie hotels face conversion. As a city report states, what is being lost is a vital housing resource. Even more to the point the cost of replacing this stock has been estimated to be $750 million. Thus, the replacement cost of the annual lose of these units amounts to $23-million a year. For this reason the city is asking for powers from the province to prevent the destruction of these units (See CVCO-45).

[79]For instance the province has dropped its commitment to the production of new housing units from 900 in 1996 to 600 in 1997. Furthermore, it has moved the emphasis away from non family housing (CVCO-49). In response to these cutbacks the city is considering payment-in-lieu, for major projects and is pondering increasing the density of non market housing on mega project sites to try and keep the proportion of affordable or non market housing up to the 20 percent goal for core needy that it had originally set but it now unable to realize (i.e.. over 30% income expended on housing). So far 705 of the 2,760 non market units projected have been funded or built in Coal Harbour and False Creek. Because of changing provincial policy's non family non market has been turned into family as well in Coal Harbour and False Creek, which further tightens the market for non family singles. Thus, with the lack of lack of public funding the development of air parcels reserved for non market housing has become an issue and so the question of payment-in-lieu has arisen.

[80]This has become a trend line as the equity goals adopted for the city's mega projects have

steadily been watered down. Recently this was shown in council's decision to allow Concord Pacific to proceed on the Quayside development without having to reserve space for 150 non-market housing that were allocated for this site. From a high of over 30 of non-market housing for South False Creek, in the livable city era, even reaching a ratio of 20 percent, which was adopted in 1988 for North False Creek, is increasingly becoming unobtainable. With no institutional mechanism linking further development to the production of the required social housing mandatory the limit has been dropped to 16.6 for non-market housing. This has come under fire from former city councilor and current MLA Libby Davies, who calls what has happened a travesty, noting how planners and politicians were warned about this in the late 80s.

Compensation like payment in lieu has been discussed by housing bureaucrats but housing activists like Sean McEwen feel that the city could ask for much more since the developer potential to make a great deal of money is dependent upon the city's approval. Another option that was mentioned was waiting out the current dry spell in federal and provincial funding for housing funding in the hope that once the debt crises is brought under control more funds might be put back into social housing (See Appelebe 1997f).

[81]Fear about the ability of city bylaws regulating conversions, which might come out of amendment to the Vancouver charter, have already forced several of the 172 SRO hotels to evict their tenants. In the downtown South The Royal, The Hotel California and even the Yale hotels have threatened to do this or has carried this out (Zillich July 10,1997b). Further to the West the destruction of low income SRO units still faces Mole Hill as four homes may be demolished and market units built in their stead because of the bottom line thinking of bureaucrats and politicians tat city hall. For example, with one plan put forward by the city it was calculated that a $5-million return could be generated with the construction of 20 condos and that a further $7-million could be generated if three heritage homes were demolished, but on this matter, staff did not support this action. While Mole residents want all the homes preserved the city claims that climbing maintenance costs will cost it $3-million (Zillich 1997a) so the struggle for affordable housing continues in all quarters of the core, with even the West End fast losing the few single detached units that once served as the major reservoir for inexpensive housing for low income people.

[82]In this new postmodern order, one of the chief marketing aces for Vancouver has been its livability and the perception that it is a safe place to visit, a representation of the urban order which the mere presence of the lumpen proletariat who still remain in the inner city serves to break the illusion of, particularly as increasingly stylized environments are being created which make this impoverished population stand out even more (VS-289).

As a result the struggle for the use and control of space has become increasingly bitter and desperate. Unfortunately, for the urban proletariat, the most intense development pressures have occurred just as one of its most powerful organizations nearly self destructed. Even so, with DERA continuing to exist the strategy for housing has definitely moved to the use of defensive tactics (VS-279). However so far this has done little to slow the damage caused by the inroads of the urban spectacle and the growing intolerance for low status social groups by the growing middle class

Consequently new fault lines have appeared in the Core. And it is over housing that the most bitter and important decisions will be made that determine how the overall evolution of the Core will proceed. Signs of the friction created by this fault line can be seen in numerous places and events that have generated increasingly bitter conflict between middle class business proprietors and residents in the Downtown Eastside. Not surprisingly their more authoritarian and exclusive sense of entitlement has turned up in the demand for micro policing that they are paying for, as models developed in the United States promoted by two anthropologists, George Kelling and Catherine Coles (1966), in their book "Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities,"has become a best seller in the neighbourhood. The book has become widely available in the East side and was

prominently displayed at McCarthy's, an architectural book store in Gastown, and so revealed the wide interest in developing a strategy to put the urban proletariat in their place so the community can be made more agreeable to the middle class. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 75.

[83] Refer to (VS-326; VS-371; VS-375) and SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 74.

[84]On no issue, perhaps, is this better illustrated than by looking at the various responses of the middle class to prostitution in the inner city. In this regard, it is interesting to note the difference responses of various fractions of the middle class to the problem. For those aligned to the livable city ideology and located in the second rather than in the first zone a much more tolerant attitude, which was less exclusive and more inclusive has developed (For an interesting alternative account of the whole issue of prostitution see Dave Hingsburger in the July 24th issue of Xtra West,1997,p.23). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 75.

[85]A good point in case in point is the recent public emergence of prostitution in Abbotsford a city outside the region one hour from downtown Vancouver (See VS-221).

[86]This is very recent. Over the past six month prostitution and homeless individuals appear to have become much more visible in local Areas like Sunset, which is at the edge of the City of Vancouver in the suburban zone. Not only have the numbers increased the behaviour of this group has appears to be becoming more threatening, limiting the use of local parks, such as Pandora, by residents that live in this neighbourhood (PI-51).

[87]This has already happened in Vancouver where indigent people have begun to move to the second and third zones because it is safer and because there is less competition for alms and more space to hide within. To the extent that this takes place both the under class and middle class existing residents will be the losers. The expulsion of marginalized groups from the core and their relocation to the peripheral spaces of the city will not result in their disappearance, they will only appear elsewhere, building up social tension and friction as they will stand out even in the places where the local population is not used to their presence. That is why the middle class as well as the urban underclass have something to lose if the drug and housing problem in the Core is not managed properly. The poor will needlessly suffer harm and the middle class will be alienated from spaces they once though to be safe and care free. That is why dispersion of the poor may lead to the worst of all possible worlds Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 77.

[88]Refer to (PI-19; PI-20; PI-22; PI-34; PI-35; P0-1; P0-6; P0-8).

[89] Refer to Cathcart 1997; Johnson 1997; Zillich 1997, 1997a; VS-222; CVC0-45; CVC0-50; G/M-1997zm.

[90]If the downtown plan captured the pervasive bias that modern planning had shown towards the automobile, and therefore to the promotion of machine space, the 1957 Vancouver Redevelopment Study clearly showed how modern planning tended to conceptualize urban space as abstract space. It also showed how a utilitarian and productivist perspective governed the representation of space and therefore how it contrasted with the landscapes of desire, which the consumer orientation of the postmodern spatial matrix would soon imprint upon this zone of settlement. For the modernist, all of these ideas were wrapped up in the concept of urban blight, which was the would commonly applied to spaces that were under performing economically or to social spaces that were regarded as being inferior. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 79.

As with the downtown plan, one of the most important reasons for engaging in urban renewal in the transitional zone had to do with generating higher assessment values for the city. This reflected the productivist bias that was present in all three component of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. If corporations produced commodities that generated profits, in like fashion, one of the chief goals for planning was increase the assessment value of the city. While this did not produce profits for the city this would enhance the revenue generating capacity of the city.

Because this transitional zone had become a zone of discard, where property values were falling rather than rising, this area, along with the downtown, became prime candidates for urban renewal. Just like a development corporation planners paid as much attention to exchange value as they did to the use value of land. Like any modern private corporation this further abstracted urban space, since the commodification of land also became intertwined with transformation of this blighted space into pristine mono functional spaces which reflected the technocratic values of the expert but also the market potential that was hoped to be realized with the reconfiguration of land in this fashion. Here the anti urban bias' of modern sociology as well as the economic calculation merged, with the negative moral judgments associated with urban density, mixed land uses and the presence of deviant urban sub-cultures and the promise of riches providing a moral and economic argument that justified comprehensive urban renewal.

Costing around 75 million dollars, in 1958 dollars, the public expenditures required to implement this plan was twice the cost of that listed for the downtown plan, released a year earlier (CVTP-1; CVTB-2). Touted as the most ambitious urban renewal scheme in Canada (VS-29), once completed a virtuous and more productive spatial order was expected to be produced. Deviant social spaces would be normalized and, more importantly, perhaps, in terms of assessment values, this zone of discard would be transformed from an under performing area of revenue generation to one which produced adequate revenues for the city. In this fashion Urban renewal was expected to act as an antidote to both the moral and economic decay of the city.

The order seeking and utilitarian perspective of the engineer also become undeniable in the language of the study as the productivist conceptualization of space when it is stated that: "The Development Plan is concerned with the best and most appropriate use of the City's most valuable asset-its land. When the development on part of that land becomes blighted the asset is being wasted. Redevelopment, as it is conceived in this report, is aimed a preventing this waste and is therefore just as much a part of the City's development strategy as the location of highways, of the designation of zoning districts. It is important therefore that the period considered for redevelopment should be the same as for the rest of the Development plan."

To achieve this goal the study indicates that it was a matter of small consequence that 25,000 people would have to be displaced and over 900 acres ultimately cleared in order to eliminate the "collar of blight" that surrounded the core (CVTPB-2). In keeping with the productivist orientation of modern planning and the narrow sociological imagination that governed modern regulation, mixed residential spaces were to be removed.

Contaminated and devalued by the presence of mixed land uses, existing residences were to mostly sacrifice to industry with the reorganization of this zone, with a great deal of land occupied by residents expected to be turned into industrial land uses. This would directly contrast with the postmodern strategy for the redevelopment of these lands, which would happen in the 1970s. Instead of industrial land expanding and residential land uses receding in this zone, the opposite would occur between the late 1960's and 1990, as about 700 acres of industrial, or 25 percent of the city's industrial land, which was mostly located around False Creek and, to a lesser extent, on the north arm of the Fraser River, would be converted into residential land (CVPD-92).

[91]For simplicity's sake Champlain Heights and the Fraser Lands, which are mostly located in the local area of Killarney, in the South East part of the this city have not been included in this calculation. Nonetheless, they are a satellite of this settlement zone.

[92]Ann McAfee has rightly pointed out that a distinction needs to be made between local area planning undertaken in the conversion zone and the planning processes undertaken in the industrial lands which she termed urban renewal 70s style. Still there is a connection between this 70s style urban renewal and the dialogical format employed by local area planning, as both its focused involved public consultation when land uses in each area was changed and medium density development such as South False Creek was usually what resulted. The one major difference was that on industrial land there was no existing residential population to engage

with, which gave planners more room to maneuver in if they wished to do so (See Elligott 1977).

An important point also remarked upon by Ann McAfee(PI-13), was that the greatest population increases were achieved with the redevelopment of industrial lands while population gains in the conversion zone were much more modest, but, it has to be said, that even so, these gains were not insignificant, nevertheless, as the substantial population increases in Kitsilano and Fairview between the mid 70s to the present reveal.

[93]After the last track of industrial land along the South East Shore of False Creek is developed in the next ten years what was once the industrial heartland of Vancouver will have been completely erased and turned into a landscape of consumption. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 82.

[94] Actually the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement overlaps with parts of the community of Point Grey, extending to Alma and then along a narrow corridor following 10th Ave.

[95]In this regard what is happening to Strathcona and in Grandview Woodlands as immigrant catchment areas is instructive. With the deflection of wealthier Chinese immigration out of the second settlement zone for cultural and social reasons and the displacement of poorer immigrants because of gentrification the social ecology of this zone has been completely transformed since the mid 60s. Also Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 139.

[96]It is important to remember that there are remnant catchment areas where the housing stock has remained unattractive to the new middle class or it has been purpose built for a largely non middle class population. Strathcona has the largest percentage of such housing. To this extent it has become a retirement node for the longer time Chinese immigrants in the city. Similarly, in Grandview Woodland, the area North of Hastings street between Nainamo and Clark street is another area which has remained a pocket for new immigrants coming into the city. As one observer noted: one or two years after a crisis someplace in the world these are the places where the population affected by these disturbances are likely to be found in Vancouver (PI-51).

[97]Figures are contained in City of Vancouver, Information Update P8 March 1995 Vancouver Local Area Trends, 1971-1991.

[98]IBID.

[99]Strathcona is also interesting case because of its location in a transition zone between the Core and the Zone of New Middle Class Resettlement. This also applies to parts of Mount Pleasant and is something that can be observed in the physical and social makeup of both areas. Beginning with Strathcona, with regard to the social dimension of modern regulation, this neighbourhood still contains significant patches of residential space that still function as enclaves for settlement functions associated with the modern city, when both local areas were regarded as part of the collar of blight that surrounded the Core. In Strathcona the remnants of the region's largest urban redevelopment project remain. As well the only physical artifact of Sutton Brown's aborted freeway system can be seen in Strathcona as well. With the region's largest concentration of social housing the neighbourhood will never entirely be overwhelmed by the new middle class but the configuration of the working class population has been reduced to an enclave formation. As well much of this housing is geared to the Lumpen proletariat, so unlike Mount Pleasant, where transition areas are defined by the cross over between the immigrant zone and middle class suburban zone, in the case of Strathcona the cross over is one that reflects its transition between the receding working class population of the Core and the newly formed Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Consequently the population in question is more marginalized and but of it is actually made up of the indigenous poor rather than the immigrant poor. Still, despite a relatively high in flow of immigrants (likely because of the presence of social housing) and the high proportion of Chinese (this would be because of the presence of many purpose built structures for the older generation of Chinese immigrants) Strathcona is a gentrifying all the same. This is reflected in housing prices, which are now above the regional average. Moreover, it is a process that is largely confined to the stock of single detached dwelling units. Here there has been a gradual filtering out of immigrants and their replacement by the middle class.

[100]West Point Grey has 5.3% of its housing stock made up of social housing compared to 3.5% for Kitsilano. As a result, it has by far has the highest percentage of social housing on the west side of the suburban zone of Vancouver (CVCO-19). Other features which make this local area more like the second zone rather than the third zone is its connection to UBC and its recent history of neighbourhood activism. However, what sets it apart from the second settlement ring is the dominance of RS-1 zoning and its essential suburban character, although that is gradually changing, with initiatives being brought forward for the densification of single detached areas by CityPlan.

[101] To take into account the gentrification that has occurred in Strathcona, about 3,000 people were subtracted from the figures given for the population of the Downtown Eastside in a recent planning report on the Downtown Eastside. Of course this process has spread much more widely since then and should show up in the 1996 Census because of the City Gate development, the production of numerous lofts since 1991 and the conversion of SRO units into tourist accommodation in the Victory Square and Gastown Areas.

[102]This can be seen in the diversity of the immigrant population in this Census Tract. Here Asian immigrants are not the only newcomers. For example people speaking Spanish represent the second largest non English speaking group in the tract (SC-10). Furthermore, it is not an area where the Asian middle class is attracted to although, interesting enough, the 1991 Census show a fairly high Filipino population.

[103]One way of looking at how this function has ceased to exist in this zone is by looking at changes in the proportion of the population not having English as their mother tongue. In this Zone these enclaves or immigrant portals stand in marked contrast to most other areas of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, where there has been a noticeable decrease in the percentage of the population having English as their mother tongue. Of the other four neighbourhood that make up the second zone only Strathcona experienced a slight decrease in the proportion of the population having English as their mother tongue. However, since the change between 1981 and 1991 was quite minor and with rapidly escalating property values changing the composition of the population the 1996 Census may show that this has been reversed in this neighbourhood as well.

[104]Since the mid 1990s contextual zoning has become the norm in the western part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, but this came after the surge of Asian immigrants into the area and represents the reaction of the receding Caucasian elite to the changes wrought by this foreign parvenu class. While recognizing this point, it is also important to remain aware of the nuances that define the different Chinese groups who are moving into Vancouver: for example significant differences are purported to exist between Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants, as some recent immigrants have commented that Taiwanese immigrants are less ostentatious in their consumption and therefore stand out less.

[105]For instance, this can be seen in the development proposal called metropolis in Metrotown, in Burnaby, which will be funded in part by Asian money and will be the first large scale residential and commercial strata complex constructed in Canada.

[106]A good case in point would be the dispute that arose over a new Chinese immigrant couple who decided to pave over their front yard in Mackenzie Heights. While such as action might have caused some consternation in some working class areas this became a major issue in the middle class precincts of west Vancouver at 2908 West 30th, where it appears the Chinese owners beat the new zoning bylaw by pouring concrete before the new postmodern protocols came into effect. Since the house was built RS-5 zoning has been installed which limits surface cover to 60% of the lot and demands more contextual structures to be built than the one put up by the Lins (Sullivan 1996, November 6th).

[107] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 89.

[108] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 90.

[109] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 86.

[110] In this case, economic decline, a smaller middle class, and a much slower take up of postmodern values with regard to the reconfiguration of space account for the weaker presence of this zone in Montreal. Ironically, unlike Toronto or Vancouver, where the most significant experiments by the middle class in housing types had to do with medium rise rather than high rise development, in the City of Montreal this type of housing, that was regarded as an innovation in Toronto and Vancouver, was the norm in this city. Thus medium rise development was a twentieth tradition within Montreal rather than an innovation, but it was one which was largely forgotten or abandoned in the suburban areas that were responsible for most of the population growth of the region. Paradoxically, while Anglo Saxons were beginning to leave behind the single detached dwelling unit, which had been their most noticeable urban trade mark, Montrealer's were moving in the opposite direction, particularly in the off island suburbs, which had become Sovereigntists bastions, were picking up this Angle Saxon tradition, and leaving behind their own tradition medium rise dwellings (See The Montreal Columnist for The Globe and Mail remarked about this. Also see Montreal Gazette (1997l).

[111] For instance, in Winnipeg the best example of this would be the Wolseley neighbourhood.

[112] Sources: CVPD-68; CVPD-81; CVPD-123.

[113] Thus in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver the most significant physical embodiments of the livable city agenda exist in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This is where St. Lawrence Town in Toronto, Milton Park in Montreal, South False Creek in Vancouver can be found (Hulchanski 1984; Helman 1987; Bennett 1997).

[114] Vancouver and Toronto were the two main centres for American resistors. By 1986 there were 1,200 American immigrants living in Kitsilano 4% compared to the city average of 2% and the regional average of 1.7%, since there were only approximately 24,000 American immigrants living in the entire region (Sources CVPD-68; CVPD-81).

Of significance in all of this was that this protest against the war and concern about her sons lead the doyen of postmodernism herself, Jane Jacobs, to move from New York City to Toronto. Because of the direct personal links between the anti-war actions of postmodern ideologues and their migration to Canada it is relatively easy to make a connection between anti-militarism and the anti bureaucraticism of postmodern ideology. For both were taking place simultaneous. At the same time influence of market rather than bureaucratic rule, which allowed a great deal of the pluralism and anarchy that flourished at the level of everyday life was growing as well and would soon start to reshape the political realm of Vancouver. While no equivalent figure of the stature of Jane Jacobs moved to Vancouver Haig has recorded a number of influential Americans who ended up living here. Another interesting facet of this invasion was the displacement of the British influence and the growing influence of Americans who were hired in large numbers under the Spaxman regime and eventually exerted a great deal of influence over the running of the Planning Department and the bureaucracy in general. Part of this Diaspora would end up in the Vancouver Planning Department; with planners such as Larry Beasely, Nathan Edelson, Ted Droettbroom and others hailing from the United States.

[115] Despite the presence of gentrification, what is also noteworthy about this ring of settlement is its absence in most large American city. In the U.S. the success of modernization, that came with freeway construction and urban renewal left fewer raw materials to work with in terms of the urban fabric. This was further compounded by the barrier created by the emergence of an urban under class rather than the flow of immigrants into the inner city, which was more the case with the Canadian city. The working class did not leave as rapidly either because they were better able to preserve the exchange and use values of their homes because of the absence of urban riots and the belated and localized development of an urban underclass. There were also political and ideological reasons for the failure of these rings to develop as they had in most of Canada's major cities, such as the absence of nationally based urban reform movement, which briefly existed in Canada, which City Magazine was one of the core's for, but also in the absence of Federal programs that encouraged renovation.

One reason for this, as mentioned in the previous chapter, had to do with the greater influence of the ideology of the urban spectacle and timing. The cyclical shift that can be observed from the Left to the Right was not the same in both countries. The ideology of the livable city of the 1970s and early 1980s in Canada was dependent on a liberal/labour alliance created by the Liberal Party of Elliot Trudeau, and the support and prompting provided by the NDP - Canada's social democratic party. On the other hand the urban spectacle which favoured the operation of market forces and large corporations was very much part of the return to power of a right of centre conservative block at most level of government in the United States. In the United States this had already begun as early as the late 60s, with the victory of Richard Nixon, but would only begin to take shape in Canada in 1984 when the Federal conservatives were elected to power. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 91.

[116]Examples of this can be seen in the hybrid Building for Humanity project at Grant and Commercial Drive where non market, market and retail uses are being integrated into one complex whereas traditionally this philanthropic group has only built single detached homes. Other signs can be seen the numerous community gardens, a park named Grove Court in Grandview/Woodland (at the corner of Maclean and Grant). But of course the greatest transformation was South False Creek. That is why it is possible that an even greater accomplishment might be secured if something innovative is done with the southeast section of False Creek.

[117]On the east side of this zone it is still possible to witness oppositional movements and the continuation of the communitarian movement. Examples of this can be pointed to by referring to projects like Habitat for Humanity, or the struggle to a sustainable community for the city in Southeast False Creek .

109 Then there is the pathbreaking work in community gardening that has been carried out in Strathcona. This has become one of the most notable examples of the survival of the communitarian ethos of the livable city in the era of the urban spectacle. Together the Cotton wood and Strathcona Gardens have freed up six acres of former underused park land, which was essentially used as an industrial site. With reluctance bureaucrats were forced to give up this land, it has since been turned it into an urban oasis, carrying on a tradition of reclaiming underused and abandoned land that was first begun with South False Creek. In light of the problems the Mole Hill people are having preserving scarce housing on land that was designated for park land and the city's increasing bottom line attitude with regard to getting a market return for the use of its land assets, the existence of these two gardens is truly a remarkable feat in the current political circumstances. These two communities are also significant because they represent the continuation of the continuing struggle against machine space, since one of the strategic reasons for squatting on the Cotton Wood site in particular was to block the right of way of a proposed freeway link to the Port (PI-49) - something activists were able to do to the great dismay of the Engineering Department (Pictorial diagram Two).

[118]As mentioned in the section on the Core, the negative side to this has been the gentrification of the few areas remaining that were once off limits to the new middle class in the inner city. However there is also an important progressive feature about this as well. Strata title development provided a means for preserving older homes and commercial buildings. Where the middle class has been large enough, as in Vancouver, this has created a distinctive niche market. Examples of conversions would be the following: Abott House, at Dunsmuir and Jervis; Cedar Mews, 1825 Burrard and the Canadian Memorial Church, which was turned into 19 loft style units; Metropolis, 1228 Richards, with the addition of a 29 storey residential high rise to an art Deco line supply building; 2237-2239 Pender. Conversion of a barn built in 1905 which has been used as a fire hall but now will become artist studios; the Vernon Building at 239 East Broadway Avenue will currently house the Captains second hand store will be removed but the Art Deco facade retained and three floors of condos added on to it; Jardines's Look Out, as part of a high rise development three heritage single detached dwellings were restored.

In addition, Robert Wilson, of Goddard-Smith Realty believe that a dozen major

conversions, worth $100 million, have taken place since 1989. They often generate a 15 to 20 percent return on investment, as opposed to 10 to 15 percent for most other condos that are built. And there are benefits to the taxpayers since the tax assessment increase. For a 45,000 industrial/commercial building taxes might rise from $20.000 to $80,000 or $100,000. As Robert Wilson noted," Since I did the first conversion at 1050 Hamilton, the New Yorker, it has completely flipped," says Wilson. "If people recall, six years ago it was big trucks on the streets, printing shops, big furniture stores. Now it's trendy restaurants, boutiques, agents, offices, it's just done a 100 per cent turnaround. Property values have skyrocketed from $41 a square foot for land to $400 a square foot. It's just unbelievable, the resurgence and the dollars that have been generated. I would guess that real estate in Yaletown has shot up the fastest of any area in Vancouver, or British Columbia." (VS-263).

[119]Refer to the following references: VS-175; VS-176; CVPD- 161; CVPD- 167.

[120] In fact street life has become so important that a special unit within the Engineering Department, called the Street Enforcement Division, made up of one individual was temporarily created in 1996 but there is now a recommendation by staff that this be made into a permanent position so that some control over the rapidly activities taking place on the street life can be regulated in some way, with the person hired responsible for illegal vending, the Bute Flee market, newspaper boxes, sidewalk cafes, produce displays sandwich board signs, commercial garbage containers etc. Much of the cost would be incurred from charges made for the use of sidewalk cafe space which is expected generate $185,00 in 1997. Produce Display, which should generate $32,00 and Street Vending licenses that may bring in $82,000. Altogether this is expected to generate revenues of $323,000 while the cost of enforcement is expected to be $180,000 in 1997 (CVCO-58, Appendix).

[121]Particularly during the era of the urban spectacle, all of these inner city middle class zones across the country have developed a strong commitment to the revival of street life (CVCO-58) and the use of public space as a place for communal rather than privatized consumption: something markedly different from the modern era when consumption was much more privatized because of its orientation around the car and the single detached dwelling unit. Even in Edmonton this can be seen in the community of Strathcona where Whyte Avenue has been revived and in fact competes with the downtown for a great deal of the city's restaurant and retail business.

[122]Here the new middle class has seriously mis read the development dynamic that was responsible for the redevelopment of the West End. Unlike Toronto and other places the West End was not developed by large development corporations but by a wide array of small and medium sized investors. This may be one reason why the West End did become a monotonous concrete jungle as many of its critics were wont to call it.

[123]But most of this animosity was spread by a distinctive petty bourgeois antipathy to the corporate rule of the modern city which high rise residential buildings and office towers became emblematic of for the new middle class. This is easily seen in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in Vancouver where any deviation from the medium rise format that has been established here has been immediately attached despite the more favourable view of high-rise living that has developed in the 1980s and 1990s. Long after the antipathy to business and large corporations have dissolved the great rebellion against high rises that took place in the late 60s and early 70s still holds firmly in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. So Even though this middle class is less opposed to business it remains quite resistant to any form of high-rise development. Consequently, most attempts to built high-rise structures in this zone have provoked a vigorous negative reaction (Gold 1996; VS-79; VS-84; VS-176; VS-177). That is why it is hardly surprising to find that the strongest criticism of the City's recent approval of 600 foot building ceiling in the core has come from the Fairview neighbourhood (Applebe 1996b; VS-171). Similarly it is likely that the greatest negative response to the high density development of Southeast False Creek has emanated from this zone as well.

[124]This becomes most evident in with neo-traditional planning - and its corporatist rather than

populist colouring (see Al-Hindi 1997).

[125] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 106.

[126] For example, see Lance Berelowitiz's 1992 article on "High-Rise Anxiety in Vancouver," which discusses the creation of a new breed of condominium towers with much smaller floor plates. Costing more but providing much better views and a more dramatic and stylized skyline they have become part of the aesthetic aspect of the urban spectacle in the core- one consequence has been the production of smaller suites for the lower end of the market - the most extreme example of this being the an apartment building constructed on Drake by VLC, where suite sizes were allowed to go beneath the building code minimum.

[127] Ann McAfee (PI-13) has taken issue with this point, noting that local area planning has aided the gentrification process but not densification. While not disagreeing with her comment that local area planning has aided the gentrification of the neighbourhoods bordering False Creek, the fact remains that this development has attracted a great deal of residential capital but not population growth. However, it is the flow of capital that has been used as the basis for defining densification not population. In this analysis gentrification is not considered to be separate from densification, but is viewed as just one of many specific forms of densification. Although population growth usually accompanies densification this is not always necessarily so.

[128] However, since the 1970s and early 1980s three changes have affected local area planning and therefore the transformation of the second zone and the behaviour of the Local Area Division which since it has been an important institutional agent in the evolution of this zone since the mid 70s. For this was the division that was primarily responsible for regulating and transforming this transition zone from a place of discard from to one of the most sought after settlement spaces for the new middle class in the entire region.

The guiding vision for this area was spelled out quite clearly in "Shaping the Future", This policy document established the Local Area Division as the main institutional organ for implement of the livable city agenda in this zone. However, the Division has increasingly been relegated to the sideline because of changing circumstances which called for a new approach. First, a new vision related to the needs and aspirations of the era of the urban spectacle was now required, which involved a more corporatist approach to local area planning and less expenditure of time and money. Secondly, new programs was needed to respond to the spread out of the densification process from the second to the suburban areas of the city. Thirdly a the middle class, who were the main participants of this process had turned more conservative and more resistant to densification, which had now become more important in the overall framework established for regulating change in the city.

Addendum: Philosophically and substantively Local government was beginning to change during the era of the urban spectacle. Here four foundational documents or processes that appeared in the late 80s and early 90s that would set out the agenda for the second phase in the postmodern transformation of the City of Vancouver. The most important process will probably turn out to be the Task force on Better City Government, which basically calls for a more corporatist approach to city government (CVC)-23). Then there is The Central Area Plan of 1991 (CVPD-112) and the fast tracking of land and the intense residential densification of the Core, which it sets the guidelines for. For the rest of the city there is CityPlan(CVPD-141), which was passed in 1995, which primarily focuses upon the densification of the suburban ring of Vancouver. Finally there is the Transportation Plan (CVPD-152) that was adopted in 1996, which calls for the greening of the transportation grid in Vancouver and may bring with it the entry of the Engineering Department into the postmodern fold, at last. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 103.

[129] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 107.

[130] However this has changed slightly. Because the West End functions as an immigration portal for Slavic families that are used to small residential spaces in high rises there has been a dramatic increase in the youth population of the West End which should show up in the 1996

Census. Whereas at one time some consideration was given to closing down King George Secondary School, this has now been dropped because of rising enrollments (See The West End Times 1997,p.3).

[131]Moreover the fact that there are three times more children here than in the Core suggests that middle class people chose to raise kids here by choice rather than necessity as was traditionally more the case with immigrant and low income groups that once inhabited much of this zone.

[132]Although this may eventually change, as centre of new residential development shifts from the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement to the Core in the 1990s, nonetheless, in terms of tenure and house forms, at present the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has the most extensive and varied postmodern landscape in the city.

[133] This occurred with the cretin of the Local Area Division and the institutionalization of comprehensive local area planning exercises for this zone. Indeed over the next twenty years many local areas were revisited twice by the Local Area Division. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt.5, Note 125a.

[134]As a recent survey, reported in an edition of the Condo Guide (July 4,1997), states: "A Survey of condominium fees across the Lower Mainland showed a wide spectrum in rates for homes with 750-850 square feet. From under $10 per 100 square feet in some Surrey and Langley communities to almost $25 per 100 square feet in a few of the new downtown high-rises in Vancouver . . . Since a condominium corporation is a non-profit organization, the budgeting process is different than most people are used to." (p.58).

[135]The largest loftland would be created in the Mount Pleasant Industrial area and another in the industrial area between Burrard and Granville south of Broadway. In the Core two enclaves would develop - in Yaletown and the Downtown South and then in the Gastown and Downtown Eastside area.

With the appearance of lofts, a new type of house form appeared, where policy for its regulation was largely given to Michael Gordon who then worked for the Local Area Division but is now is employed in the Central Area Division. In the 1990s this has become the privatized version of affordable housing for the middle class on land that was once primarily industrial. Both in the Core and the Zone of Middle Class the move away from an earlier domestic sensibility to one that is clearly non domestic has become clear when looking at this house form, as the search for more inexpensive housing by lower income segments of the new middle class and the growing popularity of artistic rather than funky environments can be seen in the rising popularity of live/work or loft units, which were only legalized in Vancouver in the late 80s.

[136]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 117.

[137] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 126.

[138]As said before, with the institutionalization of a "neighbourly" medium rise landscape that came with the introduction of contextual zoning for RM-3 and RT districts in the 1976 (figure 8) a unique landscape was created in this zone which acted as an incubation ground for a number of experiments in new forms contextual regulation and medium rise strata title dwelling units by planners and developers that was replicated elsewhere in Vancouver.

[139]More significantly for the region, the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Settlement acted as an incubation ground for experimenting with and fine tuning postmodern approaches to medium and high rise structures that developers and planners elsewhere in the region were to use as a model. Not surprisingly, when one talk's to planners or developers or reads their literature (Figures 13 B and C) it is to the Core or places like Fairview or Kitsilano, in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement that comparisons are made when quality is made reference to.

[140] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 123.

[141] As was shown in the core, housing does not only filter and sort out the middle class, as the third settlement ring shows, it stratifies classes and groups within classes. Also see SNC, Vol.

2, Chpt. 5, Note 128.

[142]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 125.

[143] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5 Note 127a.

[144]If we look at how the Van Horne loft building has been marketed a whole series of linkages between the artistic mind set in the sphere of production and consumption become obvious. In these new spaces the focus upon privatization and the urban spectacle became blatantly projected in the promotional literature that is used to sell these dwellings, which just opened in 1997. Again these lofts are the 1990s answer to affordability for the new middle class. In the 1970s and 1980s their equivalents were the non profits and co-ops that predominated in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 127.

[145] As with the other Figures, numbers have been rounded off so all the numbers do not necessarily tally up. Furthermore unlike the statistics that used boundaries defined by Vancouver's local areas, slightly different boundaries were used since all the data was supplied by the Pacific Branch of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation rather than Statistics Canada. For example the boundaries for the ZMCRS are made up of sub areas identified as Kitsilano, False Creek, Granville/Oak, Mt. Pleasant and Strathcona/Grandview were used to represent the five local areas that make up the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement - that is Kitsilano, Fairview, Mount Pleasant, Grandview/Woodlands and Strathcona. Finally the data covers the period between 1990 and September 1996 (Sources New Housing Report Vancouver CMA/Fraser Valley, September 1996 by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and File sheets on new housing construction between 1990 and 1995 supplied by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation).

[146]While these percentages indicate how powerful densification has become in this zone, both the percentage and the absolute number of housing units listed in the third zone overestimate the net addition of residential units here because most of the new single detached dwelling, which make up the majority of new housing units in this zone are simply larger replacement stock for smaller single detached units that have been demolished to make room for these larger units. For example, of the 6968 housing units demolished between 1990 and 1995 (Stern 1996, p.9) 4,592 of these units were single detached dwelling units and most of the units demolished were located in the ZARS zone. Hence a net addition of approximately 10,100 has occurred rather than 14,654 units, as suggest in the figures on new construction.

[147] Most of this development took place on the periphery of this zone, along the former Fraser Rive industrial lands and in the rezoned industrial site by the Joyce ALRT site where VLC has built many rental units

[148]Looking at the production of live/work studios in more detail, this housing only arose from out of the underground market in 1987 when city bylaws were amended to allow live/work studios to legally exist.

[149] Most of the data used came form compilations of local area data by the Planning department (CVPD-68; CVC0-19; CVPD-123; CV-24) and the Hamilton Condominium Rental Study (1991). Figures have been rounded off and approximations have been made so not all the figures will necessarily add up. However, except for the extrapolations made on strata unit development most of the figures are fairly exact.

[150] These estimates were derived from using Canada Mortgage and Housing data from 1990 to 1996 and by subtracting residential units which were demolished which number 6,968 between 1990 and 1996, of which 4,492 units were single detached dwelling units and 2,376 were rental units (Stern 1996, p.9 Table 6)

[151]For single detached units Statistics Canada figures were used and here there appears to be some discrepancy that may be due to the how the department counts these units and how the author added up the figures for the various zones. However, what ever the error, it is not a major one and does nothing to alter the basic trend lines or the profile of tenure forms that can be seen in the City of Vancouver.

[152]With this massive loft development on Scotia and 5th Avenue by the Aragon group, one suite on the first floor, studio #141, had been given to the city as a gift. Because it is such a large space, containing 2,684 square feet, it has been decided to grant its use to a non profit art's group called the Public Dreams Society, which specializes in creating events. This would give them a permanent space for 10 years of production that they have not had up until now. Council defines an artist studio as a space used for the production of "paintings, drawing, pottery, sculpture, ceramics, video, moving or still photography and creative writing, dance or music,"(p.3) (See CVC0-55).

[153]For example, refer to plan formulated by the West Point Grey Residents Association in 1994.

[154]Davis,1997; VS-136; VS-157; VS-188a.

[155]So actually the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement is not strictly confined to the five local areas that have been mentioned but extends a few blocks into Point Grey and along 10th Avenue. Likewise, further to the East in some places it extends as far South as King Edward Avenue and on the South East it is the Zone of Asian Resettlement which actually overlaps with this part of the second zone.

[156]In this regard it is still interesting to note how the clash between first and second generation middle class values have surfaced in conflicts over the use of space on Granville Island. Perhaps the best recent example of this would be the controversy over the establishment of a cinema complex with six theatres, which is proposed for the east side of Granville island - a relatively underused section of Granville Island. In keeping with the livable city agenda and the values of non corporate interests were to be kept out. Now this is being challenged. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 135.

[157] Sources CVPD-123 and CVPD-68.

[158]These are approximation based upon dwelling construction in each zone divided by the total increase in Chinese residents. With this accomplished it was assumed that the total population of the Core was around 57,000 in 1996 and(that it had increased to about 160,00 in 160,00 by the end of 1997), the ZMCRS around 125,000 and the ZARS around 332,000. As well all figures for 1996 have been rsounded out in the estimates and percentages that are given in table eight - while the Census metropolitan estimate uses mother tonque the break down for the City of Vancouver uses percentages derived from data on visible minorities.

[159]refer to footnote 125

[160]Statistics are for the Census Metropolitan Area of Vancouver (Sources SC-10; CVPD-123; GVRD 1997g). The 1996 figure is an estimate taken from figures cited In the August 1997 issue of Report on Business article by Vivian Smith, p. 44 where more than 170,000 people were reported to have immigrated from Asia. Using a rough estimate that about 15,000 of these would be non Chinese an estimate of about 155,000 Chinese immigrants was inferred. With the 1991 population and this new population the Chinese population for Metropolitan Vancouver probably approached 266,000 by the end of 1996, or about 14.5% of the total population. Of course the Asian population would be much higher. In some figures in this table the percentage of Asians is actually underestimated as only the top three Asian groups were counted specifically. That is Chinese speaking immigrants, Tagalog speaking immigrants and punjabi speaking immigrants were counted. But these only account for about 85% of Asian immigrants, While this figure gives a fairly accurate picture of the distribution of the Asian population it in some zones they the proportion of Asian immigrants may actually be 15% to 2)% higher than recorded in some of the percentages for the Asian percentage of the population given for 1996. For example Koreans, Japanese and Middle Eastern immgrants are not taken into account in percentages that are given at the sub-regional level. Thus according the data on visible minorities Greater Vancouver had over 18,000 Middle Eastern immigrants, about 22,000 Japanese and over 17,000 Koreans. Lastly the figure for 1998 was derived from looking at immigration statistics supplied by B.C. Statistics on immigration supplied by the province.

[161]This Figure was taken from SC-56.

[162]- most figures here are rounded out- for example in 1986 Asian population was rounded outr to 15,000 - this number was also determined by adding 15% onto figure after tabulating the numbers for the three largest Asian group Tagalog speakers at 700 or .6% of population of ZMCRS and Punjabi population which was 250 or, 3% of the population of this zone. With regard to the punjabi and Tagalog speaking residents it is interesting to note that by 1991 the Tagalog population had increased to 1.1% of the zones population(1,410) while the Punjabi population fell in both absolute and relavtive terms - as it declines from 350 to 320. Whilte the population of this zone had increased to 120,998, a 11% increase, the punjabi speaking populaton had declined by 9%, as its proportion of the total population in this zone fell from.3% to.2%. Meanwhile, as the Chinese population was becoming the hegemonic force in the third zone its numbers increased in the ZMCRS, burt not as large as elsewhere in the City of Vancouver. Thus the number of Chinese speaking resident in the ZMCRS increased from 12,755 to 13,814 between 1986 and 1991 and then to over 16,000 in 1996. Meanwhile the Zone of Asian Resettlement had about 278,000 people living here in 1986. It therefore contained 65% of the city's population but housed 42,640 of 56,227 or 76% of the city's Chinese population. By 1998 about 99,000 Chinese speaking residents would be living here, accounting for about 82% of the City's Chinese population. This reveals that the process of transformation had already been established by 1986. Similary the percentago of the population in this zone made up of Chinese speakers would rise from 15% in 1986 to 33%, as the population rose from 43 to 99,000 and this zone as a whole increased in population from 278,000 to about 332,000 , as the zone increased by about 19% during this ten year interval. With this the gap between the number of Chinese speaking residents in the ZMCRS and The ZARS increased from about 3% in 1986 to 17% in 1996. In the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the three largest Asian groups made up about17,800 of the 125,000 people estimated to be living in this zone in 1996 , making up about 14% of this zone's population. When other Asian immigrant population are taken into account the number of Asians estimated to be living in this zone rise to about 21,000 or about 17% of the entrie population. In 1986 the Zone of Asioan Resettlement contained about 53,141 from the three largest Asian groups. This made up about 19% of the population of this zone. When other groups are added the total number of Asians rises to about 61,000 or about 22% of the entire population of this zone. In 1996 the three largest Asian groups accounted for about 118,000 of the 332,000 residents living in the zone or about 36% of the population. When other Asian group are added this rise to about 136,000 people or about 41%.

[163] All values for ZARS are only estimates for the Core of the Zone.

[164] The core would include the inner ring, which makes up the ZARS in Vancouver, and the suburban municipalities of Richmond and Burnaby, where the percentage of Asians now exceeds the regional average. For this reason Surrey, the north shore and and Coquitlam have been excluded from these calculation even though they are peripheral parts or satellites of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. For the region the Asian population of the then emerging Zone of Asian Resettlement was approximately 98,000 or approximately 23% of the entire population of this zone. However by 1996 it would climb to 33 percent or about 223,000. The Chinese population in 1986 was estimated to be around 55,000 or 13%. In 1996 this increased to about 160,000 or approximately 24%. While the overall population of this zone increased by 58% from 1986 to 1996 the Chinese population had increased by nearly 300% and the Asian population by nearly 230%. While there was rapid population growth in this zone it was not enough to make up for the influx of immigrants. As a result there was considerable displacement. For example, although Richmond grew by 40,000 in this ten year interval the Chinese population alone grew by 30,000 and the Filipino population about 4,000. When other Asian groups are taken into consideration there was probably a net increase of about 43,000. This would mean that the pre-exiting Caucasian population was probably displaced, or that about 3,000 Caucasians moved elsewhere in the region. So not only did the size of the Asian community increase dramatically, at the same time, the Caucasian community probably shrank by about 3% between 1986 and 1996

, as the Zone of Asian Resettlement expanded into the inner suburbs. And while Burnaby grew by about 34,000, the Chinese population grew by 20,000. When the other Asian groups are added, at least another 5,000 Asian immigrants probably moved to Burnaby. So although Burnaby grew about 24% between 1986 and 1996, the Caucasian population probably grew by less than 3%. Other than Richmond the effect of displacement is most evident in the suburban zone of Vancouver. While population of the suburban zone of Vancouver increased by about 63,000 in ten years, or about 24%, the Chinese population increased by 54,000; the Punjabi population increased by about 7,000; and the Tagalog population probably increased by 2,000 in this zone. Hence the largest Asian groups accounted for 63,000, or the net population gain experienced by the inner ring. When other Asian groups are taken into consideration probably another 9,000 Asian immigrants flowed into this zone. From this it is possible to infer that nearly 10,000 Caucasians were displaced from the inner ring of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, in the City of Vancouver, or at least 5% of the Caucasian population that lived here in 1986.

[165]Because visible minorities were used to measure the Chinese and Asian population for the 1996 Census the figures are higher than would otherwise be the case if mother tonque were used. With Visible minorities used the Chinese population and Asian populations are inflated by about four percentage points - compared to the figures that can be derived from only using data on mother tongue.

[166]While this was most intense in Kitsilano and Fairview, which had significant immigrant populations, this population was European rather than Asian. This process of filtering can be seen in the local areas such as Strathcona, Grandview/Woodlands and Mount Pleasant, where the influx of the Caucasian middle class and the deflection of the Asian middle class is hidden by statistics because these areas have not been completely gentrified and several large immigration and lower class migration portals remain that probably cover up the movement of the Caucasian new middle class into this settlement zone. A good case in point would be Census Tract 56 in Grandview Woodlands, which can be considered the core zone for Caucasian gentrification in this local area. All the indices point to it becoming whiter and more bourgeois while the city is becoming much more Asian. For example between 1971 and 1991 the population went from 8,345 to 8,293 after falling to a low of 6,472 in 1976. Meanwhile during the same twenty year span the incidence of poverty fell from 24.9% to 15.5%. Also the percentage of immigrants and the Chinese population fell. Hence the immigrant population declined from 3,590, in 1971, to 2,670, in 1991. Meanwhile the Chinese population fell from approximately 2,080 to 1,290. Thus the percentage of immigrants living in this census tract went from about 42% to 32% while the Chinese population fell from about 25% of the population to 16% - revealing that a dramatic counter trend was in full swing here since both the city and the region were experiencing a huge increase in immigration, which should have been reflected in higher figures for these localities, but this did not happen, as the Asian middle class avoided the area and the Asian working class went to more inexpensive places (SC-4ab; SC-6a; SC- 8Aa; SC-10).

Addendum: For a recent international write up about the Asian transformation of Vancouver refer to the Cover Story of Time Magazine, November 17,1997. For some comments about the article see letters to the editor Time Magazine December 8th, 1997 where some of the negative aspects are mentioned; such as education cost, the arrogance of wealthy immigrants, an unwillingness to fit in or learn English, as well as a distinction made between recent and past immigrants and the fact that more of the newer immigrants have less command over English than in the past.

Thus for a positive spin on the ethnic transformation of Vancouver see Time Magazine November 17, 1997 and a postive but slightly more ambivalent slant see Series in the Vancouver Sune entitled Changing Faces, Facing Change (VS-389; VS-390; VS-395; VS-396; VS-397) in November 1997. For a much more negative slant on the ethnic transformation of Vancouver see British Columbia Report December 1,1997. In this regard refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 151.

[167]However the unevenness of the transformation of this zone also becomes apparent if the five

communities that make up the ring of middle class settlement are studied in more detail. This zone has an obvious core and periphery that can be pointed to by looking at the different population profile of the core of area of the zone with the periphery: While there is a higher than average proportion of migrants from the rest of Canada in Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes, with nearly thirty-six percent of the population originating from elsewhere in Canada and Fairview, in the peripheral local areas of the zone the percentage of immigrants is much higher. Furthermore, as the data in table eight and ten shows, fewer immigrants have entered this zone than elsewhere in the region. This can be detected in the number of people who have English as their mother tongue, particularly in the three core local areas that make up this zone: Fairview, Kitsilano and Grandview/Woodlands. From 1971, 1981 to 1991 the percentage of the population having English as their mother tongue generally rose as the proportion for the City and the Region declined while the population of the zone increased significantly. What this flow of people into the second settlement ring shows and the rising education level strongly suggest is (table five) that this area has become a powerful magnet for the Caucasian new middle class from across the country rather to settle and that this area is no longer a primary entry point for new immigrants, which it had once been during the modern era. The percentage of the population having English as a mother tongue shows this to be the case quite well since between 1971 and 1991 about 70 % of all immigrants have been Asian. Thus for the region the proportion of the population having English as their mother tongue declined from 77.5% in 1981 to 74% in 1991 while the decline in Vancouver went from 73.5% in 1971 to 63.1% in 1981 then to 59.1% in 1991. Meanwhile in most local areas situated within the Zone of Middle Class resettlement the obverse was the case in most instances and even where there was a slight decline it was from a level far higher than the regional or citywide average. For example the proportion of the population having English as their mother language in Fairview declined from 81.1% in 1971 to 80.2% in 1981 and then went down further to 78.3% in 1991. Meanwhile in Kitsilano the proportion of the population having English as their mother tongue rose from 79.4% in 1971 to 81,2% in 1981 and then to 83,1% in 1991. For Strathcona there was a weak upward trend as well, as the percentage of the population with English as their mother tongue declined from 33.9% in 1971 to 32.1% in 1981 and then rose to 32.6% in 1991 and will probably will be shown to have increased further when the 1996 Census data is released. Being the most weakly developed local area of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and having one of the largest remaining portals for new immigrants into the city there has been a steady decline in the proportion of the population having English as their mother tongue in Mount Pleasant even though gentrification has begun to take off in a significant way in the 1990s and so some of the changes will not be captured until the 1996 Census data is released. Thus, the percentage of the population with English as their mother tongue declined steadily from 68.1% in 1971 to 63,1% in 1981 and then to 57% in 1991, within Mount Pleasant. As a consequence the number of people with English as their mother tongue remained below the city average over the entire time. However if the numbers for Mount Pleasant are disaggregated and Census tract 050.1 is removed from the profile of the local area (since it remain the largest traditional portal for lower status immigrants in the city) the percentage of the population with English as their mother tongue rises from 57.1% to 65.7%. Recalibrating the figures in this way the proportion of the population with English as their mother tongue moves 6% above the city average instead of remaining 3% below the city average. (Sources: CVPD-68; CVPD-81; CVPD- 123; SC-10).

[168]See Fiona Hughes (1996) about plan to develop a large site that could hold 20 or 22 lots on a block of land at Eighth Avenue and Samasat, as residents resist medium-rise dwelling units on this large RS-1 site.

[169]Similar shifts are also reflected in the outcomes and concerns of local area planning processes, when comparisons between the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s are made, in instances in which a second planning process was conducted for some neighbourhoods in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, such as Kitsilano (CVCO-11; CVCO-16) and Strathcona (CVSP-6; CV20a), to assess changing circumstances in the postmodern transformation of the city. Although these

reviews showed that many of elements of the ideology of the livable city remain intact in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the influence of the urban spectacle is betrayed in the increased emphasis placed upon the stylization of the environment and less interest shown in co-operative and social housing . Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 115.

[170]These exercises in equity planning and the experimentation with dialogical planning that took place were progressive features of the local area planning that cannot be readily dismissed. (CVPD-115). In the early years equity concerns were given a very high profile. In abbreviated form, this continues into the 1990s. Part of this legacy can be seen in a program that is called Bringing CityPlan to the neighbourhoods: for example the recent exercises in Dunbar and Kensington - Cedar Cottage. Again, like what happened in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, much of the impetus revolves around densification: this time conflicts over low rise formats that have arisen between the Caucasian Middle class and the Asian middle class and the broader strategic goal of bringing densification to single family areas which had previously been immune to this type of development pressure. which is essentially about densifying areas zoned for single detached dwellings in the third settlement zone, besides densification, what is also comes out of the more abbreviated form of local area planning is the greater emphasis put on aesthetics. Not only does this reflect the extension of the densification process to the suburban parts of the city in the 1980s and 1990s, it also reflect the on going transformation of the entire City of Vancouver into a middle class city. As a consequence, we see local agendas weighted much more heavily towards middle class aspirations since, in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, in particular, with the possible exception of Mount Pleasant, perhaps, they have become the dominant social class served by this process. Nonetheless, despite the problematic aspects arising from the growing favourtism shown to the new middle class the usefulness of local area planning with regard to the progression of the densification remains undeniable

[171]For this population prostitution is less alien. Although it may not have been desirable or unwelcome, it has always been part of the everyday life in Strathcona. Of course, for the middle class this practice would be recognized as being more alien and intrusive. However in Grandview Woodlands this has been mollified by the domestic and artistic fractions of the middle class that have settled here. Compared to the West End, (Lowman 1984, PI-17) a much more accommodating attitude has developed and the middle class behaved have behaved much differently. This may explain why the new urban middle class in Strathcona adopted a strategy of negotiation and inclusion rather than one of outright exclusion in dealing with the issue of prostitution. Part of this reason for this tolerance may also have to do with the maintenance of the first generation values of the postmodern city since the livable city values that this middle class fraction adheres revolves around the conscious cultivation of tolerance and diversity. And this may explain why there is more solidarity with the lumpen proletariat and the working class attitudes in this neighbourhood (PI-19; PI-20; CVSP-6).

[172] Although the values associated with urban spectacle are increasingly defining the attitudes that govern the regulation of space in the second zone as well, the anarchical and communitarian values which were the hallmark of the livable city still appears to exist as part of the organic culture of the new middle class in the neighbourhoods of Strathcona, Grandview Woodlands and Mount Pleasant. Here new and interesting experiments that fall within the parameters of the informal economy that the livable city program favour with can still be found (Mclaren 1997b). Whether intentional or not, that is why there is an important symbolism in the location of the province's largest credit Union - VanCity (Hardin 1996) - on the border of the eastern part of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Refer to - PO-1; P0-3;VS-97a VS-218; PI-51; VanCity 1995).

[173]Although more suburban in look and feel, because this area was developed by planners who were influenced by what was happening in South False creek and who were to become key agents in local area planning that was to transform the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, this area became a satellite of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. As a result, instead of single

detached homes predominating here, along the river a narrow band and in Champlain heights a bulge of medium rise housing units were constructed. Also, time played a factor in this. Being the last undeveloped area of the city, which was also owned by the City of Vancouver, development did not really take off until the mid 1970s, when postmodern norms started to be used by planners to shape the physical spaces of this new neighbourhood. As a result many of the social ideals of the livable city were transported outside the inner city and applied to this suburban territory, creating a suburbanized version of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Consequently most housing units in Killarney are made up of medium-rise strata title units or non profit housing. What also makes this area stand out is that, outside the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, this local area has the largest concentration of non-profit units. For instance, according to figures compiled in 1995, there were 2099 non-profit units in Killarney (CV-24), making up 30 percent of the housing stock of this area. Hence, after Strathcona, and the Downtown this local area had the third highest number of non-profit units in the city.

Indeed if this area were taken out of the Third Zone and considered part of the second zone the concentration of non-profit housing in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, would further be amplified. Without Killarney, the proportion of dwelling units made up non-profit units would drop from six to four percent while if it were included in the figures for the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the percentage of non-profits would go up to about fourteen percent.

[174]This new immigration flow is not ony present in Canada, but is part of a larger flow demographic current that has affected all immigration destinations in the postmodern era. For example, see Jean-Pierre Garson and Agnes Puymoyen in "New Patterns of Migration," in the OCED Observer, No 192 - February/March 1995, pp. 8-12 - where they remark how the origin and destination of immigrants has changed since the 1960s. Thus in the United States, Australia, Canada, Japan and United Kingdom immigration from Southern Europe has been replaced by immigration from the Philippines, South Asia, Pakistan, India, Vietnam and Bangladesh - also the migration is composed of increasingly skilled labour -- in the European Community immigration accounted for at least 50% of the regions population growth between 1983 and 1992 -- and in North America immigration accounted for a quarter and third of the total population increase -- while in Japan the influence of immigration on population increase was negligible -- with statistics they show that the percentage of foreign-born in Canada was 16.1% in 1981 and 15.6% in 1991 while in Australia it was 20.6% in 1981 and 22.7% in 1991 and in the United States 4.7% in 1981 and 7.9% in 1991, as the number of foreign-born increased from 14-million to 19.7-million, increasing from 3.8 to 4.3-million in Canada, and from 3 to 4.1-million in Australia between 1981 and 1991 -- meanwhile in the United Kingdom the percentage of the foreign-born population increased from 2.8 to 3.5% of the population - from 1.6 to 2.0-million -- in Germany from 4.6 to 6.8-million or 7.8 to 8.5% of the population -- in France the percentage of foreign-born residents increased from 3.7 to 3.5% between 1982 and 1993 or from 6.8 to 6.3% of the population-- Japan .8 to 1.3-million or .7 to 1.1% of the population between 1982 and 1993.

[175]This displaced Caucasian population has largely dispersed to the Fourth Zone rather than remaining in the third settlement ring (figure three; figure five), recreating here, to a certain, extent, the sectoral class division in settlement patterns. As in the modern period this zone is becoming divided sectorally along class lines, with the working class tending to remain in the north eastern sector of the region, in places like, the extreme eastern and western sections of New Westminister, North Surrey or the City of Langley and along the North of the Fraser River. On the other hand, the middle class displaced from the third zone have concentrated more in to the South in places like South Delta, White Rock, Ladner, parts of the District of Langley and Tsawawssen (figure two).

[176](VP-55)

[177] See SC-8a. What is also noteworthy is that the largest concentration of Punjabi residents in jVancouver is located in one of the lowest income postal code districts in the city. Because of this middle class settlement of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement this area has been

transformed into a enclave and relic landscape - one left over from the modern era (See VP-54 and VP-55 or the Vancouver Province November 5th and November 19th, p. A. 10.

[178] In fact the Toronto Star (April 5,1997a) called this area the danger zone. Whereas the GTA had experienced a net increase of 255,000 jobs since 1989, Metro had not yet recovered its 1989 share of employment with the zone of inner city suburbs losing 188,000 jobs in comparison to 74,0000 for the City of Toronto. While unemployment in the City of Toronto dropped to between 7 % and 8% by 1997, in these inner suburbs unemployment ranged from 10 to 11%. Whereas 66% of the city's adult population are in the labour force only 61% of adults in the suburbs are in the labour force. Thus in 1996 unemployment in the GTA was 7.9%, 8.0% in the City of Toronto and 11.1% in the rest of Metro. This is a significant change because there was no such divergence before the last recession, in 1988.

[179]Unlike Montreal or Toronto, more raw material more raw material from the flow of immigration was present in Vancouver to establish a contiguous Zone of Asian Resettlement by the end of the 1980s. By contrast, in Toronto only the North Eastern sector of the suburban and exurban area of the new City of Toronto, in Scarborough, and the south eastern sections of the Region of York in places like the York Region has this occurred. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5 Note 161.

[180]With a Hong Kong population now over 10,000, this population has doubled since 1970 and has risen from 4% to 6% of the immigrant population. Meanwhile between 1991 and 1996 the number of Hong Kong immigrants in Calgary accounted for 9% of the total number of immigrants, with around 3,000 immigrated to Calgary during this time year time span (Calgary Herald 1997q).

[181] While about 95,000 Chinese immigrants came to Vancouver among 1991 and 1996, East Indians came in second, with 16,185 arriving, followed by Filipinos, who accounted for 13,610 arrivals. In fourth place were the South Koreans (6,385) and Iranian (4,640) - (Refer to Globe and Mail, November 5th, p. A10 and SC-44). In percentage terms this meant that Chinese immigrants accounted for 50% of all immigrants, East Indian 8.5% and Filipino 7.7%. But in terms of the approximately 152,000 Asian immigrants that came to Vancouver this meant that Chinese immigrants accounted for 63% of Asian immigrants, further adding to the economic and demographic critical mass that has solidified their hegemony within the immigrant community, representing a challenge to the long established Caucasian elite (See Feldstein 1997; Anthony Sapeth 1997; VS-165a; VS-182).

[182]While these figures show that the Third Zone has been transformed into a zone of Asian Resettlement it is far from being a homogeneous block in terms of Asian settlement and it would be a gross oversimplification to think that this area will be entirely settled by recent Asian immigrants. In the West Side a significant Caucasian middle class is likely to remain. Elsewhere, more to the East pockets of Caucasian middle class settlement are likely to become permanent fixtures of the landscape, as they take up areas ignored by the Asian middle class - especially pockets of heritage homes, which the Caucasian middle class has an interest in renovating rather than demolishing.

With regard to other Asian groups, there is also the stratification that can be seen to be emerging. While recent Chinese immigrants have become extremely concentrated in the suburban zone of the City of Vancouver, Richmond, where they account for about 30 percent of the population and, to a lesser extent, in Burnaby; the Indo-Canadian population has been more inclined to moved to the periphery of the Third Zone. It is therefore concentrated in the South Eastern section of the suburban zone, in the City of Vancouver, but most significantly, in the inner suburban area of Surrey and Delta in the North East and North West areas of these two respective municipalities. Here, what will be interesting to see if there is a dilution of the East Indian population in Vancouver, its original place or origin and its further Concentration in Delta and Surrey (SC-10).

[183]For example the 1996 Census recorded that 40,000 (SC-53) visible minorities were from the Phillipines but in the same Census only 23,430 listed Tagalog as their mother Tongue (SC-46).

By contrast of the 279,000 visible minorities from China 85% or 238,782 recorded Chinese as their mother tonque.

[184] Refer to VS-397; VS-395a; G/M 1997bx.

[185]For example in a recent comment to the Vancouver Sun David Ley (VS-366) estimated that about twenty per cent of the Asian immigrant population coming into Vancouver is affluent but this does not necessarily take into account the proportion that is middle class since economic and economic credentials are used in this study to determine traditional class status for the middle class, while additional attributes are used to define the new middle class. Hence, if education and economic criteria are used figure would be greatly inflated. Thus, in 1991, the 180,000 Chinese that were in Vancouver (SC-7a) in Vancouver in 1991 can probably be used as a surrogate and the later addition of nearly 100,000 can probably used as a surrogate for the size of the Asian middle class. If this approximation used and other groups what have a middle class background are included, the middle class component of the Asian immigrant population could well approach 300,000 by the year 2000 if current trend continue. (By using this extrapolation, this, of course, does not mean that all of these Chinese immigrants are affluent or even middle class).

[186] Refer to VS-151; VS-363; VS-373; VS-400; McManus 1997; Surrey/North Delta, 1997.

[187]This changed the complexion of Vancouver in several major ways since. Until the mid 70s, a map of Vancouver would indeed have had mirrored the concentric and non concentric model that Burgess had produced for Chicago. As in Chicago there would have been a little Sicily (Commercial Drive) a little Deutschland in the third Settlement Zone and along Robson Street, which was then known as Robsonstrasse (figure eleven A). However, in the postmodern period Robson Strasse has been completely erased and could amply be called Little Tokyo. Similarly the European enclaves that existed in the second and third Zones have been replaced by Asian one in the past twenty-five years. Thus places, such as the little India, that exists around the Fraser Street and 49th Street and parts of Main Street are the commercial enclaves that are now visible.

[188] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 162.

[189]Whereas the average number of immigrants accounted for about 150,000 each decade after 1945, beginning in the late 1980s this grew to over 200,000 (SC-44). Again the rapidly of this change was expressed in the spatial re-organization of the city, most notably, the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement in the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver and in the inner suburbs. Of the 450,000 Asian immigrants that have immigrated to Vancouver it is in this zone where most of the 360,000 that have arrived since 1986 have relocated (SC-7a).

[190]Hence of the 243,000 students in the Greater Vancouver Regional district, approximately 100,000 were located in the core of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. In Vancouver this amounted to about 65% of the Student population, with about 50,000 students located in this zone while a total of 57,433 were located in Vancouver, with non-English students accounting for 33,887 of the city's studen population. Similarly Richmond had 24,535 students of which 51.2% were non-English speaking and Burnaby had 24,343, of which 40.3% were non- English speaking. In total about 55,000 of the 86,741 non-English speaking students were therefore concentrated in this zone (see Vancouver Sun, March 2nd, 1998, English Usage drops at homes in Vancouver, study shows, by Marina Jimenez,in the Vancouver Sun, p. A1. or VS-511).

[191]The deconstruction of the modern suburb is not only confined to Vancouver. Even in smaller centres like Saskatoon, changes are planned which would allow secondary suites. Hence, in 1998, the city is likely to pass a new xoning bylaw which would allow one secondary suite in each house outside Circle Drive. Also residential care homes and home business would be allowed, along with the encouragement of infill housing. Like Vancouver these changes will probably result in more sophisticated discretionary zoning (see Plan Saskatoon Newsletter, January 15th, 1998).

[192]Refer to VS-89aaa; VS-97ab; VS-115; VS-261; VS-146;PI-44; PI-47; PI-57.

[193]Sources for data CVPS-68; CVPD-81; CVPD-123.

[194]The correlation between increased immigration by the Chinese middle class and higher housing prices can easily be illustrated by looking at the City of Vancouver. As the Chinese population of Vancouver more than doubled housing, from an already high base, housing prices climbed by nearly 40 percent between 1986 and 1996 (CVPD-123, p.43).

[195]For example the population of Point Grey increased from 11,540 to 12,732 or about 1,250. Since only 400 Chinese residents moved in the displacement was very limited if it exists at all in this neighbourhood (CVPD-81; CVPD-123).

[196] If the neighbourhood plan prepared by citizens as part of a healthy communities exercise is indicative of the mood of this local are and the mentality of many area residents reveal a much closer affinity to the values of the middle class fraction that live in the Second rather than Third Zone. No doubt one reason for this has to do with presence of more medium and high-rise development around 10th Avenue and Alma, as well as the existent of this area as a student ghetto for UBC and therefore a fringe area of the Bohemian culture that was centred in Kitsilano.

To a certain extent this can be seen in the increase in the dwelling units. In 1971 there were 3,955 units in this local area. By 1981 this had risen to 4,605, then in to 5,395 in 1991 - a 36 percent increase in 20 years. Before other areas of the Third Zone were beginning to feel the impact of densification, West Point Grey was being altered by redevelopment, just as it was in the Second Zone. The earlier and more sophisticated efforts to preserve the single detached nature of the zone while making some minor concessions to more density also set this local area apart from others in the third ring and produced another similarity with the second zone. But, as the plan put out by the West Point Grey Residents Association (1994) reveals, the preservation single detached homes, the predominance of single detached (RS-1) zoning and the strong identification with the green pastoral suburban landscapes, typical of the third zone, were paramount values, which also made it very much apart of the third zone. That is why this area is currently be rezoned to ensure the preservation of this context- again something that may deflect wealthy Chinese buyers from the areas, since they tend to favour new rather than old structures, a point made sometimes by local residents who opposed upzonings for new developments from RS-1 to CD-1 (Hughes 1996). Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 174.

[197]For example the population of the west side neighbourhoods listed in figure ten A increased from 74,368, in 1986 to 79,069 in 1991 but the Chinese population increased from 6.6% to 13.9% while the proportion for the City of Vancouver increased from 13.1% in 1986 to 17.1% in 1991. Meanwhile the regional percentage went from about 5.5% to 8.4% (See SC-8a; CVPD-68; CVPD-81; CVPD-123).

[198] This has produced some alienation within the non Asian population because of language. Particularly for older people suddenly finding themselves living in a neighbourhood where no one speak English would no doubt be disconcerting. Also criticism has made of the insensitive and arrogant behaviour of Chinese developers and retailers in Richmond who posted no English signs in the huge expanse of Chinese Malls in Richmond that have opened since 1989 (i.e., Aberdeen Place, Parker Place or Continental Plaza). Built at a cost of $175 million this cluster (at No. 3 Road and Cambie) now rivals and may now even overtake Vancouver's traditional Chinatown as the commercial centre of the Chinese community (VS-99a). As Rennis Ng, a real estate agent noted: "Probably no other area in the western world has this kind of Asian commercial activity,"(Beauge 1997,p.16). Unlike old Chinatown where the cultural and institutional have remained concentrated in the Core, in Richmond to quote Mr. Ng says, again, "Richmond's Asia is very contemporary and upbeat,"(p.16) something which is making it a tourist attraction as well.

What is happening here is not unique to Vancouver. For instance suburban New York City has experienced the same cultural dissonance. For example in Flushing this happened when a declining Caucasian population was rapidly replaced by a rapidly expanding Asian population

in the 1980s. But with the sudden influx of Asians with money the rate of change was so fast that it became perceived as an invasion rather than as an economic stimulus to the community, where the old standard assimilationist models were not at work. Moreover, because they had enough money to buy property they have become perceived more as colonizers rather than as immigrants. By 1996 they accounted for 30 percent of the residents in Flushing a part of Queens. Furthermore, it is expected that by the year 2000, 10% of the population of New York City will be Asian and that 20 % of Queens will be of Asian origin. This has been hard on many elderly whites who still live in the neighbourhood and make up 25% of its population who can't speak to their neighbourhood, don't eat the same foods (See New York Times,"Queens Asian Enclave Opens a Rift "March 31,1996). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 161.

[199]Between 1991 and 1996 37,000 Chinese immigrants moved to the City of Vancouver and 23,000 to Richmond. Of this number 46 percent or 16,365 went to Vancouver and 61 percent or 13,585 went to Richmond (See Vancouver Province, November 5th, 1997 for statistics Canada data).

[200]For example 13,585 immigrants arrived from Hong Kong and moved to Richmond, compared to 16,636 For the City of Vancouver between 1991 and 1996. For Richmond this represented about 52% of the total Chinese population that had recently immigrated to Richmond, which stood at around 24,000 and about 42% of the approximately 37,000 Chinese that immigrated to Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 (See compilation of statistics in the November 5th issue of the Vancouver Province).

[201]Additional evidence of the demise of the working class in this zone can be seen in the operation of real estate agents and the force of the market itself. Further corroborating this the presence of this suburban zone of Asian Resettlement, is a recent survey on immigrant buying patterns by RE/Max Real estate. When a survey of buying patterns for the month of December in 1995 was conducted a close match between the suburban Asian settlement configuration suggested in the ESL data and the data on house buying by Asians consumers appeared (VS-103). Although Asian consumers only represented approximately Eleven percent of the metropolitan population in 1991 they were responsible for about fifty percent of all houses sold within the suburban ring of the City of Vancouver that makes up part of the region's third settlement ring. The buy up rate was even higher in Richmond where 66 percent of all new single detached dwelling units that were sold were bought by Asians. While lower, the buy up of residential properties in the Burnaby was still over four times what their percentage of the metropolitan population would suggest would be normal, with 48 percent of all sales of single detached dwelling accounted for by Asian buyers (VS-103).

[202]While a large and powerful Caucasian middle class still inhabits this zone their numbers are quickly diminishing as many are cashing in the equity they have in their homes and buying more inexpensive property farther out in the suburbs or leaving the region altogether (CMHC 1995). These patterns were confirmed in a recent study of buying patterns in the third zone where it was found that 50 percent of all house sales in this part of the city were being made to Asians with the percentage of Asian buyers accounting for up to 80 percent of the sales on the city's West side where the value of the home was listed at over a million dollars, something which is certainly not that uncommon since the average median price of a single detached house on the city's West side was listed at nearly $700,000 in 1995 (CVPD-165). Not surprisingly a CMHC (1995) analysis of migration patterns revealed that this was the area experiencing a net outflow of existing residents.

[203]For example of the approximately 6,100 recent Chinese immigrants in Coquitlam (1991 to 1996) there were 3,450 from Hong Kong, 1,535 from Mainland China, and 1,235 from Taiwan. In Richmond there were 13,585 from Hong Kong, 5,150 from Mainland China, and 3,900 from Taiwan. In Vancouver there were 16,365 from Hong Kong, 14,030 from Mainland China, and 6,650 from Taiwan (See list of statistics from Statistics Canada in the Vancouver Province November 5 1997).

[204]See statistics Canada tables presented in the Vancouver Province November 5th 1997, p. A10.

[205]In absolute terms the largest number of recent immigrants still went to the City of Vancouver (68,175) then Richmond (30,565), Burnaby (26,435), Surrey (24,245), Coquitlam (11,265), North Vancouver District (4,930), Delta (4,066), City of North Vancouver (3,655) West Vancouver (3,559) then New Westminister (3,190) in tenth place..

[206]For example, if the average housing price for Vancouver, Richmond and Burnaby are combined then divided by three an overall average of $612,000 for a single detached dwelling is arrived at. This is twice the regional average of $309,000 and three times the national average.

[207]See p.38 in the August issue of Report on Business, published by The Globe and Mail.

[208] For example, in 1997 there were 4,685 starts for single detached units in Vancouver compared to 8,656 (Calgary Herald, January 10, 1998). While single detached units accounted for 77 percent of all new housing starts in Vancouver single detached units only account for approximately 29 percent of the 15,950 units that were started (see CMHC New Housing Report Vancouver CMA, December 1997). If replacement housing is taken into account the discrepancy between Calgary and Vancouver is even greater. Since most of the units constructed in Vancouver (783), Burnaby (256), New Westminister (124), White Rock (31) and the City of North Vancouver (24) are added together this number equals about 1,200 units or about 25 percent of the new housing starts. When this is taken into consideration the net addition of new single detached units only amounts to about 21 percent of new housing starts.

[209]See The Richmond Review (RR 1998d) and VS-438; VS-459; VS-478 and VS-483; VS-513.

[210]Thus if the rise and fall of housing prices are tracked against what is happening in Asia a very definite correlation appears in Vancouver.

[211]For example, Hong Kong, which has the highest residential real estate prices in the world. Recently one house recently sold for $138 -million. And a 77 square metre or about an 800 square foot apartment now can cost up to $1-million. Against this standard the high cost of housing in Vancouver begins to look like a bargain. So rather than operating as a barrier these prices have provided a large economic incentive for the Asian middle class from Hong Kong to buy at the high end of the market rather than the low. And this explains why they have been able to appropriate the more expensive real estate niches in the region and advance so quickly around the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, a market they would have had no trouble entering but did not appeal to them for status and cultural reasons, these reasons having to do with modernist attitudes: where the new is favoured over the old and where single detached unit are favoured over single detached, and a special premium is put on land (CMHC 1997e). Moreover, as just states, in the third zone they are more able to purchase land rather than space - which would be far less the case in the Core or second settlement ring where rental or strata title units predominate. For this reason these zones do not have the magical allure of land ownership, which acts as a powerful draw to many Chinese buyers (Chan 1996).

[212]Arrogant behaviour by Asian real estate agents also became apparent with the Concord lands, when they were first developed, as the developer sold to Hong Kong buyers before local buyers were allowed to enter the market (Olds 1995).

[213]It is also possible that there may even by some active steering of Asians into parts of the Third Zone and the steering away of Caucasians from this zone as one Caucasian Realtor who grew up in the Kerrisdale area of Vancouver commented that when he wanted to look at houses in the area he grew up in the Asian Realtors constantly steered away (PI-44). Indeed, specialized real estate companies have formed which focus almost solely on servicing this market and by doing so probably amplifying and reinforcing the market patterns that already exists (VS-132). If steering is significant, this means that powerful informal institutional forces are at work in reshaping the settlement space of the Third Zone and not just market forces. Of course this may be happening in other zones and with other groups as well. For example, research in Toronto (Bouthillette 1992) and New Orleans (Knopp 1990) has shown that gay Realtors have played a role in creating gay settlement enclaves so this practice appears to be by no means confined to any one sub group, however questionable it is.

[214] In addition to developing a strategy for the densification of suburban Vancouver the purpose of the process was to consolidate and integrate previous studies and reports adopted or considered by City Council such as the Clouds of Change Report (CV-7), which was released and passed by council in 1990 to promote an ecologically friendly vision for Vancouver; the Urban Landscape Task force (CV-8) which resulted in the greenway plan that was adopted in 1995 (CV-11) and the Safer City Task Force, (CV-8-a) that was released to council in 1993 and the 1994 Report on Ready or Not (CVSP-10). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 160.

[215]Burnaby as well as smaller and older single detached dwellings are being torn down and rebuilt over large parts of this Zone (VS-87ab; VS-87abc). There is also the problem of commuter traffic. Here the problem commuters and overflow traffic which has long bedeviled the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver has now spread out into the inner suburbs. In the City of New Westminister, for instance, this has become particularly acute (See VS-112b).

[216] See Chow 1997a. For North Vancouver see VS-87ab; VS-87abcd/for Vancouver see VS-192d; VS-108.

[217] There is still a clear East and West bias in adoption of these new zoning protocols that reflects the residual influence of class that persists from the modern period in the East and Western parts of the Zone of Asian resettlement. This can clearly be illustrated by looking at the results of a recent neighbourhood poll conducted by the Planning Department about replacing RS-1 zoning with RS-5 and RS-6 zoning on the east and west sides of the Zone of Asian Resettlement in 1997. Lack of interest in the application of these more sophisticated postmodern zoning regulations was quite obvious on the East side while interest on the West side was pervasive. For example in the two east side neighborhoods that were polled - Cedar Cottage and Glen Park the response rate was 21% and 25% respectively while it was 38% in West Point Grey, 40% in Dunbar (the area closest to the Zone of New Middle class Resettlement in terms of political culture since much of this neighbourhood is part of the former Bohemian ghetto for UBC and, so, in many ways, as extension of Kitsilano) and 44% in West Southlands (See Policy Report: Urban Structure, From Director of Community Planning, Subject - RS-Options- Douglas Park, West Southlands, and Portions of Dunbar and West Point Grey, March 27, 1997, City of Vancouver City Clerks Office CC File No. 5301-1/80818/8005).

[218] Refer to SNC. Vol. 2 Chpt. 5, Note 185.

[219] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 186.

[220]While the controversy over large home (commonly known as monster homes on the west side and earlier on as Vancouver specials on the east side) originated in the east end of the suburban zone the reaction against them become the most intense in the western part of the zone where the most traditional fragments of the middle class, who were steeped in modernist conceptions of what a suburb should be, resided. This explains why the RS-1 zoning is being rapidly replaced by more complex and restrictive RS-5 and RS-6 zoning in the western part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement compared to the East where special RS-1 zoning to allow secondary suites covers most of the eastern half of this suburban zone but scarcely intrudes into the western half (CVPD-169,p.6; CVPD-135a).

[221]Thus in terms of social space, this modern landscape will be transformed since it is also becoming a place where there is a large and growing seniors population which is creating pressure to alter services and the urban fabric to serve this expanding non family formation (CVSP-7; CVSP-9). Here some studies have been done in England where three settlement zones for seniors were found. Here three clusters were found: the coastal strip, that includes East Sussex and Cornwall; then rural Wales and finally Eastern England (See Robert Grant 1997).

[222] See Goldberg 1985; Chan 1996; G/M 1997bt.

[190]While this area remains a family centred bastion composed largely of single detached homes that still give it a suburban look since over 20 percent of the population under the age of 15 - a fairly high reading for a city that has become largely become non child centric since only 18 percent of the city's population is below the age of 15 (table four).

[224]With regard to the preservation of the pastoral landscape of the suburban zone in Vancouver it is ironic that the traditional Caucasian middle class have quickly embraced postmodern techniques for preserving their modernist vision of the suburbs. Although decreasing in numbers the Caucasian middle class has still enough powerful to ensure that postmodern zoning codes are being adopted on the west side of the city in order to keep this area intact (Appelbe 1997A; VS-173AA; VS-178; Vs-192d), as modern suburban zoning (RS-1) zoning is being increasingly being substituted for RS-5 or RS-6 zoning, which is based on philosophical conceptions of space that are postmodern because of the stress that they put the organic rather than abstract nature of space and the importance placed upon existing context and incremental change .

[225]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5 Note 193.

[226]This was something noted by a long time school teacher in an elementary school in Richmond where many Chinese and Indo Canadian children mix. Much of the slang and ethnic stereotyping that Caucasians once used against these two groups were now used by each against the other, with a decided class dimension to the invective, with the Indo Canadians from blue-collar backgrounds coming into conflict with Chinese students from white-collar backgrounds (PI-47). Apparently this is emerging as a growing problem as even the Premiere recently remarked about the problem of racism in the schools (VS-408).

[227] As Eunice Lee recounts, she had to leave Hong Kong because of the "soulless materialism " of the place and is seeking to help Hong Kong children developed a more balanced approach to living in Vancouver. With plenty of money to spend but difficulty in developing emotional bonds ways of overcoming this alienation, some attempt is being made to address this problem (Beers 1997a).

[228]Bernice Wong, born in Hong Kong, and now a professor of education at Simon Fraser University remarked about the antagonism between old and new Chinese immigrants and the upsetting parvenu habits of this rich new class of immigrants, commenting on its arrogant behaviour towards its host culture, she noted how little they mix with local born Chinese (VS-97abb).

[229]For example this can be seen in the RS-1 to CD-1 zoning of 7400 Oak Street which will produce 122 dwelling while protecting a heritage house where before there was only one dwelling units (CVCO-48) located on this site.

This can also be seen in what has happened in Langara and in Kerrisdale. where RS-1 to CD zonings have been undertaken.

[230]One example of the cultural difference in the perception and uses of the landscape comes across in the common use of a pre-modern rather than postmodern techniques for organizing space such as Feng Shui. Rumors have even surfaced that the Vancouver Planning Department is using these experts but this has been denied by Larry Beasley - one of the associate directors (See VS-87abcde).

[231]If much of the conflict in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement had been sparked by the opposition by the spread of high rise buildings; in the third zone it has come about because of the spread of larger homes and the subdivision of existing lots to create more housing (figure 12) and the selective insertion of medium rise housing. Here we see that even more modest and low rise forms of densification have been contested on the City's West side in the RS (single detached zones) areas where little had changed since the late 1920s when this zoning was first introduced. Until the 1990s the only other time planners tried to change this was when they attempted to expand some pockets of apartment into single family areas in the mid 60s and were severely burned for this, as this created the first strong citizen's reaction against the Planning Department (VP-3; VS-19; VS-22; CVTPB-9), foreshadowing what would take place a few years later in the second settlement ring when the new middle class arose as the *bete-noire* of the Planning Department when redevelopment spread to this area.

[232]Again this varies across the country with Toronto and Vancouver being the primary beneficiaries of the this new kind of immigrant (See Jane Badets, Canada's Immigrants- Recent Trends, in Canadian Social Trends, Summer 1993).

[233]In Vancouver, as part of a national project costing 8 million dollars a study to study the impact that immigration is having on the city has been undertaken, in particular five areas will be looked at in detail, Strathcona, Grandview Woodlands and Cedar Cottage, Richmond, the Scott road in the Surrey area. The Tri-cities area, and the Kensington, Oakridge and Shaughnessy neighbourhoods will also be studied (See VS-125, p. B3).

[234]Anecdotal evidence suggests that many working class and professional people feel overwhelmed by the rate of range. This is not necessarily a racist response but one that indicates that people are being alienated from long established areas of the city for social as well as economic reasons. As already mentioned, this has even produced some inter racial antagonism over the use of the space that has erupted into aesthetic conflicts over housing design, landscaping and the preservation of trees (See VS-97ab; VS-97abc; VS-97abb; VS-115 VS-178; Appelbe 1997A; Appelbe 1997e).

[235]See VP-54 or Vancouver Province November 5th, 1997 p. A10. Whereas Asian countries were the top three places of origin for recent immigrants between 1991 and 1996 in the core area of the Zone of Caucasion Resettlement the settlement profile was much more spotted, as Caucasian immigrants -- mostly from Europe and the United State made accounted for one or two of the top three immigrants groups that have settled in this area since 1991. For example, in White Rock, between 1991 and 1996 the largest immigrant group came from the United States (70), followed by the Phillipines (45) and South Africa (25). And of the entire immigrant population the top three were United Kingdom 1,465 out of 3,875 or 38% of the entire immigrant population - followed by the United States with 390 or 10% of the immigrant population. And in third place there were 320 immigrants from Germany or 8% of the immigrant populaton. Together these three Caucasian groups accounted for about 45% of the entire immigrant population in White Rock. In Langley City - immigrants fromthe United Kingdom were the third largest group of recent immigrants (46) and of the 3,412 immigrants - 1655 were from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States, making up about 49% of all immigrants. Likewise in the District of Langley - of the 12,095 immigrants living here - 5,745 or 47% were from either the United Kingdom, the Netherlands or the United States.

[236]For example there were only 1,085 Chinese residents in these two municipalities - 665 in the District of Langley (80,175) and 420 in in the City of langley (22,525). Similary, there were 405 Punjabi and 225 Filipino residents in these two municipalities. Together these two group made accounted for 630 additional residents -- bringing the Asian population up to 1.6% or 1715. If another 15% were added to take in other Asian groups this would only bring the Asian population to 2000, still below the two percent mark and far below the regional average, which is around 25%. Overall the Core area contained just over 18,000 Asians, with about 12,000 of these Asians of Chinese origin

[237]When different measure are used there is some variation in percentages. For example data on visible minorities (VP-57) takes in a larger population than data which uses Mother Tongue (VP-56) the smallest reading of the Asian and Chinese population is given. And when home tongue is used the numbers stand somewhere inbetween percentages obtained by using Visible minority and Mother tongue.

[238]Thus between 1991 and 1996 the Chinese speaking population of these two communities only rose by about 600 (VP-54), with about 2000 Chinese speading residents in these two communities this amounts or 1.9% of the population - a level one-third the national average.

[239]Sources: SC-10; estimates derived from SC-7a; SC-8Aa; SC-8aa and projection on future immigration supplied by the B.C. Government (Cernetig 1997a).

[240]Note figures for 1996 use visible minority data rather than mother tongue, which was used for the 1986 and 1991 lists - compared to mother tongue, visible minority calculations provide a slighty higher reading.

[241]Based upon a scan of the 1996 data (GVRD 1997g) these approximations are made. Note for the Asian population - Chinese, Punjabi, and Tagolog speakers were used as a proxy measure. However this should only slightly underestimate the Asian population of this core segment of

the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. The area with the smallest Asian population would be the City of Langley and District of langley. With a combined population of 102,700, about 1% of the population is Chinese speaking . Altogether the entire Asian population probably only amounts to 2% of this zones population or about 2,200. With an Asian population numbering approximately 366,000 in 1996 (this is a slight undercount) or about 20% of the region's population. While this core area of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement makes up about 22% of the regions population it only accounts for 5.8% of the regions Asian population. Similarly, while the Chinese population represents about 13% of the region's population, onlythey only make up 4% of this population is located in this core precinct of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. Between 1986 and 1991 and 1996 the gap between this zone and the region and the City of Vancouver followed approximately as follows. In 1986 the gap between the Asian population in the core area of the ZCRS and the city grew from 17% to 21% in 1991 to 27% in 1996, with regard to the region this gap grew from 8% in 1986 to 14% in 1991 to about 15% in 1996. At the same time the Asian population grew from 11% to about 20% of the regions population. In therefore doubled in ten years. However in the ZCRS. Of this increase of about 190,000 Asian immigrants probably only about 10,000 migrated into this zone or about 5% of this population wave.

[242]With regard to school statistics this can be seen in ESL enrollments between 1990/1991 and 1994/95 (VS-141).

[243]Interestingly enough, in municipalities that straddle both zones the percentage of Asians rises significantly. In Coquitlam, for instance, Chinese buyers accounted for nearly forty per cent of all purchasers of single detached units in 1996.

[244]This has become a sore point in many municipalities and a grievance between the Federal and Provincial governments, since ESL is costing the province up to $70-million a year (VS-394).

[245]For example see VS-382. In 1997 student enrollment grew by 3%, increasing to 14,328.

[246]The only major exception to this concentric pattern of Asian settlement would be the emergence of a satellite enclave in the Fourth Zone where the City of Coquitlam is located. Here explosive growth has taken place in the number of ESL enrollments, with the number rising from 760 in 1991 to 3,516 in 1995, making up 12.2 % of all enrollments (VS-141).

[247]See Tri-City New 1997a; Morray 1997a; Morray 1997B; VS-363.

[248]See VS-468; VS-468a; VS-471; VS-488; VS-489; VS-490; VS-503.

[249]To a large extent the Okanagan Valley has come Vancouver's urban shadow, functioning as a weekend retreat or a more permanent settlement place for people from the Lower Mainland seeking more inexpensive housing and a more homogeneous culture. Partially, for this reason, this area has been turned from a productive fruit growing area into a place of consumption and leisure. As a result the Okanagan's population has grown from 130,000 in 1971 to 300,000 in 1976 and is projected to reach 500,000 by 2021, with Kelowna acting as the urban core for this exurban satellite of Vancouver and numerous other metropolitan areas in the country. Not surprisingly the beginning of a middle class reaction to poorly managed development is beginning to spring up here as interest in protecting the unique desert ecosystem that exists here grows. Just as in many other exurban localities, this involves the collision of two spatial sensibilities: one modern and the other postmodern (See VS-292).

[250]For citations in bibliography that refer to some of these conflicts refer to: VS-320;VS-227; VS-295; VS-257; VS-219; VS-213; VS-181; VS-160; VS-149; VS-129; Offe 1995; Griffin 1996;.

[251]Hutchinson, 1991; VS-385; VS-352; Vs-352a; VS-327; VS-320; VS-293; VS-270; VS-262; VS-257; VS-219; VS-213; VS-185; VS-178; VS-180a; VS-149; VS-129.

[252]The ruralized version of the postmodern vision of the city can be seen in new plans adopted by the District of North Vancouver (1997) and in the creation of new citizen's groups to fight unwanted development. This is also reflected in the election of a reform council to the District of North Vancouver. In Port Moody, most of the previous council was turfed out of office because of their stance on the development of forested land owned by the city and their refusal to listen

to citizens so the exurban zone has now emerged as a very active area with the expansion of postmodern norms to this exurban zone (VS-169; VS-130;VS-87ab).

[253]This can be seen in Maple Ridge where people are mobilizing to have Alouette River given heritage status, just as their middle class compatriots did in the 1970s for Gastown, Yaletown and Chinatown (See Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News, "Heritage Status urged," by Karin Mark July 2, 1997). As with the middle class mobilization in the Core this involves the formation of community groups to act as a counter to developers who have usually have been the only organized group involved in the development of land in the 4th and 5th zones and so, as a consequence, the main clientele served by local politicians and planners in this part of the region. As Barry Rhodes, one of the main organizers in an anti-freeway group, which formed in the early 1990s, remarked, local politicians react quite hostile to any interference by citizen's groups in the policy making process and are not used to active public involvement in local government as politics. So when it comes to the planning and the regulation of land these are felt to be administrative matters (PI-50).

[254]The ecological orientation of the middle class mobilization in the exurban zone can be seen in disputes such as the one that has developed over the Swan-E-Set Proposal in Pitt Polder where a citizen's group has emerged to fight this development. As a result groups such as the Polder Preservation Coalition have appeared. In this dispute and in the one that is taking place in the District of Langley the new Regional Plan has become the point of departure for debate about whether a modern or postmodern matrix for the organization of space will be followed. It therefore acts like CityPlan does for community groups, politicians and developers in the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver (See Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows New, "Letters" July 2, 1997d, p. 2 and p. 2 "Message at Polder public meeting was loud and clear;" "Project in the Polder stirs up big argument, in Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows New, July 6,1997E).

[255]With the defeat of the reform council and the cancellation of the postmodern plan for the District of Langley, the new mayor (John Scholtens) and Council has generated unprecedented conflict over land use in the municipality (VS-149). Despite massive opposition, which, at times, has involved debate carrying on through the night (VS-257), with 450 people in attendance, a housing and golf course near the border was approved. Here, reformers wanted the remaining 23 percent of the land mass that can be developed carried out in sequential and orderly fashion while the new pro-development faction has favoured a*laissez-faire* approach. To achieve this it has gutted much of the work carried out by the previous civic administration (See VS-213).

[256] As with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, space has been politicized in a way that it had not been in the past. Most recently this was revealed in the 1996 election results in Port Moody where citizens turfed out a pro-development council and in Langley, where reformers were turfed out instead. In either case what is noteworthy is the politicization that has now arisen over land use in this zone. This is particularly interesting in Langley where citizen's have continued mobilization to mobilize after the election, as reformers have increasingly reacted to attempts by the pro-development Mayor to over turn the growth management strategies put in place by the previous administration, which the growing middle class constituency of this zone had supported. For instance while the previous council wished to restrain development in a Southern area community known as Brookfield the new mayor wants to allow development to proceed more quickly here (VS-149).

[257]That is why the Whistler Valley Housing Society was created. Using a $6-million fund generated by development levies, this corporation has been given the responsibility for constructing more affordable housing for middle and working class people who live here (Rinehart 1997).

[258]See VS-214; VS-388; VS-406c; VS-518.

[259]Because centrality is so important to poor people a strategy to alleviate their displacement on expensive land in the core might involve reserving some key areas near Skytrains for this population so that they could have easy access to the resources in the Core they can no longer

remain close to because of rising rents and redevelopment.

[260]By no means is this a certainty. While two legs of the system -Skytrain, and the West Coast Commuter Express - have been constructed, the rest of the proposed system remains in limbo until a way of financing this new construction is put in place. Still planners are in the process of up zoning land. Also another transit leg may soon develop as experiments in commuter rail on the South shore of the Fraser Valley is expected in 1998

The tentativeness of this infrastructure plan for Greater Vancouver comes out in statistics on transit and auto use in Vancouver as compared to the United States in the City Business Section of Business in Vancouver, July 29,1997, where the following figures were cited: 30,600 new vehicle registrations a year in the Lower Mainland, amount of arterial space constructed in Vancouver over the past 15 years: 2.5KM, average price of a new car before taxes $19,700; improved transit access to UBC $1.6 m is needed or the cost of 84 cars; UBC says it will pay only $250,000; total provincial income from transportation sources $1.0-billion, total provincial expenditures $1.2-billion; municipal road construction and maintenance budgets $87.5 million, estimated transportation subsidies in GVRD in 1991 $2.3 B - $2.1B for autos and $360 m for transit; amount of money that could be raised by a commuter levy $260M, average cost of driving $7,700, amount spent on car operation in GVRD, $8.5B, Number of buses needed in the next five years to meet Transport 2021 target 500 - B.C. Transit expectation 195.

[261]In an interview about transit and development, Glen Leicester, the General Manager for Long Range Planning for BC. Transit, noted, he remarked how both South Creek South and the Fraser Lands were failures in terms of planning for transit.

[262]For instance in Killarney, the Chinese population doubled between 1981 and 1991 while the population remained stable in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Although there was a minimal absolute increase in the percentage of Chinese living in the second settlement ring the relative percentage remained the same (See table eight; nine; CVPD-123).

[263]White Rock can be considered a post-fordist landscape because the postmodern transformation of the built environment has involved the craft rather than mass production of the built environment, not its standardized manufacture as is more common in large scale housing sub-divisions.

[264]For example in 1961 14 percent of the population in White Rock was over 65 (SC-2a) but this moved upwards to 34 percent in 1966 where it has remained ever since, with 35 percent of the population over 65 in 1991 compared to 12 percent for the region (SC-10). A specialized landscape for the elderly has emerged which Burgess never considered but has now become an integral part of the postmodern landscape (Holdsworth 1994). And as with the second settlement zone some displacement of lower income individuals has probably accompanied this process of change as housing prices now approach those in Kitsilano.

[265]As already pointed out the second satellite is not actually located in the Greater Vancouver Region District but must be mentioned since Abbotsford is increasingly becoming integrated into the housing market of Greater Vancouver (Baxter 1997). Unlike the middle class Chinese enclave in Coquitlam, this one is distinctly blue-collar and it is composed of Indo-Canadians rather than Chinese (figure 10B). If Chinese immigrants exemplify the White Collar, middle class, face of the Asian resettlement of Vancouver then the Punjabi and Hindu populations that have moved south of the Fraser River show its blue-collar face. And this can be seen in the Chinese and East Indian Satellites which orbit around the Zone of Asian Resettlement in the fourth and fifth zones. As with the rest of the working class this Indo Canadian population is receding from the City of Vancouver and the inner suburbs and relocating to the suburbs of Surrey and North Delta, along Scott Road, or even further away to the Central Fraser Valley where they are heavily represented in the agriculture and lumber industries that are concentrated there. Here there has been a fairly substantial migration of Indo-Canadian to Mission and Abbotsford between 1990 and 1996, with an estimated 7,000 immigrants from the Indian sub continent settling here, forming a second satellite of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Hence much of the growth in the Central Valley, which increased by over 20 percent between 1991 and

1996, was due the creation of this second Asian enclave (figure ten and figure ten A). Thus, for example in 1994 immigrants from the Indian sub-continent numbered 1758, 1,133 in 1993 and 1,070 in 1991 (SC-7a).

[266] General observation and random inquiries indicate that gated communities are not too concentrated in any one area of the region. And even when a planner from Abbotsford was asked about this he could only think of the existence of four or five gated communities in the city of Abbotsford, which has a population of 135,000 people and an above average number of seniors. Elsewhere, in the Greater Vancouver Regional district they seemed to have concentrated mostly in the middle class sector of the fourth settlement ring where older adults have migrated. That may be why gated communities appear to stand out more in the Ladner area of Delta. Gated communities can also can be found sprinkled throughout the District of Langley where there are concentrations of older adults and in Richmond, as well, where one reporter counted six such complexes (DaSilva 1997b).

Of this six listed: there was Westwood, Heonly Wynd, Bristol Gardens, Quilchema Green and Queen Gale. So far they account for one percent or less of Richmond's housing stock but planners have worked to discourage their spread, One case in point being the complex of Dover Crossing, where the developer was forced to redesign the complex. American critics have noted that people who buy into these complexes have been less willing to share the tax burden of the community and local police have also expressed some concerns about gaining access to such communities in the case of emergencies. Similarly, planners and urbanists are worried about the anti-social nature of their design and the tendency to deaden the spaces around them. While professor Patrick Smith of Simon Fraser University views there spread with concern, others, such as Setty Pendakur, a planning professor at the University of British Columbia, sees nothing wrong with them, noting that they simply extend security precaution already present in inner city complexes. (See DaSilva 1997b).

[267] Thus in a 1995 Tax Survey places with low assessments were Maple Ridge with an average Assessment of $190,604, Langley City $178,054, New Westminister $215,281, Port Coquitlam $218,850 and Surrey, $230,786. This is in contrast to the Zone of Asian Resettlement where the assessment is $299,962 for Burnaby, $319,53 for the District of North Vancouver, $269,454 for the City of Vancouver and $319,301 for Delta South (See Government Finance Officers Association Newsletter 1996). Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 5, Note 219.

[268] Because of the drug culture and displacement this is not always the case, much to the chagrin of the middle class that have colonized the inner city, whose property has now become the grazing ground for this growing underclass population (See VS-391; VS-378; VS-374; VS-371; VS-364; VS-305; G/M 1997zm; G/M 1997zw; G/M 1997bu; SC-29).

[269] The overview and listing of zoning districts is not all inclusive. While all the major zoning categories have been covered some of the minor districts have not been listed.

[270] Data on acreage covered by each zoning district was obtained by a 1981 Planning document (CVPD-61) and a visual survey of Zoning maps for March 1993, January 1979. From these estimates of land coverage were made.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.0 - Final summary of empirical observations

In this investigation a number of conceptual and empirical questions were posed about the nature of urban change in the late-twentieth century. Starting with the empirical issues, evidence of changes in the physical and social spaces of Vancouver was observed. Proof of this was established by looking at changes in housing construction, migration and immigration patterns and the types of spaces that were created by the increase of non-domestic social formations – something that became more important because of the dramatic decline in the natural birth rate and the declining significance of child rearing for vanguard fractions of the middle class, who were the main progenitors and carriers of postmodern regulation. Secondly, the rules which governed the regulation of space had changed. These changes originated within the middle class as it underwent a cultural revolution during the counterculture. When this happened the way that urban space was represented changed in several fundamental ways. What followed from this cultural shift was illustrated by looking at the evolution of planning in the City of Vancouver, with special emphasis placed upon the impact that this had on zoning. As well, these changes in planning were also linked to the densification process (table 10, chapter five). In the case of Vancouver, the evolution of the Planning Department revealed that an institutional nexus had formed. Because of the mutual interaction that occurred between postmodern regulation and the densification process a new model of urban development emerged within the domain of the local state. Here it was possible to show how the institutional apparatus of the local state was able to mediate, as well as to integrate, the material and non-material social and political forces that were affecting the production of space, and create out of this a formal system of regulation. As a result, new representations of space were generated, and new institutional organs were created to support the densification process under a regulatory umbrella established by the existence of a postmodern spatial matrix.

The conceptual issues that were addressed in this exploration of urban transformation had to do with picking the right tools to make sense of change over time. To this end, concepts from regulation theory were borrowed and later modified. These constructs became the conceptual building blocks for constructing a classification scheme which could be used to periodize the late-twentieth century city. This was done by borrowing three organizing constructs from regulation theory. For example, the densification process was conceptualized as one of the defining features of a regime of accumulation. Meanwhile, postmodernism was portrayed as a spatial matrix that functioned as the defining empirical characteristic of a new mode of regulation. Finally, the institutional articulation of the densification process and postmodern regulation was used as the basis for developing an even more detailed institutional classification of the city base upon a model of urban development. Using all three organizing constructs a framework for distinguishing the production of space in the late-twentieth century from that which took place in the mid-twentieth century was devised and applied to Vancouver, as well as other Canadian cities.

However, since this classification scheme was based upon the study of place bound social relations that operated within the sphere of the local state, no attempt was made to use this classification scheme to simplify the process of transformation or to avoid the complexity of change by remaining content with one formula ,or model for change, which would embrace all cities and all the processes of transformation that were at work in the city. A more modest and tentative agenda for understanding urban change was set out, one which sought to periodize urban development by using regulation concepts to show how the uneven diffusion of postmodern regulation and the densification process were producing a remarkable amount of divergence in the urban system.

Some cities – such as Winnipeg – were regressing back to a previous context. Other cities – such as Toronto and Ottawa – were in a transitional state. Meanwhile, there were cities such as Vancouver, which were proceeding rapidly into a new stage of development: one where densification had become a dominant restructuring force, and one where postmodern

regulation was ascendant. Further complicating this picture of urban transformation, in addition to the emergence of a new regulatory logic and the progression of the densification process, simultaneously the social spaces of the city were being altered by deep-seated demographic changes that arose from declines in the birth rate (VS-421f; VS-307) and fundamental shifts that had been made to the country's immigration policy.

Along with densification and postmodern regulation, the late-twentieth century city was also being transformed by new population flows, and the rise of unique social formations that were not present in the modern era. Here, demographics and postmodern regulation overlapped and interacted with each other to establish new settlement zones. Particularly in Vancouver, this was the case. In the Core a Collage City emerged (figure six B, p. 414) Elsewhere, completely new configurations appeared (figure three, p. 403). One was the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Two others also appeared later, as a Zone of Asian Resettlement and a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement began to take shape in the mid 80s. With the creation of these zones not only did the existence of new regulatory logic become realized in the production of new kinds of spaces, in addition to this, a distinctive postmodern social ecology materialized, as new linear and concentric settlement zones appeared in Vancouver (figure one, p. 103; figure eleven, p. 504).

Because the concept of postmodernity was used in two ways: first, as analytical construct that was used to analyze the diffusion of a new regulatory logic that was tied into a broader discourse about modernity, and second as a descriptive concept, where postmodernism was used to refer to the appearance of settlement spaces, that incorporated factors located outside the discourse of modernity, such as demographic shifts.

When postmodernism was used as an analytical construct two intellectual discourse were joined together -- that of political economy and that of modernism. Here there was a bridging of analytical terms, as regulation constructs were recast and inserted into a much broader discussion about modernism in general. When postmodernism was also used as descriptive term it was used as an umbrella phrase, which was used to describe the appearance

of miscellaneous other empirical phenomena that set the late-twentieth city apart from the mid-twentieth century city. Using both senses of the word three phenomena that were identified as being the distinguishing characteristics of the late-twentieth century in Vancouver were isolated for further examination. The first was densification. The second was the deconstruction of modern regulation and its replacement by a postmodern spatial matrix. The third phenomena was the changing social ecology of the city.

A larger background context was also included since the modernization process and shifts between the commercial state and the military state were cited as important influences that affect the way theat each of these three phenomena interacted with each other. When the modernization process was referred to, the swings that occurred between periods defined by market rule and bureaucratic rule were studied. This was done in order to provide a more comprehensive and detailed historical context to explain what was happening in the city. In turn, this led to a more detailed discussions about the impact that the creation of a new division of labour was having on the new middle class. The most important point to be made about this class was that because of the development of new information technology -- which was increasing the influence of the market in all spheres of society -- and the retreat or modification of bureaucratic rule, the behaviour of the middle class had changed in several important ways. In turn, this provided a new context that affected how densification, postmodern regulation and the creation of a postmodern social ecology was evolving.

With this conceptual scaffolding in place, special emphasis was placed upon what was happening in Vancouver. As well, a general overview of what was occurring in other Canadian city was also undertaken. From the vantage point created by this framework a number of condusions -- some tentative and others more certain -- were arrived upon. The most certain conclusion was that a new model of urban development was now framing the evolution of urban space in Vancouver, and that it was unevenly expressed across the country. For example, with an economy increasingly organized around the urban spectacle, and an unprecedented level of densification, Vancouver had been transformed into North America's first medium density

urban region.However, at the opposite end of the continuum there were cities such as Winnipeg, where an entirely different pathway was being taken. Rather than moving forward, like Vancouver had done, Winnipeg was moving backwards. Since history does not repeat itself, this backward movement did not mean that the regression to a past state involved the reassertion of a previous equilibrium. Quite the contrary, what this meant was that archaic forms of regulation in control. Rather than producing a new equilibrium, the reassertion of modernism was acting as a destabilizing forces which threatened the spatial and social integrity of the urban region around Winnipeg. One result was that modern settlement zones began to metastasize into pathological form. Rather than Chicago defining the direction Winnipeg was going, Detroit became the model of urban development that Winnipeg was moving towards, as a pathological forms of modern regulation were embraced.

Observation of other cities also led to some speculation about the existence of a transition period and a hybrid model for the postmodern transformation of the city that sat in between the extremes represented by Winnipeg and Vancouver. For example, in cities such as Toronto and Ottawa, the articulation of the densification process with postmodern regulation revealed that there were contradictory impulses at work. As a result, it was possible to identify conflicting and contrasting patterns of land-extensive and land-intensive development in the same urban region. To a certain extent this even applied to Vancouver. Even though postmodern regulation was ascendant and modern regulation was in an advanced state of decay here, in certain settlement spaces such as in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement, vestiges of the modern city remained.

Also, by comparing Vancouver with other Canadian cities it was possible to chart out the various routes other cities were taking, as they have come increasingly under the influence of this new model of urban development. Particularly when densification was examined, a wide degree of variation was shown to exist. Indeed, in some cities, such as Winnipeg, the densification process was even regressing. Because the forces that shape the densification process and the configuration of postmodern regulations are so varied and unevenly distributed

across the country, it is possible to point to radically different urban scenarios. As earlier indicated, different migration and immigration patterns and the uneven growth and development of the middle class fractions have had a profound influence on the evolution of the densification process and the form of postmodern regulation taking hold in each city.

Even though we exist in a postmodern age, the social ecology of the postmodern city has assumed several distinct profiles. For example, the postmodern social ecology that has evolved in Greater Vancouver is only one of at least five models that can currently be identified in Canada. In addition to the Vancouver model, there is also a Winnipeg model. And besides the Winnipeg model, there is also a Maritime or Halifax model (Peters 1997), as well as a Toronto and a Montreal model.[1]

In part, the emergence of these very different profiles can be viewed as part of the postmodern condition. Unlike the modern period, where external conditions and the very nature of modern regulation guaranteed a certain amount of uniformity within a single urban system, this has not been the case so far when looking at the postmodern evolution of the city. If the underlying hypothesis about modernism and regulation that has been put forward is correct, than this lack of uniformity can either be attributed to the existence of a transition period or to the chaotic patterns of urban development that arise whenever market rule takes precedence over bureaucratic rule, as appears to be the case with the postmodern era.

Although a stable equilibrium between the processes that molded space in the past and the contemporary ones that now shape space in the present has yet to be established because of the current flux in the urban system there is enough evidence to show that the influence of older modes of development are gradually weakening in most cities. As this happens, a new layer of postmodern tissue is cultivated within, or over the top of previous layers, from other epochs. As this postmodern space grows thicker with each passing year and modern spatial formats are erased or are integrated and subordinated into this new spatial matrix, what separates the late-twentieth century city and the early twenty-first century city from the mid-twentieth century city will become more pronounced.

Since all the forces that have been mentioned have been absorbed into one of the three dimensions of postmodern regulation or shaped by a specific format the densification process has taken in each city, a short empirical synopsis of what has been discovered so far should establish that something important has indeed happened to the city, and that the notion of the postmodern city is not just a conceptual fabrication, but a representation of a distinct and important empirical reality that has recently come into existence and is now looming forward as growing influence upon the evolution of the city.

Starting with densification: although densification has been an important structural force with regard to the transformation of the Canadian city since the middle of the 1960s, its progression over time and space have been quite uneven. Nevertheless, it is one of the material basis for the conception of new model of urban development that came into existence in the early 1970s. The same observation can be made concerning postmodern regulation and the creation of postmodern settlement spaces. Although this is the other defining characteristic that characterizes the production of urban space in the late twentieth century, its progress has also been far from uniform. Although the influence of these three transformative forces has vacillated since the 1970s -- and even regressed in laggard metropolitan centres such as Winnipeg -- the overall the impact of densification and the creation of postmodern spaces has grown in importance. And where postmodern norms have become articulated into an institutional nexus within the confines of the local state, this influence has been further amplified. Even though densification and postmodern regulation, and postmodern settlement patterns, may never dominate or subsume all urban in every city, imprint of these forces can be found in every city. That is why it is possible to use these three empirical attributes to make out the outlines of a new model for urbanization, which has come together to establish a new urban profile in the late twentieth century, one that is quite different from the one that existed in the mid-twentieth century.

As said before, the relation between urbanization in the late-and-mid-twentieth century is further complicated by the fact that two models of urban development have been

shaping urban space in the late-twentieth century, while only one regulatory logic existed in the mid-twentieth century. In the mid-twentieth century the model of urban development that dominated was one where a regime of land-extensive accumulation governed investment patterns. Alongside this one dominant investment pattern, modern norms sculpted and shaped this investment. Bearing the signs of advancing bureaucratic rule, modern norms were applied to the organization of this land-extensive pattern of development. From this articulation the suburban landscapes that shaped the urbanization process until the early 1970s arose. However, since the 1970s another model of urban development has appeared. Instead of capital dispersing, it was now becoming more concentrated in space. Also, rather than being formatted by modern spatial norms postmodern ones became more important.

Greater Vancouver was used as a case study to show how far this new model of urban development has progressed and evolved. At the same time, comparisons with other cities showed that that the shift from one model of urban development to another might go in different direction than that pointed to in Vancouver, especially since at present, two models of urban development exist concurrently. That is why two sets of cities were used as comparisons throughout this study. Vancouver and Toronto were placed into one set to illustrate the most advanced form that this new model of urban development had taken, and to also show what variations there were as well. At the other end of the spectrum, Winnipeg and Montreal were placed into another set. This was done to show how the variable evolution of the new middle class and the declining fortunes of each city allowed the inertia institutional inertia of the older model of urban development to persist and even dominate the production of urban space at the regional (Winnipeg) and national (Montreal) level - with Winnipeg standing out as the most extreme example of the persistence of this archaic pattern of urban development.[2]

In between these two opposing sets of cities, a broad band of cities exists between these two extremes. Ottawa best symbolized these intermediate cities.[3] Unlike Vancouver where densification was pervasive and dominant, or Winnipeg, where land-extensive development was pervasive, and the level of densification quite low; in cities such as Hamilton,[4] London,

Kitchener-Waterloo, Victoria,[5] and Halifax,[6] moderate levels of densification were found. Although densification was not yet a dominant force in these cities, it was nevertheless ascendant. In these centres there were also signs that a postmodern spatial matrix was being used as the framework to format the production of denser space. Even though the property market was not as strong as that of Vancouver or Toronto, and the new middle class was not as large or as politically and ideologically and sophisticated as its counterparts in Vancouver and Toronto, the markets in these cities were still sufficiently strong, and the middle class large enough to create landscapes that established a middle ground between the opposing sides of the spectrum of urban transformation represented by Vancouver and Winnipeg.

In declining cities, such as Winnipeg, where the new middle class was too underdeveloped or not large enough to break the institutional inertia of modern regulation, and where, as well, the property market was too weak to support densification, after a brief dalliance with this new model of urban development in the 1970s, Winnipeg regressed back to the previous mode of urban development that had been dominant in the mid-twentieth century.[7] In a weaker fashion the same advance and regression also occurred in Edmonton, but in this case a more dynamic economy and a larger and more sophisticated middle class were present and it was able to capture the local state apparatus for a while and partially transform the bureaucratic culture of the city.[8] In Winnipeg in particular, the inability of the bureaucracy to leave behind its technocratic roots and the modern format it had adopted for the regulation of space has been responsible for many lost opportunities to turn the city around. This inertia has resulted in a dysfunctional form of land-extensive development taking root, which has produced an urban social ecology[9] that is completely different from Vancouver and one that even threatens the integrity of the region.[10] However, as the history of the Vancouver Planning Department shows, precisely the opposite situation developed in Vancouver. Here densification was intense enough and a middle class existed which was well organized and large enough to reconfigure the institutional culture of the local state.

Before going on to address some of the conceptual issues about the nature of urban change in general and the periodization of urban change that has been used, in particular, a final summation of the empirical findings will be made: starting first with the densification process and then moving on to the impact that postmodern regulation has had on the organization of space, the following observations can be made.

6.1 - The uneven and reversible nature of the densification process in Canada

Beginning with densification, with the shift from the era of the livable city to that of the urban spectacle there has been some convergence in the postmodern regulation of urban space in Canada and the United States. However, if the progression of the densification process in each country is compared there is still significant divergence with regard to the progression of this process that is likely to to have a major impact on the way the cities evolve in each country. Even though the advance of the densification process in Canada has slowed down considerably, and nearly stalled during the 1980s, preliminary figures from Statistics Canada show that densification has gained some of the momentum that it had lost during the 1980s (SC-54). Thus, for the first part of the 1990s, the overall proportion of the nation's housing stock made up of single detached units began to decline once again, moving further down from nearly fifty-seven percent of the nation's housing stock in 1991, to between fifty-three and fifty-six percent, in 1996.[11] Instead of falling by a minute fraction, as was the case in the 1980s, the proportion of the nation's housing stock made up of single detached units fell by a full three percent between 1991 and 1996 (table two, p. 61).

However, in B.C. very little regression has taken place since 1986. In fact the opposite has happened. Instead of becoming watered down densification in most large and small urban centres has intensified dramatically. The most recent statistics on housing starts show this. For example in 1996 onlyt forty-one-point-six percent of all new housing starts were made up of single detached units, or only seventy-five percent of the national average. The gap widened further in 1997 as the percentage of single detached units started in B.C. fell to thirty-nine-

point-three percent of all housing starts, compared to approximately fifty-six percent for Census Metropolitan Areas in Canada (SC-54) -- nearly a gap of forty-five percent, which revealed that densification was not only confined to Vancouver and Victoria, but was present in Kelowna (the provinces third fastest growing housing market) and many other smaller centres as well (CMHC 1998).

Moreover, the dramatic rise in renovation expenditures highlights another dimension of the densification process that has not been given very much attention in this study. So in addition to the decline in the percentage of single detached units the dramatic rise in renovation expenditures has only further amplified the resurgence of the densification process in the 1990s. With the level of expenditures on renovations approximating $20-billion across Canada and nearly one-and-a half billion dollars in B.C. (VS-519), this infusion of capital into already built up areas of the city even exceeded the capital invested in new home construction in most cities during 1995 and 1996. Since only a quarter of this expenditure is absorbed by repairs and maintenance, (which counters depreciation but does not add to the value of the capital stock) this reuse and recycling of the existing housing stock represents an important addition to the capital stock of the nation and a new facet to the densification process, which has become more important in the 1990s.

Unlike the 1980s, during the first part of the 1990s the construction of denser housing and reinvestment in existing housing stock therefore propelled the densification process forward in a much more forceful way in the 1990s but not as much as the 1960s and 1970s, when the great surge in apartment construction took place (Winnipeg Real Estate News October 17, 1997). The growing importance of renovations also illustrates the different forms that densification can take. Also, because renovation expenditures are more uniformly spread across the country than new construction, the increase in renovation expenditures figures clearly show that densification is not confined to Vancouver but, in one form or another and although at significantly different rates of intensity; it has become a generalized force across the country.[12]

The significance of densification in Canada during the late-twentieth century becomes even more obvious if comparisons are made with the United States.

Recent housing figures for each country show this. For example, in the third quarter of 1997 the production of denser housing units (that is non single detached) accounted for less than twenty per cent (G/M 1997zl) of the total production in the United States. By contrast, in Canada, the production of denser units accounted for over forty per cent of all new housing construction in the third quarter of 1997 (G/M 1997zq; G/M 1997bp).[13] Moreover, between 1991 and the end of 1996, denser units made up about forty-five percent of all new dwelling units in Canada. Furthermore a more detailed look at the production of denser units constructed between 1991 and 1996 revealed that in the 25 Census Metropolitan Areas[14] that make up the metropolitan urban areas of the county, fifty-one percent of all new residential construction was made up denser units.[15] In addition, if housing production in Canada's four largest cities is looked at, the figures rises even higher. Here the production of denser housing reached sixty-seven per cent between 1991 and the end of 1996, with the percentage going as high as seventy-three percent for Greater Vancouver, a pattern which is almost the complete reversal of the American pattern just cited (SC-18; SC-24; SC-35). Because Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver accounted for fifty-five percent or 328,000 of the 578,000 housing units that were started in metropolitan communities from 1991 to the end of 1996, this relatively high level of production for denser housing is therefore quite significant if comparisons are made with the United States.[16]

Despite differences in the format that densification may take and the great variation that can be observed in its intensity and stage of progression across the country, what these figures succinctly show is that the densification process is at work in every Canadian city and that it is much more significant in Canada than it is in the United States. Furthermore the presence of densification has had important ramifications for the postmodern transformation of the city in each country. For instance, at a theoretical level, in the discussion of postmodernism in chapter four, a link was shown to exist between the shift from land-extensive

development to land-intensive development and the movement from abstract to more organic conceptions of urban space. And, at an empirical level, the discussion of local area planning and the spread of postmodern zoning in the City of Vancouver that was broached in chapter five exposed how densification has played a critical role in the evolution of postmodern regulation in Canada. Because of the different levels of intensity, this variation in densification between the countries, suggest that postmodern regulation in Canada will always be configured slightly differently from that of the United States.

But even within the disparate cities in Canada there is a great deal of variation in the densification process.[17] Using the production of single detached units as a surrogate measure of land-extensive and land-intensive development, it is possible to sub-divide Canadian cities into different categories with regard to the densification process. Where the production of single detached units is low this can be interpreted as a sign that a land-intensive regime of accumulation is dominant. Conversely, where the production of single detached units is high this would generally indicate that a land-intensive regime of accumulation is only emergent and that it is subordinate to a land-extensive regime. More specifically, in terms of stage of development, except for Montreal, in cities where more than fifty percent of the housing stock is made up of single detached units, these places can be regarded as examples of cities where a land extensive mode of urban development is still dominant. On the contrary, a mode of urban development where land-intensive development is ascendant or dominant can be found in urban centres where less than fifty percent of the housing stock is made of single detached units. While this measure provides a static snapshot of the stage of development, a city may have reached with regard to the progression of the densification process, this measure provides no idea of the trajectory a city is following. To ascertain what direction a city is moving in the annual production of single detached units rather than the cumulative total can be used to measure the direction and intensity of the densification process across the country.

Particularly in Montreal and Toronto, a comparison of the cumulative total of single detached units, and the annual percentage of the annual production of single detached units

become important in understanding what possible direction these two cities may be going in because of the bi-modal pattern of development that is present in each city.[18] For example, in the case of Greater Montreal, an initial first glance at the cumulative total for house types would suggest that land intensive development is the overwhelmingly dominant pattern of investment that is shaping the city, since only thirty-one percent of all homes are made up of single detached units (table three). But this would be deceptive. This low reading is really the product of historic inertia and does not accurately portray the pattern of investment that is shaping the internal geography of the city.

However, if annual rates are looked at over time and changes in the cumulative total are studied quite a different picture emerges. Although the low level of single detached units indicates that Montreal is still a rather dense city by North American standards, if changes in the cumulative total of single detached units are looked at since 1961, when single detached units only accounted for nineteen percent of all housing units, the proportion of units made up of single detached units has gone up by almost seventy percent, while for the nation as a whole the proportion has gone down by nearly twenty percent. What this variation points to is the growing influence of land-extensive development in Montreal. Moreover, if the core of the Montreal region is compared with its periphery, what become noteworthy is how deeply entrenched land-extensive development has become, with over sixty percent of all dwelling units outside the core made up single detached units between 1991 and 1996. This far exceeds the the metropolitan average. Furthermore, this trend towards sparser units appears to be accelerating if the production of housing in the 1990s is compared with the 1980s (table two, p.61).

In Toronto the opposite point can be made. As table two shows (unlike Montreal), since 1961 the percentage of single detached dwelling units has steadily fallen in the region and even with the reversal that took place in the 1980s, the proportion of single detached units is still about twenty percent below the 1961 level. While a comparison of the composition of the housing stock of Toronto and Montreal would make it appear that densification was much more

entrenched and advanced in Montreal because of the relatively small proportion of single detached units that exist here, changes in the percentage of single detached units over time, and the level of production of new single detached units in relation to the cumulative proportion of single detached units shows just the opposite to be the case. While land-extensive development accelerated in Montreal during the first part of the 1990s, it slowed down in Toronto. And because the percentage of single detached units has been historically made up of a larger proportion of the housing stock in Toronto. Comparatively, this slowdown is further accentuated since the gap between the annual and cumulative percentage of single detached units in Toronto is not nearly as large as it is in Montreal. Accordingly, what this indicates is that the trajectory for residential investment is likely to remain much more land-intensive in Toronto than it will be in Montreal, even thought a bi-modal pattern of land-intensive and land-extensive investment exists in both cities.

So even though the percentage of single detached units produced on the periphery of Toronto is about the same as Montreal, the difference between the annual additions to the region's housing stock and the cumulative total is only about thirty percent in the case of Toronto, rather than one-hundred percent for Montreal. The 1996 census will probably show that the number of single detached units in Toronto is around forty-six percent rather than thirty-one percent as is the case in Montreal, and that the proportion of single detached units in Toronto is still nearly twenty percent below the 1961 level while in Montreal the proportion of single detached units is nearly seventy percent above the 1961 benchmark figure. Similarly, the construction of sparser single detached units on the periphery is much more forcefully counteracted in Toronto by the higher level of denser housing construction that continues to take place in the core of the region than is the case with Montreal (SC-24; SC-35).[19]

Moving on to look at the trajectory of densification in other cities, where the annual production of single detached units accounts for less than forty percent of all new dwelling units densification can be considered as a dominant force in the restructuring of urban space. For when the production of single detached units goes this low, it means that each year a larger

proportion of denser housing stock is being added to the existing residential base and that the region has a whole is becoming significantly denser. Where the production of single detached units ranges between forty and fifty-five percent, as it has done so in Montreal and Toronto in 1991, densification can be viewed as an ascendant force. Although, as already pointed out, in cases such as Montreal, where there is a significant difference between the density of the pre-existing stock of housing and what is currently being built, this determination is cancelled out by the local circumstances, since in Montreal the city is actually thinning out rather than thickening.

Leaving this aside, densification can be described as being ascendant within this range because annual replacement of new housing has averaged around six percent over the past ten years (SC-18; SC-24; SC-35). So if the production of single detached units goes as high as fifty-five percent of new housing production, it is still possible that a city might gradually evolve into a denser place because the overall composition of the housing stock made up of sparser single detached units would still likely drop each year as long as the level of production remained below this level.[20] Conversely, anytime the production of single detached units goes above fifty-six percent this would indicate that the housing stock is becoming less dense rather than more dense each year. In both absolute and relative terms this would be the case, since the national profile of housing of the housing stock shows that in 1991 only about fifty-seven percent of the entire housing stock was made up of single detached units, although this has since fallen to somewhere between fifty-three and fifty-six percent. If it has dropped to fifty-three percent, this would indicate that there has been a significant quickening in the progression of the densification process in the first half of the 1990s, since this would represent a drop of three percent in the composition of single detached units. But even if the higher figure is the more accurate, this would still indicate that the pace has increased, although by not nearly the amount suggested by the lower figure (table two).

Keeping this in mind, if the metropolitan average is broken down the wide gap in the stage of development of different Canadian cities concerning densification and the divergent

trajectories of the various cities can easily be grasped, especially if the extremes represented by Vancouver and Winnipeg is taken into consideration and are used as opposing ends of the densification continuum that can be observed in Canada.

If this procedure is followed, each city can be categorized as follows: first there is Vancouver. In statistical terms, what is so surprising about Greater Vancouver is how recent the transformation of the region as whole has been. For instance land-intensive development only entered the dominant stage in 1991, when, for the first time, the proportion of single detached units in the region fell below fifty per cent (table two).

However, this is slightly misleading since the City of Vancouver and several inner city suburbs had already reached this point by 1971. Consequently, what these numbers really show is how uneven the densification process has been in the region.[21] What is more important to take note of is that the fifty percent figure signifies how pervasive the densification process has become in the region. Furthermore, if annual production figures are looked at: with only twenty-seven percent of all new dwelling units made up of single detached units between 1991 and 1996, the sheer intensity of the densification process within Vancouver in relation to other cities becomes unmistakable.

Since 1991 densification has become predominate in Greater Vancouver. Unlike other Canadian cities (where the progression of the densification process has slowed down or gone into reverse), in Vancouver the opposite has happened. Here the densification process has acelerated rather than slowed down between 1986 and 1991.

In fact, if the net production of single detached units is accepted as a proxy measure of densification, these figures actually underestimate the intensity of the densification process in Vancouver because of the extensive demolition and construction of single detached units that has taken place in the Zone of Asian Resettlement.[22] When more detailed Statistics are made available from the 1996 Census, the data will possibly show that the net production denser housing units in Greater Vancouver has been even higher than eighty percent between 1991 and 1996.

The intensity of the densication process in Vancouver can be appreciated in another way. This can be done by comparing the profile of the pre-existing housing stock with the profile of the new housing stock that is added each year. In Montreal, this exercise would show that a land-extensive regime of accumulation was in force even though the producton of single detached units was comparatively low in relation to most other cities. However, by comparing Montreal's pre-existing housing stock to current production an opposing condusion would be arrived at, since the comparison between the profile of existing and new housing stock would reveal that the city was rapidly losing, rather than gaining density. Similarly, for Vancouver the same comparison can be made in order to make the opposite point. Here the intensity of the densification process can be pointed to by directing attention to the huge gap that exists between the makeup of the pre-existing housing stock and what is being added each year. For example, in 1991 fifty percent of Greater Vancouver's housing stock was made up of single detached units. But if we look at the net addition of new single detached units between 1990 and 1996 probably less than twenty percent. Because the gap is probably over thirty percent, the difference between what currently exists and what is being built is quite remarkable.

Leaving aside Halifax, with the exception of the Atlantic provinces and most Prairie cities, the housing composition of most other metropolitan centres indicates the material basis for the new mode of urban development exists in the remaining cities, since at least fifty percent of their housing stock is made up of denser housing. Furthermore, while densification may not be dominant in these cities, new housing construction between 1991 and 1996 reveals that densification was an ascendant force in this time period in these intermediate centres. What this means is that in these cities densification has continued to progress, albeit at a very slow rate in most cases.[23]

Among these intermediate centres Ottawa occupies a special position: straddling the borderline between ascendance and dominance. Because single detached units only accounted for forty-two percent of all units started between 1991 and 1996 Ottawa nearly reached the forty percent mark that would have put it in the same classification as Vancouver. What makes

Ottawa more interesting is that as government employment decreases over the medium term and high-technology employment dramatically increases, the internal settlement dynamic for the region may be reversed, because rapidly expanding high-technology centres have tended to produce dispersed exurban development. However, if this does not happen, and the proportion of single detached units falls by just two or three percent from the average recorded between 1991 and 1996, then Ottawa may become the second urban region in the country to enter the domain that Vancouver inhabits with regard to the densification process. Yet, even if it does, Ottawa will still trail Vancouver, inasmuch as densification has been so intense in Vancouver, the production of single detached units in Ottawa would still be nearly twice that of Vancouver.[24]

After Ottawa there is Toronto. Despite the reversal experienced in the 1980s, because of its history as the lead city for densification until the middle of the 1980s and because of the size of its housing market, along with Vancouver, Toronto stands out as part an urban set that symbolizes the furthest progression of the densification process in North America.[25] Not surprisingly, both cities are also interconnected at the level of regulation as well, because of the role that each played as an incubation ground for the generation of postmodern norms in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

After saying this, there is also something separate and unique about the evolution of the densification process in Toronto if it is compared to Vancouver. Since the mid 1980s the densification process has mutated in Toronto. With the emergence of a powerful land-intensive and land-extensive pattern of development in Toronto since 1986 two different modes of urban development now co-exists within the same region.[26] This is quite different from the opposing trajectories of Winnipeg and Vancouver where only one investment logic dominates. For example, in Vancouver, the dominance of densification is as pervasive as the dispersed investment that feeds into the suburbanization and sprawl that typifies urban development in Winnipeg. However, in Toronto, but also in Montreal and Ottawa,[27] a hybrid form of

densification has evolved. In these cities a bi-polar pattern of urban development has appeared where two different regimes of accumulation co-exist in the same region.

In the core of the region of Toronto, which consists of the former Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, a very intense pattern of densification has been maintained. Hence between 1991 and 1996 less than twenty-percent of all new housing units constructed were made up of single detached units, compared to forty-eight percent for the region. By contrast, in the exurban areas a deeply entrenched form of land-extensive development took root. This shows up in the high proportion of new single detached units that were constructed here in the first half of the 1990s. Unlike the core of the region where the production of single detached units was less than twenty percent of all new construction, in the exurban fringe, where seventy-three percent of all new housing construction in the region took place, fifty-nine point-five percent of all dwelling units were made up of single detached units.[28]

Between 1986 and 1991 the production of single detached units became so pervasive that this overwhelmed the considerable addition of denser units that was being added to the core of the region. Not only was the progression of the densification process in the region as a whole arrested by this, it was even put into reverse, as the proportion of single detached units making up the region's housing stock rose from forty percent to forty-five percent between 1981 and 1991 (table two).

However, Between 1991 and 1996 this regression back to a land-extensive pattern had almost come to a halt. For example, during this time the overall proportion of single detached units only increased by one percent rather than five percent, as the percentage of the region's housing stock made up of single detached units only rose from forty-five percent in 1991, to forty-six percent in 1996, instead of from forty to forty-five percent, as what happened between 1981 and 1991 (table two).[29]

At the other end of the densification continuum, with the exception of Halifax, there is a cluster of cities that are mostly located in the Prairie[30] and the Atlantic[31] provinces where densification is clearly a secondary phenomenon. For this reason the pattern of investment more

closely follows that found in the United States. In these cities the production of single detached units generally surpasses sixty percent and is therefore notably above the metropolitan average, even surpassing the national average.[32]

Throughout the 1990s, although the return to land-extensive development has been more intense in Calgary than in Winnipeg, (with the production of single detached units often exceeding eighty percent in Calgary), Winnipeg still stands as out as the most extreme example of this regression back to land-extensive development, because, unlike Calgary, the switch back to land extensive development happened in the late 1970s[33] rather than in the 1990s, as was the case with Calgary. Whereas this may only be a temporary aberration for Calgary that may be erased by rising housing prices if boom conditions continue, it appears to be a permanent fixture of residential investment in Winnipeg (table one and table two). Hence, if boom conditions are sustained in Calgary and Edmonton, the densification ratios of these two cities can be expected to rise and this should eventually lower the production of single detached units.[34] However, in the case of Winnipeg housing prices look as if they will remain stagnant into the foreseeable future, ensuring that the densification ratio remains low, so that whatever densification does take place, will be less the result of economic pressures than demographic shifts. With the population of Winnipeg only predicted to grow to 717,000 by 2016 (Winnipeg Free Press 1997bw), or eight percent, and with one of the lowest densification ratios for any major Canadian city, densification will remain much weaker in Winnipeg in relation to other large Canadian centres.[35]

Since the reversion back to a land-extensive pattern of investment appears permanently ingrained in the development dynamic of the city, Winnipeg has returned back to a mode of urban development that predominated in the 1950s. No longer ascendant, as densification was in Winnipeg between the mid 1960s and the mid 1970s, it has regressed and now only functions an emergent and localized phenomenon. In part, this has to do with the maintenance of strong modern forms of bureaucratic rule. Because of this, the brake that many other civic bureaucracies attempted to apply against the resurgence of land-extensive development in the

1980s was not applied here. Just the opposite occurred. Instead of attempting to brake land extensive development, the bureaucracy in Winnipeg pressed down upon the accelerator, going into debt to speed up suburbanization process, which only amplified land-extensive development because of the decline in the densification ratio during the 1980's (table one). As a result, in Winnipeg's case, it will not be changes in the property market, demographics, or a new transportation strategy that may limit the continuation of excessive dispersion that is now taking place, but the limits on land-extensive development that might emerge because fiscal constraints.

Even though the province of Manitoba has not cut back grants to the city like other provincial jurisdictions have done it is possible that the massive borrowing that was carried out to expand the infrastructure that supported land-extensive development in the 1980s may serve to curtail some of the dispersion.[36] But this remains to be seen. With a debt load now approaching twenty percent of the city's operating budget, a vicious circle concerning taxes has emerged in the development of the city that only provincial intervention can resolve.[37] And this appears unlikely. With some of the highest taxes in the country and collapsing property values in the core (Winnipeg Free Press 1998w), the burden of taxation has shifted on to middle class homeowners in the suburban parts of the city and this, in turn, has lead to an increasingly powerful migration of home buyers to the exurban zone where the taxes are around half those of the city. In Winnipeg, the situation has become so bad that the fiscal crisis probably now acts as a factor in promoting further dispersion rather limiting it, that is, unless the provincial government introduces some form of capital region tax pooling.

Similarly, but under different circumstances, fiscal limits in Ontario are likely to change the development dynamic. But here what is happening is more likely to act as a brake on any massive resurgence in land-extensive development and by doing so prevent a repeat of the sprawl that over took exurban Toronto during the late 1980s. At that time there was no fiscal crisis to ration the flow of infrastructure investment that was required to support this dispersed development (Ferguson 1988). But this is no longer the case. Soon, the full impact of

the cutbacks and reassignment of municipal responsibilities recently initiated by the provincial government of Ontario should kick in and affect how municipalities respond to the next building cycle.

Because of all of this flux, it is not yet clear what the overall direction Greater Toronto will follow over the next five years. With a new production cycle for housing production now beginning to gather steam after seven lean years (Wong 1997) it is still uncertain what scenario will play itself out.[38] Will Greater Toronto remain in limbo with an arrested form of densification that now exists, as a bi-polar path, which emerged after 1985, remain in place? Or, will the recent trend to sparser development be decisively turned around and the previous pattern of densification reassert itself, with densification becoming a dominant rather than ascendant influence in the reshaping of the built environment?

Thus along the continuum established by Vancouver and Winnipeg, four patterns of densification can be identified if the production of single detached units are used as an indicator of densification. At one extreme there is Vancouver. Here the very low net production of new single detached units indicates that densification is dominant throughout the region. Then there are a number of cities, mostly located in Quebec and Ontario - such as Ottawa, Hamilton, London, Kitchener-Waterloo – where densification remains ascendant. At the other end of the spectrum there are cities such as Winnipeg, which has completely regressed back to a land-extensive investment pattern. Lastly, except for Vancouver, in all the cities that have over one million in population a bi-polar pattern has developed where the production of single detached units suggests that two different regimes of accumulation co-exist within the same region. This pattern is most perceptible in Toronto and Montreal, but it is also present in Ottawa.

The presence of this bi-polar pattern and what appears to be a permanent regression back to low-density development for some cities raises legitimate questions about the pervasiveness of the densification process and its usefulness as a defining empirical feature of the new urban age. Is the divergence that is now visible just a symptom of transition or does it

signify that the geography of the Canadian city has been fragmented into several different patterns: -one defined by a bi-polar configuration, which can be seen in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, or another contrasting pattern marked by a more polarized trajectory, as can be seen when Vancouver and Winnipeg are compares — where there is little doubt that land-intensive development is the defining feature of urban growth in Vancouver, while it is just the opposite for Winnipeg, where land-extensive development predominates.

With the limitations created by fiscal crises of the local state affecting most cities, during the next cycle in housing construction, most of these questions should be answered. That is, will densification only be significant in the most dynamic cities while the previous mode of urban development lingers on in slower growing and less dynamic cities? Furthermore, will the bi-polar pattern remain in Toronto? These are questions that cannot be answered at this time. However, as the full impact of downloading becomes more apparent and the fiscal crisis of the state filters down to the local level, a clear idea of what will happen should appear over the next five years: especially as demographic forecasts show that the next five years will be the last time period when household formation within the country will continue to rise before starting to drop significantly, reducing the overall demand for housing and therefore the rate of change in the residential built environment (CMHC 1991i).[39]

Moreover this should be enough time to guage what impact fiscal cutbacks and the re-organization of local government have on the institutional and fiscal supports that still make land extensive development possible in most cities. For these reasons, the next five years are likely to be watershed years in the evolution of the Canadian city. In this term it should be possible to more accurately assess the overall pattern of densification. In the next five years it should therefore become clear whether the polarized trajectories now symbolized by residential investment in Winnipeg and Vancouver will continue along their present paths into the future. In addition to this, the overall status of densification as an ascendant or dominant force in the reshaping of Canadian city should become clearer.

At length will the polarized trajectories that exist between Vancouver and the Prairie cities remain? Or will there be some convergence? That is why studying the evolution of densification in Winnipeg and Vancouver can be viewed as bellwethers of what may happen elsewhere. Their dramatic divergence from one another over the past thirty years shows just how polarized urban development has become in Canada. Although it is possible to use this divergence to discount densification as one of the defining characteristics of the present mode of urban development, or even to question the periodization scheme that has been partially constructed around the existence of this process, the fact remains that once-similarly-organized cities have diverged so much in such a short time interval indicates that densification has had a profound and permanent influence on some cities, and that a significant new force has entered the development dynamic of the city, although at different levels of intensity. As the contrast between Winnipeg and Vancouver so clearly reveal something quite significant has happened and different forces are now operating to reconfigure urban space in each city. The contrasts that can now be observed in the built environments of Winnipeg and Vancouver stand out as unmistakeable proof that two different models of urban development do in fact exist and that this is a relatively recent occurrence because of the short time span in which this has taken place.

It may be that the difference that can be witnessed between both places is just another manifestation of the polarization that seems to be appearing in all sorts of guises in the city with the advance of market rule. For example, the polarization that exists between Winnipeg and Vancouver may be a manifestation of the same forces that have created the polarized internal geography of Vancouver: except here it has become manifest on a much larger geographic scale.

In this case the polarized trajectories that have been described may be just one manifestation of larger forces that are shaping the present urban era and not a transitional feature. Indeed, if this is the case then deformed versions of land-extensive regimes of accumulation may remain in cities where densification is weak because of lagging economic

growth. Likewise, if this is so, then postmodern forms of regulation can be expected to be underdeveloped in such cities as well because of their small or declining new middle class.

It is therefore not surprising to see that this has indeed been the case for Winnipeg. With a weak economy, and the truncated development of the new middle class that has resulted, the middle class in Winnipeg did not have the size or leadership capability to break the inertia of modern rule that hangs as an albatross around the neck of the city. Despite some noteworthy attempts to reform local government, such as Unicity, the failure of the new middle class to consolidate itself and successfully politically mobilize itself to take control over the levers of power of local government has meant that all attempts at reform have been stillborn.

Indeed, with the emergence of an urban underclass in the inner city during the postmodern era, a decline in immigration and examples to appropriate the West Broadway area of Winnipeg by the middle class reveal, rather than colonizing the inner city, the middle class has had to assume a defensive posture to preserve the urban space south of Portage Avenue for itself.[40] Similarly, its failure to take control of the Warehouse District is another example of the anemic state of this class and the under-developed nature of the postmodern spatial matrix in Winnipeg.[41]

In Toronto, densification of the overall region has stalled during the 1980s. In the 1990s it began to gain new momentum and may even recover in the next decade. While densification has vacillated, throughout this entire period postmodern norms has grown continually stronger. This is not the case for Winnipeg. Here both features of the new mode of urban development have been retarded. Here not only are hidden subsidies still given to land-extensive development, upfront and open subsidies are still being given to support land-extensive development despite its deleterious effect upon the region. While the status of the densification process is problematic in Toronto, in Winnipeg there is no question that land-intensive development has become completely subordinated to land-extensive development.[42] Moreover, as TransPlan (City of Winnipeg 1998) -- the city's new transportation plan-- reveals, unlike Toronto, modern norms are still clearly in ascendancy.

The weak profile of the postmodern condition in Winnipeg can be gauged by looking at two of the most important carriers of postmodern ideology among the middle class – Jews and gays. This also allow the link that exists between macro-economic forces that determine a cities place in the urban hierarchy to be connected to the diffusion of cultural phenomenon such as postmodernism.

For instance the fate of Winnipeg's new middle class and the weakness of postmodern regulation can be read into the history of these two pivotal subgroups. In Winnipeg both groups have experienced stagnation or dramatic decline. But in Vancouver and Toronto both minorities have flourished in the postmodern era. For as Susan Sontag noted in her essay "On Camp":

> Jews and homosexuals are the outstanding creative minorities in contemporary culture. Creators, that is, in the truest sense, they are creators of sensibility. The two pioneering forces of modern sensibility Jewish moral seriousness and homosexual aestheticism (Sontag 1996, p.296).[43]

Hence just as the social and aesthetic regulation of twentieth-century modernism revolved around the participation of these two groups, to a great extent, much the same can be said of their involvement with regard to the turn to postmodernism. Thus what has happened to the gay and Jewish subcultures in Vancouver and Winnipeg reveals a great deal about the evolution of the new middle class and the strength of the second middle-class mobilization, which occurred in each city with the counterculture. For Jews, with their elevated representation among the professions, higher incomes and a low birth rate, this group, along with gays, embody many of the subjective and objective attributes of the postmodern spatial sensibility that would surface in the visual arts (Warhol) architecture (Charles Moore) and planning (Greenberg; Cohen).

Until the mid 1970s the institutional makeup of Winnipeg's gay community was equal to if not greater than that of Vancouver's. Moreover it appeared to be more politically active. However, as with Winnipeg's Jewish community, there was a massive exodus of this population just at the time when the postmodern spatial matrix was beginning to coalesce into forms of spatial regulation. In Winnipeg, the evolution of the gay community came to a halt

while it began to speed up in Vancouver. One way of observing this is by studying the organizational density of each community. In contrast to Winnipeg, since the 1970s, Vancouver's gay community has flourished and become organizationally more complex as a community formation. Just as significant, it has become a pivotal consumer subculture in the economy of the urban spectacle of Vancouver. This contrast is revealed by comparing the gay directories for each city.

To begin with, what is most revealing is that there is no directory for Winnipeg. However, several years ago a pamphlet was published which listed the gay businesses and services provided in Winnipeg. And in this pamphlet about eleven citations for commercial and community services were listed.[44] By comparison, in the most recent *Gay and Lesbian Directory* put out by the gay community in Vancouver, the directory was the size of a small book and contained well over 300 listings.[45]

If the evolution of the gay community in Winnipeg can be described in terms of arrested development during the postmodern period then the status of the Jewish Community has definitely become one of decline. Even into the 1970s, Winnipeg still had the third largest Jewish population in the country. And as for cultural vitality, well into the 1960s, it was second only to Montreal. Now Vancouver's Jewish population exceeds Winnipeg's and Calgary is fast approaching Winnipeg's Jewish population in size (SC-8A; SC-10). While Winnipeg's population has nearly tripled since 1921, when its Jewish population peaked at around 21,000, since then the number of Jews has declined to around 14,000, with most of this decline taking place in the postmodern era -- that is, since the 1970s.[46] If the inflow and outflow of minority groups is looked at in Winnipeg, what becomes apparent is that the most urban segments of the population started to leave the city during the 1970s while the most rural elements -- chiefly Mennonites, who make up an emergent economic elite since they have been the only dynamic business group that has grown and remained in the city, as the Anglo Saxon (Morton 1967) and Jewish elites,[47] which once held such promise for the city have left *en mass.*[48] At the opposite

end of the socio-economic spectrum, there is a growing urban underclass made up of a rapidly expanding Aboriginal population in a slow-growing city.[49]

Despite its heterogeneous population, social and culturally, what this has done is ruralize the culture of the city, creating conditions that are the very antithesis of postmodern culture, since in Canada, this it is an urbane cultural formation that is based upon a highly sophisticated appreciation of urban living. Not only has this more deeply entrenched modern regulation in the city, it has also played a role in further emphasizing the negative image of Winnipeg's inner city, making it a place that most Winnipegers avoid, and because of this attitude, this has also played a role in extending the dispersion of the city and the continuation of land extensive development, which is far in excess of what is healthy for the city. In this way, the outflow of the most urban segments of the population and the inflow of the most rural segments of the population into the city is one reason why modernism has been so resilient in Winnipeg. After all, if the social backgrounds of the first generation of the Chicago School theorist are looked at what emerges from looking at the biographies of most of these sociologists is that they came from small midwestern towns. Thus one of the most famous of all the Chicago School theorist was Roderick Mackenzie, who grew up in a small town just south of Winnipeg.

Hence, if the decline of Winnipeg's Jewish population and the underdeveloped and arrested development of its gay population stand out as the most powerful symbols of the stillbirth of the urban middle class in Winnipeg, and the fragility of postmodern regulation in this city, one reason for the seemingly tenacious hold of modernism may have to do with the ruralization of the urban region's population. This has happened because of the growing size of the Aboriginal and Mennonite populations.[50] The Mennonite population may come to represent the city's new elite and the other -- Winnipeg's native population -- its underclass. Regardless of the role that both groups may eventually play, each still bears the strong imprint of their rural rather than urban origins. In this regard it is possible to speculate that the growing prominence of these two groups may now play a contributing role in the ruralization of the

region. This, along with the unprecedented decline in the city's population ranking among Canadian cities, helps to explain why the densification process weakened so much during the postmodern era. In the modern period, at least Winnipeg was able to retain its status as the fourth largest city in the country. However, during the postmodern era, its rank fell precipitously, as Winnipeg moved from being the fourth largest city in the country to the eighth largest.

Conversely, the study of Vancouver has shown just the opposite has happened. Rather than contract, its Jewish population has grown rapidly. Instead of falling behind other cities it has steadily consolidated its ranking as the third largest urban region in the country and could conceivably surpass Montreal and become the nation's second-largest city over the next half century. While Winnipeg has become more disconnected from the international flow of labour and capital, Vancouver has become more integrated into this system as a specialized global entrepot and destination point for consumption, parts of the information economy and international tourism.

This can be seen in its rising stature as an international destination point for tourism. As well, it has recently become more specialized as a centre of cultural production in the fast expanding information economy, which the emergence of a large film-making industry, animation and other activities that have become part of the economic base of the urban spectacle are examples of. As a result, Vancouver has become a magnet for middle-class migrants and immigrants. This not only accounts for the intense densification that can be witnessed in Vancouver, but also may explain why the core of the region has been transformed into a predominately middle class city since the 1970s rather than the polyglot city of working and middle-class communities that defined the core of the region during the modern period: a transformation that can be seen in the changing political culture of the City of Vancouver with demise of COPE. For with the decimation of COPE in 1996, the last civic reform party that was formed around an alliance of middle-class and working-class constituencies that once existed in

the city has passed since this population no longer exists. Particularly with the rise of an immigrant Chinese middle class, an era of postmodern corporatism has been ushered in.

The study of the densification process in Vancouver has also shown the variety of physical and regulatory formats that can shape the regulation and look of the densification process. Depending upon the intensity of the densification process, the social class affected and the zoning that exists, densification can assume various formats. Generally speaking, these physical formats will appear as high-rise, medium-rise or low-rise environments. When the postmodern social ecology of Vancouver was mapped out in the previous chapter, the three different settlement rings in the City of Vancouver were shown to be a microcosm of each for the regulatory, social conditions and material cultures that were associated with the predominance of one format. Furthermore, not only did each zone provide a model for densification that would be copied in the rest of the region, what happened in each of these settlement rings could be seen as mirrors of the different kinds of densification that were observable elsewhere in North America.[51]

In Vancouver, the Core symbolizes what happens when special zoning regulations provide the basis for a very intense form of high-rise densification. On the supply side, the creation of this format also sheds some insight into the corporatist interests that are usually closely bound up with the construction of this type of built environment. On the demand side the existence of a large and non-domestic fraction of the middle class which is supportive of this agenda, is another facet of the social profile of the settlement zones that are shaped by these kinds of environments in North America. Thus expertise that came from the experiments in corporatist planning that led to the creation of a high-rise format for the postmodern city in Vancouver's Core is now being exported to Toronto, and not just to other parts of the Vancouver region. Also more specifically, what has happened in the Core has set the standard for the development of regional town centres and emerging transit-oriented-development corridors elsehwhere in the region. Again, this is a significant reversal. Traditionally Toronto had been at the leading edge when it came to high-rise residential construction in the country. Only in

New York and Toronto, perhaps, can the same level of high-rise construction that has taken place in the Core of Vancouver since the late 1980s, be found anywhere else in North America.

Meanwhile, in the second settlement zone, a second regulatory context was created for densification to assume a medium-rise format. If the social transformation that followed from the creation of a high-rise habitat created a Collage City, then what emerged from out of the construction of a medium-rise built environment was the creation of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. As with the core important experimentations in new house forms were undertaken. If the Core specialized in developing sleek, point-form high-rise blocks and attached town houses, in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement swas developed in the creation ot medium-rise strata title and co-operative housing developments. These experiments would be more significant than what took place in the core because what happened here provided the physical format that becomes the most pervasive form of densification in Greater Vancouver, since medium-rise strata title development became the prime vehicle for the physical transformation from a low-rise and sprawling urban region into North America's first medium-rise metropolis.[52]

Then there is the third zone. Presently, it is swiftly being physically transformed into a late modern landscape as it is being turned into a contiguous Zone of Asian Resettlement. Since experimentation has just begun here, it is premature to point to the formulation of a successful model although numerous failures can be pointed to with regard to the reshaping of the built environment that has accompanied the low-rise densification of this zone. Here experimentation has involved the promotion and creation of secondary suites in single detached units, innovative infill, and the selective introduction of medium-rise housing into large vacant lots or under used institutional properties. There has also been considerable subdivision of pre-existing lots, some innovative infill and the construction of large homes that are likely to become *de facto* duplexes or small apartment units in the near future if they are not already. Even more significant than the regulatory changes made to the first two zones, the densification of the suburban areas of the city is particularly significant because what has been

involved in the changes that are now being made is the deconstruction of single family zoning, which until now, the most protected and resistant to any form of change in the nature of regulation.[53]

While this is being done incrementally in the City of Vancouver, within greater Vancouver the region leads less in the development of this format than other cities. In Calgary and Toronto, in particular, with the crystallization of the new urbanism, a more formal and systematic attempt to deconstruct the modern suburb has been initiated by planners and developers. Examples of this type of low rise development would be the Beaches in the City of Toronto (Toronto Star 1997zb), Mackenzie Towne Centre in Calgary, or Cornell in Toronto. Within Greater Vancouver, more modest examples of the new urbanism can be cited, where it is appearing in a more patchwork fashion because of the scarcity of land. Hence development on small lots, such as Clover Valley, in the suburb of Surrey (VS-379), is rapidly spreading in popularity in the fourth settlement ring. Even examples of full blown neo-traditional development may appear in Vancouver.[54] And this is something that is now taking place or is being actively considered on the periphery of every large city in the country except for Winnipeg.[55]

6.2 - Final empirical observations on the postmodern transformation of Greater Vancouver.

There is more to the transformation of Vancouver than densification. As Vancouver has densified, the contours of its settlement geography have also been redrawn. This largely happened as a result of changes in the origins and destination of immigrants into Vancouver and the emergence of the new middle class. In the case of immigrants, since the modern period the source for new immigrants has shifted from Europe to Asia. Secondly, their social status has changed, as more middle-class rather than working-class immigrants have moved to the country. Also the destination points of these immigrants have changed. Not only have they become more compacted into just a few cities, in the case of Vancouver, they have concentrated into the more affluent suburban core of the region. The settlement space has been further altered

by the movement of the migration of the indigenous new middle class into the core of the region as well. Because of this, the modern social order of the city has been completely inverted.

If densification was shown to be responsible for the emergence of a linear pattern of urban development that followed the general outline of the sketches of the city provided by Homer Hoyt and Harris and Ullman, then the immigration and migration patterns that have developed since the 1970s have shown that these linear and nodal pattern of settlement are overlapped by more concentric settlement patterns which have more to do with postmodern regulation and new migration patterns than the channelling of investment into transit oriented development corridors or regional nodes (figure one; figure three). The existence of these concentric settlement rings, and more importantly their transformation from the picture of the social ecology of the modern city that Burgess provided, was used as a template to examine the postmodern social ecology of Vancouver that has come out of these new migration patterns over the past thirty years.[56]

Comparing the modern social ecology of Vancouver with the postmodern one that came into existence striking changes in the organization of the settlement space of the region have become visible. Modern social spaces have been erased and postmodern ones have appeared in their place. The modern city -- which Burgess describes and that once existed in Vancouver -- no longer exists. Only relic landscapes and a few enclaves, which are bitterly being fought over, survive from this period.[57]

Even though the Burgess model is just an idealized representation of the modern city, as chapter five has shown, with some amendments, this model accurately portrayed the major land use patterns that prevailed in Vancouver during the modern period and the perceptions of space that governed the regulation of space and became the ideological basis for the social regulation and modernization of the city after 1945. The regimented and segmented landscapes that were produced at this time were an expression of bureaucratic rule and a symbol of the conformity and assimilation, which were the defining values of the social regulation of the

city during the modern era, that were formalized into descriptive abstractions such as Burgess' concentric settlement model for the city.

Understandably, in the postmodern era, this idealized representation and model for the modern city would lose its accuracy, as pluralism and the principle of difference rather than assimilation became more important as a result of the declining influence of modern bureaucratic rule and the rise of market rule.[58] Because of this shift, new settlement spaces which had not existed during the modern period would appear. Along with changing immigration patterns, this new spatial logic would radically alter the settlement geography of the city and invert the modern order of the city which Burgess described and that was closely mirrored in the modern settlement geography of Vancouver, since reality and representation of the city were closely intertwined during the modern era. The resulting contrasts would also be congruent with the changes that occurred with the movement away from militarism, since regimentation, conformity and the organization of life along more hierarchical lines, values typical for societies that are engaging in or preparing for war, were also implied in the concentric model of the city. Again this was not simply an abstract idealization of the modern city, it was also a distillation of a spatial code that was actively enforced by modern regulation.

Although the diagram that Burgess constructed was only a model, it had a profound impact on the young profession of city planning and the new field of urban geography, as it became a blueprint for planning practitioners and academic proselytizers of modern regulation. Derived from empirical observation and mixed with the values of order and discipline that embodied bureaucratic rule and the progressivist reaction to the *laissez-faire* city, this model became the guiding framework that defined how the planning professions classified and regulated space. In this way, the forces of invasion and succession created by the market during the *laissez-faire* period were encoded into the regulation of the city and then construed as being natural forces in the representations of the city, that were made by academics such as Ernest Burgess.

But this only covered a relatively small part of the city, since areas dominated by single detached units were expected to comprise the majority of the residential space in the city. Areas zone for single family dwelling were exempted from the unfettered play of the market because they were considered to be part of the domestic rather than commercial order of the city. This being the case, these spaces required and therefore special protection from the market. For the home was expected to be a haven from the market, a place to recuperate from the everyday struggle for existence. Furthermore, it was to be a place of reproduction, where special effort would have to be made to protect women and children from the unruly influences of the city, where the unfettered forces of the market were allowed more leeway.

In this model the dichotomy between the city and suburb was clearly set out and here was one case in point where modern social regulation overruled economic regulation. Even though protecting residential property values was one central motivation in applying the most restrictive zoning to areas dominated by single family housing, safeguarding the nuclear family – and with it, the late Victorian cult of domesticity that persisted into the modern era (Ursel 1996) – which defined the social regulation of the city was also just as important. Again, this would be the haven in a heartless world, where the use of space would not be dominated by the animal instincts of the market, a place of refuge for the middle class, where they could escape from the trepidations experienced in the *laissez-faire* city .

Hence, as an empirical description as well a prescriptive model, the Burgess model acted as a picture of the city and a blueprint for the modernization of the city that planners would attempt to realize once the profession was resuscitated by the federal government after 1945 (Gerecke 1976). That is why the Burgess model closely approximated the organization of urban space in Vancouver (and most other North American cities) during the modern age (Smith1988).

Just as the profusion of high-rises, medium-rise condominiums and transit-oriented developments stand out as the most obvious physical evidence of the impact that densification would have on the urban fabric of Vancouver, in like manner, the rapid disappearance of old

settlement rings and the creation of new ones provide the best examples of the impact that postmodern regulation would have on the spatial order of the city.

Using each of Burgess' five concentric settlement zones as a basis for mapping out the changes in the postmodern order of the city, in Vancouver the contrast between the modern and the postmodern social order that has come into existence since the mid 1970s becomes unmistakable if this framework is used as the basis for making comparisons between both eras. Beginning with the Core. It maintained its role as a Central Business District during the postmodern era. However, during the period of the urban spectacle it acquired an additional functional attribute not present in the modern period or described in the Burgess model and that a Central Entertainment District. Just as significant would be the transformation of the Core into the region's most complex and fastest growing residential zone. In turn, along with this a collage city emerged a distinctly postmodern type of social space. And in this social configuration a singles-oriented middle class grew powerful enough to not only displace less powerful social groups that had long resided in the Core; they were even able to push back commercial and industrial land uses which the Burgess model and planners from the modern era regarded as the dominant land use in the Core.

With these functional alterations the modern social ecology of the Core was inverted. Rather than residential land uses being subordinate to commercial land uses, the opposite occurred. If the invasion and succession of land use is examined, particularly in the era of the urban spectacle, residential land uses became the dominant land use in the core, and commercial space subordinate. Moreover, within this expanding residential zone a singles-oriented fraction of the new middle class and an international elite became the dominant social groups in the residential precinct that were created, and the working class became a subordinate social formation, that would recede in the face of the advance of the new middle class and the international elite.

Although Burgess and other social ecologist like Zorbaugh allocated a place for the elite in the Core, the core was not meant as a place for the respectable middle class. So what is

interesting in this regard, is that during the postmodern era a social formation that did not exist in the core of Vancouver during the modern period would emerge. This change can be explained by the changing stature of the city. During the modern era, Vancouver was a small provincial centre. Consequently this social class did not exist at this time. However, with the integration of Vancouver into a global system of capital investment and consumption, the material basis for the creation of such an elite stratum would be created during the postmodern era. Thus, in an interesting turnabout, Vancouver only obtained its Gold Coast in the postmodern era. And this would be the only aspect of the postmodern transformation of the city that would converge with Burgess' description of the modern city.

Therefore, not only did the redevelopment of the Core become a symbol that announced the arrival of a new international elite in the city, the expansion of residential space in the Core gave legitimacy to a new kind of middle class existence and power to a singles population which had been suppressed or marginalized in the modern social order of the city. Being single was now respectable and living in the downtown was also acceptable for the middle class; this completely reversed the norms that guided the social regulation of the city during the modern period.

The other significant change to occur was the complete erasure of the ring of industrial land that Burgess had depicted as a ring around the Central Business District. During the modern era such a ring also existed in Vancouver. It stretched from Coal Harbour, along Burrard Inlet through Gastown and then around to False Creek. Hence, except for a sliver of park land between Burrard Street and Stanley Park, industrial land uses completely surrounded the Core. When South East False Creek is redeveloped, this ring of industrial land use will have been completely obliterated west of Main Street. In its place a second generation postmodern landscape will have been created. Instead of a place of work, this former industrial land has become the epicentre for the urban spectacle in Vancouver. There is still congestion here and land use conflicts remain, but they are now generated by recreation rather than work uses (VS-367).

The change in the second settlement zone would equally dramatic. In the Burgess model, this area was described as a transition zone or a zone of discard. Yet in the postmodern era this zone of discard would be transformed into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. In contrast to the Core, where a regulatory framework had been put in place to accommodate the urban spectacle and a residential environment that could house an international elite and a singles-oriented fraction of the new middle class, in this second zone aspecial effort was made to create a suitable environment for a more domestically-inclined fraction of the new middle class, who would become the dominant class in this settlement ring. In the modern era the dominant social group in this settlement ring had been working-class immigrants. In the postmodern era the dominant group would become the caucasian middle class. Just as with the Core, the social order of the second settlement zone was completely inverted, only this time by a different middle class fraction. Like the Core, as the caucasian middle class started to colonize this settlement zone, the space occupied by immigrant groups would start to recede.[59] In an analogous fashion, as with the Core, industrial land uses would be converted into residential spaces. Unlike the Core, however, the residential environment that would be created here would become a showcase for the program of the livable city rather than that of the urban spectacle. For, with the development of South False Creek, a deliberate attempt was made to show that it was possible to construct a domestic environment in the inner city for the middle class where they could safely raise children.[60]

This zone would also become an incubation ground for new modes of consumption, the revival of street life, and a place for experimentation with medium-rise postmodern house types and tenure forms. From out of this a ring of medium rise non-profit units and strata title homes emerged. With the gentrification that followed this area became the most concentrated area for strata title units in the region, if not the country. Rather than being transformed into a show case for urban renewal, which had been the intent of planners during the modern era (CVTPB-2), this zone became the place where the values of the counter culture and bohemia became most clearly inscribed into the production of urban space.[61] A satellite zone for the new

middle class was also created on a greenfield site in a vacant suburban area in the Killarney local area, which became known as Champlain Heights.[62]

Other satellites of the livable city would appear elsewhere. For example a watered down imitation of this settlement zone would be created with the redevelopment of industrial land along the north shore of the Fraser River, in the City of Vancouver. Further afield, in the exurban ring, this landscape was copied in places such as the City of White Rock (1995), where a planner who helped to formulate the regulations guiding development in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement was hired as the chief planner for the city during most of the 1980s. Not unexpectedly, the regulations that were put in place eventually produced a landscape that strongly resembled Kitsilano. As White Rock would also show, not only did planners use the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement as a model for medium rise densification, this area would also become an experimental ground for developers who would later apply what they learned elsewhere in the region.[63]

Then there is the Zone of Working Mens Homes. As earlier remarked, during the modern period this zone diverged somewhat from the Burgess model. Instead of just being a settlement ring for the working class, in Vancouver this zone was divided into two sections - a working class section to the east and a middle class section to the west. In this case the settlement pattern bore a much closer resemblance to Homer Hoyt's sectoral model for the city. Still, if this discrepancy is recognized and taken into account, Burgess's description of this zone was not entirely inaccurate. But like the previous two settlement rings, it too would undergo a radical transformation, only this time, by a foreign rather than indigenous middle class.

In even less time than it took the Zone of Transition to be transformed into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the Burgess' ring of Working Men's homes was transformed into a Zone of Asian Resettlement. This transformation occurred after 1986 and has taken less than ten years to completely transform the working and middle class sections of this settlement ring. Whereas Burgess had portrayed this settlement ring as a zone of assimilation, where second generation immigrants, partially assimilated immigrants or respectable working-class people

would settle, with the founding of a Zone of Asian Resettlement the functional role of this settlement ring would become the opposite of what it was during the modern period. Instead of acting as a zone of assimilation, which was the case during the modern period, this settlement ring became a place defined by heterogeneity rather than assimilation. Furthermore, it became a place of middle class colonization rather than working class infiltration. Finally, with changes to the immigration act in 1967, the source of new immigrants would shift from Europe to Asia, altering the immigrant dynamic of this area in a fundamental way, further increasing the element of difference because of the greater cultural distance between these new immigrants and the host culture.

After 1986, with further changes to the immigration act, there was a dramatic change in the occupational and social status of the immigrants who moved into this area. Not only were they Asian rather than European; they were middle class rather than working class. During the modern period most immigrants who moved into the working-class sector of the third settlement ring were peasants or working-class labourers from the industrial cities of Europe. After 1986 this occupation and class profile would be reversed. Rather than recent immigrant coming from rural areas, a larger percentage would be urban dwellers. More significant was the change in social status. Especially in Vancouver, a much larger percentage of immigrants would be from middle-class rather than working-class backgrounds. Hence at least fifty percent, of the Asian immigrants who have come to Vancouver since 1991 can be slotted into middle rather than working-class categories.[64]

Since most of this foreign middle class is made up of Chinese immigrants, they have become the hegemonic force in the immigrant community. This is reflected spatially by the fact that they occupy the most desirable locations in the third settlement ring, congregating in the inner rather than outer part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement, and more to the west and south rather than to the east. One of the quirky aspects about this transformation is that this heavy inflow of middle-class immigrants is beginning to dissolve the rift that separated the east and west sides of the city since the early days of its founding. Accordingly, since 1986 the entire

zone has been becoming progressively more middle-class. With this middle-class colonization, a more concentric settlement pattern has appeared, making this area resemble the Burgess model more than the Hoyt model, except the concentric ring that has developed since 1986 is one that is middle class rather than working-class and Asian rather than Caucasian.

The only countervailing force that has slowed down this bourgeoisification is the profusion of secondary suites that has accompanied this change. As more secondary suites have appeared the single family homes of the inner suburbs are gradually being transformed into duplexes and boarding houses, and this has probably slowed down (but not halted) the displacement of lower income immigrant and indigenous working-class people from this area.[65]

The best example of the power and influence of this foreign middle class can be charted in their settlement of the west side of the City of Vancouver. Since this is the traditional elite area of the city, these are the areas that Canadian cities are generally most resistant to rapid change (figure 10A). In 1971, only two percent or 1,520 people of Chinese origin lived in the six local areas that make up these west side neighbourhoods in the City of Vancouver. By 1986 the number of Chinese had gradually increased to about 5,000 people, accounting for about five percent of the population of the west side. However, in the next five years, the Chinese population located on the west side would jump dramatically. In the following five years, the layer of Asian settlement in this exclusive part of the city would become part of a larger band of Asian Resettlement that had emerged by 1991. By this time the number of Chinese immigrants located in the West Side more than doubled: increasing to 11,000, or about ten percent of the population.

When more detailed statistics from the 1996 census are released, it is quite probable that more recent data will show that the Chinese population on the West Side may have risen to as high as forty thousand if not more. For in some years Chinese buyers have made up eighty percent of all home purchases in this part of the city. Hence the resettlement of the West Side by an Asian middle class has likely accelerated more since 1991 than it did between 1986 and 1991. For this reason it is not unreasonable to speculate the percentage of the west side

population made up of Chinese immigrants may range anywhere from thirty to fifty percent of the population when the 1996 Census data. If the proportion reaches fifty percent it would indicate that the Chinese population has increased tenfold in just ten years and that an incredible amount of working-class and middle-class displacement has taken place within this settlement ring, as it has been transformed into a ring of Asian settlement.

For an upper-income area to undergo such a transformation in just ten year is most unusual.[66] Perhaps Miami is the only other major metropolitan area in North America to have undergone such a rapid transformation.[67] In Vancouver this rapid change has sparked considerable conflict over the occupation and uses of land. Unlike the 1970s, when the colonization of the transition zone by the new middle class made the second settlement ring the most volatile area in the region, with the diffusion of the densification process to the third settlement ring, and with this occurring in conjunction with the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement, the main battle front has moved outwards from the second to the third zone.

Although the numbers in figure 10A, and the extrapolations for the 1990s reveal that the traditional caucasian middle class is fast receding, it still wields considerable political power; enough at least to ensure that its vision of the built environment is the one that is maintained. Being the core base of support for the ruling right-of-centre party that controls City Council this traditional middle class has been able to guarantee that the landscape it cherishes will be preserved into the medium term future by the establishment of new RS (single family) zoning bylaws.

This zoning may moderate the influx of Asian into the west side. But most likely it will act as a powerful regulatory antidote to the pre-modern (VS-87)[68] and hyper-modern spatial practices of the Asian middle class, which has upset the traditional spatial order of the west side. Ironically enough, to counter the remolding and densification of the west side, the traditional caucasian middle class has been forced to abandon modern regulation and make use of postmodern regulatory codes that were formulated by the new middle class in the second settlement zone during 1970s to cope with densification and the threat that modern regulation

posed to their vision of the livable city.[69] However, because this area will remain single family, this contextual zoning is not likely to act as a cultural filter that deflected Asian immigration, as appears to have been the case with regard to the second zone .

Needless to say, changes on the east side have been just as sensational. While this area is becoming more middle-class as well, because of it long history as a settlement area for new immigrants and the greater prevalence of secondary suites, a more diverse population lives here. Because of this diversity and the original working-class make up of east Vancouver no one hegemonic vision for area has been constructed. While the east side is becoming more middle class, the middle-class mobilization, which galvanized the west side, is largely absent because the middle class that has moved to the east side is mostly Asian, and this group has does not have the strong identification with preservation that its causcasian counterpartshave. For this reason less conflict has generated by the movement of the Asian middle class into this the third zone then was the case a generation earlier, when a caucasian new middle class began to colonize the zone of discard.

Likewise the shock effect, created by the sudden shift in the ethnic composition of the population has been muted on the East Side because of its long history as reception area for new immigrants. When census figures for this are released will new data will probably show that the rise of the Asian population on the east side has been even more phenomenal than the west. Here it would not be surprising to find the percentage of Chinese or Asian immigrants approaching 70 percent in some local areas.

When more data from the 1996 Census is released, a more accurate idea of how the various Asian immigrant groups are becoming stratified within this zone should become apparent. Casual observation already shows that that within the Zone of Asian Resettlement some segmentation of the Asian population has taken place, with the population sorting itself out according to its ethnic and class status. Particularly amongst the three largest groups clearly defined layers of settlement appear to be coalescing.

White-collar Chinese workers and entrepreneurs appear to predominate in the western and southern parts of the Zone of Asian Resettlement.[70] As well, there is a blue-collar population. Proportionately more East Indians appear to belong to this stratum. And this seems to be reflected in the settlement geography of this group, as they appear to be moving from the inner part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement to the outer part of this zone, where land is cheaper and more plentiful. So it will be interesting to see whether the East Indian population is declining in the City of Vancouver as it expands in North Surrey and Delta and becomes more concentrated in these suburbs.[71]

Then there is a the pink-collar stratum. Here Filipino workers seem to account for a larger percentage of these workers than East Indian or Chinese immigrants. Being the smallest of the three major immigrant groups, their lesser size and more limited economic clout shows up in the settlement geography of this group. Accordingly, having the least ability to buy into the expensive property market of the third zone, Filipino immigrants appear to be the most dispersed of the three major Asian immigrant groups. Compared to the other two groups, Filipino immigrants are also more concentrated in the few low income immigrant portals that remain in the city of Vancouver.[72]

With this stratification and the arrival of a large Chinese middle class, the layer of middle class settlement in the core of the urban region has greatly thickened. This has nearly completely embourgeoisified the City of Vancouver. The same process seems to be taking place in Burnaby, with working-class areas in this suburb being reduced to enclaves, or islands, that now function as an economic raft in a sea of middle class habitation created by the reconfiguration of the region's property market (figure 10C). If current trends continue, by the turn of the century, the third settlement ring, as with the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, will be the opposite of what Burgess envisaged for the modern city and radically different from what historically existed in this area until the 1980s.

So even though a Zone of Asian Resettlement has been created, except for the inner part of this zone, it would be misleading to describe this concentric settlement ring as being entirely

homogenous because of the large Asian middle class that now lives here. Because of the differences in culture and the economic status of the various Asian groups that have moved to this area, anecdotal evidence and comments by people who are involved in these communities, such as community activists (PI-52) or teachers (PI-47; VS-130), indicate that there are many fissures that exist, even amongst the Chinese immigrants that live in Vancouver. It would therefore oversimplify matters to fashion the social frictions that inevitably are created when there is rapid internal change in a population as necessarily revolving around the receding Caucasian population and the expanding Asian population.

Again, anecdotal evidence points to a significant amount of hostility between new and old Chinese immigrants. In addition, there are signs of hostility between different Asian ethnic groups. One case in point would be the East Indian population. Here the blue-collar orientation of the East Indian population appears to have produced some friction with the white-collar orientation of the Chinese middle class. For example, one long time Richmond teacher who taught in a school mostly made up of immigrant students remarked upon this (PI-47), noting how the epithets and verbal assaults that caucasian students once directed against East Indian students are what she now often what she hears being directed by middle class Chinese students against East Indian students, who come from blue-collar backgrounds. As this example illustrates, tensions arising over assimilation and differences within the Asian Zone of Resettlement can be quite intricate. Therefore, it is not possible to reduce all the social friction that has been generated to an advancing Asian middle class and a receding caucasian middle class. This was also hinted at in a recent survey on immigration conducted by the Vancouver Sun and the CBC. When the survey question was posed about which groups were thought to be least tolerant, interestingly enough Caucasians, Chinese and East Indians were perceived to be equally intolerant (VS-390).

Just as densification and postmodern regulation set the stage for the colonization of the second settlement ring by the new middle class, the creation of this zone also deflected Asian immigrants into the third zone. This, in turn, had a ricchet effect, which led to the

displacement of older European immigrants and the traditional working class that lived in the east side of Vancouver. With the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement, this is now happening to the middle class on the west side, And now it is the Caucasian rather than Asian population that is being deflected, but in this case from the third zone. Because of this the conditions for the creation a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement were created during the 1990s, in the fourth settlement ring.

Unlike the Zone of Asian Resettlement, which has been transformed into a late modern landscape, where pre-modern and late modern principles for the organization of social and physical space now co-exist, the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement is set apart from the three settlement rings that make up the core of the region by the persistence modern regulation, and the concentration of migrants and Caucasians. While modern regulation still exerts some influence on the third settlement ring, the transformation of this area into a Zone of Asian Resettlement, the rapid spread of secondary suites and the use of postmodern regulation by the caucasian middle class to protect some of the aesthetic attributes of the pastoral suburb of this zone, have turned the social and built environment into a hybrid landscape composed of pre-modern, late modern and postmodern forms of regulation, which are shaping the physical and social space of this area.

However, with the concentration of the most socially and spatially conservative population into the fourth concentric settlement ring, this zone has become the last redoubt for modernism in the region. On a variety of levels, the strongest reactions to the regulatory order of the postmodern city can be found here. As the most family oriented urban space of the region, quite a different material culture has evolved here, as can be seen in the rapid expansion of the elementary and secondary school populations of this zone compared to the first and second zones (VS-353; VS-382).

Lastly, there is a fifth concentric zone. Burgess defined this settlement ring as the commuter zone but it is now a place where rural factions of the new middle class are increasingly infiltrating as both consumers and producers. As a consequence, the struggle

between consumer and producer spaces and the conflict between the working class, the traditional middle class and the new middle class has resurfaced from other zones and been replayed here. Only in exurbia have the conflicts over land use that the middle class have mostly been involved with had to do with the preservation of the natural landscape rather than the preservation of the built environment.

What the description of the regulatory landscape and the postmodern settlement geography of Vancouver reveals is the pivotal role played by various middle class fractions in the city. In turn, the influence of the new middle can be connected to the a broad cultural shift that took place with the shift from bureaucratic to market rule, which established the cultural preconditions for the switch from modern to postmodern regulation. At the same time, the material base for this switch was established by the creation of a new division of labour that provided a material basis for different new middle class fractions to emerge. At the local level, in Vancouver, these developments have become intertwined with the shifting economic specialization of the city within the national and international urban order. With its role as a decision making centre reduced, its role as a place of consumption was enhanced with the expansion of the tourism industry. Similarly, the material basis for the further development of the new middle class was aided by Vancouver's emergence as an entrepot for the information economy. With the formation of a large film industry and the migration of an influential expatriate Asian middle class to the region, the city became an important entrepot and transfer point for goods, people and information. Vancouver's importance in the information economy therefore grew, but not as a command or decision-making centre, which was a role usurped by Toronto and Calgary. Instead Vancouver was becoming a meeting place and relay point for the flow of people and information.

These developments explain why such a large and varied middle class has developed here. What is also unique about the development of the middle class in Vancouver is that the local, migrant and immigrant middle class formations have also chosen to settle in the core of the region, which stands in stark contrast to Winnipeg, with its large and growing urban

underclass,[73] or even Toronto, where a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has emerged, but it is one that is not as thick or as layered as Vancouver's, and one where the Chinese middle class has chosen to live in the periphery of the region.

Thus, although enclaves of Asian middle class settlement have emerged in Toronto, this population has not yet coalesced into a contiguous concentric settlement zone, as has happened in Vancouver, even though in absolute numbers, more middle-class Asians have moved to Toronto than Vancouver. Part of the reason has to do with the size of each city and the existence of a different immigration dynamic in Toronto. Unlike Vancouver, a much larger proportion of refugees and low-income immigrants have settled in Toronto. In contrast to the settlement geography of Vancouver, these working class immigrants have settled in the third settlement zone, creating a working class rather than a middle-class belt of settlement, whereas the opposite had become the case in Vancouver. Again, as earlier stated, the other difference is that unlike Vancouver, in Toronto a greater proportion of middle-class Asian immigrants have moved to the fourth settlement zone, which is located outside the old boundaries of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, but in Vancouver, makes up the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement and the commuter zone, where there are hardly any Asians.[74]

In terms of the middle-class hegemony over the core of the urban region, in North America, the only parallel to what has happened in Vancouver is the City of San Francisco. Here, the reconfiguration of the property market caused by the colonization of the inner city by the new middle class and the creation of a postmodern spatial matrix for the regulation of space has created a new urban geography in San Francisco that reflects the dominance of this class as the hegemonic social formation in the core of the region. However, what is even more unique about the situation in Vancouver are the growing numbers and influence of a foreign middle class and their colonization of the core of the urban region. Here the parallel no longer remains San Francisco, but Miami. While the emergence of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement follows a trajectory that can be seen in San Francisco, the creation of a Zone of Asian Resettlement is more closely linked to what has happened in Miami.[75]

When all these pieces of the postmodern puzzle for Vancouver are put together, what appears may at first seem counterintuitive, but closer scrutiny of the economy of Vancouver and the settlement patterns that have recently evolved here show Vancouver has much more in common with Miami and San Francisco than it does with Seattle or Portland. In fact Vancouver appears to be moving along an entirely different trajectory than Seattle and Portland although many people still seem to feel that there is a great deal in common between Vancouver and Seattle and Portland and that they even make up one single region. But what the brief overview of Vancouver's economy has shown, and the more detailed study of its settlement geography has confirmed is that nothing is further from the truth. Over time, the only important attribute these cities may have in common is climate and location, but little else.

When a closer inspection of Vancouver, Seattle and Portland is undertaken, significant differences in the economic and settlement geography of each city crop up. Conversely, although not at first apparent, some fascinating similarities exist between Miami, San Francisco and Vancouver. For example, the clearest example of this can be seen in the high-technology sector. While Portland and Seattle have become major centres for high-technology, in Vancouver, evolution in this sector is only an echo of what can be found in these other cities. However, if tourism is looked at, this is where Portland and Seattle pale beside what has happened in Vancouver. Unlike Portland or Seattle, Vancouver's status as an international centre for the economy of the urban spectacle, where image-making and entertainment act as dynamos of the economy, increasingly outshine what is happening in these two other cities.[76]

The same point can be made with regard to the settlement geography of each region. Although there are similarities between the official planning ideologies that are present in each city, investment and immigration patterns are quite different. Neither Seattle or Portland have developed Zone of Asian Resettlement. Nor has the level of densification come close to approaching what has been taking place in Vancouver over the past ten years.

But when Miami and Vancouver are compared several interesting similarities become visible. For example, both cities have become important centres for the entertainment and film

industry. In the case of Miami, it has become the place for Hispanic performers from Latin America to go to make a name for themselves (Rother 1996). Although Vancouver does not have this status yet, nonetheless its stature as an entertainment stopover and place of production for Asian cultural goods shows some promise. Similarly, Vancouver is now reputed to be the third largest production centre for films on the continent. So, like Miami, it is becoming more important as an entrepot for popular culture (VS-310a).[77] In both cities, culture and the economy intermix in important areas, generating economic activity, which is one of the defining attributes of postmodernism in general, but more especially for these two cities.[78]

Another commonalty that Miami and Vancouver share is that each has become the major centre for thecCruise industry in their respective countries. Further comparisons show although one city has a subtropical climate and is flat while the other one has a west coast marine climate and is mountainous, there are even physical similarities in the look of each city. Both urban regions have large resident populations that are housed in -rise buildings that have developed on constrained sites surrounded by water (New York Times February 20, 1996, p. C4).[79]

This is a rarity in the United States. Except for Chicago and New York City only Miami has an inner city with a large number of high-rise apartments in its core area. Whereas the Core of Miami is made up of Art Deco high-rises that were built in the 1930s and 1940s, Vancouver's high-rises are a reflection of the modern and postmodern eras. Moreover, in recent times, like Vancouver, Miami has been one of the few American cities to experience a boom in high-rise apartment construction in the core. In Miami Beach, something akin to the Collage City formation that has taken shape in Vancouver's Core has emerged here as well. Similarly, there has been displacement of lower income people with the refurbishing of South Beach. The core of each region has therefore become a focal point for investment and migration for those wishing to be part of the economy of the urban spectacle (Reiss 1991, pp. 660-67).[80]

However, like land-extensive development the dissolution of twentieth-century modernism in Vancouver has not been uniform. Although postmodern regulation has become the

hegemonic force in the regulation of the first two settlement zones, the mobilization of the middle class against development and redevelopment in the third and fifth zones reveals that postmodern regulation is an ascendant rather than dominant regulatory force in these settlement rings (VS-206; VS-383;VS-377; VS-385). Furthermore, the material and political culture of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement even indicate that there are places in Vancouver where modern regulation is still dominant.[81]

Despite this variation Vancouver has not only become the focal point for densification in North America, it has also become one of the crucibles for the incubation and application of postmodern spatial norms.[82]

Besides densification, the arrival and spread of postmodern regulation reveals several other important things about the evolution of the city, the first being that cultural changes can be as important as material ones. The second feature about change that has been revealed by looking at the impact of postmodern regulation is the central role played by the local state. As a consequence, how the local state is configured and the way that political cultures evolve within the local state can have a critical influence on the evolution of an urban region. Likewise the connection that has been drawn between changes in planning and the broader cultural shifts, which took place with the shift from bureaucratic to market rule, show how the local state can mediate and filter larger macro-economic and cultural forces, adapting and molding them into regulatory codes that affect the way that urban space is produced.

Because of the emphasis placed upon culture and the local state, this periodization scheme for the city departs significantly from most schemes in the literature on urban restructuring: where economic and technological forces are given most of the attention while changes taking place within the ambit of the local state are given short shrift, particularly if they have to do with culture or class.

6.3 - Empirical questions raised by the postmodern transformation of Greater Vancouver - and some commentary on the presence of three new fault lines which may decisively influence the outcome of this transformation.

From the postmodern geography that has been created in Vancouver three important fault lines have emerged, which may affect the further evolution of the region.[83] Until this moment, there have not been any catastrophic social conflicts but the possibility remains if change becomes too unbalanced. As the review of the postmodern transformation of Vancouver in the previous chapter has shown, these fault lines lie along the border of a number of the concentric zones which the region has been divided into by this analysis.

With the emergence of new settlement zones different points of conflict – which did not exist during the modern era – have surfaced. As well, each fault line contains its own singular class and regulatory dynamic. The first fault line is located within the region's Core. The second fault line lies within the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Finally, a third fault line has emerged between the core and periphery, which is largely centred in the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement.

The first fault line has to do with congestion and the displacement of the urban proletariat by the new middle class, and the struggles both of these classes are engaged with in regard to the expansion of the economy of the urban spectacle. The second fault line revolves more around aesthetics, ethnicity and class, while the third fault line is fixated around the struggle for dominance of two opposing material cultures: one that is anchored by modern norms and the other by postmodern ones.

Looking at the first fault line, two fissures can be identified in the Core. One has emerged as a result of the transformation of the Core into one of the desirable and the fastest-growing residential precinct in the region. The other fissure has emerged with the transformation of the downtown peninsula into a Central Entertainment District and its specialization as a destination point for international tourism.

The emergence of the Core as a fast growing settlement zone for the non domestic fraction of the new middle class and an international elite has intensified the struggle over limited land resources between the middle class and the urban proletariat. As a result the struggle over the use and control of urban space has become increasingly bitter and personalized – as middle class colonizers are now attempting to overthrow a hard-fought battle by residents of the Downtown East Side to be recognized as a legitimate neighbourhood. By having an older "skid row" label reattached to the area, as it was in the modern era, this representation of the area will make it easier for the middle class to colonize the area, because if it is regarded as a zone of discard rather than as a community (VS-362) it will be easier to conceive of everything in the area as discardable and therefore recyclable to middle class rather than working class needs (VS-364; Vs-378).[84]

The second fissure involves both the new middle class and the urban proletariat in a struggle with the economy of the urban spectacle. For the urban proletariat the issue is one of survival while for the new middle class it is one that has more to do with nuisance. The expansion of tourism not only represents a major threat to the housing base of the urban proletariat that lives in the core, it also entails a struggle over the use and design of space. Besides displacement there are issues that have to do with the design and regulation of the use of space in the core that are at odds with the culture of poverty, which excludes the marginalized population that lives here or renders space unusable to them. For example, a good example of this is the use of parkland for regional sports. With little parkland in the east side of the Core, a huge playing field was constructed by Pacific Boulevard that is entirely useless to local residents.

Even more ominously, this regionalization of local has become extended to other public spaces where pressure has been building for the expulsion of the poor because they detract from the image tourist promoters and merchants wish to portray. Hence private security forces have been employed to police and reduce the visibility of the poor (VS-362). What this growing antagonism indicates is that a material and cultural rift have been created by the expansion of

the tourist economy into these former working-class spaces. What is interesting about this is that the expansion of the economy of the urban spectacle has also generated conflicts with the fast-growing middle class population as well. However, in this case, the main issue does not raise questions about the elimination of their community but has more to do with livability issues that pertain to nuisance rather than survival or displacement.

Here the main trigger points have to do with noise, congestion and competition over the limited amount of recreation space available in the Core, as local and non-local populations compete for the use of space along such places as the sea wall in Stanley Park. Then there are also the complaints about noise and congestion that events such as the Molson Indy or the annual fireworks show generate. Issues such as this have become a key area of contention in the regulation of emerging neighbourhoods, such as in the Downtown South area-- where a balance between the creation of a large middle-class residential neighbourhood and the expansion of the entertainment economy is one of the major challenges facing planners responsible for this area (i.e., Vs-267; CVC0-62).[85]

How the issue of livability and the requirements of the urban spectacle are dealt with will determine how much further the Core can become specialized as the epicentre for the urban spectacle in the region. However, the intensification of residential expansion in the 1980s has created a different series of problems. How the challenges of promoting more middle class colonization of the Core can be balanced with the preservation of one of the last few refuge areas for the region's marginalized population remains to be seen. If this problem is not handled in an equitable manner the dispersion of the poor will ricochet throughout the region.

Here the question of centrality and concentration become critical issues because of the weak command over space that the poor have. Unlike other spatial qualities, centrality is not something that is easily replicated and it something that therefore directly affects the everyday life of the poor and their ability to survive (Philip, 1997c). If the urban proletariat is further pushed out of the core and dispersed throughout the region, not only will diseconomies for servicing this population arise. In addition to this cost, if the poor are

expelled from the Core the region will become a more inflexible place with regard to being able to absorb its marginalized population. Despite the negative externalities that may result from the concentration of this population, at least a space where they can function in some form now exists, which would not be case if this population were dispersed to suburbs where the spaces are less suited to its needs and where, as well, it would be less welcomed or tolerated by the host population and so much more visible. If the marginalized population that now lives in the Core is dispersed, so, it must be assumed, will its problems. Subsequently, conflicts and problems that were once confined to just one area of the region will be dispersed throughout the entire region.[86]

A foretaste of what could happen if this spatial cushion is removed can already be pointed to by looking at the postmodern geography of prostitution and the twenty-year odyssey of displacement and relocation that has dispersed prostitution throughout the region because of their expulsion from spaces that they had traditionally occupied. The same problem can be seen with the rise of homelessness and the dispersion of this population into the institutional spaces of the city, such as vacant buildings and empty lots which raise concerns about safety and the ability of the public to use parks or other facilities, in areas of the region that once did not have to deal with the problem of coping with the existence of a marginalized population within its midst.

The second fault line exists in the suburban parts of the City of Vancouver and the inner suburbs. With the creation of a Zone of Asian Resettlement the struggle over the use of space moves to a different dimension of regulation. So far the most visible struggle has emerged between the Chinese middle class and the pre-existing caucasian middle class. Other than the rate of change, the main subject of contention between these two groups has been the aesthetic regulation of space. In addition to this, there is another point of conflict. But this one is more social and is mostly confined within the Asian community itself. It also has several dimensions. For example, one revolves around the division that has emerged between parvenu fractions of Chinese community and the longer-established community. There are internal ethnic tensions

stemming from differences in income and attitude between Hong Kong, Mainland and Taiwanese immigrants. Also there are potential external ethnic tensions that exist between non Chinese and Chinese immigrants who represent subordinate and perhaps resentful fractions of this larger Asian immigrant class that has flowed into Vancouver.

As with the changes in the Core, the transformation of the third settlement ring into a Zone of Asian Resettlement has led to some social friction along several fronts. At the same time, because of the speed of the transformation that has taken place, what is also remarkable is that the ethnic and class tensions have not been greater, but this could change (VS-366; G/M 1997bm). As the ethnic strife in other cities and countries have shown, below a cover of normalcy serious problems can be simmering which can burst out of their subterrannean and hidden streams.

Just as problems associated with the economy of the urban spectacle has been amplified by its concentration in just one settlement zone, much the same could be said about the concentration of Asian migration into just one settlement zone, especially as these areas are mature suburbs where a larger proportion of older people who are less able to adapt to sudden shifts in the social composition of the population and therefore feel more threatened live (VS-390; VS-393), amplifying the effects of change which is already moving along at breakneck speed. As well, the fissures that exist within the Asian immigrant community itself illustrate that the problems that may coalesce around this fault line cannot simply be reduced to a one-dimensional caricature about race. Indeed, as would be expected, tension has arisen as a receding middle-class caucasian population is attempting to preserve a spatial order that embodies its outlook on the world in the face of an advancing Asian population that has become very concentrated in a few select areas of the region that it also happens to occupy and strongly identify with.

So the settlement dynamic that is colouring what is happening in the core of the region is much more complicated than the maintenance of the hegemony of the Caucasian middle class. The stratification of the Asian population between white, blue or pink-collar sectors, is

represented most prominently in the different in occupation profiles, differences in social postion and the different settlement patterns of the Chinese, East Indian and Filipino populations, who make up the largest Asian immigrant groups in the city. Intriguing questions about hegemonic influence of the newly arrived middle-class Chinese is one interesting subject that can be raised? Even within the existing Chinese population some antagonism between recent and longer established Chinese immigrants has surfaces, and there may be signs that some conflict may develop among Asian group where ethnicity and class differences rub together, generating friction and further stratification that could transform differences into situations that provoke conflict. So far no significant overt hostility has surfaced, but this does not mean that the latent rifts within this group could not become antagonistic at some future date. Differences do not necessarily lead to antagonistic relations, but they do establish the potential for conflicts to develop. The potential for this can be seen in the fluid settlement geography of the region, as Caucasian and Asian subgroups sort themselves out in the region. Most notably in the Asian case, this can be seen in the movement of the Indo-Canadian population to the periphery of the Zone of Asian Resettlement and the concentration of the Chinese within the inner ring of this zone. [87]

For the Caucasian population remaining in the third settlement ring aesthetics and issues that have to do with rate of change rather than class antagonism appear to be more central. Because Asian settlement has been so rapid and concentrated in just one part of the region, anecdotal evidence suggests that many Caucasians are feeling overwhelmed because of the rate of change, and not necessarily by the emergence of a foreign population in their midst. There are also problems created by the reconfiguration of the real estate market. With the emergence of a Zone of Asian Resettlement, part of Vancouver's housing market has became articulated to a global property market centred in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Because of the resulting escalation in housing prices, migrants from the rest of the country have been deflected the third zone and many current residents have been given a considerable economic incentive to cash in on the capital gains that can be derived from escalating house values and move

elsewhere (Chu 1997).[88] Not only has this led to the rapid filtering out of the indigenous population, but has created a problem of displacement for middle-class people wishing to remain in the this zone but who can no longer afford the high price of housing. In turn this has created a spillover effect, which has affected the way that the next zone has been configured. Thus economics and social alienation that have come about because of the rapid conversion of many neighbourhoods in part of the Zone of Asian Resettlement have led to another migration, only this time one that is directed towards the periphery rather than the core of the region.

As a result yet another settlement zone has come into existence, which did not exist in the modern era. As with the Core and the Zone of Asian Resettlement, here as well a distinctive polyglot social strata have become concentrated. Unfortunately one of the effects of this migration is that the differences that already exist between the core and the periphery of the region, may be widened, as this is where the third fault line is located. With the reshuffling of the region's population and the attempt by the core area of the region to implement a postmodern regime for the region this fault line has been reactivated.[89] Since 1986 a Zone of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement has come into existence. This zone was not present during the modern period either.[90]

However the fault line that exists here is the oldest, and goes far back into the modern period. What has happened now is that it has not only become active again, it has also deepened. Moreso than the other conflicts, this one does not deal with class but the clash of material cultures and formal bureaucratic infighting within the political sphere. The best example of this would be conflict between The Greater Vancouver Regional District and some outlying municipalities. With the Greater Vancouver Regional District adopting a postmodern framework for the regulation of space on a philosophical and material level, a major struggle has erupted between the core and the periphery, something which has been further aggravated by the emergence of a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement because of the concentration of the most conservative, most automobile-oriented and least cosmopolitan segments of the population in this zone. While some peripheral municipalities wish to maintain a more land-extensive

pattern of development guided by modern regulatory norms, the regional government and core municipalities are attempting to promote densification and the organization of urban land uses around postmodern rather modern norms. The political friction that has resulted has become manifest in conflicts over the regional levies and the provisioning of services, with large municipalities such as Surrey making noises about leaving the region altogether.[91]

This cleavage also illustrates the divergence and uneven development of densification and postmodern regulation within the region. Unlike the densification, which varies in intensity, but is pervasive everywhere in the region, postmodern regulation is much less pervasive. Although dominant in the Core and ascendant in exurban parts of the region the resistance encountered to postmodern regulation in the fourth settlement ring and, to a lesser extent, in the third ring of Vancouver, reveal its current range as well as places of strength and weakness in the region. Although the passage of *City Plan*, in the case of the City of Vancouver and *Livable Region Strategic Plan*, in the case of the regional district, show that postmodern regulation has become the dominant professional spatial discourse in the region, this does not mean that it is being implemented or that it is unchallenged and cannot be subverted.

As with the gestation of postmodernism in the Core and the many conflicts that were involved in its realization in the 1970s, the final shape of postmodern regulation for the region will not be set by planners but by how the various institutions and social groups become mobilized around issues that have to do with its implementation. So, despite the existence of an overall regional plan, the fate of postmodern regulation in the outer suburbs is far from set.[92]

For planners this will probably remain the most challenging fault line. What happens here will determine whether the densification process in the outer areas of the region will be managed by the application of regulatory norms that exist within a postmodern or modern matrix, or some hybrid of both. This is the real question that is currently being raised by the struggles that are now taking shape in the fourth settlement ring. With a number of municipalities in the fourth settlement zone recently shifting to the political right the struggle has become even more open and intense. The regional coalition that was once held together in

the early 1990s by former Mayor Campbell -- who was able to use his administrative skills and old boys networking skills to forge a consensus for the postmodern regulation of the region -- has unravelled (PO-9). Although Gordon Campbell's accomplishments as the mayor of Vancouver were checkered[93] he was at least a competent regional head for the Greater Vancouver Regional District, and was able to keep both the core and the periphery marching together in one direction.[94]

Together with the intense class struggle over space in the Core, the battle between the core and periphery of the region is currently the most active and contested fault line in the region. Whether the integrity of the current regional plan will be maintained, and not crackunder the strain that has now erupted between the two opposing political blocks -- and the two radically different spatial cultures and material cultures they represent -- remains to be seen.[95] For this reason, the struggle between the core and the periphery is presently as noteworthy as what is now going on in the core.[96]

Except for the dispute between the Asian and Caucasian middle class over aesthetics the fault line in the Zone of Asian resettlement is largely dormant. It does, however, have the greatest likelihood of becoming the wild card in the evolution of the region. While the first fault line is active rather than dormant, there is greater comprehension of what might happen if the problems and conflicts that exist along this area of conflict are not reduced and managed properly. Recent action by the City of Vancouver to deal with rapidly-spreading HIV infection by drug users and homelessness in the Core shows that the danger of leaving the problems of the Core unattended to is beginning dawn upon policy makers. And from this recognition it may be possible that a more equitable compromise may be fashioned out of the self-interest that each side has in working towards a solution rather than ignoring each other. For what is at stake in the Core is not only its livability but the potential of the economy of the urban spectacle to expand. In this sense economics as much as altruism may be what comes to the rescue of the crisis that has now appeared in the core.[97]

Again what happened in Miami is instructive. Here the failure to deal with the drug culture and the gestation of an urban underclass led to a surge in crime and a large drop-off in tourism (Navarro 1995). The growing recognition of this connection may force policy makers in Vancouver to put more emphasis upon livability issues for the marginalized sections of the region's population even if they are not really interested in their welfare, since it is the perception of safety and urban livability that have acted as one of the strongest drawing cards for foreign tourists coming to the Canadian city, which has played a role in making Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver magnets for international tourism. If this comparative advantage is not to be jeopardized or destroyed by the creation of landscapes of fear (Ellen 1997) or the Caceral (prison-like) landscapes (Davis 1990) more will have to be done. If the dramatic rise in property crime is not to get more out of hand, more concerted and systematic effort will have to be taken in dealing with the problems of the marginalized populations that are threatened in the Core .

While three fault lines have been identified, at this moment only two are very active. While the one that exists in the Zone of Asian Resettlement is still largely dormant, the two that are located in the Core and the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement will probably most affect the evolution of the region in the short term. However, in the longer term, what happens in the third zone will probably become increasingly significant to the future evolution of the region.

For the time being, how the pressures of development and displacement in the Core are dealt with and the division between the core and the periphery are the ones that will immediately affect Vancouver's evolution. For the Core, this will have to do with the future specialization of the region a global destination point for tourism and the further evolution of the economy of the urban spectacle. By contrast, the other rift will ultimately have more to do with livability rather than economic development, for how the rift between the core and the periphery of the region is managed will largely determine how the overall region evolves.

6.4 - Conceptual issues raised by this investigation into urban transformation

With the main empirical findings of this study now summarized, some of the conceptual issues touched upon in the preface -- when the Proustian touchstone for this research was introduced --can now be considered in light of this research.

As earlier indicated, one of the reasons for engaging in this study had to do with attendance at two conferences that were convened to deal with the future of Canada's two largest English speaking cities. In 1989 a three day conference was held to initiate a new plan for the City of Toronto.[98] At that conference, shrill pronouncements about the inevitable coming of the new global order were made. Similarly a few years later, in the early 1990s, the same thing happened in Vancouver when the debate about the future of the urban region was raised by a second review of the Livable Region Plan for the district.[99]

Again the same premature foreclosure on alternative futures occurred, as many people who represented themselves as experts engaged in fear mongering to have their agenda for the region accepted. Fatalistic exclamations about some inevitable future were made and warnings of the consequences if their voices were not heeded were made. There was also some manipulation by a former history professor (Sarti 1997; Reid 1992), who had camouflaged himself as a planner and economist, who, along with someone that was trained as a planner, released a pamphlet that masqueraded itself as serious research on the subject of urban change and transformation in Vancouver. This was duly picked up by many planners and media types who accepted at face value what was being stated, without paying much attention to the weak intellectual basis for the pronouncements that were made about the future in this document or the motivations that lay behind its publication.[100]

Once again the doctrine of inevitability was invoked, and the not-so-subliminal message that local decision-makers had no control over the destiny of their cities and the only thing that it was possible to do was to bow down to the external forces and accept the full impact of reigning influences was broadcast.

However, by examining how the shifting forces that caused the switch from the modern to the postmodern city have been played out in Vancouver, and by showing how they have been refracted through thestruggles that took place within the institutional organs of the local state the contingent nature of urban change and transformation has been shown. As well as the urban social movements that were launched by the two middle-class mobilizations, which that brought modernism and postmodernism into existence as active regulatory ideologies for the regulation of space, this study has also shown how misleading reductionist accounts about the nature of urban causation can be. With the help of regulation constructs, many of the contingent aspects of change were brought to attention, and examples were given from the planning field that showed that local actions could have a significant impact on the evolution of the city. What has happened in Vancouver not only showed how densification and the diffusion of postmodern regulation have been transforming the region, by studying the role that planning has played in this transformation, it was possible to show how limited deterministic readings of the city are. As the study of planning in Vancouver has shown, a great deal that happens is contingent upon the actions that are undertaken within the sphere of the local state.

By showing the many loose and opened-ended threads of regulation that come together in the weave of the built fabric of Vancouver regulation concepts pointed to the mesh that even the most powerful outside forces have to negotiate through, because of the institutional prism created by the local state. By showing how this happened in Vancouver, this investigation questioned many of the post-industrial conceptualizations about urban change that consume much of the mainstream literature on urban transformation and change that exists within planning as well as the fields of urban geography and urban sociology.

This case study of Vancouver can therefore be viewed as a counterpoint to much of the mainstream literature that still views the city as a passive object that is molded completely by external forces. As this study has tried to show, this is a metaphysical conceptualization of the way that cities really function and evolve. Not only are cities transformed by outside macro-forces, as the study of planning in the City of Vancouver indicates, cities are also transformed

internally by the people that live in them and the institutions they construct to organize and regulate the production of the spaces that they live in. Technology, demographics and shifts in the larger economy were shown to be critical attributes, however, what was revealed as well was that they do not determine the final shape of the city.

To a great extent the shape of the region will be determined by what happens within the sphere of the local state. To show how this comes about is why this domain was made the focus of this study and why planning in particular, was examined in great detail. What this study of the transformation of Greater Vancouver in general has therefore tried to show and the study of planning in particular has attempted to highlight is the influence of autonomous effects of the local state. And from this, what became clear was that the local state is an important filter that mediates and molds the external forces which have an impact upon the city.

What also became clear was how the local state functions as a site for the articulation of local and global forces. The regulatory apparatus created from the fusion of local and global forces also had a great deal to do with cultural influences. And this is another factor in the literature on urban change that has been overlooked or discounted. That is why this study placed more emphasis upon the impact that class and political mobilization within the local state can have on the evolution of the city. As the fate of the Sutton Brown Plan for the modernization of Vancouver so clearly illustrates, just one or two years difference, and the sudden eruption of middle class opposition was all that separated the completion and abandonment of a plan that would have profoundly altered the evolution of the city no matter what happened afterwards.[101]

Similarly, the progression and evolution of densification and postmodern regulation point out how uneven and protracted the transformation of the regulatory apparatus can be. Unlike much of the analysis on urban change in the planning literature, which tends to portray the city as moving in a uniform manner to some predestined point, this study of the transformation of urban regulation in Vancouver has shown that despite the operation of larger

global forces, there is a great deal of contingency and indeterminacy in the way that events actually unfolded and the types of spaces that were ultimately produced. The evolution of the built environment is therefore a great deal more tentative and messier than most of the literature appears to be willing to acknowledge. Correspondingly, what has also been missing is a recognition that strategic interventions can shift the direction inwhich a city is moving.

Again, as the evolution of planning in Vancouver reveals, a dialectic exists between the powerful structural forces that tend to homogenize space, which operate at a national and global scale, and the local peculiarities of place, which create the opportunities for resisting, modifying or deflecting these forces and is so doing, create a space for the idiosyncratic production of urban space. That is why the perspective taken on social change by political economy is very attractive and within this framework, why regulation theory provides some useful tools, used in this study to look at the uneven and open-ended aspects of urban change.

This was made possible because of the centrality that political economy grants to the existence of uneven development. From this recognition three other key perspectives follow. which were also highlighted in this study. One perspective was the importance of class. While this analytical category is either non-existent or only surfaces as a residual category in most mainstream accounts of urban change, it was a central explanatory feature of this analysis. What the concept of class also underlined was the presence of unequal power groupings in the process of change, and the existence of different habituses that create different realities for the various social classes that are affected by change. In turn, the emphasis placed upon class also revealed the unequal costs and benefits of change. In spatial form this was shown to manifest itself in the dissolution of working class spaces, the privatization of public spaces and the polarization of space in general that has evolved in Vancouver with the decline of the bureaucratic rule and the rise of market forces .

The third point that was emphasized as a result of the focus on uneven development was the role that conflict and class struggle play in the process of urban transformation. Again this is something seldom given much weight in the mainstream planning literature. However, as

the regulation of space in the City of Vancouver has shown, there was nothing inevitable or predestined about the transformation of the regulatory apparatus of the city. What ultimately came about was fashioned through conflict and struggle from within and without the bureaucracy. This can be seen by the mobilization of the new middle class outside the bureaucracy and the struggles within the bureaucracy itself, such as those that took place between the Social Planning Department and the Planning Department, and now the Planning Department and the Engineering Department, both of which demonstrate how central conflict and struggle are to the evolution of urban regulation. On a larger scale, the same thing was shown, when a brief review of the three regional fault lines that now act to block or facilitate certain types of change were reviewed.[102]

This then leads to the final point that follows from the recognition of uneven development and that is the conception of the urban future in probabilistic rather than deterministic terms. Implicit in this recognition is an understanding of the political nature of all urban change, something which political economy usually never forgets but something that is usually absent in the technocratic accounts of change generated in the mainstream literature. From this recognition, a focus is also created for further study into the location of strategic moments and places where intervention at the local level can make a decisive difference in the evolution of a city. Once again, for Vancouver, no more clearly was this shown to be the case than in what happened from the mobilization of the new middle class between 1967 to 1972.

6.5 - Taking control of the future

The use of regulation constructs to search for patterns of institutional change in Vancouver indicates how political economy can provide a useful framework for periodizing urban development. Categories from political economy are also useful because they pay attention to how uneven and conditional the process of urban transformation can be. While the impact of the structural forces that originate in the economic and technological sphere cannot be underplayed when looking at the evolution of the built environment in Canada, it is only

necessary to look at how culture and politics played a key role in the creation of the postwar suburb to see how the conscious and deliberate creation of a particular regulatory apparatus by people have shaped the modern city.

As the review of modernism and the discussion of the conditions that led to the creation of a land-extensive regime of accumulation after 1945 make known, the creation of suburbia was anything but inevitable. A massive and radical rejigging of the regulatory apparatus of the local state was required, as was the sustained mobilization of the repressive and ideological apparatus of the state to accomplish this end.

What has also been shown is that even if the material forces which shape the city remain constant, there are critical moments and strategic places when intervention by people who live in the city can modify these forces and produce outcomes that are quite different from those originally anticipated or planned. In this regard, how the modernization of Vancouver was brought to a halt, and how the creation of a postmodern landscape came about is a good example of how this interplay between structure and agency occurred at a critical juncture in time.

Without the emergence and later mobilization of the middle class in Vancouver and Toronto, the evolution of these two cities would have certainly taken a different direction than they did. To see this, it is only necessary to look at what did not happen in Winnipeg and what only took place belatedly in Montreal.

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[1]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, note 19.

[2]In the case of Winnipeg, the persistence of modernism can be tied into the still birth of the new middle class and its truncation because of the relative decline of the city and the failure of the middle class to mobilize itself at the political level. This explains why modern values are more prevalent in Winnipeg than in Calgary or Vancouver. In the case of Montreal the seepage of this class and the fracturing of this class along linguistic lines has weakened the spread of postmodern norms: with the most sophisticated postmodern sensibility present in the shrinking Anglo proportion of the new middle class. For Montreal, this explains why modern sensibilities are stronger in Montreal (Benoit Aubin 1997; 1997a).

[3]Hence the proportion of new housing starts made up of single detached units between 1991 and 1996 in Hamilton, London, Victoria and Halifax were 57.6%, 58.9%, 51.7%, 76.2% respectively, in 1996, versus the metropolitan average of 53% and the national average of 59.7; 1995 - 50%, 51.8%, 49.2%, 55.8% versus the metropolitan average of 48.6% and the national average of 57%;

1994 - 66%, 46.2%, 35.1%, 57.8% versus the metropolitan average of 50% and the national average of 57.3%; 1993 - 44%, 32.5%, 32.6%, 54.9% versus the metropolitan average of 42% and the national average of 55%; 1992 - 41%, 50%, 45%, 51.6% versus the metropolitan average of 49% and the national average of 55.6%; 1991 - 34%, 31.9%, 57.8%, 37.2% versus the metropolitan average of 48% and the national average of 54.2% (SC-22; SC-24).

[4]During this time 16,074 units were started in Hamilton and 7,988 were made up of single detached units. In London 10,743 units were begun of which 4,621 were made up of single detached units (SC-22; SC-24).

[5]One reason why having the second highest housing prices in the country has not yet translated into more denser accommodation may have something to do with the fact that Victoria is a mecca for wealthy seniors. Of the 12,742 dwelling units started between 1991 and the end of 1996 5,566 were made up of single detached units. Now, with the second most expensive housing in the country it will be interesting to see if the proportion of single detached units begins to converge with the low level now found in Vancouver. If this happens Victoria will move from its present intermediate or ascendant position to the next level where densification operates as a dominant force in the organization of urban space.

However, there is a countervailing force in operation here. Other than Ottawa where the average seniors couple had a median income of $52,300, Victoria came second with $43,800 - far from the low end of the income scale for seniors that can be seen in cities such as St. John's where the median was only $31,000. So high incomes can act as a countervailing influence, lowering the densification ratio below a point where it might otherwise be, if average incomes prevailed. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 33.

[6]However there are borderline cases, such as Halifax, the regional capital of Atlantic Canada, which has a population of 330,000. In terms of situating and categorizing Halifax in this particular comparative framework the city can be placed in the intermediate category if the base line is raised above the metropolitan and the national average used. If this is done the baseline becomes 48 instead of 56 percent, creating a space for Halifax since 54 percent of new dwellings constructed between 1991 and 1996 were made up of single detached units. However over the past year and a half the percentage of single detached units has risen significantly. For example, during the first 5 months of 1997single detached dwellings made up 708 of 921 dwelling units constructed, accounting for 76 percent of all housing construction. Similarly, in 1996 single detached units made up 76.2 percent of all new units. Still if the number of new housing starts is averaged out from 1991 to 1996 of the 15,073 units produced, single detached units accounted for about 8,136 of these units or 54 percent of the total number of units (SC-22;SC-23 SC-24).

[7]In Winnipeg some postmodern initiatives came out of the short lived middle class mobilization that was centred around the institute of Urban Studies. However because of the weakness of this class formal experimentation that came with the creation of Unicity and Plan Winnipeg produced no significant change as modern norms remained in place (Gerecke and Reid 1992; Jim Silver 1995; Winnipeg Free Press 1997zh; 1997zo; 1997zs). Meanwhile in Regina a short era of reform was initiated by Ron Clark and a plan called RSVP. However, here as well, the relatively underdeveloped nature of the new middle class resulted in the same regression back to modern spatial practices (Ron Clark 1976; City of Regina 1977).

[8] See City of Edmonton 1979; Sillars 1997; Myers 1979; Reid 1992/93; 1995.

[9]In Canada it is interesting to note the difference between underclass formation in a city which is inland and the other which is on the coast: one in a city which is on the rise and the other which is in decline. Hence, in Winnipeg the underclass is expanding over the inner city while it is receding into a few enclaves in Vancouver. Each trajectory has produced its own specific problems for the city. The contrast can even be seen in the nature and level of crime in each city, as the underground economy, by definition, is an integral part of a large part of the economic activity of the urban underclass. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 22.

[10]See Winnipeg Free Press 1998e; 1998f; 1998h; 1998n, 1998r.

[11]Here there is a discrepancy between figures obtained from different sources. When more detailed 1996 census datat is released this difference should be eliminated. At present, however, Table two registers the lower approximation. Regardless of the difference, what the figures show, in both cases, is that the progression of the densification process, as measured by single detached units, has picked up speed between 1991 and 1996. When further confirmation of the numbers is obtainable what will become apparent is the degree to which the pace has quickened during this time. For example, refer to Note 11,p.16, in SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 3. In 1995 the nation figure listed for single detached dwellings was listed at 56.2 per cent but the figures that were used in the calculation that were used in Table two show a reading around 53 percent. Such a sharp decline would not have occurred in just one year so an error exists in the calculation or in the figures that were used.

[12]Hence even in Manitoba where, other than New Brunswick (Plan Canada September 1997), land extensive development is most entrenched, home renovations have recently accounted for up to two-thirds of the value of new construction, which means that there is likely some incipient gentrification taking place in Winnipeg in a number of inner city neighbourhoods (See 1997 back issue of Winnipeg Real Estate News).

[13]Although the percentage of denser units was less than 40 percent, by the end of August this had risen to about 43% in October of 1997 (G/M,1997bp).

[14]According to the 1996 Census these 25 urban centres accounted for approximately 17,820,000 people or 59.3% of the country's population, (SC-18).This number would also indicate that densification is still progressing amongst most of Canada's largest cities, albeit at a snail's pace compared to the 1960' and 1970s.

[15]Consequently of the 578,120 housing units constructed between the beginning of January 1991 and the end of December, 1996, 48.6% of these units were made up single detached dwelling units (SC-22; SC-24).

[16]With 138,000 out of a total of 323,000 dwelling units (36% of the national total) constructed in these four cities single detached units only accounted for 43 percent of all units, which reveals that the densification process was quite influential in cities where over half the new housing stock in metropolitan centres in the country were being added (SC-22; SC-24).

[17]This can be seen by looking at housing valuations in the 1991 Census and using them to construct densification ratios for each city. In part a great deal of the unevenness of the densification ratio has to do with the rise and fall of housing prices and the huge gap that exists between prices in the low and high cost urban centres. This can shown at the urban as well as the provincial level. For example in 1991 Ontario had the highest average dwelling unit prices ($247,831) followed by BC. ($175,559), which were well above the national valuation of all homes that Statistics Canada estimated to be $144,435. In provinces with lower prices such as Quebec ($105,148) densification would be less influenced by economic factors - for example in cities such as Quebec City where the average valuation in 1991 was $96,971- about the same as Winnipeg. By contrast in Ottawa the average value for the region was $160.552, with Ontario side having a valuation of $179,724 and the Quebec side having a much lower valuation. In Montreal the value of the average dwelling unit was actually quite high compared to the provincial average (over $147,000) (SC-10; SC-13). However since 1992 housing prices have experienced significant deterioration, creating even more favourable economic conditions for the acceleration of land extensive development practices. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 34.

[18]Indeed this would not be surprising since the densification ratio has fallen over the past five years in Montreal. If we assume that the medium income for Montreal is around $40,000 (SC-17B) the decline of the average selling price to around 103,000 would indicate that the densification ratio probably was situated between 2 and 2.5 between 1991 and 1997 (See partial analysis of price movement in (Won 1997). As a result 77,613 dwelling units were constructed between 1991 and 1996 of which 36,635 were made up of single detached units (SC-22; SC-24).

[19]In the case of Montreal, because densification has been less intense in the metropolitan core, the concentration of capital in the core of the region has not been able to over-ride the effects of the sprawl that predominates in the off island municipalities of the region. For this and other reasons the entire region is geared more towards land extensive modes of development compared to Toronto. Moreover, it is the only major urban centre where the of proportion of single detached units has moved consistently upwards since 1945. Even though densities here are still higher than most other major centres during the second half of the twentieth century Montreal's built environment has continually thinned out with each passing decade rather than thickened.

[20]Densification becomes an ascendant phenomenon when the net production of single detached units is lower than 50 percent of all new dwelling units starts. Since six percent of all new homes are replacement stock this would mean that when the proportion of new construction drops below 56 percent the housing stock becomes denser if the production of single detached units is used as an indicator of densification.

[21] Even though the pervasiveness of the densification process becomes apparent its intensity in various parts of the region can still vary considerably. For example, in the case of the City of Vancouver, the city only makes up 29 percent of the region's population but accounted for over 36 percent of all the dwelling units constructed in the region. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 30.

[22]In terms of net additions the rate is even significantly lower if the massive demolition and reconstruction of larger single detached dwelling units are taken into account - particularly in Vancouver, Richmond and Burnaby where rising land prices and the migration of middle class Asian immigrants has lead to a building boom in the already built up parts of the inner suburbs. Taking a low estimate of 2,000 demolitions for these three cities the total number of single detached units added between 1991 and 1996 comes down by 12,000 lowering the net addition of single detached units to around 26,000 instead of 38,000 and the net percentage of new single detached units added to just 24 percent. But if general replacement is also factored into this calculation the net addition of new single detached units could even be below 20 percent. Thus, unlike other cities a disproportionate number of single detached units in the Vancouver region are replacement units largely concentrated in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 11.

[23] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 6.

[24]Ottawa is a liminal city with regard to densification It almost but not quite achieves the dominant status that Vancouver has, but is clearly moving in the direction that Vancouver is, at least on the Ontario side of the border, but at a much slower and more modest pace. The statistical proof to back up this contention can be found if housing prices and house types are looked at. For example of the large metropolitan regions, with populations over 500,000, CREA (Canadian Real Estate Association) data has shown that Ottawa has consistently had the third highest housing prices in the country since the middle of the 1980s (Chow 1997). Even with relatively high incomes this would translate into a densification ratio that would be higher than most other urban centres. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 5.

[25]The shift in the relative position of each city can also be illustrated by looking at the relative change in housing prices for each city. For example in 1991 housing prices in Greater Toronto were about 14 percent higher than those in Vancouver, whereas presently housing prices in Vancouver are more than 30 percent higher than those in Toronto (Report on Business, August 1997, p.38.; SC-13). During this time housing prices in Toronto dropped by a third as the region experienced its worst economic downturn since the Great Depression.

However, because Toronto is Canada's biggest housing market when there was dramatic reversal in housing production and the production of single detached units rose dramatically in the 1980s, when housing production in Toronto was much higher than it was in the 1990s, this was large enough to almost bring the downward progression in the proportion of the housing stock made up of single detached dwelling units to a halt. Until this time,

particularly since 1961 the proportion of single detached units had fallen rapidly. However, this shadow effect, camouflaged the powerful revival of the densification process in Vancouver that started in 1986 and has continued unabated up to the present.

Hence of the 30,618 units constructed in Metro between 1991 and 1996 only 4,698 were made up single detached dwelling units (SC-22; SC-24). Even though this only amounts to about 27 percent of the entire new housing stock constructed in Greater Toronto this is still very significant if related to the rest of the country. For example the production of housing in Metro Toronto would still surpass Ottawa, the country's fourth largest metropolitan area. To put it in another way, in terms of housing production, if the new City of Toronto were separated from the Greater Toronto region, in terms of housing production, Greater Vancouver would come in first place, the outer region of Toronto would come in second place, Greater Montreal in third place, with the City of Toronto trailing behind in fourth place.

[26] Between 1991 and 1996 the proportion of single detached within metro ranged from 10.6 percent in 1992 to 26.2 percent in 1993 whereas in the exurban areas, outside metro, where approximately two thirds of all new housing construction took place, the proportion of single detached units ranged between 48 percent in 1995 to 64.7 percent in 1991. While the housing figures for Metro Toronto show the proportion of single detached units to vary from one half to about one third of the average for the construction of new single detached units for all Census Metropolitan Areas; the opposite was the case for the exurban areas of Toronto where the proportion of single detached units generally hovered in the low 60s, about 10 percent above the national metropolitan average, where the proportion of single detached unites constructed each year ranged between the 48.6 percent in 1995 to 53 percent in 1996 (SC-22; SC-24).

With regard to Vancouver and Toronto, the situation In the 1990's has been reversed, with Vancouver affecting the national average more than Toronto, relative to its size (See table two). The continuation of the housing boom in the Vancouver and its end in Toronto accounts for this reversal. While Vancouver only accounted for around 6.5% of the nations population in 1991 by 1996 it accounted for approximately 12 percent of all the new dwelling units constructed in the country. At the metropolitan level the weight of the Vancouver market was in even more pronounced between 1991 and 1995, with Greater Vancouver accounting for 18.6 percent of all new housing production in Canada's metropolitan areas. Twice, during this time, in 1993 and 1995, the level of housing production went as high as 20 percent of all new units in the metropolitan area (SC-22; SC-23; SC-24).

[27]Ottawa also seems to have developed in a similar way. But in part the future evolution of this pattern may be as much the result of institutional direction as that given by the market if the new regional plan adopted in 1997 becomes the effective guide for the programming of urban space in Ottawa (See Municipality of Ottawa-Carelton 1997).

Some mention of this pattern has even been made in the local new media. For example, in the real-estate section of the Ottawa Citizen the concentration of upscale townhomes within the green belt and the concentration of single detached dwelling units outside the greenbelt was pointed out (See Sheila Brady, "Resurgence of single homes," in Report on New Homes Section, The Ottawa Citizen May 20,1997).

[28]See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 8.

[29]Again, as already mentioned several times, what happens during the next uptum in residential construction will be important. With this cycle it should be possible to see whether the shift to a more land extensive pattern is part of a hybrid pattern or a temporary aberration, particularly as the off loading from the province of Ontario will take effect just as the cycle is starting. Still, in spite of its weakened state between 1991 and 1996 Toronto accounted for the production of 113,613 dwelling units or twelve point five per cent of the nation's new housing stock and nearly twenty per cent of all housing constructed in the metropolitan area. However, with only 54,440 single detached units produced during this time, Toronto only accounted for eleven per cent of the nearly 500,000 single detached units that were constructed in the country and 19 per cent of the approximately 283,000 single detached housing constructed in the

metropolitan areas. This contrasts with Vancouver, which accounted for twelve per cent of the all the new dwelling units in the country but only made up around seven per cent of all single detached dwelling units. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 10.

[30]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 12.

[31]However there are borderline cases, such as Halifax, the regional capital of Atlantic Canada, with a population of 330,000. In terms of situating and categorizing Halifax in this particular framework it is still possible to view the city as an intermediate centre with regard to the densification process if the base line is raised from the metropolitan to national average with regard to the proportion of single detached units. If this is done the baseline becomes 48 percent instead of 56 percent, creating a space for Halifax since 54 percent of new dwellings constructed between 1991 and 1996 were made up of single detached units. However over the past year and a half the percentage of single detached units has risen significantly. For example, during the first 5 months of 1997 single detached dwelling made up 708 of 921 dwelling units constructed, accounting for 76 percent of all housing construction. Similarly, in 1996 single detached units made up 76.2 percent of all new units. Still if the number of new housing starts is averaged out from 1991 to 1996 of the 15,073 units produced, single detached units accounted for about 8,136 of these units or 54 per cent of the total number (SC-22;SC-23 SC-24).

[32]At this other extreme any city where the percentage of single detached dwelling units exceeds 60 percent of all new dwelling units constructed can be viewed as urban centres where land extensive development is deeply entrenched since the production of sparser housing lies considerably above the metropolitan rate and even rests above the national rate which stood at around 56 percent between 1991 and 1996.

For most of the 1990s this has been the case for cities in the Canadian Prairies. In these cities new single detached units starts have generally been over 70 percent. This has been the case the longest for Winnipeg, where the shift back to a more land extensive pattern took place in the late 70s rather than the early 1990s as was the case for Calgary and Edmonton. Even though an extremely high proportion of the total housing stock constructed between 1991 and the end of 1996 was made up of single detached units this may turn out to be a temporary aberration if the economy booms and housing prices start to rise significantly again. For Winnipeg, at least, it appears that the reassertion of a land-extensive pattern of development has become very deeply entrenched and that the economics of relative decline and the emergence of the first large urban underclass in a Canadian city with over half a million people will act to reinforce this reversion back to land extensive development. As one Winnipeg writer, Dough Whiteway (1992) noted, Detroit made him feel surprisingly at home.

[33]In these cities, between 1991 and 1996, the proportion of single detached dwelling units approached the 85 percent mark in some years. As these figures clearly show, the impact of densification has lessened considerably in these communities since the late 70s. Now it is hard to remember that during the 1960s and 1970s these cities had even entered into an ascendant phase with regard to the densification process, when the first cycle of densification swept across the country, resulting the production of clumps of high rises in all three cities. And just as in Vancouver and Toronto, this densification was even beginning to produce similar postmodern reactions to over development. However, when the second wave of densification washed across the country in the mid 80s, Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon were almost completely passed by. Even more so than Montreal, densification in these cities only surfaces as a minor and localized phenomenon within a larger pattern of land extensive investment.

Once again, this reversal is most dramatic in Winnipeg because it was once the densest city in the West and the fourth largest city in the country until the 1970s. The change that has occurred here since the 1970s becomes even more striking if comparisons are made with Vancouver since they were once rivals.

Although Calgary and Edmonton have returned to a land extensive regime since the early 1990's both cities are still in a league of their own in terms of urban development on the

Prairies. Even though they have exhibited land extensive patterns which are as strong as Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon. However, Edmonton and Calgary are the only two cities on the prairies with rapid transit systems, which makes transit oriented development corridors a possibility. As well, their housing prices that are a great deal above those in Winnipeg, Regina or Saskatoon. While Calgary and Edmonton missed out on much of the second wave of densification that affected Toronto and Vancouver, they did not revert back to land extensive development as Winnipeg did. That is why both cities may end up riding the third wave of densification that may wash across the country when the next prolonged upward surge in the housing construction takes place. Particularly in the case of Calgary, where property values are already rapidly increasing (VS-217) and the city appears to have become serious about taking action on the formatting of much denser suburban development the turn around may be starting to happen although this may be hidden by relying on the percentage of single detached units constructed since if Calgary's strategy for densification is successful it will show up in a low rise format for densification, where the house form does not change but the amount of land that it consumers does. So there is immense potential for the densification process to become an important force for change in the reshaping of Calgary which is not apparent in any other large city in Western Canada except Vancouver.

This is already being realized in the construction of one of the country's largest neo-traditional suburbs called Mackenzie Towne Centre, by Carma, the city's largest developer. And if the city' has its way this will become a generalized feature of all new suburban development. In GoPlan, the city's transportation plan, which really functions as the general plan for the city the principle of densification and a limited bow to postmodern regulation is the organizing principle of the planning strategy contained in the document. More importantly these principles may now becoming absorbed into the regulatory apparatus which is when they will really have an effect on the densification process.

However, so far this is not evident in the construction figures for the city. For example, between 1991 and 1996, Edmonton actually created a denser housing profile. In Edmonton, between 1991 and 1996 30,634 housing units were produced of which 21,641 or 70% were made of single detached dwelling units. Meanwhile in Calgary 39,759 dwelling units were constructed between 1991 and 1996 of which 32,274 units, or 81 percent of all units were made up of single detached units (SC-22; SC-24).

Thus the proportion of single detached dwelling construction was quite high in Edmonton and Calgary between 1991 and 1996. Respectively the percentages were as follows: 1996 - 82%, 82%; 1995 - 75%, 72.5%; 1994 - 65%, 75.3%; 1993 - 62%, 85.9%; 1992 - 72%, 86%; 1991 - 71%, 82% (SC-22; SC-24). Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 43.

[34]Although the production of single detached units remained around 80% up to the end of August 1997 in Calgary serviced land is running out and new housing prices have risen 7.1% from August 1996 to August 1997 versus 1.1% for the nation, so this very high level of production of single detached units may start to come down soon - See Infomat October 17,1997 (SC-43). Meanwhile Alberta has become the second most popular destination point for migrants after BC., with 7,650 moving to the province between 1995 and 1996 compared to 22,025 for BC. and minus 3,566 for Manitoba - see Infomat October 10th,1997 (SC-42).

[35]Using 1991 valuations for the average price of a home in Canada in 1991, according to Statistics Canada the average value of a home in Winnipeg was only 67 percent of the national average - $97,000 versus the national average of $144,000 (SC-13). Since then this gap has widened even further. Using figures obtained from the Canadian Real estate Association the Winnipeg and Economic Development Corporation, stated that in 1995 the average price of a housing unit in Winnipeg was $83,000 - using this sign of market weakness as a advertising element in its promotion campaign.

Using the same figures supplied by the Canadian Real Estate Association the average price of a housing units in Canada would have been, $151,000. Housing in Edmonton would have had an average market value of $110,000 and Calgary an average value of $132,000 - which has

since moved past $145,000 (Report on Business August in The Globe and Mail, p.38). Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 34.

[36]This has even affected Vancouver where the Homebuilders Association has claimed that government regulations and taxes now account for 25% of the cost of a new home (VS-519).

[37]But even this change could be further put off because of the actions of the provincial government which have consistently underwritten this infrastructure.Unlike other jurisdictions the province has not cut back its grants to the city. Moreover, only recently the province announced a $96-million infrastructure plan for the city over the next six years. Much of this will go to the further expansion of the road system. $18.9-million will be provided in 1997 alone for infrastructure so the required changes cold be off indefinitely (See Alice Krueger "Infrastructure program spread over six years - Province to spend $96-million fixing city, Winnipeg Free Press, November 6,1997, p.A5). Also See City of Winnipeg 1995.

[38]For example up to the end of August 1997 Toronto accounted for 26.5% of all starts in Canada's metropolitan centres but only 24.9% of all single detached units. In the region itself single detached units accounted for 53.8 % of all new units - if the replace value of 6% if factored in this would still mean over all Toronto is still becoming less dense. However this does not apply to the new City of Toronto. Accounting for 26.4% of all housing starts only 17.4% were single detached(SC-41). With over 19,000 units already produced by the end of August it is clear that an upsurge has begun and that so far the production of single detached units has gone up from the average between 1991 and 1996 of 48% to 53.8% and to 66.8% in the exurban parts of Toronto.(SC-41).

What happens in the exurban area is not only significant for Toronto but the rest of the country since exurban Toronto by itself represents the largest housing market in the country. For example housing starts in this sub market of Toronto up to the end of August 1997 were about 27% above the second largest market in the country -Vancouver, with 14,085 starts taking place in exurban Toronto compared to 11,300 in the Vancouver Region (Montreal's market was 8,085, Calgary, 7336; Edmonton, 3761; Ottawa-Hull, 3,571).

[39]With the assumption that the birth rate will be at 1.7, and male life expectancy of 78.5 and for females 84 years and immigration maintained around 250,00 and emigration of 54,000, it is estimated that the number of dwelling units will rise from 10 million in 1991 to nearly 12M in 1996, 17M in 2001,18M in 2002 and 14.5M in 2011 and just over 15 million dwelling units by 2016, according to estimates produced by Statistics Canada. Meanwhile the average size of a household will decline from around 2.75 persons to under 2.4 in 2016. In addition to this the number of people living alone is projected to rise by 70 percent: rising from 2.3 million to 3.9 million, making up 23 to 26 percent of all households by 2016. The proportion of households composed of 4 or more people will decline from 28 to 21 percent of all households and the number of two person families (many who will be empty nesters) will rise from 3.2 million to 5.7 million by 2016 and make up 56 percent of all families compared to 43 percent in 1991. Meanwhile, single parent families will rise form 4 to 11 percent of all households as their numbers increase to between 1.3 to 1.6 million (Jane Gadd,1995). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 57.

[40]See Kip Park in Winnipeg Real Estate News, November 7, 1997p.1; Maunder 1997.

[41]This is Winnipeg's equivalent to Vancouver's Yaletown and Gastown put together only architecturally more stunning and much larger.

[42]For example this is revealed in the recent attempt by the city to subsidise exurban growth See SNC, Vol. 2, Winnipeg Free Press: 1998e, 1998f; 1998h; 1998 P, 1998R. The same applies to modernism and postmodernism – see City of Winnipeg 1998 and Winnipeg Free Press 1998i and 1998n.

[43]Sontag goes on further to note that: "But since no authentic aristocracy of the old sense exists today, to sponsor special taste, who is to be the bearer of taste, answer: an impoverished self elected class, mainly homosexuals who constitute themselves as an aristocracy of taste (1966,p.296)."

[44]This was picked up at Winnipeg's Gay and Lesbian Community Centre.

[45]See Mcleod, 1996; Gay Tide 1973-1975; Gay and Lesbian Business Association of Greater Vancouver 1996; back issues of Body Politic, PI-17; Price,1991; G/M, 1997bo; and Angles, New York Times, 1997g, Section Three, p.14,.

[46] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 43a.

[47]The best recent example of this exodus of the Jewish Business elite would be the movement of the president of Onex Corporation, a billion dollar holding company to Toronto in the 1980s.

[48]Again remnants of each business community remain but that is all that they are - remnants. For the Anglo Saxon elite the most significant business residual can be seen in the continuing location of Great West Life Corporation and Investors Life in the City. But these two firms are controlled by Power Corporation, a holding company headquarted in Montreal. The other example would be the Richardson Family. But even here the Richardson's securities was moved out of the city in the 1980s and the second generation of this business dynasty appears to have largely abandoned the city.

[49]Looking at the murals painted on the walls of buildings by Blacks in the United States and Natives in Canada tells a great deal about the acculturation of each underclass formation into the city. Whereas the content of Black murals are unmistakably urban those painted by Natives in Winnipeg's North End are clearly non urban in content, with natural symbolism reflecting the recent transition of this group from hunters and gatherers and the fact that most natives are only first generation urban dwellers while the Black underclass are now one of the most urbanized populations in the United States, with three to four generations having lived in the city since the first large scale black migration to the city began around the First World War.

[50]According to Leo Driedger Winnipeg has the world's largest Mennonite population. In 1981 it was nearly 20,000. In 1941 there were only 1,285 Mennonites in Winnipeg, 3,460 in 1951, 13,595 in 1961, 17,850 in 1971. Meanwhile Vancouver has the second largest population. In 1981 this was 9,760 versus 559 in 1941 and Kitchner-Waterloo had 9,515 versus 1,472 in 1941, St. Catherines had 5,985 versus 200 in 1941, Saskatoon had 5,380 in 1981 versus 871 in 1941, Calgary had 3,635 in 1981 versus 91 in 1941, Toronto had 2,950 versus 326 in 1941 and Regina had 685 versus 87 in 1941.In terms of institutions in 1980 Driedger reported there were at least 1,000 in Winnipeg concentrated in Building and Furniture as well as transportation. Preferred occupations were teaching and in the medical field. There were 47 churches in the city and the first post-secondary institution was established in Winnipeg (See Driedger 1990).

[51] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 35.

[52]Vancouver could also further develop as an important ground for further experimentation in high, medium and low rise forms of densification that could be exported to other cities by developers based in Vancouver like Polygon or simply copied by other cities.

[53]See City of Calgary 1995;1995;1996 and the work carried out on the transportation, suburban development strategy and growth management strategy the Planning Department is attempting to implement.

[54]Up to this point in time not enough land has been available to produce a large neo-traditional suburb in the Greater Vancouver District but in Abbotsford which is the next urban region adjacent to Vancouver - about an hour's drive from downtown Vancouver, enough land has been assembled for a large scale neo-traditional community, which is to be called the Straiton project, that Acme Land Development Corporation hopes to construct very soon. If approval is given to this project Vancouver will join Calgary, Toronto and Montreal in producing at least one large distinctive postmodern suburb on its periphery. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 58.

[55]In Vancouver Ekistics which has been involved in the design of one small neo traditional enclave in the District of Langley, at Murray's Corner, and the Straiton Development in Abbotsford, which will house 13,000 people if it goes ahead. It is also possible that two large

scale neo-traditional developments might be developed in the Greater Vancouver Regional- perhaps in Surrey or Coquitlam. Currently Coquitlam looks like a good prospect because of undeveloped lands, located in the north eastern part of the suburb. If the City's zoning bylaws are changed, a neo-traditional development, which could house as many as 26,000 people in an area where only 3,000 currently now live, could be built. One of the selling points which may help over come the resistance to postmodern regulations in this bastion of modernism in the fourth settlement zone are the cost savings that the design firm has cited that was prepared by the city itself which showed that a 33 percent saving would be made on capital infrastructure, 20 percent less land would be covered As well, there would be 20 percent more parkland and a 70 percent reduction in the distance from a house to the nearest market - all of which stands in stark contrast to the development which has gone on in the Westwood Plateau (Lisa Morry 1997b).

[56]As the population of figures in table four show, there are different fractions of the Caucasian middle class and the Asian middle class and their lower class counterparts that have produced different spatial perceptions and needs. For the non domestic fraction of the Caucasian middle class located in The Core with its greater concern for the creation of orderly street sand public space environment which it can promenade on in order to display its self or look for a mate since it potentially has more leisure time and is not constrained by the burden of child rearing, something which makes the creation of stylized environments more important (VS-314). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 65.

[57]The surest sign that the modern era has ended can be seen in the effort that is now being made to preserve fragment of it. In New York, for example, three buildings from the 1960s that stand as icons of high-modernism are now on the preservation list (New York Times 1997h). The same thing has happened in Vancouver. For example the Vancouver Library and the former BC. Hydro Building and the Bomac sign, all products of high modernism, in the 1950s, have received historic designations or some sort of protection. The Bomac sign is especially interesting since it is a part of popular rather than high modern culture and something which Sutton Brown sought to eliminate because of its association with desire and pleasure and therefore deviance. Instead of eliminating these symbols, which modern planning in Vancouver once tried to do, because they represented decay and moral temptation, planners are now trying to revive and conserve what exists. This is a far cry from the modern period when regulations were passed to limit these signs so, in the words of Sutton Brown, Vancouver would not become a 'Honky Tonk" city (VS-4).Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 45.

[58]To illustrate this point it is only necessary to look at military culture and, up to recently the way engineers were socialized. For instance in a recent report realized about soldier misconduct in Somalia, the report describes quite accurately the mind set that once was part of a larger cultural formation that was intertwined with modernism after 1954. As the report Chad Skelton states (1997) "Military training encourage soldiers to focus on the group rather than on themselves individually in order to achieve unity and cohesion within a unit. While this sort of training motivation and appropriate behaviour in combat it can also lead to a distrust of and suspicion of those not within the group, the report says,"(p.A7).

[59] Refer to following references Goldberg 1985; Gutstein 1990; Chan 1996; Smart 1996; VS-112c.

[60]As in most other matters the evolution of the new middle class is mirrored in the gay community and its geographic divisions: with lesbians tending to favour the Commercial Drive Area, located in the Zone of Middle Class Settlement while more lifestyle oriented gay men tend to concentrate more in the West End, which is located in the Core. In this regard it is interesting to observe that lifestyle oriented lesbians, known as Lipstick Lesbians, appear to be tricking into the West End (See Bourthillette 1995).

[61]In this regard it is no accident that Kitsilano acted as a direct conduit for the flow and gestation of postmodern ideas. Not only did it function as a Bohemian ghetto for UBC, which was the gestation ground for the intellectual work that went into the creation of the Livable City Program, it became the primary immigrant portal for American draft dodgers and refugees

from the United States who were alienated and disenchanted form the entire modernist scene. For example 1986 Census data on Kitsilano show that 1,255 Americans were recorded as living in a neighbourhood which in the late 60's and early 70s, was considered to be run down and somewhat undesirable. In Kitsilano Americans then constituted 4% of the entire local area population, far in excess of the average for the region. While these number are small the confluence of events gave suggest a much larger American influence than what is suggested by the numbers alone. Also See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 49.

Other wise the second ring was zoned for lower rise apartments (RM-3) and boarding houses and duplexes (RT-2) (Figure Ten). However since most of this land was still occupied by single detached dwelling units or older apartments the demolition resulting from the diffusion of the densification process provoked the ire the middle class that had begun to settle in this zone. This was particularly the case in Kitsilano, which functioned in the late 60's and early 70's, as a place of resistance and experimentation as Strathcona and Grandview/Woodlands would in the 1980s and 1990s. Then Kitsilano was also the centre of the counterculture in Vancouver. Having the highest percentage of Americans in the region, it became a seeding ground for many of the philosophical dimensions of postmodern regulation that had first been formally articulated within the American youth movement. Not surprisingly Kitsilano became a launching pad for many of the activists who, with the help of academics at UBC, helped to formulate the livable city program and later become launching pad for the mobilization that lead to the implementation of the first postmodern agenda for the city, something that began in earnest with local area planning.

[62]Although not as pronounced the physical and social spaces that were created in the inner city Champlain Heights became a suburban version of South False Creek, containing the third largest percentage of non-profits in the city in 1994 (29% - CV-19). Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 63.

[63]However, unlike, the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, the development was more oriented towards seniors rather than to young adults. But, like Kitsilano a resort ambiance is pervasive and like Kitsilano probably a fair amount of displacement has occurred - although it was not possible to acquire documentation to find out whether this was the case.

[64]For example a great many of the Chinese immigrants from Mainland China probably are middle class in terms of education credentials but have relatively little capital to buy into the housing market of the inner suburbs which has been transformed into a Zone of Asian Resettlement.

[65]As estimate of the affluent middle class Chinese component can be taken by looking at the three main sources of Chinese Immigrants between 1991 and 1996: Hong Kong (44,715), Taiwan (22,315) and Mainland China (27,005). Accounting for about 94,000 of the approximately 190,000 immigrants that came to Vancouver, Chinese immigrants account for about 50 per cent of all immigrants who came to Vancouver. Of this group immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan amounted to 67,000 or about 35 per cent of all immigrants. In fourth place were immigrants from India 16,185; fifth, the Philippines 13,600; South Korea 6,335 and Iran, 4,640. Because the Iranians and South Koreans probably have large middle class components if it is assumed that half of this group is middle class then another 5,500 middle class immigrants can be added to the 67,000, raising the estimate of the size of the Asian middle class that came to Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 to about 72,500 or about 38 percent all immigrants. Of the approximately 140,000 Asian immigrants from the top ten sources, probably 50% were of middle class origin (figures taken from Statistics Canada figures published in The Globe and Mail, November 5th, 1997, p. A10).

[66]In absolute terms a similar number of Chinese immigrants have move to Toronto, But in relation to the size the city they have not been large enough to carve out an entire concentric zone of settlement for themselves. For example between 1986 and 1991 approximately 230,000 immigrants belonging to the refugee class were allowed into Canada. Of that number only 32,000 refugees or 23 percent of all the immigrants who came to Vancouver between 1986 and

1991 belonged to this class (32,023 of a total of 140,650). While Vancouver only took in 14 percent of all refugees admitted into Canada 32 percent of immigrants who moved to Toronto belonged to this class (accounting for 180,782 out of the 560,000 immigrants) who came to Greater Toronto during this period. Toronto therefore accounted for about 78 percent all the refugees who entered Canada at this time (SC-7a). For this reason quite a different settlement dynamic exists in Toronto. Unlike Vancouver, Toronto's Zone of Asian Resettlement takes form as a pie shaped configuration that is situated in the north eastern part of the region. See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 65.

[67] Hence if we now look only at Vancouver and put an Asian rather than Hispanic slant on what is happening here numerous parallels appear. By the beginning the year 2000 Vancouver's Asian population will constitute about 83 percent of the 542,000 immigrants who have come to Vancouver since 1986. When this population is added to the pre-existing 25 per cent of the region's two million people (or about 510,000 people) will be of Asian origin, up from approximately 3 percent in 1971 to 11 percent in 1981 then 16 per cent in 1986 (CMHC 1996c, p.10) after which absolute growth in the Asian population took a quantum leap in absolute numbers as the growth rate for the entire region took off. Hence the 1996 Census tabulations should reveal that about 22 percent of the region's population is of Asian origin and this will likely surpass the 25 percent mark in the year 2000 (table nine). Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 55.

[68]What role they will play in the spread of postmodern spatial norms is unclear since most of these immigrants adhere more to modern spatial norms or abide by premodern spatial frameworks for the organization of space such as one form of Chinese geomancy known as Feng Shui (meaning wind and water). has common into common usage (Rossback 1983). However, because of the large amounts of capital they have brought with them there is no doubt as to the role that they have played in the densification of this suburban zone. Moreover they will probably will a an important role in the gradual modification and substitution of the livable city program for that of the urban spectacle because of the capital they bringing with them and the new role the region has assumed as an Asian entrepot because of this immigration. Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 69.

[69]So it is these issues and the cultural clashes over the use of space, rather than racism, which have created rifts that may also explain why recent surveys show that Canadians have become less accepting of immigration in general(VS-313).

[70]Furthermore, as already noted there are divisions within the Chinese immigrant population that need to be explored. As Dong Yang Lui (1994), a Chinese immigrant and Ph.D. student in planning noted, there are important language barriers between Mandarin speaking and Cantonese speaking Chinese people from the North and South of China. As his research on the Dr. Sun Yat Sen Gardens revealed, there are schisms within the Chinese community that revolve around ideology and whether or not the Chinese are long time or recent immigrants. Furthermore there are occupational differences between Mainland Chinese, Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants which probably deserve further study n terms of their perception and use of space, political involvement and the way each group does or does not relate with each other and the host culture.

[71] For most obvious example of the difference between the socio economic status of the East Indian and Chinese population is therefore reflected in the geography of each community. The apparent propensity of East Indian families to maintain extended families appears to have lead to a search for larger housing units and this in turn may be playing a role in movement of this community from the South East section of the City of Vancouver to North Surrey and Delta (PI-13), where land is less expensive. The most dramatic geographic illustration of how the occupation of different places in the division of labour translates into geographic patterns can be seen in the City of Abbotsford, which lies adjacent to Greater Vancouver Regional District. Here a satellite community of East Indians has formed, which currently makes up about eleven per cent of the population (SC-30).

[72]According to the 1991 Census there were 158,340 Chinese in Greater Vancouver, 69,000 East

Indians and 22,935 Tagalog speaking people or Filipinos. In part because they are more inclined to know English and are the most Americanized of the Asian populations coming to Vancouver there is less reason for them to concentrate because of linguistic or cultural differences. At the same their settlement patterns probably reflect their relative economic and social weakness in relation to the Chinese and Indo-Canadian populations which have been able to establish residential and cultural precincts for themselves whereas this has not yet happened to the same extent with the Filipino population, Out of this population of 22,935, 11,155, or just under fifty per cent live in the City of Vancouver, 3,3130 in Richmond, 1,930 in Burnaby and 625 in the District of North Vancouver. So although they are smallest and most dispersed of the three largest Asian populations they are, nevertheless, overwhelming located within the Zone of Asian resettlement(SC-10).

[73]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 91.

[74]The beginning of such a zone exists in Toronto but it only extends to one section of the city and is not large enough relative to the size of the city to considered a concentric settlement zone in the way that it can in Vancouver. But as Lu (1996) notes, over the past 20 year 142,000 immigrants from Hong Kong have moved to Toronto and they are changing the face of the city. Their biggest presence is felt in the north eastern suburbs. For instance, according to a Compusearch estimate, between 1991 and 2000 the Chinese population in the City of Toronto will increase marginally - from 52,435 to 54,522; Scarborough from 65,825 to 108,614, North York, from 37,300 to 51,424, East York, from 6,235 to 6,845, York from 2,956 to 4,003, Markham from 21,910 to 37,947, Mississauga from 18,150 to 27,341, Richmond Hill from 7,975 to 15,583, Vaughan from 3,650 to 5,355, Brampton 3,775 to 4,664, Oakville from 1,970 to 2,876 (Lu, 1996, p.B4).

[75]Despite the large size of the Hispanic community in Miami Joan Didion and Portes have described the existence of two parallel cultures operating in the same city. While some of this may be present in Vancouver, with the establishment of the Bamboo Network (VS-165a), there appears to be a great deal more interaction and assimilation between the Caucasian and Asian populations in Vancouver. One of the most significant example of this would be the massive expansion of ESL training and the other would be the number of joint ventures carried out between Caucasian and Asian capitalists.

[76]Vancouver's status as an international tourist centre is indicated in the supply and demand for hotel rooms and their rates. Of the major hotel markets Vancouver has, by far, the highest hotel rates, with an average room going for $125.54 versus cities at the opposite end of the spectrum, such as Winnipeg, where the average room rate charged in 1997 was $66.71. Rates charged for other cities were as follows (in dollars): Downtown Toronto 117.38/Regina-Saskatoon 64.24/Calgary 89.81/ Edmonton 71.94/Victoria 95.03/Ottawa 87.19/ Quebec City 88.99/Montreal 96.34/Halifax 88.23 (in By the numbers, Winnipeg Free Press, November 10,1997,p.B8).

[77]Thus a recent contract was signed between S.L. Feldman Associates to act as an exclusive talent buyer for a $200 million hotel and entertainment complex in Shanghai.

[78]Since it is the largest industry in the world, accounting for 7.5 per cent of global capital investment and by 2005 is expected to generate 7 trillion dollars in revenue (Krotz 1997) Vancouver's rising profile in this market is therefore a matter of no small concern and it appears that this will provide a great deal of the material basis for the elaboration of the city as a place of the urban spectacle something which will make image making and the stylization that goes with it more influential with regard to the regulation of space.

[79]Also, like Vancouver, Miami was one of the few urban regions in North America where densification became manifest in the production of high-rise residential units to a significant but not predominant extent in both cities.

[80]Because each city has become an entrepot in terms of services as well as goods for the respective foreign middle class populations that have moved in mass to each city both Vancouver and Miami have become destination points for famous Asian and Chinese pop idols (Rother 1996). Journalist David Beers was cited by newspaper reporter Elizabeth Aird, as

saying, Vancouver was being transformed into a suburb of the Pacific Rim - that is as a place of consumption, where people buy property in the city to create a second home or use as a safe haven, while others seek out the city to find a place to hide like the notorious gangster, Lai Tong Sang, the alleged leader of a 3,000 strong Wo On Lok, known as the Water Rats, who was found recently to be living in Vancouver (VS-300; Moore 1997).

[81]In addition to the presence of two different spatial cultures, further accentuating the divergence between the Core and the periphery of the region, is the presence of the Zone of Asian Resettlement. This combined with the postmodern spatial matrix, has turned the core of the region into place that is quite different from the periphery. In terms of postmodern regulation this has created a bastion of conservativism, where more traditional working class and middle class social formations adhere to modern regulatory formats for the organization and use of space. For instance, at the social level, one example of this conservatism would be t the reaction to the display of homosexual literature at local libraries within this zone. At the physical level, hence the aesthetic and philosophic level of regulation, the same conservatism, can be seen in the vigorous reaction to any initiative to curb the use and subsidy of the automobile in Coquitlam's regional centre (VS-363; VS-387). And at the political level, the opposition in material cultures can be seen in the opposition of outer municipalities such as Surrey and the District of Langley to the postmodern spatial agenda of the Greater Vancouver Regional District (VS-384).

[82]Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 92 Note 73; Note 94.

[83]For further references refer to the following citations in the Bibliography. With regard to the struggle over the use of land between the expanding middle class in the Core and the visitors - both regional, national and international - who also use the Core as an entertainment district, see the following citations -VS-71; VS-85b; VS-102a; VS-107; VS-152;VS-179; VS-195; VS-199; VS-244, VS-267; VS-294; Hill,1997;Bula, 1995; Janet Smith 1996; Sullivan 1997; CVC0-14; CVPD-69; CVPD-80. For citation about the primary fault line that exists in the Core, which has to do with c;lass displacement rather then congestion and inconvenience see :VS-89c; VS-89d; VS-91; VS-94; VS-95; VS-96; VS-97; VS-118; VS-155; VS-154; VS-166; VS-167; VS-193; VS-280; VS-282a; VS-289; Hill, 1997; Hill 1997b; Hill 1997c; McPhee,1989; Gurlewski,1995; Shultz,1995, Janet Smith, 1997a. For citations on the Second Fault line refer to VS-85aa VS-97abs; VS-97abb; VS-97aa; VS-112a; VS-112aa; VS-115; VS-125; VS-130; VS-132; VS-139; VS-143; VS-145; VS-145a; VS-165a; VS-172; VS-173A; VS-182; VS-187; VS-188a; VS-191; VS-204b; VS-223a; VS-261; Beers, 1997a, Lett,1996; CMHC,1996c;CMHC,1995; Globe and Mail, 1996; CVC0-9. For citations about the third fault line refer to VS-122; VS-181; VS-259; VS-283; VS-286; VS-311; VS-312; VS-315;Bucholtz, 1997; Erickson,1997; Marsh, 1997; Marsh, 1997a.

[84] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 102.

[85] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 101.

[86]The struggle for space has become so intense that organizations like DERA have been forced to modify their position on new housing projects in order to save as much of the Downtown Eastside for its low income residents as possible. For this reason DERA may support a $14 million dollar project to refurbish a building on the 100 Block of Hastings Street across from Woodwards where Kenneth Waver of Torode Reality may come to an agreement whereby 250 self contained rooms might be constructed within the old ten storey building after the refusal of two previous bids by DERA. Rents of $325 a month for 175 square feet and $750 for rooms more than double this size would be charged. The developer claims to have lived in a unit with only 90 square feet and paid $475 for its rental so he states that he understands the problem faced by the area and that middle class standards must be dropped to provide accommodation for those who are simply concerned about survival and a clean and secure place to live in. In the past DERA has resisted micro units but may change its position on this as the situation in the Downtown Eastside becomes more desperate(VS-279).

[87]Again a caveat has to be put in place here - this Chinese population is not one homogeneous body but is made up Chinese coming from several different destinations, language groups, with

slightly different value systems.

[88]For example, this began with the movement of Japanese capital into the Hong Kong property market. When this happened prices began to rise dramatically. Also the population rose increased dramatically. In the 1960s there were only 4 million people in Hong Kong, Now there are 6.5 million. As the economy continued to boom the price of apartments skyrocketed. In 1970 an $11,000 (US) apartment soared to $500,000 by 1994 - a 4,500% increase (Chu, 1997,p.2).

[89]Even if migrants wanted to leave the region, but remain within the orbit of Vancouver, they would still face housing prices far above the national average. For Example in May of 1997 the average price for all homes in Canada probably stood around $155,000, but for a family seeking accommodation in a single detached dwelling outside Greater Vancouver is the adjacent city of Abbotsford, located in the Central Fraser Valley (80km from the city centre), the medium price for a single detached dwelling unit was $249,000 compared to $390,000 for the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Farther out, and another half hour drive there is the City of Chilliwack, where the price for a single detached unit was $183,727 (CMHC,1997c). See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 107.

[90]As earlier stated, the dichotomized picture that has been presented between the core and the periphery is not entirely accurate. While this opposition exists it is muddled and complicated somewhat by the existence of a fifth settlement zone where postmodern values exist among an influential middle class that resides here, setting up a second front for the struggle over the postmodern transformation of the city that is located along the region's periphery rather than in its core. As a result, postmodern regulation has leap frogged over much of the fourth zone and becomes quite influential in the fifth zone. Here there has been considerable politicization of the regulation of space, which has produced chronic head aches to suburban politicians and regional bureaucrats not used to the interference of citizens in their administrative domains.

One example of this politicization of space can be seen in long running middle class opposition to the management of the watershed by the Greater Vancouver Regional District, in particular to the logging of the watershed. More recently this opposition has surfaced in Port Moody over the clear cutting of forest land for more suburban greenfield development. Unlike the new middle class in the core the middle class in this zone are not contiguous but are dispersed or dumped together into a few concentrated area. Where they have concentrated a more ruralized version of the landscape created in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has been created. Consequently many of the attitudes and values that motivate the regulation of space in the second zone can be found in parts of the fifth zone as well.

As with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement this has produced some conflict with the working class population that inhabits this territory as well and has even caused some displacement and class conflict over land use or as an exurbanized form of gentrification has taken hold in some communities such as White Rock and Whistler, where people who work in these place cannot afford to live in them.

Another interesting parallel between the gentrifying parts of this Exurban Zone and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement can be seen in the recycling of industrial sites and discarded pieces of property into prime real estate. After all Whistler was built on a garbage dump just as South False Creek was built by a heavily polluted water body on discarded and underused industrial land. Moreover, like the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement places like Whistler or the Gulf Islands are very much defined as a spaces of leisure and high brow consumption. Along side these landscapes producer environments from the modern period remain. This picture is further complicated by the advent of new technologies, which have made it possible for this zone to be something more than a commuting area for the working middle class. This has made it possible for a non commuting professional class to live in exurbia that does not have to commute into the inner city on a daily basis.

[91] This has been acerbated by the off loading of services (VS-194). This has made it harder to service land extensive development organized around modern the norms. In turn, this has made outer municipalities more sensitive to any changes that might add to the cost of development or

further curtail development. With the passage of a core centred program for urban development a latent rift, which has always been present between the core and the outer areas of the region, that existed in the modern period, as the tension between the Sutton Brown Plan for Vancouver and the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board illustrated, has been reactivated once more. This conflict can be seen over a wide variety of issues such as garbage (VS-259), sewer (VS-134) and water provisioning as well as Policing (VS-312). This conflict also extends to land use issues, as the region is attempting to implement its densification strategy, which many of the outer municipalities oppose.

Thus far Surrey and Langley have had told the regional council that they will not abide by the regional growth management plan (VS-296). Furthermore, with the election of two reactionary slates to city council in Surrey and the Township of Langley, in the 1996 civic elections, and the conservative leadership provided by the mayor of Coquitlam and Maple of Ridge, the lower middle class settlement areas of the Zone of Caucasian Resettlement appear to be coalescing into an opposing power block, which may have the power to derail the regional strategy for managing growth and by doing so prolonging the modern regulation of the fourth settlement ring.

[92] See SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 79.

[93]His fast tracking of the Concord Pacific Lands and the Fraser Lands probably closed off many more innovative and equitable options that might have been taken advantage of. Particularly in the case of the Fraser Lands Mayor Campbell's rush to redevelop this industrial land meant that many amenities that should have been provided in this development were absent (PI-3; PI-6). Likewise, he failed miserably to meet the biggest challenge of his tenure as mayor - the housing crisis of the late 1980s. His only significant response to this crisis was botched with the creation of VLC, which received land subsidies from the city to build market rather than non-profit units, wasting resources which could have better been used by the non profit sector (VP-53).

[94]Mayor Campbell was also abetted by Mayor Bob Bose (PI-53) a veteran of the livable city era rather than the urban spectacle. Despite their differences and that each individual was clearly situated at different point in the postmodern spatial matrix, they operated as allies in fashioning a vision for the region that was accepted by the provincial government in 1996.

But with the civic elections of 1996 and the defeat of Mayor Bose and the earlier departure of Campbell for provincial politics the previous equilibrium between the core and the periphery that politicians such as Bose and Campbell were able to forge, disappeared. Since then a new power block opposed to the livable region strategy has begun to coalesce around the municipalities of Surrey, Coquitlam and Langley with some support coming from Maple Ridge as well.

[95]Then there are gender and demographic differences that separate the core and periphery of the region that have to be considered since they have a great deal to do with the maintenance of two quite different material cultures, which, in turn, are also tied into the previous comments that were made about the organization of space and the place of the automobile.

Unlike the first two zones, the fourth and fifth zones are zones of reproduction rather than consumption, hence gender roles in these areas tend to be more conventional, generating different needs and expectations that can and have influenced the use of space as well. To see this one only has compare local papers from the inner city with those produced in the suburbs to see the difference in orientation of each.

For example in the suburban papers to local sports and school issues is much more prominent than those in the core. The difference also comes out in the hostile responses recorded in many suburban papers when postmodern social formations long accepted in the inner city attempt become visible or seek to represent themselves in the outer suburbs. In this regard the best example of this would the hostile response that was provoked by the attempt to have gay literature made available in suburban schools and libraries.

So not only are these two last two settlement rings zones of reproduction they are also

places where modern spatial values remain deeply entrenched in the mind set of much of the population and in the local institutions that are responsible for the regulation of space.

[96] One American polemic about the struggle to substitute a postmodern for modern vision of the city can be seen in recent books like "Asphalt Nation: How The Automobile Took Over America and How We Can Take it Back, by Jane Holtz Kay. Several times in the book Canadian cities are made favourable mention of in the discussion about the need to overthrow the machine space conception of the city promoted by twentieth century modernism. For instance she cites Toronto as having the highest level of bike commuters in North America. As well she makes note of the higher level of mass transit use in Toronto and Montreal. Even Vancouver is mentioned because of Seabus, one of the first postmodern projects that came out of Kelly Report. Also Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 112.

[97]See VS-357; VS-364; VS-371; VS-374; G/M 1997zm; G/M 1997zw; Philip 1997g. For the impact on tourism one only has to look at what crime and an out of control drug culture did to this industry in Miami and New Orleans (See the Economist November 22nd, 1997, p. 32).

[98] See Barton Reid, "Planning to Conform: Forum on the Future of the City of Toronto, City Magazine Summer/Fall 1989, Vol. 11, No.1.

[99] See Barton Reid, "Massaging the Message: Turning the wrong road toward regional government in Vancouver, Policy Workshop on Regional Government, January 22-23, 1992, City Magazine, Spring 1992, Vol. 13, No. 2. and Barton Reid, Cascadia: The Debasement of Bioregionalism, City Magazine, Summer-Fall, 1992, vol. 13, No. 3+4.

[100] See Michael Seelig and Alan Artibise, From Desolation To Hope, Vancouver BC.: University of British Columbia School of Community and Regional Planning, 1991. Several years later Robert Sarti, a Vancouver Sun reporter, found out that this publication had been solicited by the business community who had become concerned about too much citizen's involvement in the discussion about the future. Also see article by Bob Sarti, in The New City Magazine September 1997.

[101] Refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 6, Note 118.

[102]A good contemporary example of this would be what is now happening in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver with regard to homelessness, gentrification and the tourist trade (CVCO-45; VS-193) and the recent panic that resulted in Gastown about safety - as one letter to the editor noted (VS-193): "The Gastown interests make a too-easy association between low income housing and the street people whom they accuse of driving tourists away. Let's not forget that it's just as likely the well-to-do customers spilling out of the nightclubs who urinate on store walls as it is the folk on the street,"or even the game of musical chairs which has been going on with the issue of prostitution since the postmodern reconfiguration of the inner city began in the 1970s (i.e., Sullivan 1997).

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Supplementary Notes and Comments For Doctoral Dissertation- The Political Economy Of Densification -Searching for Signs Of The Postmodern City: A Study Of Urban Transformation In Vancouver.

Volume Two

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Supplementary Notes and Comments for Doctoral Dissertation - The Political Economy of Densification - Searching for Signs of the Postmodern City: A Case Study of GreaterVancouver - Volume Two

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Preface:

1: The concern about the way that representations of the future were being manipulated or prematurely foreclosed arose in the late 1980s when I first observed the debate which was taking place on the future of Toronto (Reid 1989). The distortions which I observed in Toronto would also be present in planning reviews conducted in Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver which I observed over the next seven years. In this regard see the following documents - City of Toronto Report, Next Steps For City Plan presented to the Land Use Committee by the Commissioner of Planning and Development, February 12, 1992 and City of Toronto Planing and Development Department, Draft of the Official Plan - City Plan Final Recommendations, September 1992, show the deterministic thinking about the future attributed to economic factors. In Calgary, evidence of economic, technological and demographic determinism became evident in much of the public discussion on Calgary's future that was recorded in documents such as the 2020 Task Force, Calgarians Choosing Their Future, 1989. The same thing can be seen in Go Plan, the most expensive planning exercise ever conducted in the city. which was begun in 1992 and concluded with the passage of a new transportation plan in 1995 (See City of Calgary, Calgary GoPlan - Guide to The Options BGS-No. 24-11-94, 1994 and in the City of Calgary Draft Calgary Transportation Plan, February 3, 1995). Similarly, in Vancouver the same deterministic thinking could be seen in the deliberation on the future of the region and the City of Vancouver (See Governing Greater Vancouver, A Region of Communities, edited by Barton Reid, 1992 in City Magazine and Jessie Hill, The University of British Columbia Centre For Human Settlement and School of Community and Regional Planning, January 1992 as well as Planning For Tomorrow The next Generations by the Urban Development Institute, Pacific Region, 1991).

2: Whence could it have come to me, this all-powerful joy? I was conscious that it was connected with the taste of tea and cake, but that it infinitely transcended those savors, could not, indeed, be of the same nature as theirs. Whence did it come? What did it signify? How could I seize upon and define it? I drink a second mouthful, in which I find nothing more than in the first, a third, which gives me rather less than the second. It is time to stop; truth, lies, not in the cup but in myself. The teas has called up in me, but does not itself understand and can only repeat indefinitely with a gradual loss of strength, the same testimony; which I, too, cannot interpret, though I hope at least to be able to call upon the tea for it again and to find it there presently, intact and at my disposal, for my final enlightenment. I put down my cup and examine my own mind. It is for it to discover the truth. But how. What an abyss of uncertainty whenever the mind feels that some part of it has strayed beyond its own borders, when it, the seeker, is at once the dark region through which it must go seeking, where all its equipment will avail it nothing...And I begin again to ask myself what it could have been, this unremembered state which brought with it no logical proof of its existence, but only the sense that it was happy, that it was a real state in whose presence other states of consciousness melted and vanished. I decide to attempt to make it reappear. I retrace my thoughts to the moment at which I drank the first spoonful of tea. I find again the same state, illumined by no fresh light. I compel my mind to make one further effort, to follow and recapture once again the fleeting sensation. And that nothing may interrupt it in its course I shut out every obstacle, every extraneous idea, I stop my ears and inhibit all attention to the sounds which come from the next room. And then, feeling that my mind is growing fatigued without having any success to report, I compel it for a change to enjoy that distraction which I have just denied it, to think of other things, to rest and refresh itself before the supreme attempt. And then for the second time I clear an empty space in front of it. I place in position before my mind's eye the still recent taste of that first mouthful, and I feel something start within me, something that leaves its resting place and attempts to rise, something that has been embedded like an anchor at a great

depth; I do not know yet what it is, but I can feel it mounting slowly; I can measure the resistance, I can hear the echo of great spaces traversed. Undoubtedly what is thus palpitating in the depths of my being must be the image, the visual memory which, being linked to that taste, has tried to follow it into my conscious mind. But its struggles are too far off, too much confused; scarcely can I perceive the colourless reflection in which are blended the uncapturable whirling medley of radiant hues, and I cannot distinguish its form, cannot invite it, as the one possible interpreter, to translate to me the evidence of its contemporary, its separable paramour, the taste of cake soaked in tea; cannot ask it to inform me what special circumstance is in question, of what period in my past life. Will it ultimately reach the clear surface of my consciousness, this memory, this old, dead moment which the magnetism of an identical moment has traveled so far to importune, to disturb, to raise up out of the very depths of my being? I cannot tell Now that I feel nothing. it has stopped, has perhaps gone down again into its darkness, from which who can say whether it will ever rise? And each time the natural laziness which deters us from every difficult enterprise, every work of importance, has urged me to leave this thing alone, to drink my tea and to think merely of the worries of to-day and of my hopes tomorrow (Proust 1934, pp.34-5).

Chapter One: Introduction

3: As a result, it is not surprising to see strong parallels between the evolution of modern and postmodern practices in seemingly disparate fields such as city planning and policing because both professions touch upon one common element, which is the regulation of space. With the resulting change in the way that space was perceived all professions involved with the regulation of space, and not simply city planning, would be altered in a fundamental way and this shows up in the provocative book put out by Kelling and Cotes (1996), especially in their review of the two phases of police reform in the United States. Just as with Planning a Fordist or Taylorist model for the organizationof the police department was adopted. Curiously enough, just as with modern planning, modern policing practices transformed space into an abstract medium. Modern police methods applied machine space approach to the surveillance and maintenance of order. As a result for both of these reasons policing practices as well as planning practices tended to decontextualize space. Neighbourhoods ceased to be the organizational unit for the policing. Instead, just as with planning, functional criteria were used. Supposedly objective rather than subjective factors, or statistical measures such as crime rates became the basis for triggering action. As well the regulation of space shifted away from the pedestrian surveillance provided by the beat cop to that of the car cop, with a police car rather than an individual asserting the presence of the police. See Chapter Three: The Failure of Past Policing Strategies, for an interesting account of modern policing practices. Not surprisingly in the postmodern model for urban policing that they present Jane Jacobs is cited.

7: As the recent report by Murray Campbell in The Globe and Mail August 23,1997 entitled "Shaping a megacity around a mayor" notes, the urban and suburban styles of each personality can be sharply drawn out. In turn they can be slotted into modern and postmodern categories, which can be seen in the spatial matrix each uses as well as in their goals and behaviors - that suface in gender and class form at a symbolic level by each matrix. In this case Lastman stands out as being the ultimate lower middle class parvenu, with his roots in retailing,. By contrast Barbara Hall came out of the urbanist tradition of the new middle class. Being both a professional and therefore a member of the new middle class, she has been more closely tied into neighbourhood politics, social service and consensus building - all features of dialogical modes of decision making which is part of the philosophic tradition of postmodern regulation but not that of the modern tradition which Lastman is part of.

8: In Vancouver, a political and cultural chasm exists at the sub-regional level. While the postmodern matrix may be the ascending logic in the region modern values still have a powerful grip over the regulation of space in certain parts of the region. While the postmodern spatial matrix may exert a hegemonic influence over planning and citizen's discourse in the City of Vancouver out in the far suburbs, in particular, postmodern precepts are still viewed as an alien framework for regulating urban space. While densification does exert a profound influence over these distant suburbs, except for some exurban areas, where an active an influential new middle class exists, in many of the outer suburbs the postmodern spatial matrix for action and thought is still minuscule in its institutional effects upon the behavior and thoughts of many of the regulators, producers and and consumers of space. So even in Greater Vancouver it is not really possible to talk about one seamlessly unified urban entity but one that is splintered by a major spatial and cultural divide that exists between the core areas of the region and periphery.

This schism is not confined to Vancouver. It is a generalized feature that is evident in the political economy of the local state in all the largest urban regions in Canada. Unfortunately the presence of this internal rift and the part the province's play in its continuation hasn't been given enough attention The importance of this divide is all too apparent if the leading newspapers of Canada's largest cities are scanned. This division is a

fact of life that will have a great deal to do with how any regional plan is implemented, affecting where expenditures will be made by regional and provincial governments, as well as determining how local levies and taxes are assigned. More importantly this divide will influence how urban policy is formulated and implemented by the provincial government. From an institutional and cultural vantage point, this sub regional division is major fault line where some of the most important local conflicts and struggles over what the ultimate shape that a region will take.

To see this one only has to look at the perceptual schism that exists in Winnipeg between areas inside and outside the Perimeter Highway and the Floodway. In Toronto the same division exists. But here it is spoken of in terms of the the regions two telephone area codes. In this case there is a definite perceptual distinction between the space covered by area code 416 (i.e., Metro) and and area code 905 (ie., for the exurban regions that surround Metropolitan Toronto) This rift can be seen in the dispute over the pooling of resources which the Province of Ontario is now attempting between the new mega city of Toronto and its exurban environs as some exurban municipalities in Peel claim that their taxes will go up by $257 per household a year if this plan is followed and the $667 M in provincial grants given to municipalities is eliminated (See John Spears 1997; 1997a) on the issue of sharing new costs imposed on local government imposed by the provincial government and see Stein (1997a) for information on the benchmarking the province may used to control the expenditures of municipalities)

Or, finally, in Montreal. Once again the same divisions between insider and outsider exist between on and off island communities even though they are organically linked and belong to the same urban region . Now Robert Perreault has replaced Serge Menard as the new minister for Montreal and one of the major challenges he will face is the growing rift between on and off island municipalities. As in other jurisdictions exurban municipalities are not willing to share in regional costs unless forced to do so by the provinces - something which has already started with the offloading of $500 M in responsibilities by the province where the exurban localities have strongly opposed the greater burden put on them so as to level out the fiscal burden that now exists between the core and the periphery (Aubin 1997c).

11: Moreover, in the case of Vancouver, because this is a political and cultural chasm that exists at the sub-regional level in the mindset of planners, politicians, and citizens who may be trying to work within postmodern matrix where modern values still have a powerful grip over the regulation of space. While the postmodern spatial matrix may exert a hegemonic influence over planning and citizen's discourse in the City of Vancouver out in the far suburbs, in particular, postmodern precepts are still a relatively alien and new framework for looking at the production and regulation of urban space. While densification does exert a profound influence over these distant suburbs, except for some exurban areas, where an active an influential new middle class exist, in many of the outer suburbs the the postmodern spatial matrix for action and thought is still miniscule in its institutional effects upon the behaviour and thoughts of many of the decisions makers and consumers. So even in Greater Vancouver it is not really possible to talk about one seamlessly unified urban entity but one which splintered by a major spatial and cultural divide between the core areas of the region and periphery.

For example recently Larry Bourne and Olvet have used demographic shifts and changing cycles of economic development to construct a four stage periodization scheme for postwar urban development in Canada. Thus the period between 1945 and 1995 is divided into four phases with the first running from 1945 to the early 1970s which was defined by high population growth and high levels of immigration combined with strong expansion in the manufacturing sector. A second phase began in the 1970s, when manufacturing grew less rapidly but resource rents increased dramatically and internal population growth slowed down considerably. Thus B. C. and Alberta and smaller centres experienced more rapid growth at this time. According to the authors a third phase in the postwar development of the Canadian city commences in the early 1980s when resource rents decline, the service sector explodes and the

decentralization of the population comes to a halt. Finally after 1989 a fourth period has emerged, with the worst downturn since the depression created a new settlement pattern defined by relatively high level of immigration in relation to population growth within the country at a time with high unemployment and a great deal of economic instability which has produced a great deal of flux which does not allow any single single label to fully describe the outline of the current phase of development at this point in time. See L. S. Bourne and A. Olvet in a "New Urban and Regional Geographies in Canada 1986-91 And Beyond," Centre For Urban and Community Studies, Major Report #33, University of Toronto, July 1995.

12: Sorting observations and data on a variety of cities into these categories two broad patterns of development were found co-exist and structure the production of urban space. Preliminary observation also indicated that these two patterns of development were not evenly distributed across the country. To varying degrees one pattern of development was stronger in some cities and weaker in others. However, the newer pattern appeared to be strongest in the fastest growing cities while older patterns of development seemed stronger in slow growing or stagnant cities. In the most dynamic cities that had a large urban middle class a mode of urban development defined by a regime of accumulation marked by land intensive patterns of development and a mode of regulation that was guided by postmodern norms for the regulation of urban space was usually ascendant.

16: Evidence of densification is possible to gleam from statistics on new residential construction that show that the production of less dense housing (i.e., single detached dwelling units) only made up 41.7% of the 11,796 new urban housing units constructed between January and the end of June in 1997 (CMHC 1997f). This is considerably below the metropolitan average for Canada that stood at 49 percent between 1991 and 1996, it was way below the national average that hovered around 56%. With Greater Vancouver accounting for 61 % of all housing starts in B. C. only 31% of these units were made up of single detached units. Outside Vancouver the percentage ranged from 49% (of 646 units) in Victoria, to 69% (of 422 units in Nanaimo) to 62% (of 249 units in Prince George) to 59% (of 434 units) in Abbotsford, to 74% (of 241 units) in Chilliwack, to 62% (of 795 units) in Kelowna, to 44% (of 205 units) in Campbell River, to 68% (of 201 units) in Kamloops, to 51% (of 74 units) in Cranbrook, to 51% (of 122 units) in Quesnel, to 34% (of 102 units) in Salmon Arm, and 8% (of 131 units)in Squamish.

19: At one time these subsidies were hidden but this is quickly changing. For single detached dwelling units one only has to look at the steep rise in development cost levies in Vancouver and in many cities in Ontario to see that the level of subsidies is declining. For instance see Pitman (1997) where a software has been devised to show how automobile use is under priced and what measures can be taken to correct automobile subsidies such as linking insurance to distances traveled.

And if amendments are made to local taxation regimes this will become even more so as tax rates for commercial and industrial and perhaps apartment units are altered and residential land uses are forced to take up a larger proportion of the local tax load. The same thing has appeared with regard to the automobile. In Vancouver the province has put special hydro and gas levies in place to pay for public transit. But as Ian Fisher, President of Transport 2000 BC. notes, despite these levies the automobile is still being heavily subsidized. Pointing to the Peat Marwick study which was done for the Greater Vancouver Regional District in 1993, that found motorists are still being subsidized to the tune of $867 a year - Mr. Fisher also refers to a 1994 study conducted by the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress where it was found that U.S. motorists were being subsidized by the equivalent of $3.39 to $6.81 per gallon or the equivalent of between $1.24 to $2.50 a liter in Canadian dollars (See West End Times September 5,1997,p.5).

In Vancouver, if the Transport 2021 Transportation is fully implemented there will be a dramatic increase in charges to automobile travel, with some of the money generated from

these charges going into the provision of transit infrastructure. Ten years after the LRT and other systems were introduced there has been a significant change in modal split. For example the percentage of commuters using transit going into the downtown has moved from 26,6 to 35.4 according to a recent GVRD Study(CV-329). With the addition of the Seabus the percentage of transit commuters has increased from 13.3% to 15.7% and Surrey/North Delta has increased from 7.1% to 15.0%. The has even happened where fast buses mimicking light rapid transit has been introduced. For example the Broadway B Line which will be the precursor to the LRT system which construction is expected to begin on in 1988 has already reached a ridership level of 12,000 four months earlier than expected. When the LRT system is built it is expected that the province will pay $800M and the local municipalities where it runs through will pay part of the additional $300M that will be needed (Applebe,1997,September 7th, p.7). Interestingly enough in areas not served by new infrastructure the modal split in favour of transit has fallen. For example in Richmond it fell from 9.7% to 6.3% between 1985 and 1996- so the introduction of a B line system to Richmond soon may turn this around if the experience along the Broadway corridor is repeatable. Meanwhile the length of the average commute has remained the same - at around 14 kilometers but the amount of time to complete this commute has risen dramatically- going from 19.5 minutes to 26.5 minutes, as planners estimate that 500,000 trips are made on weekdays between 6 AM. and 9 A.M. - of which 275,000 are made by drivers, 100,000 by passengers, 55,000 by transit and 70,000 by walking or cycling. However since 1985 the car occupancy has declined from about 1.5 persons in each car to 1.2 which doesn't bode well for the $400M HOV system planned for Vancouver.

The problem of funding new transit infrastructure even exists in Alberta where the provincial government now has huge surpluses. Both Calgary and Edmonton have prepared reports for the growth summit to be held at the September (1977) which detail their needs if growth is to be maintained. Since provincial grants to Calgary dropped by 60% or $85 million between 1985 and 1997 - from $142M to about $57M.

As a consequence the ability of the city to raise the $2.8B needed to maintain and service expansion expected by 2024 will be restricted. The city has calculated that it will cost $40 a year to service new development above the level of funding it currently uses and that there will be a $35 million a year shortfall in maintenance if more revenue is not raised. Over the past three years the per capita expenditure of the city has declined by 7% - from $1.164 to $1,007. For this reason the city is asking the province to consider new revenue sources. These might be tolls, a sales tax, gas tax or the ability to levy more development fees for capital construction as cities in other provinces now do.(See Ron Collins, "Calgary's the engine behind Alberta's growth" in the Calgary Herald September 22,1997).

Similarly in a 20 page report entitled Smart City/Smart Priorities a more auto oriented infrastructure plan has been presented to the city. In the report the city asks the province for $1.6B over the next ten years to repair and expand the road system, with a modest $100 M set aside for two buslanes - one to the south of the University of Alberta and the other to the West -from the downtown - a system which might eventually be upgraded to light transit at a cost of $900M some time in the future - with over $320 million budgeted for road expansion and upgrading over the next ten years (See "City asking for 1.6B in the Edmonton Journal September 18,1997).

20: Indeed, in Canada industrial space amounts to about 1.2 billion square feet of space. Toronto has the largest concentration of this space. Last year 2.5 million square feet was constructed in Toronto, representing less than one per cent of the 632 million square feet of the total inventory. Currently there is a national vacancy rate of 6.3 percent that has fallen by one per cent over the past half year resulting in the absorption of 10 million square feet according to a new survey by Royal Le Page Commercial Inc. There are even shortages of large spaces in Montreal for businesses looking to lease 35 to 100,000 square feet of quality space. In Vancouver, again the presence of densification not only affects residential space but also affects industrial space. This along with low interest rates has encouraged many companies to buy rather than lease

industrial space. The shortage of land and adequate space in existing buildings may even soon result in the demolition and reconstruction of a significant amount of the existing industrial inventory in the Greater Vancouver area. So even though most of the space contained in the city is made up of residential space, these numbers show there is a significant amount of space not included in this analysis that deserves some attention when looking at densification and postmodern regulation but is beyond the scope of this project.

Vacancy rates cited in the study were Vancouver 3.8% to 4.0% from year end 1991 to mid year 1997. The rate for Edmonton was 6.1% and 6.0%; Calgary 4.4% to 3.4%; Regina, 9.7% to 9.8%; Winnipeg 4.7% to 3.7% Toronto, 6,7% to 6.1%; Ottawa, 9.1% to 10.5%; Montreal, 9.3% to 8.8%. While the national industrial vacancy rate fell from 7.3% to 6.3% in this period the national office vacancy rate fell from 13.2% to 11.9%, with Calgary's office vacancy falling from 9.7% to 7.6% and Vancouver's dropping from 7% to 5.4% according to the Royal LePage study. (See Zehr,1997c; VS-220). Furthermore, for a recent overview of the literature on industrial location and the geography of production in the city see Roger Hayter (1997) "The Dynamics of Industrial Location: The Factory, The Firm and The Production System.

Addendum: Statistic supplied by Royal LePage in Canadian Industry Property Guide Quarterly Edition Circa December 1995 - in section Canadian City Editorials: Montreal has about 300-million square feet and amount of vacant space down to 27.5-million square feet or a vacancy rate of about 9.6% - Vancouver has about 134-million square feet - as land rezoned on Burrard peninsula industrial land is moving into the valley - in 1995 Delta and Surrey hot spots with 807,000 sq. ft. and 650,000 sq. ft. of new space constructed - most expensive land in the country with prices ranging from $250,000 to $1-million per acre, absorption of space in 1995 about 2.5-million square feet -Regina - 14.4-million square feet inventory - land prices $50,000 to $90,000 per acre - Ottawa - but particularly Kanata - large amount of growth - location of largest high-tech export engine in country with exports from Kanata amounting to $3-billion - Calgary absorption of 1.2-million square feet - price of land $35,000 to $60,000 unserviced industrial land to $115,000 to $185,00 for serviced land. In Colliers website 1997 Canada - for Toronto the real estate firm stated that in 1996 there was 597-million square feet of industrial space in the Greater Toronto Area and the absorption rate in 1998 was 8.1-million square feet - prices for land listed in Royal LePage Web site were $150,00 to $250,000 in the western part of the GTA and $190 to $325 in the central area, $175,000 to $350,000 per acre in the north and $100 to $150,000 in the east.

Chapter Two : Regulation Theory and Urban Political Economy

1: All the four approaches to urban transformation outlined by Warde and Savage (1993) contrast with post-industrial approaches to the study of the city, which is the dominant framework for looking at urban change in the mainstream literature.

The contrasts can be organized into four sets of opposing attributes. They can be summarized as follows. Whereas urban political economy starts with the notion of uneven development post-industrial theories tend to view change as a uniform process of change marked by the gradual diffusion of innovations that results in incremental rather than catastrophic change taking place. Secondly, because of the focus on uneven development in urban political economy conflict rather than consensus or harmony is given a higher profile in explanations of change. Thirdly, whereas most post-industrial theorization's of change tend to discount the class, the emphasis put on uneven development in urban political economy has tended emphasize the importance of class issues in the process of change because of the uneven social distribution of the positive and negative externalities effected by change. Finally, recognition of uneven development, the class effects associated with this uneven development and the conflict engendered from out of the struggle between different groups that have opposing interest's leads to the fourth point to be made, and that is the probablistic interpretation of change taken up by political economy and the more deterministic explanations of change advanced by most post-industrial conceptualizations of change. For this reason political economy has a greater capacity to provide us with a more open ended account of change. By contrast, in most post-industrial conceptions of change social and physical transformation is often viewed as an immanent metaphysical force unfolding in a pre-determined direction where there is little room for agents to have an effect upon change or alter the structures that define them.

However, despite this common focus on uneven development, conflict, class, and fluid determinations about the direction of change, the fact that Savage and Warde are also able to identify four different approaches to the subject of urban transformation tells us that all the interpretations of change supplied by urban political economy are not the same. Despite their common philosophic grounding at least four distinctive schools have emerged which can now be briefly summarized.

Citing the work of Feagin (1987) Savage ad Warde describe how one line of thought about urban transformation has grown around the notion of the new international division of labour. For instance, by looking at the situation of a city in the evolving international division of labour a framework for explaining the process of urban de-industrialization is provided. This provides considerable insight into why various cities are moving in different directions. Although Savage and Warde do not mention the work on world cities (Friedmann 1986; Cheshire 1990; King 1990) that has developed, this literature could probably be slotted under into this approach.

Unlike the first approach, which focuses upon the reconstitution of the labour force, the second approach that Savage and Warde refer more to the influence of capital. Here the key proponent of this approach cited by Savage and Warde is David Harvey. Although they are not mentioned by Savage and Warde, the work on suburbanization undertaken by Richard Walker (1981) and Neil Smith's work on gentrification (1984) could also be included under the cover of the accumulation approach to urban change that Savage and Warde seem to attribute solely to David Harvey in their overview.

The third approach identified by Savage and Warde brings the focus back to labour. However, this time the research limits are set by focus upon the uneven division of labour at the national and regional scale rather than international level. This then becomes the basis for examining how the uneven constitutions of urban-centred regional labour markets create different economic and political trajectories for the evolution of each city. Savage and

Warde cite Doreen Massey's (1984) work on the division of labour as one example of this approach. With the growth of locality studies her work also overlaps a great deal with what is being done here (Cook 1989).

Moving to the fourth approach, Savage and Warde identify Regulation School theory as a separate and distinct field of inquiry. Since Regulation theory will be dealt with at greater length in the next section no more need to be said about it at this moment. However a few concluding remarks on the limitations of Savage and Warde's survey of the literature and a few remarks of some of the criticisms that have been made about urban political economy are in order. Except for the early work of David Harvey much of the work on urban restructuring referred to by Savage and Warde transcends the conceptual space within political economy that will be explored in this study because it is pitched to the scale of the region and to the production of producer spaces which is one level above what has been described as the urban level for the purpose of this study and includes a sector which will not be examined since the relations that will be looked at concern consumption and reproduction. Because of this emphasis on production much of the research on urban transformation has really been about what has been going on in the sphere of production rather than the sphere of reproduction. For this reason a great deal of this analysis has been cast at the level of the urban region, where the spaces of production occupy a more strategic place in the study of space, whereas the main focus of inquiry in this study will be the spaces of reproduction that come into clear er focus when the analysis is pitched below the region to the urban level proper, where the spaces of reproduction emerge become the dominant space. Since the primary focus for this study is the production and regulation of the spaces of reproduction many of the approaches to urban transformation cited Savage and Warde overlap with the approach that will be taken here but are not necessarily identical with the specific urban problematic which will be the subject of this study.

This becomes obvious whenever we descend below the level of the urban region and look at the urban level proper for it is at this level that the spaces of reproduction become overwhelmingly pervasive. As well, it is at this level that the activities of the local state come into forefront and act, to a certain exert, as an independent and autonomous influence on the regulation and production of space. This becomes more apparent if the spaces of reproduction are sub-divided into their more recognizable empirical components and then examined. For here it is the production and regulation of residential, retail and leisure spaces rather than industrial spaces that the local state has the most control over. As a result this is the domain where agents who work within the sphere of the local state have the most autonomy. So it is the transformation of these spaces of reproduction and consumption rather than the creation of new industrial complexes in the city or the restructuring of the economic base of the city that will be the central object of research in this study.

In addition, much of this work on urban transformation has tended to concentrate on inter-urban relations rather than the intra-urban relations that are most directly responsible for the regulation and physical production of urban space. Another weakness in the literature on urban transformation which Savage and Warde (1993) as well as Gottdiener (1985) and Saunders (1981) have commented upon is the economism which they feel is present in urban political economy. As well, urban political economy has also been criticized for ignoring the role that the state plays in the urbanization process. As will now be shown, Regulation constructs provide a remedy for many of the gaps, omission and deficiencies which have just mentioned.

2: The reconstitution of the working class can be seen in the new emphasis being placed on the unionization of the service sector. A good example of this is the recent certification of several Starbucks (a coffee Chain based in Seattle) in Vancouver recently. This new aggressiveness has spawned what some labour economists call a third wave of unionization especially among young workers in the service sector like Starbucks.

According to John Fryer a visiting industrial relations professor at the University of Victoria this new movement among young service workers may represent the third major wave of unionization this century. There was the movement of the 30s/40s (private sector - fordism)

and the 60/70s (public service) and now in the late 1990s this new and younger generation of often well educated and under-employed people. To professor Fryer in this new unionization we are simply reliving history. One case in point in Wynne Hartviksen, 25, who was until quite recently anti-union but now is leading the fight to have a union established at a business called Black Photo based in Markham. Then there is Steven Emery who is leading the fight to unionize Starbucks Stores. But to many the really important symbolic battle will be the struggle to unionize McDonalds. Several attempts have been made to unionize the world's largest fast food operator, with the Teamsters Union now involved in this project. Again, to professor Fryer this is simply the operation of simple pragmatism and so the need to get higher wages and more weight in the decision making process. So far nine Starbucks locations have now been certified so this shows that this may be an important new trend.

Because of the growing part time labour force there is also increased discussion about developing unions more along European lines workers belong to just one untion while paying dues and exacting benefits although they may be engaged in a series of short term contract jobs.

According too Anne Forrest , an associate professor in business administration, another problem to be resolved will revolves around a generation gap of sorts. Because of the sluggish economy and firings few new union workers have been hired and so there may be a reaction by younger workers against the seniority system. Thus, Waiting your turn doesn't seem to work in today's volatile economy (See Susan Bourette 1997).

10: In addition to the material parameter which shape urban development, how these four agents perceive space also plays a role in setting up opportunities for action or foreclosing upon them.

Because regulation constructs pay attention to this it is a framework which allows for a more nuanced and detailed interpretation of the production of space. Because of the importance assigned to the mediating role of the local state and the influence of culture and politics the production of space can not simply be subsumed by making reference to one economic logic or by reducing everything to the effects of the diffusion of new technologies. Here regulation constructs can be used to created a space for the transformative effects of non economic factors. When looking at telecommunications and their impact upon the city, Stephen Graham (1997) makes much the same case when he debunks four myths about the impact of technology on the city noting how the myth of technological determinism, the myth of urban dissolution, that of universal access to technologies and the overplaying of the substitution effect of transport by telecommunications has produced a distorted view of the dynamic of urban transformation.

Lastly, another noteworthy feature of regulation theory is the emphasis which is put on articulation. By acknowledging that the linkages between a regime of accumulation and a specific mode of regulation do not occur automatically, Regulation theory provides more room for the consideration of the asymmetrical and contingent aspects of change. So even when powerful transforming impulses are in operation there can still be considerable variation in the outcomes which are possible. Again this provides another perch to further study how the unevenness is built into the process of change and transformation.

Addendum: In terms of truth Tests that William Dunn lists, for example, casual, quasi casual, typological, representational, analogical, interpretative, comparative, etc., the status of mode of urban development would and postmodernism would be typological although their is a quasi casual link that is made between the modernization process and the mode of urban development through the affect that economic and political processes have on the way a regime of accumulation and mode of regulation is shaped (see William Dunn's essay "Policy Reforms as Arguments, in *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1993, edited by Frank Fischer and John Forrester.

11: When the literature is examined references to the city appear at each level of analysis to which Regulation theory has been pitched, appearing at the global, national and regional geographic scales but not often below this level, until recently. Thus references to the city can be found in studies that use regulation terminology which have been pitched at a global level.

This can be seen in some of the literature on world cities which uses Regulation terminology (eg. Sassen, 1991). Similarly many references to the city appear when the level of analysis has been pitched to level of the nation state, with the most well known and likely the most influential example of this being the analysis of the evolution of the U.S. economy which was carried out in the inaugural publication for Regulation theory in the English language which occurred with publication of Aglietta's (1979) book *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The U.S. Experience.*

In A *Theory of Capitalist Regulation* it is interesting to note that the production of urban space is given considerable attention in this account of the evolution of American capitalism. Even though the typology which Aglietta uses to periodize American capitalism is based on the examination of the evolution of the relationship that capital has to labour, there are still extensive references made to the production of urban space when Algietta writes about the production of suburban space and its tie into the Fordist regime of accumulation which dominated the economy of postwar America. However, even though Aglietta devotes a fair amount of space to urban phenomenon, the urban questions posed by Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey on matters having to do with the production of space, the politics of the local state or the struggle over collective consumption, are clearly absent from his discussion. Instead of urban space being the focus of his analysis, it is treated as a secondary phenomenon, which is only made reference to in order to illustrate certain aspects of consumption which figure in a typology that is focussed on the relation between labour and capital rather than capital and land. As Consequence, for Aglietta the city is used as a mirror to illustrate one of the effects of a specific pattern of labour organization and consumption, in this case a regime of intensive accumulation with mass consumption. With the basic orientation directed towards processes emanating in the sphere of production no recognition of the autonomous effects that are produced at the urban level or within the local state are recognized.

While Aglietta makes reference to urban phenomenon in context to a macro level study of American capitalism that is pitched at the scale of operation of the nation state; since the early 1980s others have used Regulation concepts to examination production processes operating at a lower scale of geographic resolution which has given the city a much higher empirical profile in the work which has been done (Esser and Hirsch 1994; Harvey, 1994). Hence, the research which has been cast at the level of the urban centred region is now one of the most active areas for the application of regulation concepts. As a result, when the analysis of the economy is pitched to the regional level the number of references to the city increases significantly. Much of this work has been done by geographers, such as Storper (1994), Scott (1989), Soja (1989). In Canada, for instance Meric Gertler (1988) has applied these concepts to the study of the Toronto urban region.

However, until recently, very little work relating to the city has been carried out at the sub-regional level, at the level which we have defined as being within the field of the Local State. So far, only some tentative moves have been taken to apply regulation theory to processes operating lower down the geographic scale, in the theoretical space occupied by urban phenomenon, where the spaces of reproduction rather than production are more important. However, this is beginning to change (Goodwin et al. 1993). As a result, regulation constructs are beginning to be applied to research which is now being done on local political and consumer cultures, helping researchers to look at how these cultures react to and modify broader based and more deeply embedded structural processes that are connected to the process of capital accumulation (Mayer 1994; Featherstone 1994; Christopherson 1994; David Harvey,1994). Thus the production of urban producer spaces, that function at the regional, national and international levels, are now being connected to and linked to the production of the spaces of consumption and reproduction which operate at the urban level, primarily functioning lower down on the geographic scale. Therefore, in the recent work of Esser and Hirsch, (1989), Florida and Jonas (1991), Fujita (1991); Gaffikin and Warf (1993), Goodwin, Duncan and Halford (1993) it is possible to see how interest in the mode of regulation has generated research cast specifically at the urban level. With the recent work of Chouinard (1990), a similar research trend can also be detected in Canada, as well. Still the bias towards producer rather than

consumer relations persists, as does the focus on the nation state or the region, rather than the city in regulation theory.

With more attention now being paid to the mode of regulation this is beginning to change as the range of issues and analysis pitched towards a geographic scale more in keeping with the study of urban phenomenon has been enhanced within regulation theory. Another interesting feature about regulation theory is that some theorists such as Allen Scott and others are beginning to look at how the various levels of analysis can be interconnected to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the evolution of our cities which tries to connect the production of producer spaces and the spaces of reproduction in the city within one framework (Scott 1988). In this way it is possible to nest the study of the city in a larger and more comprehensive explanatory framework which ties the study of urban phenomenon into the operation of much larger scale macro processes that function at a global level or at the level of the nation state. This has made it easier to use Regulation constructs in making comparisons between cities as well as the urbanization process in various countries.

For example, if urbanization patterns in Britain (Hall 1991, pp.304-18; King 1990, Ambrose, 1994; Bourne 1975), Japan (Economist 1987; 1988; 1993), the United States (Walker 1981; Goldberg 1986) and Australia (Babcock 1984; Bourne 1975) are compared, links between different patterns of urban development can be correlated to the dominant accumulation patterns in each of these countries can be made. For instance, the macro economic pattern for accumulation that frame the urbanization process in North America has been one defined by intensive accumulation with mass consumption. As Aglietta and others have remarked, this is the macro economic pattern that established the underlying context for the suburbanization of the North American city. In Japan, by contrast, because, until recently, the dominant regime of accumulation was defined by Intensive accumulation without mass consumption. Because of this variation a different urban geography was created (since the consumer goods industry and the production of the spaces of reproduction were subordinated to the needs of production (Rimmer 1986). While the spaces of production in Japanese cities have been continually modernized, consumer spaces in the Japanese city still remained organized along archaic pre-war lines (Economist 1987; 1989;1 993). Similarly, in lesser developed countries correlations between national regimes of accumulation and patterns of urban development can be observed, be it in Eastern Europe (Musil 1980; Rugg 1985; Forbes and Thrift 1987; Sykora 1994; Kovacs 1994) where the introduction of capitalist regimes should produce a unique and interesting hybrid pattern of urban development in the near future, or in Latin America, where the semi-peripheral status of the economy and its own unique political evolution have set the conditions for a distinctive kind of urbanization (Roberts 1978).

17: The four characteristics which separate the way political economy and mainstream sociological notions that prevail in most conceptualizations of change start with the fact that post-industrial theories that inform most mainstream theorizations are rooted in a conservative perspective on change which is over 200 years old. Industrial-theory and post-industrial theory have their origins in counter-revolutionary doctrines of change that emerged after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The technocratic and metaphysical view of change which came out of the theories of Comte and Saint Simon are still mirrored in most contemporary mainstream versions of social change. Paradoxically, this is a theory of change that seeks to do the impossible, as it has always sought to preserve order while fostering change. Hence change is viewed as being a uniform and incremental, following an evolutionary rather than revolutionary route. This is in contrast to political economy, which puts more emphasis on the uneven and revolutionary nature of change. More attention is therefore given to the conditional nature of all change. Implicitly space rather than time is acknowledged because it is the context provided by concrete social formations that establish the basis for change and the direction it will take.

This initial difference in orientation feeds into other contrasts that exist between political economy and the sociological accounts of the post-industrial city. For example, rather

than focusing on harmony and order as does the mainstream sociological literature on urban change, the second characteristic which sets political economy apart from mainstream sociology is the emphasis that is put on conflict. In turn, this leads to the third point, which focuses on class. Because change is uneven, political economy pays more attention to the distributional outcomes of social change (Deane 1989). Fourthly, the effect of agency on the process of social change is not ignored in political economy as it has been in most mainstream sociology.

Chapter Three: Densification

5: Because of declining birth rates the impact of demographics would become much more uneven when the second wave of densification started in the mid 1980s. Thus Jean Dumas and Alain Belanger, in a report for statistics Canada noted that in 1995 the natural birth rate in Canada hit a new low of 12.8 births for every 1,000 people, with only 378,000 births recorded in the country. So for B.C. which gained the most population in 1995, with a gain of 26.1 people per thousand, most of this was accomplished was the result of migration (Mitchell 1997).

(Also of note: Interestingly enough in the report entitled the Demographic Situation in Canada 1996, also note the dramatic increase in common law relations, no longer confined to the lower classes but has been taken up by all classes - for example in Quebec they make up 25 percent of all couples and in Canada 14 percent and for Quebecers under 30 common law relations make up 64 percent of all couples with the rate in Canada for the same age group standing at 42 percent - See-"Common - law gains cachet," by Alnna Mitchell in The Globe and Mail March 26,1997).

6: Whether a new wave does take shape will depend on the degree of house inflation in the next cycle as property values are already beginning a steep ascent in Toronto. For example as of August, of 1997, the number of resale homes has gone up for 18 consecutive months. The production of housing has also increased dramatically and price levels have started to rise significantly after years of stagnation and decline. In July of 1997 average prices were up to $213,634 and projections show that there will likely be a 7 or 8 percent increase in 1998 which will means that the average selling price will top $230.000 in 1998 (Wong September 4,1997). Now the most recent forecasts released by CMHC show that 37,000 dwelling units may be constructed in the Greater Toronto Area during 1987.

7: From January to June the production of new housing units were as follows (SC-35): 62% of all dwelling units in Canada were accounted for by single detached dwellings. This fell to 56.6 for all Census metropolitan areas (or 30,904 of 53,721 units). For Greater Toronto the percentage was 52.6% (or 7,304 of 13,862 units); in Ottawa it was 55.7% (or 1,003 of 1,800 units); in Montreal it was 53.4 (or 3,613 of 6,756 units); in Winnipeg it was 67.9% (or 852 of 1,077) ; in Vancouver it was 31% (or 2,592 of 8,339 units), in Calgary it was it was 80% (or 4,494 of 5,629 units) and in Victoria it was 53.6 percent (or 349 of 650 units).

Although the proportion of single detached units has moved up in the first half of 1997 it remains to be seen what the year end totals will reveal, especially in Ontario, and what will happen next year if the housing boom continues as the full impact of provincial downloading should begin to fully impact on the production of new housing. Even so, if figures are disaggregated for the Greater Toronto Area Metro Toronto, which, if it were sliced off from the rest of the GTA would, by itself, constitute the fourth largest housing market in the country in terms of new construction and if we look at at the level of densification here construction figures show that it is even more intense than in Greater Vancouver with only 13.5% of the units in the first half of 1997 made up single detached units (or approximately 550 of 4,000 housing starts) (SC-35). Conversely if we then look at the Exurban market of the GTA it would constitute the largest housing market in the country in terms of new residential construction, but here the percentages are reversed, with 68.9 percent of all dwelling units made up of single detached dwelling (or 6,753 of 9,792 units). On smaller scale this bimodal pattern exists in Montreal as well with single detached units accounting for 62 percent of all housing units constructed in the first half of 1997 (or 3,488 of 5,625 units). This is significant for whereas as Metro Toronto accounts for about 30% of the housing production and makes up half the population of the GTA the City of Montreal only accounts for 11.5 percent of the production of new housing while it

makes up a third of the population, indicating that land extensive pattern are more pervasive in Montreal because the impact of densification is not as strong or as extensive as it is in Montreal.

In other countries where densification has become emergent or ascendant bi-modal regional patterns have appeared. In the United States San Francisco (refer to discussion in condusion and later comparison made between Seattle and Vancouver) would probably be the best example of this while in Australia, Sydney (Abelson 1997) would probably be the best example of this. In the case of Sydney this has been reflected in changes in the price gradient for housing between 1931 and 1989. Between 1931 and 1968 the gradient flattened, suggesting the predominance of land extensive development. However between 1968 and 1989 the gradient steepened, suggesting the emergence of land intensive development patterns in the Core of the region and the maintenance of land extensive development on the periphery. While land values in most inner city neighbourhoods rose by less than 200 percent between 1931 and 1968 in comparison to increases of 500 to 900% plus in the periphery ; between 1968 and 1989 this was reversed to some extent as densification became an emergent phenomenon. With the medium price for housing in many of the inner neighbourhoods of Sydney over $300.000 and most of the rest between$181 and$3000,000 in the inner suburbs, these prices are far above the $100,000 to $130,000 median values recorded in the vast exurban territories that surround the core of the region, while inner city prices rose by over 100 % between 1977 and 1989 housing increases in the exurban parts of the region only rose 40 to 60%, with some outer suburbs experiencing gains that were under 40 %.

8: High land prices are forcing people to move up island to Courtenay, Comox and Duncan. With Victoria having the the second highest housing prices in the country ($233,000 for an average single detached dwelling unit versus an average of $515,000 in April 1997 and a medium value of $398,000 in Vancouver (CMHC 1997a) and development cost charges of 20,000 in places like Nanamio the densification ratio in even these smaller places is very high. A few years ago the number of units in Greater Victoria averaged over 3,000 but now has settled around 1,500. It is expected that production will now be around 1,500 units a year and that most units will be condos or single detached dwellings, with 15,000 new homes expected to be constructed mostly in the western communities of Greater Victoria such as Langford, View Royal, Colwood etc..

According to B.C. Stats the island population is expected to increase from the current level which is now between 650,00 and 700,000, to nearly a million by 2021 as 221,000 more people are predicted to live mostly in the corridor from Victorian to Comox. Compared to the lower mainland single level ranchers, attached or detached houses are more popular because of the older market that exists here in comparison to the lower mainland where two-storey multi unit dwellings are more popular (VS-198).

9: In Vancouver this has already happened to a certain extent with regard to industrial, office and reisidential land uses. As some have resisted moving to Vancouver or moved out because of the high cost of accommodation. In the office sector the lack of cheap space has meant that other cities like Calgary have become more attractive headquarter centres, and that the suburbs have beome more inticing as office locations for more lower order offfice activities where more routine activies are carried out. Most interestingly perhaps high land prices have threatened the industrial and working class landscapes of the city, making it cheaper to re-located the production of standardized low tech goods to other cities as well as playing a role in the dissolution of previously existing intact working class communitieis which once dominated in the Eastern part of the Vancouver Region and even in parts of Richmond.

Some of these concerns were recently brought out into the open at forum organized by the Natiional Association of Industrial and Office Properties. When the most recent session was held in Vancouver concern was expressed about the lagging real estate market for industrial land in the area. Put simply- the product they were trying to sell- industrial land- was too expensive. Also because of government regulation it was getting harder to sell industrial land

for a profit - with a 15 to 20% return on cost setting the limit of viability for any project, Allan Gjernes of Greystones Properties commented. High tech companies in B.C. have responded to high prices by buying instead opf renting, constructing buidling to suite spaces. However this has lead to increasing vacancy rates for older industrieal spaces (See Anna Lilly in the July 8 1997 issue of Business in Vancouver).

10: Thus while residential development slowed down in most urban centres in the late 70s it continued to expand dramatically in Calgary and Edmonton because of the oil boom. Consequently the first first densification wave continued to surge ahead in these cities well into the early 80s whereas the cycle had already petered out in most other centres. Only in 1997 is the level of housing starts in Calgary likely to breach the 1989 record of 18,397 for resales as 21,000 are predicted for this year. Also, 7,500 new single detached units are predicted, eclipsing the previous record of 6,948 in 1981. As a result of the boom prices are starting to take off as resale values have climbed from $134,484 in 1996 and are projected to reach $147,000 if the current momentum is maintained (Zehr 1997b). Interestingly enought some of the highest increases are taking place in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement such as West Hillhurt where MLS price growth has been 18.7%, well above the expected average increase for the city as a whole (Hope 1997).

When the second wave took form in the mid 80s something similar happened if Toronto and Vancouver are compared. Whereas Toronto's participation in the second wave came to an end in 1989

In Vancouver the second wave has continued well into the mid 1990s, perhaps ending in 1994 when there was a sharp decline in new construction when housing starts fell from 20,473 to just over 13,000 in 1996.

With the beginning of an upsurge in residential development in Toronto (ie. see Globe and Mail March 19, 1997 "Revved-up house market puts agents in overdrive: pent-up demand helps fuel current boom, executive says," by Leonard Zehr) economic momentum for a third wave of densification may be building. Thus predictions of housing starts of up to 24,300 are predicted for 1997,a 28 per cent rise with condominium starts expected to rise by 40% -from 6.000 to 10,000. Furthermore there has been a dramatic increase in price of 9.1% to $216,905 which is 50% more than the usual rise in price for the first quarter. (See Zehr 1997b)

Meanwhile, Vancouver is still locked into the the cycle of investment which began with the second cycle. This can be seen by looking at residential investment in Canada since 1982 when residential investment bottomed out before a second cycle of investment began in the mid 80s. Thus from a low point of about 7.5--billion dollars in 1982 capital investment in new residential development peaked at around 22. 5 billion dollars in 1989 moving down thereafter to a low of about 13-billion dollars in new construction during 1995. Indications of a third cycle may be appearing in the rise in new construction again as investment in new construction is expected to be around 15-billion in 1997. Another indicator of densification is the amount of money spent on renovations. While a great deal of renovation can be considered maintenance which merely maintains the value and use of a dwelling unit this renovation can also be seen as part of the densification process if it increases the value of existing units. Thus it is also significant that renovation expenditures have increased steadily since 1982. Not only has there been less facilitation in expenditures on renovation when compared to new construction what is also significant to note is that renovation expenditures have outpaced investment in new construction every year since 1991 and that the gap has widened every year since that time. Whereas renovations accounted for about 16-billion dollars worth of investment in 1991 compared to about 15-billion for new construction, by 1997 projections show a huge gap has developed. Hence renovations in 1997 are expected to rise to 20-billion dollars and new construction is expected to only climb to 15-billion from about 14-billion in 1996 (Figures supplied in chart using CMHC figures in Real Estate Weekly (Maple Ridge & Pitt Meadows Edition March 28, 1997).

11: Percentage of dwelling units made up of single detached dwelling units

	1986	1995
Nation	57.5	56.2
N.S.	70.2	67.8
NB.	73.1	—
QUE	43.8	44.9
ON	57.4	57.0
MB	68.5	69.9
SK	76.9	72.5
AB	63.2	63.3
BC	62.5	55.2

Sources: SC-17, p.183/SC-8a, p. 7-17.

The figures above show the bifurcation which is taking place quite well. Although densification is still progressing, at the national level its momentum has slowed to crawl, as shown by the percentage of single detached dwelling units. Between 1986 and 1995 the number of single detached dwelling units only fell by 1.3 percent. However if we use provincial figures as surrogates for Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal two clearly divergent patterns become apparent. Thus the number of single detached units in B.C. fell by 7 percent. In line with the bifurcated pattern of development in Toronto and the slow down of the densification process the proportion of single detached dwellings only fell by .4 percent between 1986 and 1995. On the end of the spectrum we have Winnipeg and Montreal. Like Vancouver, but only with regard to land extensive development, the Manitoba figures show that Winnipeg stands out as the most extreme example of the resurgence of land extensive development that began in some places in the 1990s. Similarly, like Toronto, but only with regard to land-extensive development Montreal appears as weaker example of the same trend. Hence the proportion of single detached dwelling units rose by 1.4 percent and 1.1 in Manitoba and Quebec between 1986 and 1995.

Although Vancouver has usurped Toronto's role as the lead city in the densification process, if we look at an index of housing prices based upon 1981 prices between 1986 and 1989 market pressures favouring densification in Toronto were clearly much stronger than they were in Vancouver. While the average price for a home rose a 141.1% percent between 1986 and 1989, Toronto's rose 180.2%, compared to 127.1% in Vancouver. As well, during this time period housing values experience strong growth in Montreal and but Winnipeg tied with Regina, with the weakest price rise among Census Metropolitan Areas. Whereas house prices rose by 130.2 in Montreal they only rose by 106.9 %in Winnipeg (SC-9a, p.187).

12: In contrast to Winnipeg, where lower densities were produced as a result of dispersion; in Montreal much of the dedensification came about because of urban renewal and the demolition of an already dense urban fabric because of freeway construction and urban renewal projects. For example, in Winnipeg of the 8,268 homes built in the 14 municipalities which make up the Capital Region, only 5,554 were located in the City of Winnipeg. A study completed for the Institute of Urban Studies by Aaron James also found that between 1981 and 1991 the number of commuters from the exurban fringe had increased from 6,040 to 13,065. This trend continued into the 1990's(Winnipeg Real Estate News Sept. 19,1997, p.2) Whereas the population of the City of Winnipeg only increased by 3,000 between 1991 and 1996, exurban parts of the Census Metropolitan Area, which only take's in part of the capital region, increased by around 12,000 so it is quite probably that the level of commuting may now be approaching 20,000, since over the same time period the labour force became more concentrated in Winnipeg as employment grew from 336,400, in 1990 to 346,100 in 1996, climbing from 64.9% of the provincial labour force to 65.9% of the labour force. More ominously dispersion pressures are building so quickly that

the city is now worried about commercial and industrial land uses leaving the city, with the mayor calling for a regional zoning bylaw which would create a greenbelt (Winnipeg Free Press 1997 ; City of Winnipetg August 1997).

In this regard Winnipeg appears to be following New Brunswick - perhaps, becoming the only other province which is becoming more rural and less urban because of the uncontrolled expansion of urban sprawl (Forbes and Forrest 1997). For instance, in Frederiction, as with Winnipeg, within the city boundaries there is ample room for expansion, but between 1976 and 1996 the population of the Census Agglomeration area of Frederiction increased to 75,950 from 60,515 but 92% of this 17,435 increase occurred outside the city.

A great deal of this type of growth was arrested or slowed down through land use controls and a halt in freeway construction and the extension of other infrastructure in Vancouver and Toronto during the 1970's. Like Winnipeg Montreal continued to build expressways into the 70s in Montreal. Non existent before 1960, increased the number of expressway increased to 7 by 1976, counteracting much of the centripetal effect on development that was created by the commitment of $1.6-billion to the expansion of the subway system in 1975. In this regard Montreal occupies a position in between places like Winnipeg and Vancouver. Also much of the reduction in density and population dispersion has come about as a result of a modernization strategy that involved the clearance of some of some of the densest but poorest areas of Montreal, such as the South West quadrant, which lost nearly half of its population between 1961 and 1991 (See DeVerteuil 1993). So while Montreal was dispersing outwards like Winnipeg, its much denser core area was also being thinned out in many places.

For Montreal as with Winnipeg, but not Frederiction, not only has this dispersion been compounded by the polarization of development it has also been aggravated by the rapid descent of both cities, something that has become especially apparent in Montreal. For instance, this is revealed in employment statistics In a recent survey of 23 major cities in North America Montreal was found to have the highest unemployment.

Thus Montreal's was 11.9% versus 9.1, in Toronto; 8.2, in LA..; 8.1, in Vancouver; 7.9 in New York; 7.4 in Miami; 5.4 in San Diego; 4.3 in Detroit; 4.1 in Dallas, 3.8 in Washington; 3.7 in Atlanta; 3.5 in Phoenix and 2.8 in Minneapolis in the metropolitan areas. Making matters worse the City rather than region of Montreal had an unemployment rate of 17.3% and between 1995 and 1996 employment on the Island of Montreal shrank by 3.2 percent, with a job loss of 24,600 while off island areas employment grew by 32,000 or 4.2 percent (See Montreal Gazette June 12,1997," City seeks Analysis is a breadth of fresh air,").

14: Assessment values in the core of Winnipeg are falling and investment is petering out completely. For example for the first six months in 1997 only $351,000 in building permits were issued for single detached dwellings in the core; $19.5M in Assinaboia; $6.37 in Lord Selkirk/West Kildonan; $7.5M in East Kildonan/Transcona and $23M in Riel for a total investment of $56.8M in single detached dwelling for the first half of the year according the City of Winnipeg Land and Development Services Department. Total investment in the first half of 1997 was 8% over 1996 as the value of permits issued rose from $186.7M to $201.3M. Divided by area the rate of investment was as follows: City Centre 3.3 M in residential and 20.5M in non residential for a total of $23.5M- down 21% from 1996. Assinaboia had the highest investment with $65M - $25.5 in residential and $39.4 in non residential, up 3%; East Kildonan/Transcona residential $16.2M and non residential $16; Riel, $35.6 residential, $17.6 non residential for a total of $48.3M up 11%; Lord Selkirk/West Kildonan, residential $8M and non residential $18.1M.

The troubled state of Winnipeg core is also registered in declining assessment values. Between 1991 and 1995 the assessed value for the entire city only rose .33% from $22.7B to $22.8B. Meanwhile commercial property values in the downtown fell by 18.6%, according to Winnipeg's assessment department (Santin 1997aa)

The lack of investment becomes even more glaring if comparisons are made. While Vancouver's Downtown peninsula accounted for nearly 20% of the regions new dwelling starts,

with over 2,000 units begun in the first half of 1997; in Winnipeg, by contrast, only 4 out of 513 starts for single detached units were in the core zone, (i.e., : Fort Rouge - 0; Centennial - 0; Midland - 0; Lord Selkirk, 4 - that takes in some northern outer suburbs where these units were probably constructed) and these new units were probably in the outer suburbs which one of the core housing zones takes in. Whereas one core neighbourhood accounted for nearly 20% of all housing production in the first half of 1997 in Winnipeg the four large neighborhoods that encompass most of the core only accounted for .8% of all new single detached units that were constructed (CMHC 1997h, Winnipeg Housing Market Outlook Fall 1997).

15: For instance, a recent proposal to increase development charges by 75% in Coquitlam caused quite a stir amongst developers. As one newspaper account state's: "If the fees are not increased, according to city officials, Coquitlam taxpayers would be squeezed for an extra $20 million over the next 10 years to pay for parks and roads. And even with the additional fees, the city expected to fall short of its goal of expanding park land to keep pace with population (VS-161). This problem has become systemic across the country In Calgary, for example, a shortfall of $40M on servicing new development is expected if additional charges are not levied, which indicates the degree of subsidization given to land extensive development at the local level. Furthermore, up to $35M that the city does not have will be required each year to maintain existing infrastructure (See Ron Collins "Calgary's the engine behind Alberta's Growth, Calgary Herald September 22, 1997,p. A8). The same problem has appeared in Winnipeg with the Infrastructure Council of Manitoba estimating that deferred maintenance now exceeds $500M; meanwhile 18% of Winnipeg's budget is going to debt that largely involved new infrastructure to support land extensive development (City of Winnipeg 1995;1995). So even in cities with the most entrenched land extensive development fiscal limits are being reached which may soon counteract the land extensive development favoured by low densification ratio's or consumer preference.

That is why fiscal crisis likely to act as the wild card in the next cycle of urban expansion with regard to the further expansion of land extensive development. The fiscal plight of the city may begin, for the first time, force land extensive development to pay the for the full costs of its continued expansion.

In part this, this is also an issue with regard to land intensive development as well. Here the fiscal crises has revived the spectre of Henry George, the single tax advocate on land, who felt that all taxation should be derived from increased land values, which represents wealth created by the community rather than the individual. Echoes of this philosophy have surfaced in local deliberations on how to raise revenues. And it may be that some form taxation along these lines might become part of the regulatory apparatus that emerges to support land intensive rather than land extensive development. This has become more likely since the B.C. Government passed Bill 57, which gives municipalities the right to charge for bonus zoning. Also, both the City of Vancouver and the City of Surrey, the region's two largest municipalities are now considering ways of appropriating some of the increase in the value of land created by rezoning. For the most part the development industry has been violently opposed to any such measure. A good example of the sums that might be involved if this does come to pass was revealed in a recent controversy over the extension of a sewer line in to Cypress Bowl in the City of West Vancouver, as one landowner. Raymond Rodgers, demanded an extension as well, remarking that land in the same area that he now owns is only worth about $23,000; but if he was able to build a house because of the construction of sewer connection to his property, the value of his property would probably be around $2.5-million (VS-209).

In some places developers have begun to accept this new reality. For example, Mary Pynoburg, the Director of Planning for New Westminister have remarked that negotiations between developers and planners has become regularized and generally amicable. As she has stated "It's possible to come up with arrangements that are site-specific and amenable to both parties. The city should have a share in the windfall that developers reap from the added

value of properties that are rezoned," (See Valerie Gregory, "Plan to tax rezoning-based value increases under fire," in Business in Vancouver June 24, 1997,p.3).

17: For example in a new Ottawa-Carelton Regional plan now being considered the population is expected to increase by 300,000 in the billion dollars -from about 4 billion to 1.7 billion. Although developers and landowners will object to this planners hope to steer much more new development to within the Greenbelt (See Mohammed Adam 1997a)

In July 1997 this plan, the third, since the Ottawa-Carelton Regional government was created in 1969, was passed by the Regional council so it will be interesting to see how the struggles that will ensue between developers, citizens, politicians and planners over the plan show how influential this document will be in eventually shaping the built environment. In this regard the past provides small comfort. For instance, although the second regional plan was less than ten years it was amended 50 times.

While some features of this new two million dollar plan have been mentioned other highlights that can be briefly mentioned is that for the first time the urban boundary will not be expanded. As the reporter's state "The golden age of suburban sprawl is officially over. Get Ready for urban brawl," (Boswell and Dunley 1997). It is expected that 43 percent of the 156,000 new homes expected to be constructed by around 2021, 46 percent outside the green belt and 11 percent in rural areas.

Again there is a link between the densification that is proposed in the regional plan and extensions to Transitway (i.e., busway, the introduction of commuter rail and a pilot LRT project projected for the year 2000. As well buzz words like 'managed congestion' describe the change in engineering and roads standards that are expected to result in less maintenance and reduce standards to encourage the right amount of congestion for people to switch to transit. If the proposed goals are met, the percentage of the population using transit will rise from 15 to 20 percent. Car use will decline from 73 to 67 percent and cycling is expected to rise to 3 percent. At the same time one parkway extension and a number of ramps are proposed from existing expressways into neighourhoods so there may not be complete consistency on reducing auto dependency.

18: These charges vary from 8.7% in Yellowknife to 27.8% in Beauport, Quebec. In nominal dollars these charges amounted to $13,640 in St. John's, $14,557 (16%), in Halifax (16.2%), $5,486 in Mississauga, $21,014 (20.9%), in Regina, Calgary $15,003 (12.4), Edmonton, $17,935 (13.8%). And local charges vary from $1,341 in Yellowknife, to $11,850 in Kelowna, $12,518 in Sannich, $3,543 in Burnaby, $19,870 in Surrey, $23,355 in Vaughan, Ontario, $12,518 in Beauport, to $1,110 in Charlottetown as well as $16,740 in Winnipeg (14.3% of the cost of a typical home according to a study of 26 municipalities done by Greg Lampert called "Levies, Fees, Charges, Taxes, and Transaction Costs on New Housing, "and the Greater Vancouver Home Builders Association for single detached dwellings (Hope 1997a; VS-194). With the exception of Alberta this is likely to be the case. For example the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in a secret report indicates that properties will have to rise to make up impending shortfalls. And in BC. Municipalities have started to shift the fiscal burden from taxes to user fees (See "Municipalities shift burden from taxes to user fees," February 20, 1997, in the Vancouver Sun).

Hence, the provincial subsidies which allowed exurban Toronto to explode in the last housing boom in the late 1980s may therefore be curtailed in the next upturn which is now commencing even though planning controls which the previous NDP government put in place, to prevent this, have largely been abolished (See Jock Ferguson "Behind the Boom: The Story of York Region," in The Globe and Mail, October 26 to November 3rd, 1988. ,

In local areas, such as Surrey (VS 154a; VS-156a), Coquitlam (VS-161), and the District of North Vancouver the same scenario is unfolding with developers threatening to leave North Vancouver because of an increase in development charges, $7,044 for a single detached house, $5,979 for apartments and $4,312 for industrial and commercial development

(Vancouver Sun, North Vancouver to charge for building in developed areas, " by Brian Moore March 21,1997)). Meanwhile Surrey is now quarreling with the GVRD over the extension of water service to South Surrey because of the rapid pace of development allowed and in Langley the same thing has happened with a pro-development council, but this time the dispute has been with the provincial government which expects the local council to pay part of an overpass on 200th Street because it will be used by locals who have come to the area because of new development (VS-196).

19: For example in 1996 the regional government of Ottawa-Carelton approved a strategy to limit development outside the greenbelt. By the year 2022 72,000 more housing units are expected to be constructed, with about 70 percent or about 51,000 units projected to be in the core . A recent report listed how 1,793 units could be constructed on 96 pieces of vacant land; 38 sites that could be redeveloped, housing 20,323 and the remainder of between 17,103 to 37,530 coming from the development or redevelopment of land parcels smaller than 5 acres (See Angela Manglacassaie, "Core Wars in the urban core pay off?" in The Ottawa Citizen March 1,1997). However some critics of the plan counter that only about 55 percent of 40,000 are likely to be in the core area. Then in Montreal, during 1997 the minister responsible for Montreal, Serge Menard, announced that the Province of Quebec would no longer subsidize urban development outside an area designated as being the core of the city. Similarly with the adoption of GoPlan by the City of Calgary, in 1995, a weak bow to densification has been made here as well.

20: Besides the empirical reality of densification there is also a discourse on densification which has come into existence that has to be acknowledged. So even in places where densification is not yet an empirically significant it is still reshaping space. Moreover, it is becoming an important subject for discussion in contemporary public and professional discourse on the future of the city. Well known commentators such as Anthony Downs (1996) have been attracted to this subject and have dealt at length with the issue of densification in his work on creating a new vision for the American city. In Canada, the same interest can be seen in recent planning discourse. It has become an element in the advocacy of postmodern spatial norms, as can be seen in the interest shown in the new urbanism, and in the doctrines of sustainability (Wright 1996). It has also become a feature in almost any Official Community Plan adopted by a large city in Canada over the past ten years when a a survey of planning departments across Canada in the early 1990s was conducted (Isin 1993; 1996).

23: For instance, in 1964 there were fewer than 500 homeowners association involved in common interest housing. However this number increased to 10,000 in 1970 and by 1975 there were 20,000. This increased to 55,000 by 1980, and 130,000 by climbingf further to 150,000; governing by 1992. Altogether 32 million Americans lived in such associations in the early 1990's. By 1990 there 11.6 million CID (community interest developments) housing units making up 11 percent of the total housing stock. Fifty one per cent of these were made up of planned unit developments (gated communities) 42 percent condominiums and 7 percent housing cooperatives (New York units and housing built by Community Economic development Corporations) (See, Evan Mckenzie, Privatopia: Homeowners Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government, Yale University Press 1994, p.11).

(Note: While the percentage of strata title in Canada and the United States roughly equal each other further investigation would probably reveal that most strata title unit development in Canada is located in the core area of the urban region in contrast to the United States where the great majority are likely to be found in exurban areas).

26: An idea of how big this high tech zone can be gleamed by a recent report by a recently discussion paper by David Smith, former head of Queen's University, for the Ministry of Education for the Ontario Government who wrote that unlike Quebec, BC., and Alberta Ontario has not paid as rapid advances in the high tech area although it is the overwhelming leader

in this field is because the government has not devised a coherent strategy for its promotion and development.. More funding is needed and it is needed for the social sciences and humanities as well as the sciences. The report recommended an extra $100 million to upgrade research facilities, a four fold increase over current levels. Although Ontario has the most Research and Development intensive economy in the country, accounting for 51 percent of the $12-billion spent annually on research and development - with the largest component in exurban Toronto- which ranks 10th of 26 industrialized countries ahead of Norway, Italy, and Spain the share of research Moines from governments has fallen from 36 percent of the total to from about 42 percent in the early 1990s. Smith said especially that the base support needed to be strengthened and balance maintained between basic and applied research and between teaching and research oriented universities in terms of research, rejecting the notion that universities like Toronto or Queen's be given an edge - in an era of telecommunications the concentration of people in one place is no longer required to the same extent (See Lewington July 7,p. A3).

27: Thus extensive exurban and suburban high tech landscapes are beginning to grow up around Kitchner-Waterloo (Bathelt and Hecht,1990) and Ottawa (Steed and De Genova 1983) - even appearing in small cities such as Saskatoon, where, after its first twenty years, Innovation Place, located by the University of Saskatchewan, has 100 companies, employing 1,500 to 1,600 people (See Joanne Paulson, "Innovation Place Leading Saskatoon onto world stage, in The Star-Phoenix February 22, 1997). So far it is really only in Greater Toronto that a vast high-tech hinterland can be found on the periphery of the city. This shows up in a recent study by Ceh (1996, Table 4,p.332) who looked at high tech clusters in Canada. For example the proportion of inventions made in the outlying municipality of Mississauga, outside Toronto, increased from 3.13 percent of the national total in 1975 to 23.44 percent in 1993, taking this exurban community from 6th place to lst place.

Finally Ottawa is another very important centre for high technology that has emerged in Canada. For example the number of high-technology jobs jumped from 10,000 or 37% between 1991 and 1996. And with the jobs in Hull included this exceeds 41,000 or between 10 and 12 percent of the highly trained information technology workforce in Canada that now produces about 73-billion dollars worth of goods and services each year, in a city that only accounts for 3.3 percent of the country's population (See James Bagnall, "High-tech sector hums along nicely for region," in The Ottawa Journal, in The Ottawa Citizen, April 8, 1997). Moreover, just recently Nortel has announced that it will consolidate its research in Ottawa, hiring 5,000 additional employees to its 9,000 person workforce in the Western suburb of Neapan. Since 1988 research expenditures for Nortel have increased from around 600 million a year to about 1.8 billion dollars. Second in employment numbers among high tech companies in Ottawa is Newbridge Networks in Kanata, also on the West side of the region, with 2,600 employees, Digital, with 2,000, Mitel, 1,500 SHL, 1,200, Corel, 950, JDS Fitel, 700, Cognos, 660, Computing devices,660, Computing Devices 650, ISM Information Systems 600. Companies that started out from Nortel were Newbridge, JDs, Mitel, Corel, Mosaid, etc. (See Joanne Chialnello " The Impact will be enormous: Nortel's expansion will create thousands of spin off jobs," in The Ottawa Citizen June 7,1977.

Not surprisingly, Nortel, the second largest high tech company announced it was going to double by 2001 and add 4,000 jobs. By 2000 it will have constructed 1.8 million square feet of research and office space in Kanata Research Park that it owns. So far 8 affiliates have been spun off from Nortel so the high technology scene in Ottawa is very dynamic. In light of this expansion $8.8 M was spent on acquiring 180 acres for the future expansion of the park (See The Ottawa Journal July 12, 1997).

Not surprisingly, a recent Ontario report commissioned by the Ministry of Education note that 51 percent of all R+D of the $12-billion spent on this activity is carried out in Ontario making Ontario 10th in a ranking of 26 industrial countries. However research awards from the federal government have fallen from 36 percent of the total pie in the early 1990s to 42 percent

in the 1980s. The report also notes that R+D should not just be concentrated in a few select universities such as Queens or the University of Toronto (See Jennifer Lewington, "Ontario report calls for boost in R&D funding," in The Globe and Mail July 7,1997).

This is a far cry from BC. were only 3.7 billion in revenues were created in 1994 and only 32,000 were employed in the high tech sector in 1994 or 2% of total employment, with the largest company, BC. Systems Corporation, a crown corporation that mostly supplies in house information services to the province only employs 1,200 people (p.54). Similarly the total value of all R+D performed by all level of government in BC. was only $347. Only Victoria and Vancouver have self propelling high tech clusters and no private company employs over a 1,000 while only 3 employ over 500 (P.59). A Recent BC. Government report states that at least 3 companies employing over 1,000 people are needed and 10 with over 500 people and 100 companies with over 100 employees over the next ten years if the province is not to fall further behind. By comparison Intel in Oregon employs 8,000 and Microsoft employees to all software companies combined in BC. The first sector in B.C. is information technology - where 90% of revenues are produced in telecommunications, computer software and electronics, followed by Biotechnology then Pharmaceuticals and Aerospace. In total probably only around a billion dollars was spend on R and D in the high tech sector in BC. in 1994 - far less than just one company in Ottawa Nortel (See High Technology Industries in British Columbia: The Agenda for Growth, by the Science Council of British Columbia, November 1995.

Similarly a recent Survey by Business in Vancouver (BIV, 1997g) of the 50 fastest growing companies in BC. reveal the immature state of this sector in the local economy. Although 12 of the fastest growing companies between 1992 and 1996 were in the high tech sector and the rate of employment and revenue base increased a fast rate, the numbers total number of jobs and value added were very modest. Hence between 1992 and 1996 employment in these companies increased from 223 to 694 while revenues increased from about $18.6M to $138.9M. (From the List of B.C.'s fastest-growing companies - Business in Vancouver September 2nd, p.24).

(Interestingly after taking 13th place in 1975, Winnipeg falls off the scale by 1993. While Montreal does much better it still experienced significant relative decline, falling from second place in 1975 to fourth place by 1993 - See Ceh (1996, Table 4. Nonetheless Montreal remains a leader in Biotechnology and aerospace where it still rivals Toronto. Although only one of the four largest locally owned aerospace companies is headquarted in Montreal that is Bombardier, in 1996, its revenues were $3.75 -billion for aerospace sales - more than the combined revenues of the three other companies based in Toronto: The Magellan Company $350-million in sales in 1996; CAE Inc. $867 and Spar Aerospace, $538 (See Oliver Bertin 1977 "Deal creates areo heavyweight," in The Globe and Mail June 20, 1997)

British Columbia does not rank that high although it is a fast growing sector that accounted for 2.6% of the provincial GDP in 1995 versus 8.9% for forestry, 6.4% for health, 2.9% for mining and 2.3% for agriculture. Since 1992 it has grown by 12 percent a year and was worth 5.1 billion according to new statistics released in 1997 by the government and employed 41,130 (See William Boei, "Ministry effort irks high-tech industry chair," in the Vancouver Sun June 13,1997). According to the Science Council of B.C. "High Technology Industries in British Columbia: The Agenda for Growth, November 1995, it generated $3.7-billion in revenue and employed 32,000 people in 2,400 companies, with 83% based in the lower mainland and 10% in Victoria and over 95% of these companies employ less than 10 people. Also 90 percent of high tech revenues are in the "information technology sector, particularly telecommunications, computer software and electronics" (P.6).

As some of the previous figures show,Winnipeg's relative position in the high-technology sector has fallen significantly. However as with other sectors of Winnipeg the real surprise comes with what has been done informally. In the case of the high-technology field the big surprise would be the volunteer effort and local fundraising that lead to the creation of the St. Boniface Research Centre. This was a community venture that succeeded where formal ones had not. Because of this local community venture millions of dollars of research money are now attracted into the city which has fallen behind other cities in high technology. While the

formal government and business elite have failed to develop an entrepreneurial edge this has not been the case in the community sector. In Tourism it is Folklrama and the Folk festival not the formal marketing by Tourism Winnipeg that have been the big surprise in the tourist sector. In culture and civic profile it would be the Royal Winnipeg Ballet and not the transient and very costly presence of the Jets hockey club that really put the city on the map. The same even applies to urban renewal. While three costly tri-partite programs have been initiated for Winnipeg since the early 1980s - all these ventures have been abysmal failures. Since 1980 there have only been three success stories in urban renewal and all have been community lead or have occurred by accident as an aside of something else. The first success would be the creation of the country's first heritage park at The Forks, at the tail end of the second Winnipeg Core Area Initiatives; the second would be the creation of a thriving retail strip along Corydon Avenue by small business leaders in the Italian community and the third would be the creation of the St. Andrews Family Centre in the North End (PI-57 and St. Andrews Family Centre).

28: One of the main reasons for the difference in the size, complexity and composition of the high technology sector in Canada and United States has to do with Industrial-military complex. While shrinkage in this sector has hurt some American cities Montreal was the largest base for this activity in Canada. One result of the shrinkage of this $100-billion dollar market in the United States has been the consolidation of defense oriented companies. With the recent $11-billion merger of Lockheed and Northrop, the last big merger in this sector has probably taking place since there are now only two large players in the aircraft field. This new merger will encompasses 20 formerly independent companies with about $36-billion in annual sales, that invested between 2 and 2.5-billion dollars each year and employed 230,000 workers of whom 75,000 were scientists.

In Canada the headquarters of this company is in Montreal where 700 people are employed. here as well as in subsidiary locations in Halifax, Winnipeg, Kanata, Toronto, Victoria. Last year about 25% of Lockheed's orders came from outside the United States. The big prize Boeing and Lockheed are going after now is the $170-billion Joint Strike fighter.

31: The computer animation sector is one good example of this. In Vancouver, for instance, Mainframe Entertainment Inc. employs 170 people in a nine story office building in Downtown Vancouver in order to produce Reboot, a popular animated children's show for TV (VS-158). Then there is a proposal to use inner city industrial land to construct three movie studios and 400 Live/work studios on a 17 acre site put forward by the IBI group for Trillium Corporation, a demand which exists according to the proponents of the development since they claim that Vancouver is the largest metropolitan area used for making movies after LA., New York and that this activity locally employs 9,000 people (See Gold 1996a and also look at VS-173a for a look at similar developments in Yaletown) Also See VS-290 and appraisal of this industry now worth more than 500 million dollars which is concentrated in the core of the city.

Also in a recent article on Vancouver by Vivian Smith she noted that Vancouver has become a media centre that has become the third largest film production centre in North America, It has also developed significant human capital in this area, with the establishment of a well thought of Film school called the Vancouver Film School in the late 80s it now has nearly 2,000 students and a staff of 120, attracting many American students to study various aspects of animation and media production (Smith, 1997,p.42)

In the case of Toronto, the attraction to the inner city can also be seen in economic development initiatives in the Port Land area of Toronto (See Phinjo Gombu, in "Port lands are coming alive," in The Toronto Star, January 5, 1997). Indeed the importance of the high tech information sector can even be seen in smaller regional centres such as Halifax where the non traditional office tenants are increasingly taking up the slack of the languishing producer service in the downtown. For example in Purdy's Wharf, a two tower development with about 695,000 square feet, or approximately 18 percent of the city's office market information technology businesses have become the most dynamic part of the inner city market. Since 1994

the space leased by information technology tenants has increased by 150 percent and now makes up over 13 percent of the total leased space in this complex (See Merle Mac Issac (1997) in Canadian Business, March 1997, P. 19).

In Vancouver, the concentration of the information economy into the core is even generating significant displacement pressure as students and visitors may now be competing for rooming house accommodation in the core area (See VS-164). It also comes out in lists on high tech companies prepared on an annual basis by Business in Vancouver. In the case of the largest biotechnology firm's five of the top 15, as well as the biggest - QLT Photo/Therapeutics Incorporated, employing 110 employees - was located in the inner city and the next largest number at UBC, a satellite of the inner city (See Business in Vancouver July 29,1997,p.14)

For the United States see Clive Thompson, "Welcome to Silicon Alley", in Report On Business Magazine, March 1997, where the recent explosion in the high tech sector in New York City is connected to the integration of the culture sector to the high tech sector that is located in the inner city rather than the exurban periphery where the soft ware sector that is largely inner city based, employs 18,000 people in 700 companies within the Greater New York region.

In Montreal the same phenomenon can be seen where the information production and software ends having to do with news, education and entertainment have a note proclivity to locate in the downtown because of the attraction that this fraction of the high tech component of the new middle class has to these areas - areas there is a synergy between art, high technology and gentrification. For example, in Montreal, a good case in point would be a 55,000 sq. foot warehouse near the Lachine Canal at 10 Duke Street which has been refurbished for Discreet Logic " a world leader in digital video editing, production and effects software used in film and television production," (See Inderbir Riar, in The Globe and Mail, p. C7).

For a recent survey of the history and present state of the animation industry in Canada's three main centres see "An animated debate takes shape- Cartoons/ Canada has long been famous for producing superb animation. Now that it's a multimillion-dollar industry, however, the question is: Are we sacrificing creativity and experimentation for mainstream success," by Alexander Gill, in The Globe and Mail, p. C2. Here the high technology and bohemia and the artistic mindset overlap - as the reporter states, at Nelvanna, in Toronto, Canada's largest animation company was started by three hippies in 1971, becoming famous in the 1980's with the Care Bear series. It now produces about $58 M worth of animation a year in Canada and exports to 150 countries compared to only 25 to 50 companies for a live action movie. The other leading animation company is called Cinar Films Inc. and is located in Montreal.

32: Just as Canadians have developed internationally expertise in the redevelopment of inner cities Americans have developed international reputation's for the production of grand exurban spectacles. Not surprisingly this competence is now being exported to places like Latin America where theme parks, gated communities and shopping malls that mimic the American model is now sprouting all over Latin America. Also see Ada Louise Huxtable, who notes " Surrogate Experience and synthetic settings are now an acceptable, even preferred, way of American life," in "Living With the Fake, and Liking It," in The New York Times March 30,1997, Section 2, where structures such as New York, New York, a new hotel and casino in Las Vegas opened in January 1997 and City Walk in Universal Studios are discussed.

33: This has sapped much of the latent potential for the extensive development of such landscapes in Canada. The attraction of a warmer climate and the presence of mass attractions is one reason why Canada has always had a large trade deficit in tourism with the United States. The climatic factor is evident on a region by region basis in Canada with sub tropical or desert states usually coming in first or second places in terms of travel destinations for Canadian. Thus in Atlantic Canada the five most visited states were: Maine, Florida, MA, New Hampshire, New York; Quebec: Florida, New York, Vermont, South Carolina and North Carolina; Ontario: Florida, New York, Michigan, Georgia, Pennsylvania; Prairies: Nevada,

Montana, California, Arizona, Florida; BC: Washington, Nevada, California, Hawaii, Oregon. (SC-38).

34: For example Florida's tourist industry alone was worth more $38 billion U. S. in 1996. And in 1995 1.3 million Canadian tourists spent $1.73 billion in the state (See Jim Loney, "Canadian boycott of Florida off to slow start, April 2, 1997, p. A12). In a more recent article in the Summer edition of Canadian Social Trends, 1997, by Warren Clark (Bruce Little 1997d) figures from statistics Canada which shows the number of overnight trips from those over 25 to 35 increased from just over 40 per 100 to a peak of 93 trips per hundred to the United States and from 8 percent overseas to 23 overseas respectively. Thereafter from 65 to 75 the numbers drop off - probably due to mobility and health problems as the number drops to off to around 75 percent to the United States and then to about 25 percent for the 75 and over cohort. In the most recent upsurge, however, there has been a growing polarization between the younger and older segments of the populations. For example in the second half of the 1980's the number of Canadians going overseas moved up from 8.7 trips per 100 population in 1986 to 11.3 in 1990. With the recession this fell to 10 in 1991 and reached 12 in 1995," but only the over 45 year old cohort contributed to this increase," probably because of higher youth unemployment and the lower Canadian dollar.

The of the interesting pattern that emerge by looking at American and Canadian patterns of travel and expenditure in each others' country emerges in a recent study by Clark (1997) The impact of the seniors migration to the South every Winter can be seen in the travel patterns of both countries. For instance American visitors from border states accounted for 9,114 of 13 million overnight visits in 1995, mid distance states 2 million visits and Southern states only 1.9 visits spending $3.6, $3.6 and 1.1-billion respectively out of a total of $5.8-billion. For Canadians going to the U.S. this pattern is largely reversed. Of the 14.6 million overnight visits by Canadians to the U.S. in terms of the $8.299- billion in revenue expended on this travel 3.6 billion went to the southern states, 1.2 went to mid range states and $2.4 -billion went to border states. Florida alone accounted for 35% of all trips and 25% of all expenditures by Canadians in the United States. In Western Canada the most popular destinations are California, Hawaii and Nevada, however. As a result of the large movement of visitors to the US. Canadians accounted for 33% of all international travelers. Overseas Canadian spent about 4.8 billion in 1995 with Europe accounting for 2.4 billion of this, Mexico 35- million dollars, Cuba 119-million and the Caribbean 638-million. In Europe Canadians spent $770-million in the UK., $468-million in France and $182-million in Germany. In Asia Canadians 57,000 Canadians went to Japan and spent $125-million while 115,000 went to Hong Kong and spent $138-million. Conversely, 589,000 Japanese came to Canada, spending $668-million, 173,000 Hong Kong travelers spent $171-million, 112,000 South Koreans spent, $127-million and 98,000 Taiwanese spent $131-million.

Furthermore as Clark reveals the expenditures on international travel by Canadian have exploded from around 1 billion in 1972 to around 15 billion in 1995. While the travel deficit ballooned to $6.4-billion in 1992 it has now settled down to between $3 and $3.5-billion dollars. Again much of this change has to do with travel to the US. and the rise and fall of the Canadian Currency. In spite of changes in currency the number of visits to the states has continued upwards: from about 8 million overnight visits in 1972 to a peak of 19.1 in 1991. Since then this has fallen to 14.7 in 1995 but has risen to 15 million in 1996.

35: According to the 1996 report on the Tourist Trade in Ottawa released by the Ottawa Tourism and Convention Authority, Canada's tourism sector was worth $27-billion (a number which seems low in comparison to other that have been given which show the value of tourism as being over $40-billion- but again different activities could be measured in each count may explain the difference) , in 1996 (or only about 60 percent of the 38 Billion ($U.S.) American trade in Florida alone. Of this 27- billion dollars Ottawa accounted for about three percent of this market in 1996, with visitors up from 3.6 million in 1995 to 5.3 million in 1996, spending 600

million in the region, triggering economic activity estimated to be worth $822 million. In the Ottawa area 80% of tourist were from Canada and mostly from Ontario. 11% or about 580,000 were from the United States and 9% or about 470,000 were from overseas. As with most Canadian cities the biggest attractions are generally in the core. For example in Ottawa 60.8% of all summer visitors went to the parliament buildings, 55.8 to Byward Market, 44.3 to Museum of Civilization, 37.4 to the Rideau Canal, 30.8 to Sparks Street, 30.8 to the National Gallery, 25.4 to the Casino in Hull, 18.7 to Rideau Centre, 16.7 to War Museum, 16, to Notre Dame Basilica, 11 on bus tours, 10.2 to the Mint, 9.1 boat cruise, Science and Technology, 8.6, Gatineau Park, 8.4, Museum of Nature 8.1, Sound and light Show, 6.1, Aviation Museum 6, Trolley tour, 5.6, Rideau Hall, 4.4, Photography Museum, 3.4, Cycling, 2.8, National Library and Archives, 2.8, Experimental Farm, 2.7, King Estate, 2.5, Walking Tour, 1.8, Cultures Canada, 1.7, Hiking, 1.3, Supreme Court, .9, Currency Museum, .3, Bytown Museum, .2 (See Ian MacLeod, Local tourism spending rose 5% in 1996, in The Ottawa Journal April 11,1997, p. B2)

In Montreal 5.3 tourists were recorded to have visited the city in 1996, according to the Greater Montreal Convention and Tourism Bureau. Festivals have been particularly successful in attracting people. Of the 5.3 million tourists 1.9 million come from Quebec, 1.2 million from the rest of Canada, a just below 1.2 for Americans and 975,000 for overseas visitors. See Sheila McGovern "Sunny tourism outlook," in the Montreal Gazette June 7,1997.

Of significance is that the Conference board found that Vancouver and Toronto are likely to be the most significant tourist destinations in the future. Also baby boomers born between 1947 and 1966 are expected to add greatly to tourism. There spending in tourism in Canada will increase from 12-billion in 1996 to 14.7 billion in the year 2000 to 25-billion in 2010 (See Carolyn Leitch "Baby boomers expected to give tourism a boost in next century," in The Globe and Mail, June 7,1997. In this analysis the amount of money expected to be consumed on tourism is expected to increase from $12 billion in 1996, $14.7 in 2000 and $25-billion in 2010 according to the Conference Board Report and Toronto and Vancouver are expected to be the major beneficiaries of this growth.

Moreover, the Canadian Tourism Commission, estimates that, $44.3-billion dollars were spent on tourism in 1996 and generated 499,000 jobs, with 17.4 million foreign tourists composed of about 13 million Americans. And statistics Canada's estimates that spending by foreigner was about $12.1 percent or a rise of nine per cent while spending by Canadians edged up to $29.7 billion a 0.6 percent rise (See Mairi Maclean, "What! Stay at home this year? 7 million Canadian families plan to hit road this summer," in The Edmonton Journal April 25,1997; VS-204a).

More recent figures for Vancouver published by Tourism Vancouver for 1996 show that about 8 million visitors are expected to spend $2.8 billion on hotel, cars, taxis, boat rentals and other purchases such as gifts which will provide the equivalent of 70,000 full time jobs. This means about four visitors per capita. In 1995 7.6 million came to Vancouver and spent $2.45 billion. 60% were Canadian, a quarter came from the United States and about 15 percent came from overseas. The biggest winners from this export in Vancouver were accommodation facilities $608 million, $562 on restaurants, $489 on local stores. Total provincial revenues from tourism increased from $4-billion in 1990 to $7-billion in 1996 and more than 223.000 were employed in tourist related jobs - one half under the age of 24. With occupancy rates of 90% some concerned is expressed about the possible addition of 40 hotels housing 10,000 rooms over the next 5 years (VS-205).

In comparison, as in other areas the economic basis for the urban spectacle is quite limited in Winnipeg although developments like the Forks and the panic over retaining the Jets (Silver 1996) show that it has become influential at both an economic and symbolic level. As the Jets debacle reveals, while such a strategy may make sense in Vancouver or Toronto it has only a limited range for possible development here. The limits can be seen in the if the study on tourism carried out in the early 1990s is compared with the one conducted in Winnipeg around the same time. For example, while over 7 M visitors came to Vancouver in 1995 the 1991 study showed that Winnipeg only attracted about 2.5 million visitors and the large majority of these came from Manitoba and North Western Ontario. Unlike Vancouver that is an

international and national destination point for tourism the origins of visitors to Winnipeg clearly shows that it barely passes muster as a regional tourist centre and more likely falls within the category of being a sub regional rather than regional market. Thus visitors only spent $275M in Winnipeg compared to the billions recorded for Vancouver. Of the 2 million Canadian visitors' 68.9% were from Manitoba, and 14.2% were from North Western Ontario, 5.2% from BC., 4.7% from SK., 4.43% from AB, 1.7% from Que., .3% from Atlantic Canada. So other than Manitoba only about 600,000 other Canadians and about 440,000 Americans and 53,000 overseas visitors came to the city in the early 1990's. Of the tax revenues generated, $59M went to the Federal Government, $53 went to the Provincial Government and $11M went to the City of Winnipeg. Furthermore, the study revealed that about 11,000 jobs were created by tourism and that in total about 500 dollars in direct and indirect economic activity was generated by tourism (Tourism Winnipeg 1991).

Another example of the attractiveness of the Canadian inner city as a tourist destination is the Cruise ship industry in Vancouver. Nearly all the passengers and the money spent are absorbed in the inner city. Over the past 15 years the number of cruise ship visitors coming into downtown Vancouver has move from a minuscule number to over 500,000 in 1996. With the new open sky agreement they come directly to the city creating a new type of tourist who spends a short time in the city before and after the cruise. In travel jargon this is called site inspection and is considered a good way of sparking more trips. Regardless the average stay is 17 hours, with the most popular destinations in 1992 being Gastown and Granville Market, with 53 percent of those passengers who stay on. These passengers account for about 6 percent of the tourists in Vancouver and have an impact on the region of about $200 million. $62 million goes to restaurants and about $110 goes to services and supplies. And in some hotels like O'Douls they make up 25 percent of the summer business. The ships have become larger, now holding 2,100 people, Even more interesting the stature of Vancouver in this segment of the travel industry can be measured in the fact that 20 percent of the largest cruise vessels, numbering 22, now dock in Vancouver each year (Gundrun 1997b).

While Canadian have become more specialize purveyors of inner city spectacles than Americans as the construction of places such as Festival Hall - a $100M dollar entertainment complex in downtown Toronto reveals (See Adam Mayer 1997), some companies have developed expertise in the exurban and suburban domain of the spectacle- one such company being Forrec LTD (See Cruickshank 1997) - perhaps the closest equivalent to the Disney Corporation in the United States if we leave out developers who have specialized in the construction and management of resorts such as Vancouver's Intra West Corporation (which is now spending an additional $500 M to turn Mt. Tremblant into an international destination resort).

Thus while Canada has developed an overseas surplus in tourist revenues (271 million) it still has a huge deficit that amounts to about $3.485-billion with the United States. Domestically, travel accounted for expenditures of 16-billion dollars in 1994 or 2.3% of GNP. Urban percentages of domestic overnight visits were as follows in 1994: Toronto, 5. 2 million, Montreal 3.3 million, Vancouver 1.8 million, Ottawa 2 million, Calgary, 1.9, Winnipeg, 979,000, Regina, 651,00, Saskatoon 797,000 Quebec City 2.5 million, Halifax 875,000. (See SC-20 - Touristscope Domestic Travel, March 1996, Statistics Canada). While signs of the urban spectacle are appearing in most cities they are most evident in Canada's largest tourist cities. However, although Canada is the 10th most popular tourist destination its share of the total industry has fallen from 2.98 in 1995 to 2.93 in 1996. In 1996 4.4 million overseas visitors stayed overnight and 12.9 Americans stayed overnight. However overseas visitors accounted for half the tourist revenues (4.5 billion dollars) while only accounting for a quarter of all foreign overnight stays while Americans accounted for $5.1-billion in revenues. Broken down by major cities according to number of visitors and revenue the figures were: Toronto ($1,365 million) ($748), Montreal 985,000 ($476), Vancouver 1,020 ($645) Ottawa 466 ($172), Edmonton 195 , Calgary 281, ($87) Quebec city 562 ($166), Winnipeg 51 ($21),Saskatoon 15 ($7), Halifax 80 ($40), Charottetown 25, ($8), St. John's 28 ($16), Victoria 339 ($117), Saint John, 17 ($4), St. Catherines-Niagara 598 ($132), Whitehorse 57 ($15) (SC-19).

Addendum: For 1996 to 1997 - July - estimates of tourism revenues in Vancouver were about $4.467-billion: 20% of this was accounted for by food and 50% by accommodation - revenues were up 5.7% from 1995. Broken down - in the GVRD accommodation accounted for $1.298-billion, Transportation and storage $1.352, food $637-million, retail $568-million, wholeale $269-million, financial services etc., $204-million. As of July 1997 there were 18,932 hotel rooms in the GVRD and 9,184 rooms were in the downtown and 2,074 were in Richmond - downtown this generated hotel revenues of $231-million (about 64% of the region's revenue) versus Richmond, with $41.9-million, Whistler generated $71.5-million versus $363,7-million in hotel revenues for 1996 (B.C. Stats Tourism Revenue August 1997, November 1997 release).

36: For example in China, a Vancouver firm, Bing Thom, has been given the responsibility for overseeing the construction of a satellite city of a million people in North West China. Similarly in Shanghai Canada's largest architectural firm, Webb Zerafra Menkes Housden, designed and managed the construction of the new stock exchange buildings, with other projects by Canadians exceeding two dozen perhaps (See Rod Mickleburgh 1997). Then of course there are firms like Trizec which has become a big player around Berlin and the Reichman's who were involved in the Docklands project in London, a large project in Mexico city and Battery Park in New York City.

37: In Engineering services alone in the past two year surpluses amounted to 1.1 Billion a year. Although it only generated the fourth largest amount of revenues it has grown by about 400 percent between 1990 and 1996. In fourth place in terms of growth were Computer services (i.e.. design, engineering and management brought in $1.2B in 1996 compared to $500M in 1990, Second place, in terms of growth rather than gross revenue generation went to Royalties and license fees brought in 4500, 3 times the 1990 level but here Canada still runs an overall deficit since $2.7B were paid out for these services to foreigners. Research and Development brought in $1.7B vs. just 700M in 1990. But insurance brought in the most, at $4B although it only grew by a 100 percent. The second largest service was in communications services worth $1.9B. In total 18 b in commercial services was exported in 1996 vs. $281B in goods. However Canada incurred a $3.9B deficit in the services sector (Little 1997h).

42: And if we look at the location of strata title units in each country, densification also appears to be more evident in the exurban rather than core areas of American cities than is the case with Canadian cities.

Robert Brugman (1996) makes these and several other points, noting that while land extensive development overwhelming predominates in the United States researchers have to paid enough attention to important countervailing trends, one of the most noticeable that is in the L.A.,, where large scale signs of densification can be seen on the fringe of the metropolitan area because of high land prices (here in the American context we therefore see the importance of the densification ratio in shaping the densification process) and in a central corridor which extends from the downtown Along Whilshire BLVD. to Santa Monica. Surprisingly along these two fronts some of the densest development is now taking place in the city most synonymous with suburbanization and the Freeway. More ironically, development in the central corridor is connected with high transit use and the current construction of a subway line to the west.

43: Rents do not often move in lock step with rising land prices. For example, using 1970 as a base, when the densification ratio surged forward for the first time between the mid 60s and 70s, rent increases trailed significantly behind the cost of new housing. This can be seen if the rent component of the CPI is compared to cost of new owner occupied housing. While the rent index only rose from 85 in 1966 to 111 in 1975 the average cost per square foot of a single detached dwelling units moved from 80 to 167 percent of the 1971 base line in the same time span. See Table S326-335 in the Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd edition, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1983.

45: Indeed this is what has happened in one of the tightest local rental markets in Vancouver - the West End. Recent conversations (Spring, circa 1996) with one Russian Immigrant, a gay man who had recently moved to Vancouver, and Mr. During, a tenants' rights activist all spoke about the emergence of the same trade offs for people wishing to remain in the West End. For Russians and Gay men doubling up is a common option. As Mr. During, a tenant's rights activist who lives in the West End also observed, one other consequence of this was that the majority of tenants in the West End ended up paying a disproportionate amount of their incomes on rents. This seems to have has effected a trade off in consumption, as one clerk at Capers, an upscale delicatessen, speculated, there are quite a few consumers in the West End but most of their money is going into to rent so there is not a great deal of discretionary income left over from the local population available to support places like Capers.

46: For Vancouver the ratios refer to the City of Vancouver rather than the metropolitan area. Until the 1970s there was not a tremendous amount of variation between the suburbs and the city, however. But this has changed. Now prices for homes in the City of Vancouver are over 26 percent above above the metropolitan average. Still, even if the regional rather than city ratio is used the entire region is still above the benchmark figure of four. A recent attempt to estimate the densification ratio for the entire urban area produced a reading of 4.2. However, if just single detached dwelling units are considered the densification ratio goes considerably higher than this (See Cat, No. 95-385).

Some of the statistics on incomes are not exactly comparable. In some years medium rather than average income is used in the comparison of densification ratios for Vancouver and Winnipeg. Even though all the statistics are not always uniform from census to census the discrepancy does not appear large enough to affect the general ratios or distort the historic trend lines and patterns which can be observed in both cities appear not to be affected. As a result the densification ratio used in the comparison between the City of Winnipeg and the City of Vancouver should only be interpreted as a general trend line or approximation rather than as an exact representation of what is present in each city at any one specific time. Figures for 1931 came from Jill Wade (1994) whose figures are cited from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Census Monograph No. 8, prepared by Harold Greenway (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1941)117,173-4, table 33. Figures for 1941 came from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistic, Housing, 1941, Vol. 9. Figures for 1951 came from Census Canada 1951, Housing and Families Vol. 3 . Figures from 1961 came from Table C5 Census of Canada, 1961 Vol. 10.; Census of Canada, 1961 - Table 62, in Canadian Housing Characteristics. Figures for average family income in 1971 came from Census Canada Cat. 93-724 volume 11, Part Two 1975. Figures from 1981 came from 1981 Census Canada, Census Divisions and sub-divisions, Manitoba, Population occupied private dwellings, July 1983 and statistics for Vancouver came from Census Canada 1981 Cat 95-978 Vol. 3. Figures for 1986 came from Census Tracts Profile, Part one; Census Canada 1986 Cat. 94-120. Figures for 1991 came from Statistics Canada, Cat. 95-389 and 95-388; For Winnipeg Statistics for the table were derived from figures supplied from Profile Census Tracts-1991 Winnipeg Part A Cat. No. 95-360 Another source used for comparing Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver house prices was a housing chart prepared by Thomas Szirtes and Associates Inc. in The Globe and Mail, June 6, 1993.

47: To construct these densification ratios statistics on average and median household incomes and the average price for new housing for Vancouver and Winnipeg were correlated to produce the following densification ratios for each city:

For Vancouver the ratios refer to the City of Vancouver rather than the metropolitan area. Until the 1970s there was not a tremendous amount of variation between the suburbs and the city however prices for homes in the City of Vancouver are now at least 26 per cent above the metropolitan average. Also note even if the metropolitan ratio is used recent figures show the densification ratio to be high for the entire urban region with a reading of 4.2 recorded for

the entire metropolitan area of Vancouver. See Cat, No. 95-385. Some of the statistics on incomes since in some years medium rather than average income is used, so even though all the statistics are not always from census to census uniform, the discrepancy does not appear large enough to affect the general ratios or distort the historic trend lines and patterns which can be observed in both cities, with the densification ratio interpreted as a general trend line or approximation rather than as an exact representation of what is present in each city at every specific instance. Figures for 1931 came from Jill Wade (1994) whose figures are cited from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Census Monograph No. 8, prepared by Harold Greenway (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1941)117,173-4, table 33. Figures for 1941 came from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistic, Housing, 1941, Vol. 9. Figures for 1951 came from Census Canada 1951, Housing and Families Vol. 3. Figures from 1961 came from Table C5 Census of Canada, 1961 Vol. 10.; Census of Canada, 1961- Table 62, in Canadian Housing Characteristics. Figures for average family income in 1971 came from Census Canada Cat. 93-724 volume 11, Part Two 1975. Figures from 1981 came from 1981 Census Canada, Census Divisions and sub- divisions, Manitoba, Population occupied private dwellings, July 1983 and statistics for Vancouver came from Census Canada 1981 Cat 95-978 Vol. 3. Figures for 1986 came from Census Tracts Profile, Part one; Census Canada 1986 Cat. 94-120. Figures for 1991 came from Statistics Canada, Cat. 95-389 and 95-388; For Winnipeg Statistics for the table were derived from figures supplied from Profile Census Tracts -1991 Winnipeg Part A Cat. No. 95-360 Another source used for comparing Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver house prices was a housing chart prepared by Thomas Szirtes and Associates Inc. in Globe and Mail June 6, 1993.

48: The distinction between internal and external factors that affect the evolution of the densification process have to do with the spatial scale that is considered when looking at the forces are involved in the reshaping of the densification and the geographic scale that they become articulated to each other. For example, the property market, demographics and transportation infrastructure structure and shape the densification by the way that they are articulated to each other at the local level while the influence that the economic specialization of a particular city has on the densification process is one which is primarily determined by how a city is articulated to external forces which determine its place in the urban hierarchy. Consequently, the analysis becomes pitched to a different geographic scale which takes us beyond the ambit of the local state.

49: The difference between internal and external factors that affect the evolution of the densification process have to do with the spatial scale that the process examined, operate at. Each, in turn it modified by how they become articulated with one another. External factors therefore affect the densification process but only in so far as they mediate the three material elements that directly shape the level of intensity and the pattern that the densification process will take in a particular city or country. For example, the property market, demographics and transportation infrastructure structure and shape the densification by the way that they are articulated to each other at the local level while the influence that the economic specialization of a particular city has on the densification process is one which is primarily determined by how a city is articulated to external forces which determine its place in the urban hierarchy. Consequently, the analysis becomes pitched to a different geographic scale that takes us beyond the ambit of the local state.

52: With the densification settling around 4 after the speculative bubble of the late 1970s burst in Vancouver the densification ratio in Vancouver was three times that of Winnipeg in 1981 and two times that of Winnipeg in 1986, the variation in these ratios, reveals that a much more land intensive market configuration was now shaping the production of urban space in Vancouver, While the densification ratio in Vancouver fell briefly to around 3.8 in 1986 it still hover ed around 4 rather than two, as was the case for Winnipeg, before moving upward again to approach 6 in 1991 and move well above 7 by 1997 (CMHC 1997e).

59: See Tanner, Winnipeg Free Press, January 12,1997. Without artificial inducement to concentrate capital into the core through such programs such as the Winnipeg Core Area Initiatives no counter weights exist to stem the rising tide of land extensive development-a situation made worse by the fact that core programs lead to over building that resulted in the abandonment of many older heritage buildings and a decline in the assessment value of many structures in the commercial core.

60: While this may only be an anomaly the comparison between Winnipeg and Vancouver over these two time periods does show how intense land extensive development is in Winnipeg and how intense land intensive development is in Vancouver. In 1997 this imbalance between suburban and exurban growth seems to have been corrected as construction figures for the first half of the year show that the City of Winnipeg accounted for 84.7% of all housing starts. Meanwhile Edmonton is another city with a struggling inner city. Not surprisingly this shows up in the configuration of residential investment. For example in the first half of 1997 only 56.9% of the region's housing stock was located in the City proper versus 88.4% in Calgary where densification is more influential. Even in smaller Prairie urban centres exurban sprawl can be identified by the fact that only 75.5% of all new housing construction in Region was in the city proper and 69.4% in Saskatoon - for the first half of 1997 (SC-35).

Addendum: Some idea of this can be gathered by looking at land prices in 1997 compared to 1986 in each Prairie City as well as other Canadian cities. For Edmonton land prices for new single detached units are 168.7 of their 1986 price level/ for Calgary it is 169/ for Winnipeg it is 125.4 /for Saskatoon it is 113.4/for Vancouver-169/forOttawa-Hull-141.9 /for Regina-128.0/Toronto-182/Victoria-200-source (SC-40) or Construction Price Statistics, September 1997, Cat. No. 62-007-XPB.

60: Except for Calgary and perhaps Saskatoon urbanization in the Prairies is beset by the presence of a growing Native underclass that has played a role in the dispersion of investment from the core to the periphery. Because of its size Winnipeg is in worse shape than Regina or Edmonton, but these two other major centres are also challenged by this underclass social formation. A recent study entitled Saskatchewan and Aboriginal People's in the 21st Century, conduct by Eric Howe, a University of Saskatchewan economist paints a bleak picture for the province, painting a picture that is already being sketched out in Winnipeg's core. According to this study if current trends remain in place the employment rate for Natives in the province will decline from 31% in 1995 to 19% in 2015 to 11% in 2045 as the population increases from 135,000 to 434,000 out of total population of 1.33 million which Saskatchewan is forecasted to reach by 2045. If this happens it is expected that welfare costs for the province and the federal governments will jump from $273M in 1995 to $1.115B in 2045 if this worst case scenario is realized (Burton 1997). How this may affect urban centres in Saskatchewan can already be seen in Winnipeg where the emergence of an urban underclass in the core has already turned much of the inner city into a desert for capital. Although the same problem faces Edmonton, it is not nearly as severe as it is in Winnipeg. In Edmonton it is still possible for development corporations like Cobblestone Development Corporation can still build single detached dwellings that will sell for between $109,000 and $160,000 even though the inner city in one of the lowest status neighbourhoods in the city (Charles 1997) - something which would be impossible in Winnipeg because of the deterioration of the real estate market.[i] Something that also entails entirely different ways of thinking about the challenges presented in each city. A fact policy makers in Winnipeg have not yet come to terms with.

63: This threatens commercial as well as residential capital in the core. For example from 1991 to 1995 the value of office buildings in the core fell by 20 percent and on some there has been a 50 percent drop and from 1997 to 1998 the total assessed value of office buildings in the core is expected to drop by 141 million from the 1997 assessment of 759 million. And some expect that it

may take as long as ten years for values to approach the level obtained in the late 1980s. Since 1991 vacancies for class C space has shot up from around 7 per cent to 20 percent in 1997. However class A has fallen from 10 to 5 per cent but in downtown Winnipeg there are only $6 to $8 such buildings in clustered mostly around Portage and Main. Net rent for these buildings is 12 to 16.50. Class B such as the Cargill Building have vacancies of around 10 percent. Net rents (excluding taxes and operating costs) for these types of buildings vary between 8 and 12 dollars. Class C like the Mall Centre or the National Bank Building on Main Street seek a net rent of between 6 and 8 dollars, with operating costs between $9 and $11 the same as the class B category but less than the $10 to $12 for Class A (See Murray McNeil, Vacancy rates high in downtown offices, Winnipeg Free Press June 7,1997). Although downtown Vancouver also experienced a dip in prices and vacancies have dropped dramatically prices here are now beginning to rise but in Winnipeg The Malaise of downtown Winnipeg is also expressed in the need to hire a Vancouver Planning consultant (Jay Wollenberg) to devise a strategy for Portage Ave once more (See Nicholas Hirst, " A boost for downtown" May 24,1997 where the removal of the barriers at Portage and Main, downtown first policy for all government agencies, pedestrianization of streets, appropriate taxes and capital works programs are some of the recommendations mentioned). While the concern over the dispersion of residential investment has been a concern since the 1970s since the mid 1990s anxiety about this trend has increased as the number of detached units in the rural fringe has exceeded the number constructed in the city. To make matters worse, city officials are now worried about the dispersion of commercial and industrial investment as well (SeeWinnipeg Free Press 1997SS).

For in this instance land extensive development becomes too excessive and not only results in the dispersion of capital but undermines the exchange value of the land, so much that even repairs or new investment are made difficult or impossible. If nothing is done, this, in turn, will lead to the cannibalization of residential use values in the inner city, as properties are abandoned, allowed to become derelict or milked for what ever they can bring in before they become worthless. Evidence of this could be seen while walking along Young Street, just a few blocks from Portage Avenue and the Legislative buildings. Here one derelict two and a half story house was selling for $14.900 (i.e., 198 Young Street, September of 1997). The near collapse of the inner city housing market in Winnipeg is also registered by statistics on prices and the time it takes to sell a house in the inner city. In two neighbourhoods in particular the decline in housing prices was glaring. For example while the average multiple listed home in Winnipeg rose by five per cent, from $85,269 to $90,047 the average price of a home sold in Winnipeg's West End, a lower middle class area in the inner city, fell by over 30 per cent, from $38,700 to $27,987 between 1991 and 1996 (Zone 5A). Similarly, in one traditional working class neigbourhood located in Winnipeg's North End (Zone 4A) the price of an average home sold fell by almost 30 per cent, falling from 32,644, in 1991, to $23,890, in 1996. With even modest building costs amounting to between $70 and $75 dollars even at a discounted rate of $60 dollars a sq. foot, these two neighourhoods, and indeed most of the neighhourhoods North of Portage Avenue, which take in most of the core could not support any new residential construction without incurring a severe market penalty. As these two examples show, it would not even pay a rational consumer or investor to make any significant renovations because they would be completely discounted by the market(See Sold and Expired book July 1997, Winnipeg Real Estate Board). Evidence of the decay in the market also was revealed in the time it took to sell a home in the inner city. In August of 1997, statistics on present home listings provided by the Winnipeg Real Estate Board showed that homes under $39,000 took an average of 83 days to sell with homes below $30,000 often lying on the market for years (PI-56). Thus the most inexpensive housing in the city was taking more than 20 percent longer to sell than the average for the city as a whole, which was 68 days. Meanwhile the most expensive housing, which was selling for over $210,000 was selling in 68 days, while the fastest selling homes were in the $100,00 to $119,000 price range and sold in 57 days, nearly 20 % below the average time that it took to sell a house in Winnipeg. These prices would indicate that the healthiest real estate markets were in the outer suburbs rather than in the inner city (source: Winnipeg Real Estate Board -information sheet -Number Of Active RD Listings By Price Range -Aug-97).

Here no doubt the best example would be Detroit where up to one half of the downtown has been abandoned or turned into vacant land and up to one quarter of the city has had the same thing happen to it . Also since the population of the city of Detroit peaked in 1955 at around 1,800,000 it has since fallen to around 900.00. Meanwhile the poverty rate has increased from 14.9 % in 1970 to 21.9% in 1980(See Plunz, 1996, p.55; The Economist, May 8th, pp. 34-35; Wilson, 1992). Meanwhile 76 percent of Detroit is Black (The Economist Detroit Journal, March 24,1992).

Addendum: Incidence of poverty based on 1991 data Winnipeg region population 721,880 15.9%/ City of Winnipeg 17.4%/ inner city 38.2%/ Downtown 39.3% - Inner City population 1991 113,860 (old City of Winnipeg mostly - down 2.3% from 116,525 - 0-14 yrs under represented 17.5% to city rate of 19.8% or 19,996 Youth 15 to 24 - 17,485 15.3% versus city wide rate of 14.8%, seniors 19,466 or 17.1% versus 13.2% citywide -51,4440 household or 31.4% of total -33.% owners, median income of household in inner city $20,977 versus $36,035 - or about 58% of city average - / Single Parents 25% of all families/ Aboriginal 15.9%/ Filipino 11.2% British 16.6 %- Inner Ring - 100,510 population fell by 4.7% from 105,465 in 1986 Aboriginal largest component - 16.7% British and/ Filipino- 3rd 50.7% of the population over 15 years has not completed high school/ youth participation 63% in Inner Ring versus 70.1% in city/Central Business District - 8 neighbourhoods - 1991 population 13,320 up 20.4% from 11,060 in 1986 -17.1% youth versus 14.8% citywide Seniors 21.0% versus 13.2% city wide average/ British largest ethnic group- 2nd Native - 27.6% University versus city average of 25.7% this compares with 21.4% of adults in inner city with some University education or degree, incidence of poverty 39.3% median household income $17637 or 50% of citywide average - Aboriginal 2nd largest population in downtown./ Jewish population single response 12,140/Filipino 21,815. (see City of Winnipeg, Strategic Planning Division, Corporate Services Department, December 1996).

In terms of Education levels the percentage of the population without high school ranged from 39.5% for region to 38.5 for Winnipeg, Inner city 49.9%, Outer City 36%, Inner Ring - 50.7%, Downtown, 39.9%/ Non movers, 53% for region, 51.5 for Winnipeg, Inner City 40.8%; Downtown, 22.4%, Inner Ring non movers 43.2%/ West Broadway 29.8% non movers, River Osborne 24,5% non movers, **Roslyn** - 9.5% of families in poverty, Median income $37,426, 44.8% non movers/Education **Wolseley** 27.9% non high school and 44.1% at some degree or some University, half of families had children, Median household income $29,442, 49% of homes owner occupied 7.4% decline in population 8,700 to 8,140- **West Broadway** - household income $13,098, 51.9% without high school population drop 16.7% from 6,545 to 5,455, 29.8% non movers, 59.9% all families in poverty, versus 22% in Wolseley; **River Osborne**, population drop 3.7% 4,715 to 4,540 24,5% non movers, 35.1% no high school, 37.3% degree or some University, $18777 household income; **Earl Grey** - 47% owned, 5.7% decline in population, household median $25,503, 29.3 some university or degree/ **McMillan**, population minus 6.4% 3,880 to 3,630 39.4%, median income $28,304, 51.7 degree or some university, 22.9% no high school. City Centre Community Centre - 45.5% non movers, $28,140 median household income, 24% poverty rate for families, 54, 755 households, British equal 19,510 of population, Filipino 2nd, 8,8% or over 10,000 (21,815 in city), Native, 8.6% - North West Tyndal Park 2,705 Filipinos or 30.8% of population/Inkster Gardens 735 or 36.5%, Maples 1,525 or 15% and Mandalay West 860 or 28.6% of population of neighbourhood. Ethnicity East Indian 17,795, Chinese 10,540, Korean, 900, Filipino 21,815 - approximate Asian population - approximately 52,000 Asians half of which are Filipino or about 8% of city population and about 7% of the region. Downtown - CPR-Isabel and the Rivers - 2.2% of the region's population, up 2% between 1986 and 1991 from 11,060 to 13,320/ 0 to 14 years 1,035 or 7.7% versus 19.8% for city and 18,8% Inner ring and 20.4% outer ring or 101,630 and 19,990 in inner city or 17.5% versus city wide average of 19.8/ Incidence of poverty for families 15.9 region, 17.4% city, 13,6% in outer city, Downtown 39.3% in poverty 4.4% are owners or 350/ Income median household, Inner Ring $21,673/Downtown $17,637/Inner City youth unemployment 19.7% versus 14.2% for city/City wide household income $36,664/ region $42,531/ Inner City includes St. Boniface Fort Rouge and West End to Polo Park. Inner City 8,945 Filipino, Natives 12,730/ Downtown seniors 2,795 or 21% versus 13.2 for city.

The above figures paint a very bleak picture of for the core of Winnipeg. With property values dropping significantly since 1991 the 1996 census may show even more poverty and population loss. Still things could have been much worse if a program of repair which came out of the Federal livable city program and that was continued by the province and the city up to the present was not continued. Altogether, since 1973 7,585 homes and 3,653 rental units have been refurbished at a cost of $87.9M. From 1992 to 1994 $5.7M was spend refurbishing 921 dwellings. When the federal Government left this area with the end of NIP and CIP in 1984 in 1985 the province and the city entered into a joint arrangement called the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program - the first five year program has finished and a second one going to 1996 was started. As well a Neighbourhood Revitalization program under the Winnipeg Development Agreement will allocate $4M to a number of neighbourhoods to repair and upgrade. They are Spence, Lord Selkirk Park, West Broadway. There is a $6M North Main program- in total the city has the most extensive history of revitalization programs in the country. Planners are hoping the province and city program is maintained (Refer to City Profile and Direction 1995/96, January 1996 - in this document the splitting up of the Planning Department which came out of the New Directions policy is laid out Strategic Planning consisting of 8 staff is in corporate services, Land and Development Services is another segment where planning function have gone and then neighbourhood planning to a Community Services Department - with the Cuff Report recommendations this may all be re-organized again, non of the planning services were mentioned as performing very well - finally in the same document some charting of sprawl is mentioned, it is noted that between 1971 and 1991 Winnipeg's population increased by 15% while the surrounding areas increased by 51% and it is expected that between 1991 and 2011 that the population in the city will increase by 5% while the outlying areas will increase 28%, with most of this expansion made up of upper income households (p. 5-6) now 25% of all single detached dwellings in the region are taking place outside the city- fastest growing population is Aboriginal. Mention is made of Airport Development, 1994 new zoning was passes to protect flyways, plans are underway to rezone 1,200 acres from rural to industrial to allow industrial development around airport - up to 6,000 jobs could be created $595M in economic activity, including $105M in taxes for all three levels of government).

Comparative Prices: October 1997 Multiple Listings for October -Winnipeg $81,205/Windsor-Essex -$126,087/ Victoria $229,041/ Vancouver $290,456/ Toronto $211,791/ Thunder Bay $108,264/ Sudbury $100,248/ St Hohn's $98,288/ St. Cahtarines $122,463/Saskatoon $95,302/Saint Sohn $85,379/ Regina $77,912/ Quebec $86,286 /Montreal $114,026 / Kitchner-Waterloo $138,803/ London $136,600 /Hamilton-Burlington $148,469/ Calgary $144,225/Edmonton $112,203/Halifax $$108,982/ Ottawa Carleton $137,430 /Outaouais $87,256/ Durham Region $162,987 - note 11,000 Manitoban buyers used RRSP funds to buy homes (See Winnipeg Real Estate News November 21st,1997 p.1).

64: With the construction of monster homes, subdivisions on existing lots and the increasing popularity of neo-traditional development statistics on single detached dwelling units are increasingly able to conceal low intensity forms of densification as single detached dwellings begin to consumer less land or begin to house more people. This can be see in controversies which have erupted in areas zoned for single detached dwellings in the City of Vancouver and in New Westminister (See Applebe 1997 and McManus 1997).

The use of single detached units as a measure has also been undermined by the reintroduction of narrow lots which can significantly increase the density of an area while preserving the status of single detached homes. Indeed this is can be considered a mild form of densification. For example in the Port Royal Development in New Westminister the developer (MacMillan Bloedel) is seeking a zoning change for higher single family density that would increase in 99 instead of 81 homes on a 11.39 acre site, changing the zoning from RS-5 to RT-2D (See Wanda Chow, "Port Royal seeks new zoning," in New Westminister News June 6,1997).

65: Another form of low impact densification that is not registered by simply looking at the proportion of single detached units is the production of secondary suites. For example in Surrey, Vancouver largest suburb , administrators estimate that up to 12,000 single detached units have secondary suites (See Surrey/North Delta August 27,1997, "Sour new for suite owners "- surcharge of $358 will be put on such homes). In the City of Vancouver the proportion is much higher.Here even special zoning shedules, such as RS-1S (See CVPD-135), has been created that recognizes the existence and prevalence of this low intensity form of densification in the suburban zone of the city. This hidden or invisible form of densification is not only restricted to high cost markets; its exists in cities which also have a large studen population, such as Saskatoon, a medium sized Prairie city with a large university.

66: In this regard 1966 is a significant year for both Vancouver and Winnipeg, as this was the year when the composition of the housing stock of each city reached parity with the other: with the percentage of single detached dwelling units in each city standing at 67 percent of the entire stock of housing. There after, in 1976, the number drops to 58.3 percent for Winnipeg and 56.7 for Vancouver. Here the first signs emerge that both cities were now evolving in two different directions. Whereas the divergence between 1966 and 1976 was gradual, with a variation of only 1.7 percent appearing in this ten year time space, this gap would widen considerably between 1976 and 1991, when the rift moved from 1.7 percent to 12 percent when the composition of the housing stock in each city is compared.

67: Source: Statistics Canada - Cat. Nos. 95-325/95-388/95-337/95-337/93-942/93-738/Census Canada-1961 Census Canada Vol. 11 Housing, Part 11 and SC-17 and figures supplied by CMHC from the local Montreal and Vancouver research offices. and a study called The 1996 Metro Toronto Housing Study-Appendix A. that was produced by the Corporation of Metropolitan Corporation of Toronto in 1996. While the figures between 1961 and 1991 should be accurate although some variation is possible because of the different sources and ways of measurement each agency that was consulted used, these figures are basically unproblematic. This is less the case for the 1996 figures since statistics Canada has not yet released standardized measurement of single detached units for the 1996 census. As a result some extrapolation and estimating had to be done. Still the percentages listed in Table Two should closely follow the eventual figures that will be released by Census Canada over the next year.

As has been mentioned elsewhere, although the percentage of single detached dwelling is viewed as one of the most reliable indicators of urban densification changes in the densification process can alter their accuracy in terms of estimating whether land-extensive or land-intensive development is predominate. For example through sub division of larger lots the number of single detached units can be increased while the dramatically increasing the level of densification (i.e.. Applebe 1997). Likewise the construction of larger homes or monster homes may really be camouflaged duplexes and small apartments. Finally, as Calgary is now trying to do, with its attempt to raise the number of single detached units situated on an acre of land from 3 or 4 units to 7 or beyond, perhaps, on new greenfield sites changes in the number of single detached units would cover up this important shift (See City of Calgary 1997). For if this goal is achieved densities might be doubled while aggregate figures could show that land extensive development was taking place. In such instances of low key densification, where more capital and residential density per acre is created without a change in house from or type, changes in the proportion of single detached units may hide rather than reveal what is happening.

With Toronto and Calgary appearing like they will be the most dynamic housing markets in the second upsurge in housing production to have taken place since 1980 signs of this low key and more modest form of densification should not be ignored if, indeed, it does occur and becomes significant. Thus the CMHC prediction that housing starts are expected to reach 10,000 this year (By contrast, so far in Vancouver during the first quarter 3,724 units have been started with only 35 percent of these units account for by single detached units, with a large number of these simply replacement units- See CMHC Vancouver, April-table 9) with in Calgary with

75% or 7,500 of these units made up of single detached dwelling units may cover up a more subtle but important form of densification, something that will no doubt be encouraged by the rapid escalation of housing prices as average prices of single detached units have moved up from the mid 130s in the past year and are project to reach 147,000 if not higher by the end of the year(VS-217). Again whether or not this happens will depend on the struggle that ensues over the change between planners and politicians who have al least formally supported the goal of nearly doubling residential densities on greenfield sites and developers and consumers who will no doubt be more resistant and skeptical of any such move.

68: As has been mentioned elsewhere, although the percentage of single detached dwelling is viewed as one of the most reliable indicators of urban densification changes in the densification process can alter their accuracy in terms of estimating whether land extensive or land intensive development is predominate. For example through sub division of larger lots the number of single detached units can be increased while the dramatically increasing the level of densification (i.e.. Applebe 1997). Likewise the construction of larger homes or monster homes may really be camouflaged duplexes and small apartments. Finally, as Calgary is now trying to do, with its attempt to raise the number of single detached units situated on an acre of land from 3 or 4 units to 7 or beyond, perhaps, on new greenfield sites changes in the number of single detached units would cover up this important shift (See City of Calgary 1997). For if this goal is achieved densities might be doubled while aggregate figures could show that land extensive development was taking place. In such instances of low key densification, where more capital and residential density per acre is greater without a change in house type, changes in the proportion of single detached units could completely hide what is happening.

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69: Again BC and not just Vancouver would be the major exception to this. As provincial figures show, with the proportion of British Columbia's stock of single detached dwelling units dropping from 62.5 to 55.2 percent between 1986 to 1995 (SC-17). So densification was not just isolated to Victoria and Vancouver but moved out from its origins in these two cities to affect most of the province.

As the following figures show, even though the percentage of single detached declined significantly across the province there was a great deal of variability. See VS-182a). Most new residential construction is now made up of strata title or single detached units. From a level of housing construction of around 3,000 units in the early 1980s production is now around 1,500. With the second highest housing prices in the country ($233,000 for a single detached dwelling) a great deal of development has moved up island to Courtenay, Comox, Duncan and Nanaimo. Still the population of Victoria is expected to grow by 113,000 over the next 25 years and 15,000 new housing units are expected to be constructed in the suburban parts of the region over the next 10 years. According to stats Canada the population of the island is now 650,000 and 700,000 and

is expected to grow by 221,000 in the next 20 years (VS-198). Also see British Columbia Housing Statistics April (1997b) for cities between 49,999 and 99,999 where the range of single detached housing units constructed in the first quarter ranged from 40% to 82% compared to the national proportion of single detached units for communities between 30 and 100,000 of 54.4% and some communities like Squamish with a population under 10,000 which only generated 5 % of its new units as single detached dwellings or Salmon Arm where only 43 percent of all units were single detached. Similar figures exist in Vernon where 50% of all unit were single detached, 47% for Campbell River.

71: For instance in metro the percentage of the housing stock made up of single detached units declined from 34 percent in 1986 to approximately 32.6 percent in 1996, although, of course, metro only accounted for the production of 73,000 of the new housing units compared to approximately 292,000 units that were produced in the entire GTA between 1986 and 1996. Hence in the exurban zones where about 75 per cent of all the new housing units were added, the percentage of housing units made up single detached units increased from approximately 62 percent of all units in 1986 to about 63 percent in 1996, with this exurban zone comprising about 44 percent of all the regions housing stock in 1996. So an obvious bi-modal pattern has developed in Greater Toronto (See Appendix A in 1996 Metro Toronto Housing Study). However data seems to point to a possible slow down in this resurgent land extensive pattern in the exurban areas of Toronto and even perhaps a reversal as development service charges and the difficulty in putting in new infrastructure hamper the rapid expansion that took place in single detached dwelling units between 1986 and 1991. Thus in the exurban section the proportion of the new housing stock made up of single detached dwelling units fell from 72% between 1986 to 1991 to 58 percent between 1991 and 1996. Likewise in metro the proportion of new single detached units fell from about 19 percent of all units to 12.5 over the same two periods. And even within Exurban Toronto (outside metro) there is considerable variation with cities like Mississauga, the largest city in the exurban ring, that also experiencing the fastest population growth in absolute terms between 1991 and 1996 (81,000) being affected by densification in a significant way. For example if a ten year span of growth of this community is looked at we see that between 1986 and 1996 its population grew from 374,000 to 544,000 (45 percent) while the percentage of single detached dwellings fell. For instance between 1986 and 1991 the number of single detached units rose from approximately 49,000 to 66,000 while the total number of units increased from 120,000 to 148,000, with a total increase of 45,000 the proportion of new denser units was 38 percent and was probably much higher between 1991 when the exurban average for multiple unit construction was 28 percent. Although figures are not yet available if the current gap between Missausaga and the rest of exurban Toronto remained stable the percentage of new multiple units would have approached or exceeded 50 percent, making densification an ascendant rather than emergent force in this city, reversing the increase in single detached dwellings that was recorded between 1986 and 1991 - when the number rose from about 40 percent to 44.5 percent.

72: Further evidence of this extreme variation in development pattern which Winnipeg and Vancouver represent can be observed in recent construction figures for new housing across the country. For instance, over the past several years 65 to 70 percent of all new dwelling units purchased in Canada have been made up of single detached units. However, in Vancouver around 50 percent of all new units constructed each year have been made up of strata title dwellings (CMHC 1996), with single detached units only accounting for about 30 percent of all new units in Vancouver. Meanwhile in Winnipeg the opposite has been the case. Here the percentage of new housing units made up of single detached units hovers around 70 percent and has even passed 80 percent during the 1990s. Indeed, as we shall see, in greater detail, in Chapter Five, the physical and social transformation of Winnipeg and Vancouver is very much the tale of two cities: one that is concerned densification but also with the postmodern transformation of social space of both cities.

While Winnipeg was partially transformed by the first wave of densification, it has hardly been touched by the switch from modernism to postmodernism. Perhaps the most telling example of this would be a recent editorial in the Winnipeg Real Estate News, where counicllor Amaro Silva, a middle of the road, politician, confessed that it is the administration that really runs the city. As he states, the current Mayor, Susan Thompson, has not really changed anything. As the editor remarks: Councillor Amaro Silva is a man who experiences a sense of powerlessness when confronted with the city's administration. 'Council does not run the City of Winnipeg' he told the Winnipeg Real Estate Board's board of directors during a recent meeting. 'There is no direct accountability from us to the administration. The administration runs the show. It's difficult to comprehend, but it's a fact'" (Winnipeg Real Estate News September 5,1997,p. 2). The new middle class was never able to successfully mobilize itself and cast off the technocratic and bureaucratic rule that dominated all Canadian cities during the modern period. This helps to explain why Transit has been ignored and why so much support has been given to the promotion of land extensive development and out dated and clearly unworkable urban renewal schemes. This example of arrested development also provides an explanation of the visceral and active dislike the bureaucracy has taken to any autonomous community movement in the city -whether it be working or middle class in origin. For all intense purpose monological rather than dialogical modes of decision making still define how space is perceived and governed in the City of Winnipeg (PI-57).

73: The massive and invisible nature of these subsidies erupts to the surface occasionally when policy makers are forced to confront the fact of this subsidization. For instance, recently a report on affordable housing was released by the housing committee for Metro Toronto. The Report, authored by Don Richard, former head of the Metro Housing Authority, recommended that in order to built affordable rental housing the new megacity of Toronto should cut red tape and taxes, lease land to developers, since as one councilor noted, no affordable housing had been constructed in Metro in 1997. However when it came to addressing a huge invisible subsidy given to homeowners at the expense of renters, in a revealing way, one councilor quickly nixed the suggestion, stating that if rental accommodation was treated like single family dwellings or condominiums the tax rate for homeowners in Toronto would skyrocket (See Toronto Star September 4,1997, p. A6).

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75: As an article by Richard (Mackie 1997, July 7,1997 The Globe and Mail) explains: "The Ontario government has a warning for those thinking of escaping the crowded urban core for the pastoral vistas of a rural homestead," Thus municipalities will not be able to restrain noise, odor and dust beyond normal expected operations of agriculture. As the minister of agriculture noted it is the second largest industry in Ontario after car manufacturing, producing $25-billion in revenue a year. This new law will be enforced by the Normal Farm Practice Protection Board as compromise will be sought out between the intensification of farming and the urbanization process.

76: Again it is not at all clear what may transpire. as can be seen by the weak attempts to reform local government in Montreal. A new regional body named the Metropolitan Development Commission has been created but its influence is expected to be very limites since its mandate is only to advise the provincial government (made up of 40 delegates - 13 from the island and 13 from off island municipalities and 13 from special interest groups, may give undue weight to exurban municipalities. See editorial in The Montreal Gazette, "Menard should rethink plan, March 7,1997, p. B2)

Interestingly enough implicitly and not for reasons of urban policy but through fiscal necessity many of these formal policies may come to pass. Mr. Trudel the Minister of Municipal Affairs not Serge Menard the Minister for Montreal announced that the urban region would have to share a 500 million dollar bill for services assigned to them by the province. According to the mayor of Rosemere, Yvan Deschenes, this will act as a regional tax. For what Trudel is proposing according to Deschenes is a regional tax on non residential building to pay for this bill and it will penalizing off island municipalities, who will pay a higher bill the further away they are from the centre of the city.(Deschenes 1997).

Even in Alberta where the removal of subsidies and the placement of costs up front has lead to vigorous campaign by developers to have regulations loosened and levies reduced. To promote their position the real estate industry has even produced a thick report entitled, Levies, Fees, charges, Taxes and Transaction Costs on New Housing, by Greg Lampert and March Denhez. For Calgary, for instance, it is noted that the total pay out equals $12,000 or about 12% of the cost of a house.(See article by Marty Hope in The Calgary Herald, September 6th, 1997 p. G3).

77: This dynamic can even be seen in the core areas of each urban region, although it is really in the redevelopment of the suburbs and denser greenfield development that the real differences in densification and population density will show themselves in the future. Still if we look at the core are of Vancouver, we still see that the percentage of single detached dwelling units in the City of Vancouver is much lower than both the province and the nation and that this gap is accelerating. Moreover, the core densities of Vancouver are now beginning to approach those of Montreal and Toronto - a trend which is actually underestimated by focusing on the changing percentage of single detached dwellings in each place but is indicative of the trend which is taking place nevertheless. For example the real number of single detached dwelling units in the city of Vancouver probably hovered around 29 in 1996. This is a remarkable decline when one remembers that as late as 1971 more than 50 percent of all dwelling units in the City of Vancouver were made up of single detached dwellings and that the city had begun to grow rapidly in population again. As a result the percentage of single detached dwelling units fell to 37 percent in 1986, 29 percent in 1996 and could easily fall to around 20 percent or below this benchmark figure by the year 2000. In density terms this would put the City of Vancouver in the same league as Toronto and Montreal that have until recently had the highest core urban density's in the country. For example the in the City of Toronto about 18 percent of housing stock is made of single detached units while the percentage for the City of Montreal probaly now stands around five percent.

When comparing densification and changing population densities this is one case where relying only upon changes in the proportion of single detached units can be misleading. When looking at the core areas of these two cities, but not their, suburban and exurban areas - where this surrogate for residential density and densification appears still accurately portrays what is happening - this is because of the unique variability of the denser housing stock in Montreal and Toronto and the unique nature of the evolution of housing in these two cities compared to other Canadian cities in the West and in the Maritimes.

For example, with such a low percentage of single detached dwellings, by a very large margin the City of Montreal would be expected to be the densest city in the country. However, 1991 measurements of population statistics Canada measurement of urban density for both cities indicates otherwise. If these figures are correct it is now the City of Toronto than

Montreal that is now denser. To a certain extent population and dwelling unit data that show Toronto doing better in both regards. For instance, between 1986 and 1996 Montreal added 32,000 units to its total stock of 475,000 housing units in 1996 - a 7 percent increase - but the population of the city only increased by one percent over this period of time and even decline marginally by 0.1 percent between 1991 and 1996 But in the City of Toronto which is much smaller in population size and geographic area, 36,000 dwelling units were added. over the same ten years. In this case the city's housing stock increased by 12 percent but the population also rose by 9 percent. Thus the population of the city of Toronto increased from approximately 599,000, in 1986 to 653,000 by 1996.

In part much of this may be explained by the different housing traditions of each city (See Plates 30; 60 in the Historical Atlas of Canada, edited by Kerr and Holdsworth,1990) and that the high rise densification cycle of the 1960s and 1970s that added much higher densities had less relative impact on Montreal than it did in Toronto or even Winnipeg, perhaps. While Toronto had 97,120 apartment units over 5 floors in 1991, Montreal only had 57,000, approximately 34 and 12 percent of each city's total housing stock. However medium rise apartments with less than 5 floors made up around 72 percent of the City of Montreal's housing stock versus 19 percent in Toronto (About 56,00 unit versus 331,000 for Montreal). Additionally semi attached units were much more common in Toronto, accounting for approximately 15 percent of all units 44,000) compared to an almost negligible 3 percent (16,000) in the case of Montreal. What this tells us is that differences in denser types of housing accommodation can also affect the overall densification process. During the 1970s both Toronto and Vancouver behaved as if they had discovered a new and untried housing form, but in Montreal it was a form of housing that was in fact the norm rather than the exception. That is why the story of the densification process in each city and the impact that it has had on the built environment of these three cities needs to take into account the various modalities of the densification process and its specific evolution in each city. This applied even to high rises. While much bulkier and slab forms predominate in Toronto through forty years of trail and error in both modern and postmodern eras the Vancouver region is characterized by point block forms of high-rises, as so telling revealed by comparing Vancouver's West End to it nearest relative equivalent in density - St. James Town - in Toronto. The same can be said for strata title construction with units in Toronto tending to be constructed with brick and a be much larger even if they are medium-rise units.

Of course what has happened to Toronto pales besides Vancouver where changes in the percentage of single detached dwelling units do give a clear reading and accurate picture of the intensity of the densification process in this City and the region, for that matter. Looking only at the City of Vancouver we see that its population grew from (413,000-1981) 431,147, in 1986 to 514,000 a 19 percent increase, while the number of dwelling units increased from 185,795, in 1986 to 221,251 in 1996 - approximately a 20 percent increase.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, the percentage of single detached dwelling units has fallen steeply and may continue to do so at a rapid pace until 2001, in which case the number of single detached units may fall below 25 percent. Considering that 89,159 of the city's 118,000 housing units in 1961 were single detached units, this represents an incredible change in the composition of the housing stock of a city. At least for the City of Vancouver the relative decline in single detached units as a proportion of the total housing inventory stands as one of the best surrogate indicators of the intensity of the first and second waves of the densification process in the City of Vancouver. For as late as 1961 single detached dwelling represented about 76 per cent of the city's housing stock. This fell dramatically during the first densification cycle as the percentage of single detached unit declined to 58 percent in 1971, then to 52 percent in 1976 (87,585), continuing this downward trend into the 1980's as only 45 percent of all housing units in 1981 were single detached (77,740). Later on this fell 38 per cent in 1986 (70,185, 33 percent in 1991 (67,000) and then to around 29 percent in 1996 of estimates are correct or to about 65,100 units with a further decline likely by 2001, to 25 percent of current trends continue. This change in housing composition is probably without precedent in North America revealing the intensity of the densification process in the city of Vancouver when both waves washed over

the city. Hence between 1961 to 1996 the centre of Vancouver was turned from a low density inner city enclave into one the fasting growing and denser inner cityprecincts in North America. During the first densification wave alone, the number of apartment- increased from approximately 36,000 to 75,000 units by 1971. Nevertheless, despite this major reconcentration of capital it was only between 1986 and 1996 that the city's population began to grow rapidly again. Despite this rapid growth in dwellings units and in population the percentage of the of the total dwelling units in the region located within Vancouver fell from 32 to 31 percent and the population fell from 34 to 28 percent of the region's population.

What is more important, at the regional level, Vancouver was able to transform itself from the low density urban region into the first medium density urban region that was created on the continent this century. For what has happened to the city of Vancouver has now spread to the entire urban region. In part, the radical physical transformation is explained by the relatively small size of the city and the fact that the majority of its denser housing stock was built between 1961 and 1996 rather than before 1961, as was the case for most larger cities in North America. Unlike Montreal, Vancouver did not have a large stock of denser housing, so this made densification even more dramatic. Whereas the largest component of Montreal's housing stock had already been built by 1961 the opposite was true for Vancouver, a city which then only had about 750,00 people compared to 2 million in Montreal.

In terms of density and population the gap between Vancouver and Montreal has narrowed considerably. As Vancouver now approaches 2 million people Montreal has only grown to about 3.5 million people. What is more significant than this convergence is the one that has taken place in the composition of each city's housing stock. In 1961 there were 139,000 dwelling single detached dwelling units in the Vancouver region that accounted for nearly 80 percent of the entire housing stock (GVRD Key Facts 1995). However by 1996 the number of dwelling units had increased by 500 percent to 697.000 units but the proportion of dwelling units made up of single detached homes had fallen to around 43 and will likely fall below the percentage of single detached units that make up the housing stock of Montreal by 2001. While the proportion of denser dwelling units rose dramatically in mast Canadian cities during the first cycle of densification, this did not happen in Montreal. Instead the proportion of single detached units rose rather than fell during this period. With most of its denser units from the past depreciation and replacement means that the urban fabric of the city is thinning out rather than thickening up over time(Table Two). Moreover, with the largest component of its denser housing stock of made up medium-rise rather than high-rise buildings the impact of the two waves of densification was less because fewer high rise structures were built in Montreal than in Toronto and Vancouver.

79: Indeed, because of this Canada may have allocated to many of its resources to housing-something which is certainly paradoxical in light of the on going discourse on the housing crisis which has been going on since the end of the Second World War. This becomes apparent if one looks at a recent survey of housing trends in seven countries (Japan, United States, France, Holland, UK., Australia) conducted by the National Association of Home Builders Companies (NHBA). What the survey found was that our population is the youngest, with the median age standing at 31.7 years versus 38.8 in Britain, 33.4 in the US, and Australia and that we spend more of our gross domestic product on housing than other countries - 6.8% versus 5% or less for the others. Thus in 1995, the year for the lowest level of production in decades 158,000 units were still built, the same as Australia although it only has a population of 18 million. 1992 statistics show that the average home in Canada was 1,313 sq. ft, 1,345 in the US and that the average for all industrialized countries was 1,020, with Britain only having an average of 893 sq. ft.. According to the study Canadian apartments are the largest of the bunch taking up 1,100 sq. ft compared to the next biggest the US at 850 sq. ft. Canada was also the least crowded nation in the survey, with 0.44 people per room compared to 0.47 in the U.S. and .64 in France and .62 in Japan. New stock only replaces 6 percent of existing units compared to half the 1.460 million units built each year replaced existing units in places like Japan in 1995. Indeed more

than housing 50,000 units are lost each year in Canada, varying between 5% to 6% of the total housing stock if the figures between 1986 and 1996 are examined (CMHC, 1997G). In the U.S. the figure was 20 percent and only 7 percent in Britain where 176,000 homes were built. The survey showed that Canadians were very mobile with 18 percent of the population relocated their household in 1991 versus 17 percent in Australia,(this having to do with age). In Europe and Japan the mobility rate was less than 10 percent. Home ownership was roughly similar. In 1992 the rate was 62 for Canada a level that has gone up to 64 percent in 1996 according to Canada mortgage and Housing, the rate in the US was 65 percent, 67 percent in Australia, 66 percent in Britain, 54 percent in France and 60 percent in Japan (See Brennan 1997).

79: As already mentioned, in the suburban era between 1945 and 1965, property markets and demographic influences shaping the regime of land extensive accumulation were also more uniformly expressed because the forces shaping this mode of urban development mostly originated within the country. However, since that time, this has changed. Now foreign capital and immigration appear play a much larger role in the production of land intensive urban space. Cities such as Vancouver and Toronto, which are advancing the most are more closely tied into international flows of capital and labour, while cities like Winnipeg and Montreal, where older development patterns persist, appear to have become more detached from these flows.

80: In the 1990's housing investment across Canada declined dramatically from the levels seen in the 1960's through to the 1980's. For example in 1996 investment in the housing sector was only 7.7 (or 33.9 of 138.2 billion) per cent of all capital investment, a far cry from the 1950s and 1960s when housing account for around 25 percent of all investment (See Bruce Little, "Companies plan 5.2% increase in capital spending, February 27,1997 in The Globe and Mail. This can also be seen in the very low sale of new housing units. For example, on average between 1987-1990 125,100 new housing units were purchased a year. However, between 1991 and 1994, this number dropped down to 102,700. Of this number 101,800 units or approximately 80 percent of all units were single-detached between 1987 and 1990. This number fell to 75,300 or 74 percent of all units between 1991 and 1994 (See CHMC Consumer profile: Buyers of New Homes, 1996, by CMHC Market Analysis Centre).

81: These figures differ somewhat from the figures supplies by O.J. Firestone. His figures show prices moving to their pre-depression levels by 1942 while the figures in the Historical Statistics of Canada show that this did not happen until 1946. Also Firestone shows housing prices between 1929 and 1933 fell by approximately 23 percent for the nation as a whole. Whatever statistics are used, however, the same trend emerges. With the great deflation housing prices fell more than wages and the decline in housing prices appears to have been much greater in cities as a comparison of the decline experienced by Winnipeg and Vancouver (45 and 32 percent) in comparison to the national rate illustrate. Using estimates of income derived from the industrial composite for wages over the same time frame we see that industrial wages fell by approximately 16 percent in the same period. Moreover, it only took 8 years for wages to reach their pre-depression levels while it took housing prices 12 years to come back to previous levels. What all this means is that there was a dramatic fall in relative price of housing. Even with the upsurge in prices in the late 40s the densification ratio remained below 2.5 across the nation, staying within the range signifying the economic impetus present in the urban land market were favouring land extensive development. (See figures from Firestone, 1951 and Historical Statistics 2nd edition, 1983).

83: Leaving aside housing prices, for the moment, and looking at wages, income statistics show that declines in the densification ratio during the depression had more to do with the deflation of property values rather then the decline in wages. Incomes were not reduced so much by declining wage levels so much as by the income lost through increased unemployment. For

example between 1931 and 1941 average wages rose by 38 percent in Winnipeg and by 48 percent in Vancouver. Under normal conditions this should have produced a housing boom. However increased unemployment stifled this positive economic impulse. The reduction of unemployment during the war did not change matters since rationing prevented the housing market from responding to the increased latent demand for housing. Rather than the housing situation improving conditions only worsened as workers flocked to the city to work in the war industries (Wade 1994).

As well, another thing to notice about the changing income levels for Winnipeg and Vancouver, is the more rapid growth in wages for Vancouver than in Winnipeg. Here the influence of the relative shift of each city in the urban hierarchy becomes apparent again. While both cities would enter into a land extensive phase of development after the war, the variation in property prices and income levels would become more deeply entrenched in the economics of land extensive development in Winnipeg. And this shows up in the densification ratios for both cities in 1961, when the densification for Winnipeg moved significantly below the level recorded for Vancouver.

85: Even after the depression, the general trend line shows that the increase in shelter costs generally followed behind increases in the consumer price index. In part, no doubt this had to do with the imposition of rent controls because of the war. But even if this is taken into consideration the fact remains that between 1939 and 1950 shelter costs increased at only half the rate of the cost of living index. With the cost of living increasing by 75 percent while the rent index only increased 37 percent a secular trend was established went beyond war time conditions when rent controls were present, lasting well into the late 50s and early 60s in most places in Canada. For instance, between 1949 and the end of 1956 average national wage levels rose by 51 percent while shelter costs continued to lag behind, only rising 33.3 percent in the same period of time.

For more detailed statistical information on the residential real estate market between 1920 and 1950 see O. J. Firestone (1951) where numerous statistics create a picture of the great deflation which occurred during the 1930s which set the stage for the creation of a land extensive form of development after the war. For example from a peak value of $2,610 in 1929 the average price of a home in Canada fell by 23 percent, to $2,023, with much larger declines in Canada's urban areas. Not until 1942, over 13 years, would housing prices surpass their 1929 levels (table 18,p.99). The emergence of a land extensive form of development out of this deflation is also shown in the proportion of single detached to multiple dwelling units constructed in the 1940s. As a result the beginning of land extensive development can actually be date from the war years rather than after the war, as in 1942 the number of single detached dwelling units moves permanently above the number of multiple dwelling units constructed, with the ratio of single family dwelling units to multiple moving from around 1.0 in 1942 to about 3.0 by 1949, with over 60,000 single detached units completed in 1949 compared to less than 24,000 multiple units - a far cry from the inter-war years when the number of multiple dwelling units stood well above single detached dwelling units until the late 1920s, where after for the 1930's there was a rough parity between single detached and multiple units that were constructed. Thus from 1942 until the mid 60s, with the first densification wave, single detached units overwhelmingly predominated in the construction of residential dwelling units (See Miron 1988 and Firestone 1951, figure 5, p.68).

90: For example in July alone 1053 strata title units were sold - 689 were apartment units and 355 were townhouse units out of 1,205 housing absorption's. Thus strata title units accounted for more than 83 percent of all housing units sold or new units rented in July 1997 and now generally account for 50 percent of all sales (CMHC 1996 and Condo Guide Vol. 5 No. 18, August 29,1997.) Hence in greater Vancouver there are now about 155,000 condominium units in Vancouver housing about 325,000 people. This represents a significant change in the housing market as legislation for strata title units was only passed in 1966 in Vancouver and most of the first

strata title units were conversions. According to an article in Condo Guide (Vol. 5, No. 18,p.44) strata title units did not really take off until 1982 when 565 units were built. This rose to 3,000 in 1986 and then moved up to 10,000 in 1992. In the first six month of 1997 Vancouver has already gained 3,000 new condo units so this has obviously become a permanent and dominant feature of the housing market in Vancouver, with apartment strata title located in the core of the region and along Sky train and townhouses located more in the outer suburbs. All together there are now about 10,000 strata title councils registered in the Lower Mainland (Condo Guide August 29,1997, p.45) This also applies to the province where there are now over 500,000 condo units.

In contrast to Vancouver, Winnipeg is the last major market to take a market for condominiums. Since 1990 the proportion of strata title as a percentage of single detached units sold each year has gone from less than 4% to over 12%, with 891 sold in 1996 compared to 285 in 1990, with 70% of all units sold in 1996 apartments and 27% townhouses, the rest being made up of single attached bungalows. Although still a very small part of the market in Fort Rouge, Crescentwood and, to a lesser extent, in the downtown this tenure form now dominates these markets. Generally the average price has remained the same throughout the 1990's, with the average price of a condominium standing at $70,673 in 1990 and $70,646 in 1996 with the average price for the first half of 1997 increasing somewhat, to $71,646 (New Release, Winnipeg Real Estate Board June 5,1997). However, most of these units are recycled apartments and townhouses rather than purpose built strata title units. But this is beginning to change yet the production of new units in the 1990s has probably varied no more than between 125 to 200 since the absorption rate in the mid 1990s stood around 10 units a month (See CMHC, Winnipeg Housing Forecast 1996). This is in stark contrast to Vancouver, where it has not been uncommon for over a thousand strata title units to be started in just one month(See CMHC reports for Vancouver 1996 and 1997). Although some real estate promoters have said that this market has come into its own, other statistics suggest otherwise. For example in the 1996 study the 45 new strata title units were on the market for 47 days compared to 102 days, nearly 40 percent longer than the average for all dwelling units in Winnipeg, if 1997 statistics are used as a basis for comparison.

Moreover, if the trend identified in a 1995 survey is still accurate the type and location of new strata title development are quite different from either Toronto or Vancouver. Almost all units are low rise bungalow type structures built on the periphery of the city. In 1995 most condominium sales were in St. Vital and Assinaboia, unlike Toronto and Vancouver, where the highest concentration of new units have been in the core of the urban region and have generally been high rise since the late 1990s (See Housing Outlook for Winnipeg, CMHC Spring 1995). Winnipeg. This is in stark comparison to Vancouver. During the 1990s, it has not been unusual for the production of strata title units to exceed a thousand a month in some years. The other interesting difference is the inability of strata title units to penetrate into older industrial and commercial areas and transform them from producer spaces into consumer spaces and spaces of reproduction. A few projects have taken place, but they have usually been heavily subsidized and have been few in number even though the city has some of the finest heritage structures in the country for such conversion.

Even in Montreal, the gentrification spawned by this type of development which strata title development allows has caused some concern, in the Plateau and South West Areas where the transformation of working class and lower middle class areas may be threatened by conversions (See Condos Abound, by Peggy Curran in the Montreal Gazette, September 25th, p. A3, concern about the conversion of a factory on Rivard Street has made many people feel uncomfortable. In Winnipeg, just the opposite situation exists. In order to preserve prominent buildings the city has been forced to taken them over and use them as office space, sterilizing interesting industrial uses from far more interesting uses.

92: For example in both Ontario and B. C. during the 1990s new planning legislation promoting more intensive land use was introduced, although in Ontario much of this was repealed with

the passage of Bill 20 in 1996. See Draft Report on planning and development Reform in Ontario, December 18, 1992 by the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario and Growth Strategies Act Draft Legislation: Updating British Columbia's Planning System, January ,1995, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, British Columbia.

Also both Toronto and Vancouver succeeded in electing reform councils while urban politics in Winnipeg have not evolved in this direction this (See Harold Kaplan, *Reform Planning and City Politics: Montreal, Winnipeg, Toronto*, 1982; David Walker (1979), The Great Winnipeg Dream and Barton Reid, Civic Elections: Reform Politics on the Prairies, in City Magazine, 1992-1993). In Montreal this only happened belatedly in the 1980s rather than the 1970's (Leonard e al. *Montreal After Drapeau*, 1986; Jean Dore, *For Montreal*, 1986 and Roy et al. Montreal: A Citizens Guide to Politics,1990; Annick Germain, "Montreal and the decline of Urban culture," 1992; Tim Thomas, in When" They" is "We: Movements, Municipal Parties, and Participatory Politics," in *Canadian Metropolitics*, edited by James Lightbody, 1995) with many of the goals of urban reform and the progressive restructuring of the local state reversed with the defeat of urban reformers in the 1990s.

For more information on these post-reform politics and related events associated with the second stage of the postmodern transformation of the city in Montreal see Henry Aubin, "Bourque turns participatory democracy around 180 degrees, in The Montreal Gazette December 13, 1994. For Vancouver see Donald Gutstein (1983; 1990) and David Ley (1994) in Neighbourhood Organizations and The Welfare State. For post-reform commentary on other cities, for Toronto, see James Lemon (1985) in Toronto Since 1919: An Illustrated History (1985) and Jon Caufield in an article entitled Canadian Urban Reform and local Conditions, in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 1988 and City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice (1994). Concerning Winnipeg see Gerecke and Reid, in " Golden Idols and False Prophets in the Canadian City (1992) and Jim Silver, "The Failure of Civic Reforms In Winnipeg Civic Elections, 1971-1992, Institute of Urban Studies 1995 (Also see Nick Martin ,"Winnipeg's civic left in splinters," (July, 7, 1995) and "Can WIN broaden its base?,(June 25,1995) in the Winnipeg Free Press)

And for additional information on the evolution of the urban reform politics movement elsewhere in the Canadian prairies see James Lightbody, Edmonton, in *City Politics in Canada*, ed.. by Warren Magnussen (1983); Jack Masson (1985), *Alberta's Local Government and Their Politics*; Chuck Reasons, *Stampede City* (1984). In Saskatchewan's two largest cities, Regina and Saskatoon, urban reform politics remain as underdeveloped as Winnipeg's, with the urban reform usually embodied in the election of isolated reform politicians from the small middle class enclaves that exist in the inner city of these cities. For Winnipeg this would be Glen Murray who represents Fort Rouge, a middle class and bohemian neighbourhood where university students live (See Nick Martin, For Rouge dozes amid the hype, in Winnipeg Free Press, October 18, 1995. Similarly in Saskatoon this would be Kay Waygood for Nutana or Ward six - again another neighbourhood, full of university students, which acts as the bohemian enclave for this city (See Terry Craig, in Civic Elections Special, Profile Ward Six, in The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, October 20, 1994 and Kate Waygood, "A Politicians notes to city planners, in City Magazine Fall 1990). In Regina this would be Fed Clipsham who represents the Cathedral neighbourhood or Ward Three (for instance see Neil Scott, "Clipsham wants evaluation," in Leader Leader Post, March, 1, 1995 and Neil Scott, "Ward 3 voters seem satisfied with council," in Regina Leader Post October, 1994) evaluation, in. Of the three neighbourhoods cited it is the weakest enclave of middle class activism and the neighbourhood where there is the least physical evidence of the postmodern reconstruction of urban space

Because of the political weakness and the relative small size of the new middle class in these cities postmodern norms for the organization of space have only been slowly adopted although even here some progress in the advancement of this agenda can be discerned, nevertheless. For example this can be seen in the new general plan for Saskatoon where densification and some postmodern precepts for the re-organization surface in this document on future planning for Saskatchewan largest city or in isolated practices such as the recent

experiment in Traffic calming in Saskatoon which represents a radical departure from modernist practices which have traditionally held sway over the organization of urban space in cities like this (See Barton Reid Reform politics on the Prairies, in City Magazine 1992-3).

Meanwhile in cities like Calgary and Edmonton, which have a larger and more sophisticated new middle class than Winnipeg or Regina and Saskatoon, more powerful minority political blocks rather than isolated individuals have been elected, with the some of these reform blocks ranging in number from two or four candidates. As in Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon, they have generally been elected from the inner city, in areas where a postmodern political culture has developed because of significant resettlement by the new middle class, place where, as a result, a significant amount of densification has taken place in cities where land extensive development patterns have predominated.(For example in the case of Fort Rouge in the City of Winnipeg, see Hurst, Koerte and Styliaris, A Study of Apartment Housing in Winnipeg, October 1967, CMHC and Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba; David Vincent, The Development Of The High Ride Apartment Complex In the Roslyn Road Area of Winnipeg, unpublished MA Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Manitoba, April 29, 1974; James Gallagher, Central Winnipeg Apartment development and the cost of Urban Services, unpublished Master's of City Planning thesis, 1975, University of Manitoba- and for Edmonton see a study commissioned by the City of Edmonton entitled Alternatives to High Rise Oliver/Garneau, by Barton Myers Associates, June 1979. In Calgary three inner city wards, wards Four, represented by Bob Hawkesworth (See Gordon Jaremko,"Money tops campaign issues-Bob Hawkesworth faces challenge for aldermanic seat, in Calgary Herald, September, 28, 1995) Ward Seven, which contains Calgary's quintessential postmodern urban space, the neighbourhood, Hillhurst-Sunnyside, is represented by Bev Longstaff (See Bev Longstaff, statement of candidacy P. C3, Calgary Herald, October 14, 1995), and Ward Eight, containing the high density Beltline area, now represented by Jon Lord, but held by Calgary's longest serving and most powerful reform representative Barb Scott, who has represented Ward 8 from 1971 to 1995 (Reid 1992-3 and Ron Collins, Scott won't seek re-election, Calgary Herald March 3rd, 1995-refer to end note at end of footnote). In Edmonton the dual seat's in Wards 4 (see Tom Barret,"Pro-business hopefuls crowd field, Ward 4 took social activist turn last time, but many now demand change," in The Edmonton Journal, October 13,1995, in the downtown, and in Ward 5 are where the two reformers who sit on council (down from four in the previous election), Michael Phair, from Ward 4 (See, John Geiger "Star Phair leaning to re-run, April 19, 1995) and 'Brian Mason, from Ward 3 are based (Reid, 1992-3; Jim Farrell, "City Council race draws a packed field," in Edmonton Journal August 20, 1995 and Florence Loyie, "Voters tired of being ignored," Edmonton Journal October 12, 1995). Again, as with reformers in Toronto and Vancouver, most are connected to the Liberal or New Democratic Party.

As in Vancouver, but in a much smaller scale a distinctive urban habitat commemorative of the era of the livable city was formed along the river valley and to a lesser extent along Whyte Ave. that is more symbolic of the urban spectacle in the core area of Edmonton. As in other localities, but not necessarily at the same time a definite time and space arose for the regime of the livable city in Edmonton. With the defeat of Reimer in 1994 the time for the livable city agenda had come and gone with the reform coalition broken up, with the most ecologically strident councilor (Gomberg) going back to Montreal (Western Report, Sillas 1997). Although the time for this agenda to define the city has passed here an important spatial remnant remains, along with many of the people who formed the community networks that resulted in the production of alternative spaces such as Bob McKeon who helped develop one of the first inner city housing co-operatives in 1985 - without government funding - was part of a LETS system in the Boyle McCauley area and is now president of the Community Loan Fund, a non profit organization that gives loans to low income people. As with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, in Vancouver, these riverside communities are the nerve centre of the co-operative movement and entrepreneurial seed grounds for the informal economy (See Liane Faulder, "How hard times unearth valuable community assets, September 18,1997 in the Edmonton Journal).

(Like many other reformers, Barb Scott, had a University education, an MA in urban sociology, and focused on Livable City issues having to do with social services, resistance to corporate agendas, resisting the corporatist agenda of the Stampede Board in her ward- hoping to maintain if not expand housing, while retaining a sense of community- see Collins 1995).

93: Other macro economic forces were impressed on the organization of the real estate market as well, which made the land intensive regime that was taking shape different from the land extensive one that preceded it. The further globalization of labour and capital markets meant that the real estate markets were being influenced much more directly by international forces, polarizing urban development in Canada along two poles. Cities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, whose economies were more interwoven into the circuit of international capital flows and the global labour market experienced rapidly inflating real estate markets throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Meanwhile, for cities at the other end of the spectrum, such as Montreal and Winnipeg, which were becoming increasingly disengaged from these flows of labour and capital, experienced a gradual deflation in property values in the late 1970s. With the birth rate declining, immigration becomes more important for the maintenance of a dynamic real estate market, consequently the markets of these two cities were damaged as immigration increasingly flowed to other centres. Thus more so than in the previous the pattern of development, the densification process became much more closely bound up with economic processes operating at a global rather than national level and one result of this can be seen the polarization of the real estate market in Canada in the 1990s. This combined with the weakening influence of government that, as we have seen, in the modern period, enforced a certain uniformity on to urban development in Canada, probably means that this new mode of urban development will develop in a much more uneven fashion than the land extensive system that came into existence after the war.

96: For example in terms of social status, until quite recently tenants were not allowed to vote in municipal elections. See Richard Harris and Geraldine Pratt, "The Meaning of Home, Home ownership. and Public Policy, in *The Canadian Social Geography of Canadian Cities*, edited by Bourne and Ley Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993. In terms of taxation benefits British Columbia homeowners are given rebates on their property tax by the provincial government. Similarly in most cities treat single detached dwelling units favourably in their taxation systems, with non residential and apartment land uses forced to subsidize the ownership of single detached dwelling units.

For example see Professor Lawrence Smith's analysis of market value assessment proposed for Toronto in 1992 where the institutional support for single family detached dwelling units are clearly entrenched in the tax structure. As Mr. Smith notes that a levy of 2.2 would be leveled for semis, duplexes and single detached dwellings and 8 percent for rental apartments, 6 percent for industrial and 4.3 for commercial. As Professor Smith remarks' the different tax factors applied to residential, commercial and industrial classes are difficult to understand other than in terms of providing a subsidy to residential home-owners' (Lawrence Smith in " Metro's property tax reform flawed," in The Toronto Star October 27,1992). As Smith calculated if the rate between ownership and rental rates were equalized rents for tenants would fall by 12 to 14 percent while taxes on single family detached dwelling units would rise by 30 to 35 percent. While these calculations apply to a Metro tax reform they reflect a bias that still appears to be present in most local tax regimes.

In Winnipeg, this is one area where subsidies to owners of single detached units will be eliminated by 2001 because of provincial legislation. For example in 1991 there were three tax categories for residential land uses R1. R2 and R3. R1 takes in structures with less than 4 units. In 1991 the proportionate assessment was 48.6% of the assessed value of the property. By 2001 this will drop to 45%. R2, which includes structures that have five or more dwelling units had a proportionate assessment of 73.2 in 1991. However, by 2001 this will drop to 45%. Then there

is the R3 category that includes co-ops and strata title units. In 1991 its proportionate assessment was 32.7% but this will rise to 45% in 2001 (City of Winnipeg April 1994,p. 15).

97: This was the year that Strata Title legislation was adopted in B.C. in 1966 but it was not until 1970 that the first strata title unit was registered in the City of Vancouver, making up an insignificant part of the housing market until into the late 70s. Thus in 1970 there were only 38 strata title units in the city. Not until 1972 and the beginning of the postmodern era does the number of strata title units become significant as the number of new units added during this year rose past 700 units from around 200 units in the previous year. Hence, by 1974 there were 2,430 strata title units in Vancouver (See Condominiums in the City of Vancouver, with the number rising to 4,059 by mid 1975 (Derek Hayes, Quarterly Review July, 1975).During the postmodern reconstruction of Vancouver this tenure move from o units in 1969 to 224 units in 1971, 4,059 in 1974 to 7,030 in 1976, climbing to 28,000 units by 1991 (Stern and Geary, Rental Housing Trends in the City of Vancouver, Centre For Human Settlements, UBC 1996) and then rapidly accelerating to 40,000 units by the end of 1975. However during the 1970s co-operative and non profit units would be the predominate postmodern tenure form, confirming the power of the livable city ideology to transform the urban landscape, as privatized postmodern tenure forms such as strata title units would only exceed co-operative and non profit forms in the 1980s. For example an approximate calculation shows that by 1978 thirty percent more co-operative and non profit units had been constructed in the City of Vancouver than strata units (Using figures from contained in Understanding Vancouver's Housing, January, 1979, City of Vancouver), with roughly 8,700 co-operative units constructed between 1971 and 1978 while only about 6,647 specially built strata units were constructed. In the 1990s the story has been quite different. By the end of 1975 there were about 40,000 residential strata title units registered in the city (estimate by the Vancouver Housing Centre, City of Vancouver, August 22,1996) with 4,000 strata title units on average being constructed each year between 1991 and 1995 while the non profit created has only average around 400 units Figures from State of Social Housing in Vancouver April 6, 1994). Whereas non-profits once lead the production of postmodern tenure during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city, this tenure form is now clearly subordinate to market directed postmodern tenure forms such as strata title which lead the non profit sector by a factor of 10. Indeed if present trends continue strata title tenure forms will be the predominate tenure form in the city within ten year, approaching or surpassing 50 percent of the household stock in Vancouver. Thus from a non existent base in 1969 and a negligible base of .001 percent of the housing stock the number of strata title units has risen dramatically as a percentage of the city's total housing stock, increasing to over 4 percent of the city's housing stock in 1976 and then to around 14 per cent in 1991 before accelerating upwards to 20 percent of the city's total housing for legal housing stock between 1991 and 1995. While the population of Vancouver increased by about 22 percent between 1971 and 1975, the non-market housing units increased over 4 times from their 71 level while the number of strata title units rose by over 1000 percent in this time period.

So in twenty-five years the residential landscape of Vancouver has been radically transformed by these postmodern tenure forms. If strata title units are added to non profit units which were built, postmodern tenure forms now constitute 30 percent of the city's housing stock, not only transforming the physical geography of the city by creating alternative investment channels for the densification process to proceed along but also altering the political and social relations which govern the regulation of space, creating space for more diverse social groups (See Patricia Johnson 1995)) but also thousands of micro spaces governed by direct community decision making. Unlike the privatized world governed by relations of Fee Simple property ownership typical of ownership of single detached dwelling units or the anomie and complete lack of input that renters have in market projects in both non profit and strata title units built in the postmodern era forms for decentralized and communal forms of decision making have been created which force people to co-operate and interact as part of micro residential social units, creating new problems (NIMBY) as space has been further segmented by tribal like responses to

urban space as urban space has become balkanized by these micro communities in some cases, but new opportunities for self directed actions and empowerment strategies over parcels of urban space which exist at the sub neighbourhood level.

98: If building statistics for new strata title units are further disaggregated internal differences in the evolution of the densification process can be charted within Vancouver. Besides the connection that can be drawn between the intensity of the densification process in any one area and the number of strata title units there is also another connection that can be drawn which shows the relation that exists between areas of middle class settlement and the growth of strata title tenure forms. For example, since 1991 the core area and the Central Business District, in particular, densification has been more intense than in any other part of the urban region. This shows up in the increase of strata units in the Core Area and the Central Business District when comparisons are made with the city as a whole and the urban region. While there were rapid gains in the number of strata title units in the region and city, as proportion of strata title units rose from approximately 15 to 19 percent the region and from about 12 percent to 19 percent in the city, the rate of increase in the number of strata title units in Core Area was double that of the region and the city, as the proportion of strata title unit increased by at least ten per cent in the core and by an astounding 42 percent in the Central Business District alone, as the proportion of strata title units in the Core Area of the city increased from 21 to 31 percent and from 6 to 48 percent in the Central Business District (Table 3).

In places such as the Central Business District, where densification had become the most intense during the 1990s, the level of strata title ownership had increased 10 times above the national rate. There is also a strong correlation between middle class resettlement of the inner city and the spread of strata title units that can be shown by looking at one neighbourhood in the Zone Of Middle Class Resettlement which emerged in the City of Vancouver during the 1970s. This neighbourhood would be Fairview. Of the five communities that make up the Zone Of Middle Class Resettlement it stands out as the most dramatic example of the expansion of this tenure form. Thus the percentage of strata title units in Fairview rose from 16 percent in 1981 to approximately 41 percent in 1996, a level which is also about 10 times the national average and more than twice the average for the urban region, where only about 19 percent of all housing units are made up of strata title units.

99: Largely, the uneven diffusion of strata title units reflects the uneven diffusion of the densification process since the 1980s. While the different rates of decline in the percentage of single detached units in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver in Table Two show that there was some variation in the construction of multiple units during the first wave of densification, as production of rental units exploded across the country; the decline in the national proportion of single detached units between 1961 and 1971 also shows that this first densification wave swept more uniformly across the country than the second wave in the 1980s. For instance when the first densification wave crested around 1971 the difference between the number of multiple dwelling units in Vancouver and the nation was only 3 percent. However if we look at the shape of the second wave, in 1996 the degree of variation between Vancouver and the nation in terms of the percentage of denser housing stock made up of strata title units would range between up to and over 400 percent the national average. So, whereas the first wave took physical form mostly as apartment rental units, the second wave took form mostly in the spread of strata title units and as the figures in Table Three show, these units have spread much more unevenly across the country. Hence, although the proportion of strata title units making up the total housing stock of the nation did rise by three per cent between 1981 and 1996, in Vancouver the rate of increase was three to four times the national rate of increase, as the proportion of the housing stock consisting of strata title units rose by 11 percent rather than by 3 percent in Vancouver over this same time period.

102: During the 1990s Montreal and Toronto have occupied interesting positions in relation to the continuum between the opposite poles of land extensive and land intensive regimes of accumulation represented by Vancouver and Winnipeg. While Winnipeg and Vancouver represent the most extreme examples of land extensive and land intensive development in the country during the 1990s, Montreal and Toronto come across as more ambiguous reflections of these two modes of urban development. Thus between 1993 and 1995 Toronto lead the way in the construction of co-operatives (one tenure form also deemed to be postmodern) yet because of weak market conditions condominium construction was quite weak when compared to Vancouver. Thus CMHC (1994) projections for Ontario only showed the province taking about 13 percent of all new units expected to be constructed in the nation compared to 56 percent for British Columbia. At the other end of the spectrum, like Toronto, but this time, concerning land extensive development, Montreal is the largest city in the country showing strong and persistent signs of land extensive development. Yet as with Toronto in relation to Vancouver, we see that the signs of land extensive development are more ambiguous and not as extreme if comparison are made with Winnipeg. And during the 1990s this show up in the number and placement of new strata title units. Unlike Winnipeg there is more strata title unit construction in the Core. Also the number of new strata title units is also much larger. Whereas only 454 units were projected for Manitoba, about 18,000 units about 21 percent of the entire national total were expected to be constructed in Quebec and so, as consequence, in Montreal (See CMHC 1994, p.31). While the production of condominiums probably hovers around the national average in Montreal in Winnipeg we can see that the production stands way below the national average. Even as the market in Winnipeg began to pick up in the early 1990s only about the market was only absorbing about 10 new units month since 1993, which probably means that a new strata unit construction will probably vary between 120 to 200 units a year throughout the 1990s. For example only 45 newly constructed apartment strata title units were built in 1994 while total sales were over 800 units (See Winnipeg Real Estate Board News Release June 5,1997 and Winnipeg Housing Outlook Spring 1995 by CMHC).

104: However just as with technological change and economic forces this influence can be overplayed or fetishized (Fluton, 1996). A recent Report entitled" Did demographics write off the consumer too soon? "produced by Derek Holt an economist for the Royal Bank of Canada, the recent tendency to draw to heavily upon demographics has been questioned. Indeed Mr. Holt notes that both low and high points in postwar housing production to not fall in line with demographic trends. For instance in 1976 when around 300,000 units were produced was a time when the postwar baby population (born 1947-1966) was not in the house buying cycle since most were in their teens or early 20s. Likewise, when housing starts descended to their lowest level in 35 years, when only 111,000 units were produced in 1995 this age cohort was at its peak in terms house buying period. While demographics are important the economic parameters that are partially expressed in the densification ratio, along with other factors such as interest rates, unemployment, government policies, and income levels are nevertheless central (Little 1997b).

116: Thus between 1951 and 1958 4,796 units were constructed, 47 percent more than all purpose built apartments constructed between 1900 and 1950 in the West End (See Table 8-Apartment Zoning and Suburban Centres, Report No. 3, City of Vancouver) The great surge in apartment construction took place in the mid to late 60s when the 15-24 year old age cohort was peaking as the number of people between the ages of 20 and 34 increased from 25.2 percent to 40 percent of the population of the West End while the percentage of the population over 65 decreased from 23.6 percent of the population to 18.6 percent even though this age cohort still was growing in absolute terms. Not surprisingly it was when building permits for 14,552 units were issued between 1961 and 1971 or nearly 65 percent of all apartment units existing in 1971. This boom well surpassed the surge in new units constructed in the 1950s when the 65 plus age cohort was the fastest growing component of the population, when the number of new units

added each year peaking at over 1100 units in 1956 whereas the peak number of new units created in the next surge that followed because of the influx of young adults would go past 3,200 units, in the late 1960s. See figures and graphics supplied in Gray et al., Patterns of Neighbourhood Change: The West End of Vancouver, May 1976.

Hence the proportion of young adults (that is from the ages of 20 to 34) decreased between 1951 and 1961 an the percentage of seniors peaked. Whereas the percentage of young adults decreased marginally from 26 to 25,2 percent between 1951 and 1961 the percentage of seniors increased from 19.5 to 23.6 percent of the entire population, This situation would be reversed in the 1960s as percentage of seniors declined to 18.6 from the 1961 peak of 23.6 percent while the percentage of the population made up of young adults moved from 25. 2 percent to 40 percent of the population (See Gray et al. 1976) in interest and mortgage rates.

121: Although some commentators have prematurely seized upon this factor to explain events that are still out of the range of its influence (Mitchell 1997; Lindgren 1997). Nontheless, it is something that has increasingly become evident during the second densification wave that commenced in the mid 1980s.

The 1996 Census shows that the rate of increase in the seniors population has slowed down since the 1986-1991 period. Commentators have in fact been 15 years premature in predicting the dramatic increase that this population cohort will have on the nation. So far Victoria is the only city where there are fewer 15 year olds than 65 year olds, with the percentage of people over 65 at approximately 17.9% which is more than the under 15 cohort. The pecentage of seniors for Canada as a whole was 12.2% increased from 8.1% in 1971 to 11.6% in 1991, nevertheless, the median age rose by two years: from, to 36.1 for women and 34.5 for men. BC. and the Northwest Territories showed the biggest increase for those under 15. After Victoria Quebec City and Trois Rivieres had the next lowest proportion of children: 17.5% and 17.8%. Calgary had the lowest proportion of seniors, at 8,7% and Oshawa the highest proportion of children, at 23,7%. In Vancouver the percentage of the population under the age of 15% was about 18 percent and in Kitchen around 22%. In Toronto it was 20%. For it was Ottawa about 21%, Calgary about 22%, Montreal 19% and Vancouver 18%, Halifax 20%. Meanwhile the seniors population was around 12% in Vancouver 10% in Edmonton, 17% in Windsor, Kitchener 11%, Halifax 10%,Toronto 11%, Montreal 13% (Lindgren 1997, p. A10 in the Montreal Gazette).

Whereas the Canadian population grew by 5.7%, the seniors population grew by 11.3%- however the rate of growth was 17.5% between 1986 and 1991. So the rate is slowing for the time being. This rate of growth will further decline as the depression and the war era generation enter old age and set off setting the greedy granny theory for at least another 15 years according to prof. Mc Daniel and, more importantly should caution policy makers about putting programs in place which are not yet appropriate,(See Lanna Mitchell,"Greying of Canada oversold notion," in The Globe and Mail, July 30,1997).

122: For instance, rather than moving into apartment units or single detached ground units this population will increasingly be moving into medium-density attached dwelling units. Moreover, instead of renting apartments, as was the norm during the first densification cycle, these older age cohorts will remain proprietors rather than tenants. Rather than rent this population will buy into denser strata unit developments.

123: A further take on how significant this may be can be gleamed from a broader analysis taken up in a report entitled "Projections of households and families for Canada's provinces and territories 1989-2011 by D. Larrivee (SC-8b) in 1990. If his calculations are correct non family households will increase from 2.4 million to 3.3 million households between 1986 and 2011 and that single person households would rise from 1.9 million to over 3 million housholds in a context where the total number of household was expected to rise from around 9 million household in 1986 to between 12.1 or 13.6 by 2011. Hence non family household may rise from

about 27 percent of all households in 1986 to around 35 percent by 2011. Furthermore, another related factor that will have great relevance to the progression of the densification process is where this growth will take place. Unlike the broad based baby boom that induced land extensive development uniformly across the country in the 1940s and 1950s, migration will play a greater role, and this will affect the non family households. In the Larrivee study Manitoba and Saskatchewan are projected to have the lowest household growth, with around 36 percent new households projected. The Maritimes then follow in second place with around the same percentage of new units. Ontario and Quebec are expected to experience 50 percent increases in household growth while household growth in Alberta and B.C. is expected to witness a 68 percent increase between 1989 and 2011.

124: In terms of the transformation of social space, in the Span of 70 years not only has the physical landscape of the West End been completely transformed, so too, has its social character. In 1920 the West End represented the epitome of bourgeois respectability. Composed of upper and middle income families living in detached single dwelling units it was a bastion for the nuclear family. However by the early 1980s the exact the converse was the case, as it became one of the areas most prominent area of settlement for gay men and a zone for the city greatest spectacles with the largest parade, gay pride, attracting 25,000 people each year, held in the West End and the central place for the annual fireworks displays where over 300,000 people are attracted to (VS-117).

In a Conversation with West End Resident and City Councillor, Gordon Price, August 22, 1996, Councillor price was asked about a prediction that he had made about the new high rise units in downtown South in an article in Business in Vancouver circa 1993 , where he stated that gay consumers would be one of the major consumer groups who would settle in this dense housing. To this question about the influence of the gay market Councillor Price responded by noting that whereas 30 percent of households in the West End are probably Gay, the numbers in downtown South may be as high as 50 percent with, according to his information, some new high rise units such as the new studio loft building called the Space, which was recently opened on Seymour Street, having a take up of between 80 to 90 percent by gay consumers so far although many units remained to be sold.

For further information on this subject see Anne-Marie Bouthillette, Queer Scapes: Patterns and Processes of Gay Male and Lesbian Spatialization in Vancouver, B. C., unpublished MA Thesis, Vancouver: Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, December 1995 (along with other selection listed in the Bibliography) and Lawrence Knopp, "Some Theoretical implications of gay involvement in an urban land market," in Political Geography Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 4, October 1990; T. Fairclough's unpublished MA thesis in Geography, The Gay Community of Vancouver's West End, UBC, 1985; and Chapter Eight entitled the Gay Community in Stephen Murray's American Gay 1996 where there is a discussion of gay settlement patterns in San Francisco and the City of Toronto.

125: A few other observations about the unique characteristics of Vancouver's urban land market are in order at this point. Unlike most urban regions on the North American mainland both the absolute and the relative scarcity of land makes Vancouver unique. For this reason, to a certain degree, the constraints placed on land use resemble those experienced by Dutch cities than the situation typical of the rich and extensive land bases which most urban regions in North America take for granted.

Since the early 70s nearly one half of the potential flat land available for urban development has been removed with the enactment of the Agricultural Land Reserve Act in 1973 and a green lands strategy which is presently being pursued by the provincial government and the Greater Vancouver Regional District. However, without doubt the most important planning legislation to shape Vancouver's development has been the Agricultural Land Reserve Act that was passed in 1973. Figures supplied by the Agricultural Land Commission and a report on the State of The Environment released by the Federal Government in 1991 show just

how significant this act has been. Currently the rate at which agricultural land is being absorbed by urban land uses in the Vancouver region is now the lowest in Canada. In this regard the figures are revealing. Before the agricultural reserve was established up to 6,000 hectares of agricultural land a year were being lost in British Columbia. With an absorption rate of around 765 hectares a year, this is less than one seventh of the earlier level of absorption and less than half the national rate.. While considerable pressure has been put on the Commission to release more land for urban uses, Because only 6 percent of the designated lands in the Vancouver area have been taken out of the reserve since 1972 it still remains a key background feature which shapes the densification process in Vancouver.

Within a North American context, at least, this has produced an anomalous situation, as Vancouver faces an absolute rather than relative shortage in land, creating a situation for Vancouver whereby it actually has more in common with on urbanization experienced by Dutch cities rather than other North American urban regions. In this second cycle of convergence between demographics and economics the present momentum for denser urban environments can therefore be expected to be much more powerful and longer lasting than was the case in the 1960's because the land shortage is now one which is absolute rather than relative.

See Choosing Our Future: Evaluation Of Greater Vancouver's Land Supply, by the Greater Vancouver Regional District, April, 1990. In this report reference is made to a previous report in 1982 were it was estimated that there was 51,000 acres of vacant land available for future urban development. Moreover between 1961 and 1981 about 2,200 acres a year were being used up- meaning that the urban area had expanded by 45,000 acres in that time which meant that if this trend continued the region would run out of land in 23 years. The report then goes on to say that there has been a decline in the rate of land conversion over the past 30 years. As of 1990 it was estimated that there was room for 45,100 single family lots in short term supply and a total of 59,000 lots in long terms supply, with a take up of 7,500 estimated so hypothetically there is only a 7 to 8 year supply in the short term and 8 years with the longer term land resources put into the equation giving approximately a 14 year supply of land for single detached dwellings from which to work with (p.9).

A freeze was put on the development of farmland in 1972 but permanent legislation was not passed to establish the land Commission until 1973. See Barry Cullingworth (1987), pp. 221-224, Urban and Regional Planning In Canada. Also see Mark Zuehlke where he cites figures that show the loss in agricultural land in BC has declined from 6,000 hectares in the early 1970's to 750 hectares a year despite the filing of 30,000 exemptions since 1974 (Zuehlke,1995, p.2). In a recent GVRD Newsletter, 60,862 hectares are within the Agricultural Land Reserve in the GVRD and 43,522 hectares are being farmed producing receipts of 345.8 million dollars for the 3,062 active farms (See GVRD News, July, August, September 1996).

Also See The State of Canada's Environment, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services

As well, See Livable Region Strategy Proposals by the Greater Vancouver Regional District, August 1993, where four types of lands are identified in the Green Zones the district hopes to protect: Renewable Resource lands such as agriculture and forestry of which there are 55,000 hectares in are devoted to agricultural uses. With 173,000 hectares in the Green zone or two thirds of the district, this puts a significant constraint on land use.

Also, see Tom Laviolette"20th Anniversary of the Agricultural Land Reserve, in City Magazine, Vol. 14, No. 3 Summer 1993, Jeffrey Patterson, Issue no. 4 Sustainable Cities Newsletter supplement for The Institute of Urban Studies 1992 and The State Of Canada's Environment released by The Government of Canada in 1991.

128: See Business in Vancouver, March 23, 1993, p.15)) David Foote's (Report on Business Magazine, June 1991 p.49); and Terry Steele, (Real Estate Marketing Magazine, September 1994), Key players in this new demographic work would be David Baxter, but the most well known demographic based analyst would no doubt be David Foote.

Although demographic based scenario construction of urban futures provides an attractive and useful tool for understanding urban processes, there is the danger of becoming too

fixated upon just this one form of analysis-something which one of Canada's few public intellectuals, Robert Fulford (Fulford Column, Globe and Mail, August 2, 1995). has taken noted of, warning about the danger of oversimplifying reality by reducing all behavior to demographic categories. Demographic influences can just as easily be turned into deterministic formulas for projecting the future as economic data or analysis simply based on technological innovation can be unless it is situated into its proper institutional and social context. Key players in this new demographic work would be David Baxter, but the most well known demographic based analyst would no doubt be David Foote. Because greater certainty can be built into speculation on the future using demographic data forecasts and commentary on the future based on such extrapolations are quite seductive.

In some instances demographic impulses can operate as an independent variable which can be shown to directly influence the production of housing in one certain way both with regard to the location and type of housing constructed. More often than not, however, demographic influences operate as dependent variables in conjunction with other factors that come into play in shaping the densification process. To illustrate this it is only necessary to look at the building block of David Baxter's analysis of demographics and housing in the Vancouver area by looking at the household maintainer rates that he uses. For example, if the propensity among the various age cohorts to form households and generate demand for single detached, attached and apartment units are compared between 1961 and 1991, there is significant historical variation, and much of the variation has to do with the influence of changing economic conditions on household maintainer rates. The dramatic decline in household maintainer rates for the age groups under 35 since the late 1970s because of increased unemployment, stagnant incomes and rapid increases in the price of housing would be one example of this. Likewise, many of the same reasons can be cited for the general decline in household maintainer rates amongst most age cohorts for single detached units and the concurrent rise in demand which took place for attached and apartment units over the same thirty year time span, between 1961 and 1991. Looking at the 15 to 24 year old age group we find that maintainer rates for single detached units fell by almost one half between 1961 and 1991: from 3.8 per cent to 2.2 percent. Likewise, a more modest decline took place for the 24 to 34 year old age group. In this case household maintainer rates for single detached units fell from 28 percent in 1961 to 16 percent in 1991. Similarly, in Vancouver there were significant changes in the gender makeup of household heads which had to do with rising divorce rates and increased female participation in the labour force. For example, in 1961 only 10 percent of households were headed solely by females, while this number more than doubled by 1991, when 24 percent of all households were lead solely by females.

So even these supposedly stable foundational points of reference for a demographic analysis have been shown to be highly variable which cannot be taken far from the context they are embedded in.

As Baxter himself has observed, the situation governing urban development in 1961 and 1991 represent two distinctly different points of reference, "rather than simply two points in a continuum". With regard to densification, what this observation implicitly acknowledges but does not directly state is that since the 1960's a new mode of urban development has appeared which now mediates the densification process. Also unlike the earlier surge which was national in scope surge this second phase is more localized, confined to cities having a densification ration near to or over the 2.5. However in cities like Vancouver which has a densification ratio of more than 5 the densification process is progressing in a context defined by a new mode of urban development where densification exists as a dominant rather than subordinate aspect of the transformation process and in one where postmodern rather than modern norms are increasingly applied, producing different kinds of urban space than was the case in the 1960s when the demographic and market forces last moved in sync with each other in a significant way.

129: This may result in less commuting and the movement of the middle class into exurban regions of major metropolitan regions but may not necessarily result in densification. In a recent study conducted by KPMG, in 1997, 3 million people operate businesses in their own homes, or 15% of all households; Larger companies tend use telecommuting rather than smaller ones. Between 1997 and 1999 telecommuters are expected to increase by 52 percent according to the 1997 survey. In terms of numbers the number of home businesses number 16.2% of all households versus 3,6 percent of telecommuting households. The highest telecommuting percentage is in BC. where the number is 5 percent along with Alberta, followed by Ontario and Atlantic Canada, In Quebec the rate is 2 percent and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan it is 3 percent. Here one can speculate that the difference may have to do with exurban development in each region. The top businesses are information systems, Sales and marketing, administration and finance, human resources, Engineering and technical and product and distribution. 92.3 percent of Telecommuters have computers, 78.3% have printers, 70.4% have modems, 60.4% have fax machines, 23% have a photocopier. Of the Telecommuter positions in 1996 54% were professional - the pecentage increase in professional workers is expected to increase by 68 percent in 1999, 40 percent are technical workers and there number are expected to increase by 55 percent by 1999 . . . . . Only 8 percent of Clerical and administrative positions are telecommuters and their numbers are only expected in to increase by 9 percent until 1996 (See "Survey of the Canadian home business and telecommuter market," in the Globe and Mail, June 10,1997b, p. C2. Also look at Dunphy, (in "Home is Where the Office Is" in July 3, 1997 advertising supplement in The Globe and Mail, July 3, 1997, p.8) who makes some points about overstating the telecommuting trend. In America, for instance, the Home Office Association of American show that there are just over seven million telecommuters with the number increasing to 31.9 if independents and anyone working out of his or her home is included, but this is not the standard meaning ascribed to telecommuters. When KPMG did a survey of 2,025 companies in Canada recently it found that only 6% of the labour force were telecommutes. Another finding was that this trend was less driven by costs and more by lifestyle considerations of employees He also notes some differences in how telecommuters outfit themselves in the United States and Canada, with more Canadians having computers 88%, printers 57% fax machines 58% versus Americans where 71% have answering machines, 58% cordless phones, and 53% personal computers, according to the KPMG Survey. What was also found out was that the initiative mostly came from employees rather than the company.

In an article called the Social Dimension of Technological Change: Reshaping Cities and urban life, Julie Rogue (1996) offers a cautionary note about the propensity of new communications technologies to decentralize economic activity or the labour force. For example in the UK. she notes that the 300 hundred largest corporations account for 60 per cent of all electronic data transmission. Likewise, in Canada, 65% of all data communicated by large corporations goes through Toronto (p.176). So the information economy which is composed of the production, processing and distribution of information and knowledge is a double edge phenomenon that both centralizes and decentralizes certain functions. And as for the decentralization of authority it still remains to be seen if these new technologies have really dispersed decision making authority in all but the most advanced high technology fields - a realm, once again, dominated by the new middle class.

130: Land Use Impacts of Rapid Transit: Implications of Recent Experience, by the U.S., government, makes reference to Canadian and American developments, noting that redevelopment around transit stations only took place in cities which were experiencing rapid growth. In Canada this can be illustrated by looking at the rapid development around transit stations in Toronto and the near absence of any development in around suburban stations in Montreal, where growth has been much more sluggish. The idea that transit distributes rather than creates demand for denser housing is a latent assumption which is contained in the Greater Vancouver Regional Districts strategy for densification where transit investment is to be concentrated into areas designated for more compact development (See A Long-Range

Transportation Plan for Greater Vancouver, by the GVRD, September 1993 and internal study carried out for the Department of Public Works, Pacific Region, by Rattenberry, Beatson and Reid, September 1980 entitled Impacts of Office Relocation on Transportation Costs and Energy Consumption in the Journey to Work: A Survey of Selected Federal Offices in Greater Vancouver). This correspondence has also been discussed by Newman in Cities and automobile dependence (1989) and Newman and Kenworthy (1993) in Automobile Dependence. In a recent study on transit in the Pacific Northwest Alan During entitled *The Car And The City* (published by Northwest Environmental Watch, Seattle, April 1996) has illustrated this relation by comparing Portland, Seattle and Vancouver. Here he found that the share of the population in low density settlement areas varied from 89, 91 to 57 percent for each respective city while the use of transit ranged from 5. 3 and 9 trips per month by individuals in each city, with the number of motor vehicles per one hundred people listed at 85, 79 and 60 vehicles.

131: Not only may this cause a boom in housing in Mission as lower income household move here to buy single detached units which they could not afford further to the West; this might also happen across the river in Abbotsford, the regional city for the Central Fraser Valley Regional District, which has a population of over 100,000. Traditionally Abbotsford had better transportation links with the GVRD because of the Trans Canada Freeway but with the new commuter line and the congestion on the freeway this may change the relative attractiveness of both communities, increasing Mission's attractiveness for development relative to what it has been to Abbotsford in the past. Moreover it may play a role in turning Abbotsford into more of a commuter suburb than independent centre, integrating the city into the GVRD rather than allowing this community to stand on its own. For example a February (1997) survey showed that 11 per cent of the riders on the West Coast Express board at Mission a third of these are from Abbotsford (reversing a long standing pattern of people going to Abbotsford rather than going to Mission which may modify the eventual configuration for a regional town centre in Abbotsford that has been discussed for many years). As a result lobbying has already begun for better transit links between Mission and Abbotsford to allow more people to use the system (See VS-214).

133: This can be seen in the contradictory behaviour and utopian writings about the city that is present in Moshe Safdie's new book on the car and the city called *The City After the Automobile*, which seems to vary very little in many respects from what pioneers like Christopher Alexander were proposing in the 1960s and what planners and urban reformers were attempting to do in the South False Creek Development in the early 1970s (VS-210). The Economic dimension of this material-institutional knot came out in a recent article by the president of the Bank of Hong Kong, David Bond, who cites the vested institutional interests which will work to sabotage any serious threat to the current dominance of the automobile. Interests which, of course, are much stronger in the United States involving manufacturers, road builders, and people perceptions of these activities as being non subsidies, or the perceptual fact that people view automobile travel as being quite safe despite the fact that tens of thousands die from accidents each year, a rate which would have brought any other transportation system to a halt so there are non utilitarian and even irrational psychological factors at work in shifting modal splits which in turn play a part in the densification process. On the economic front, some of the illogic was illustrated by David Bond when he remarked that well in excess of $10,000 in funds is usually tied up by each driver and that for 16 hours of the day the capital in this vehicle is unproductive. He also noted that until the early 1960s most transit systems were self sufficient but now only 55 percent of their expenses are covered by the fare box and that this worsens as one moves out to less dense suburbs. Moreover in the period of restraint transit than highways have been hit more by cutbacks because one is viewed as a subsidy. Mr. Bond finally ends up talking about a system similar to that practiced in Singapore where costs are levied according to use, time and place in the use of the automobile (See VS-212).

The psychological dimension of this issue was discussed in further detail by Dr. Weir, a Clinical Psychologist, from Seattle who stated that by looking at how we drive cars and our dependency upon them it is not unreasonable to view much of their use as an addiction since powerful physiological rather than simple functional or utilitarian motivations are at work in their use. Hence he states: "With one of six workers directly or indirectly employed by the auto industry" it is economically important. It is also a "Symbol of invincibility, allowing us to cross self-limiting boundaries, to annihilate time and space. Secondly, humans love the exhilaration of acceleration and automobiles enable us to experience speed. And third, as a symbolic extension of our ego, the automobile increases our personal power, giving us the control that we are unlikely to have at home, at work, or with someone else at the wheel," (See "Fourth TDM Forum Focuses on Public Awareness," in Regional View July 1997).

In Vancouver there is already some evidence outside the West End that a transit oriented and high densities do produce some important changes in travel behaviour. Indeed, over time it is possible to see the travel profile of Burnaby's Metrotown evolving in the direction of downtown's Vancouver. For instance, in a promotion for a new development called metropolis figures were cited which showed that only 65% of customers drive to the centre. Within a radium of a ten minute walk there were 11,000 condo/apartment units and that 10 percent of daily shoppers walked to the complex, staying in the mall on average 68 minutes each visit (See Burnaby News July 2, 1997).

This point was made by a study conducted by the U.S. Department of Transportation that was released in August 1977. Entitled Land Use Impacts of Rapid Transit: Implications of Recent Experience the study makes reference to Canadian and American developments, noting that redevelopment around transit stations only took place in cities which were experiencing rapid growth. In Canada this can be illustrated by looking at the rapid development around transit stations in Toronto and the near absence of any development in around suburban stations in Montreal, where growth has been much more sluggish. The idea that transit distributes rather than creates demand for denser housing is a latent assumption which is contained in the Greater Vancouver Regional Districts strategy for densification where transit investment is to be concentrated into areas designated for more compact development (See A Long-Range Transportation Plan for Greater Vancouver, by the GVRD, September 1993 and internal study carried out for the Department of Public Works, Pacific Region, by Rattenberry, Beatson and Reid, September 1980 entitled Impacts of Office Relocation on Transportation Costs and Energy Consumption in the Journey to Work: A Survey of Selected Federal Offices in Greater Vancouver). This correspondence has also been discussed by Newman in Cities and automobile dependence (1989) and Newman and Kenworthy (1993) in Automobile Dependence. In a recent study on transit in the Pacific Northwest Alan During entitled The Car And The City (published by Northwest Environmental Watch, Seattle, April 1996) has illustrated this relation by comparing Portland, Seattle and Vancouver. Here he found that the share of the population in low density settlement areas varied from 89, 91 to 57 percent for each respective city while the use of transit ranged from 5, 3 and 9 trips per month by individuals in each city, with the number of motor vehicles per one hundred people listed at 85, 79 and 60 vehicles.

For example, with regard to the inner city this can be seen in Detroit and in relation to suburban development - until recently the lack of suburban development around BART stations. While more development has begun to take place this is only happening after the system has been in place for over twenty year and what has taken place is still rather modest compared to what has happened in Vancouver- a much smaller city - in a much shorter time span.

134: This is particularly the case for the United States where Miami and Detroit stand out as two good examples. In the case of Detroit $200 million dollars was spent on a 4.6 kilometer line with 12 stops. No development has occurred and ridership levels are low, with about 16,000 instead of the predicted 50,000 people a day using the system (Bociurkiw 1987).

Nontheless, the link between the provision of public transit and densification has been become an active topic in the academic literature. In this literature a clear correlation between

declining transit use and the production of land extensive development patterns has been outlined in the work of Cervero (1988), Newman and Kenworthy (1989). For example, one study on density and automobile use in Metropolitan Toronto found that as density increased from 3.9 to 39.0 dwelling units per hectare per capita use of the automobile fell by 40 percent (Parker 1993). Findings such as these therefore point to the symbiotic connection between density and transit systems. Consequently, from this it is possible to read declining or low transit use as a sign of the continued dominance of land extensive development patterns. In addition, just as it is possible to the provision of transit infrastructure to changing investment patterns when there are high densification ratios, it is also possible to connect the operation of this third variable to demographics as well. For not only do the 15 to 24 age group and the 65 plus cohort represent the two groups most likely to consume denser housing units, they are also the two groups most likely to be consumers of public transit. (Perl and Pucher 1995).

(Also there is a strong relation between employment growth and growth in transit which needs to be kept in mind. For example with the renewal of employment growth in Toronto TTC ridership levels are at least rising again after a free fall since 1989. For example ridership is expected to rise by 2.7 in 1997 to reach 375 million after a decline from a peak of 459 million in 1990 to a low of 372 in 1996, generating $15 million dollars in extra revenue - See Jack Lackey, "TTC credits job growth as ridership climbs 2.7%," in The Toronto Star April 2, 1997).

135: For instance Calgary and Edmonton began to formulate very ambitious plan for development around their transit stations during the oil boom years but little has taken place since the end of the boom. Particularly in Edmonton a great deal of planning effort went was put into a densification strategy for the Light Rapid transit system that was being constructed when a compact urban development strategy was formulated in 1980 which copied a strategy for densification which had been adopted by Toronto and Vancouver in the mid 70s. For example in 1980 the Belvedere Station Area Redevelopment plan (bylaw 5988) was passed, which provided for the densification of the area adjacent to this North East transit station. As with Vancouver, a decade later, the central change in land use would involve rezoning industrial into residential land use (See City of Edmonton, Belvedere Station Area Redevelopment Plan Bylaw 1980). However, this and more ambitious plans for regional town centres collapsed with the end of the oil boom and the distortion in development created by the development of the West Edmonton Mall.

Hence in a new plan approved in 1990 there is no mention of developing regional sub centres around transit stations (See Edmonton General Municipal Plan Bylaw 9076, City of Edmonton 1991. For more information on densification strategy and densification plans for Edmonton that were developed in relation to the provision of public transit, see Edmonton General Municipal Plan: A Summary, October, 1979; Edmonton General Plan: Workshop Papers: Compact Growth Option- Growth Allocation Summary Report, March 1979, City of Edmonton and Belvedere Station Area Redevelopment Plan Bylaw, which was prepared by Du Toit Associates, of Toronto for the City of Edmonton in 1980.

Interestingly enough as Calgary's growth has started to pick up and the city continues to ascend in the urban hierarchy, interest in planning for suburban regional sub-centres organized around transit has revived while this has not happened in Edmonton, where growth is much more sluggish. Hence in Draft Calgary Transportation Plan, put out by the City of Calgary in 1995 suburban sub centres are mentioned while there is no mention of suburban town centre strategy organized around transit infrastructure which has so far been mentioned in the information put out by the city in the information sheets (1996) on Transportation Masterplan: Solution For the Future, this city's equivalent to the GoPlan transportation strategy that was undertaken by the City of Calgary earlier in the 1990s.

136: However the pattern taken is generally different than in Canada with the core of the region densifying less than the periphery, whereas in the United States the opposite is more likely to be the case. With the exception of San Francisco this is the case for most cities in the

State of California where the economic impulses for densification are at their strongest. For example the medium price of a home in California rose from $182,496 to $192,814 between July of 1996 and July 1997 - increasing by over 6%. however in Orange County the increase was 7,7% while in the core of the region, L.A. county only experienced a .9% price rise in the same period. Meanwhile, the medium house price in the San Francisco area rose by 8.5%, according to a report issued by the California Association of Realtors (Calgary Herald 1997i).

138: The Stress put on land extensive development can be gauged by the difficulty governments are now having in maintaining let alone extending the network of roads needed to serve a land extensive system of urban development. According to figures cited in The Globe and Mail, In Canada highways last between 15 and 30 years in Canada, costing $500 to $1,000 per kilometer each year in maintenance and then $80.000, which if this is spent, will result in reconstruction at a cost of $250,000. With the average age of a highway increasing from 9 to 14 years over the past 30 years the $11-billion spent on highways is not keeping up with the federal transport department estimating an extra $1.3-billion dollars a year will be needed each year up to 2015 just to maintain highways in their current condition (Editorial, The Globe and Mail August 24, 1996). The pressure can also be seen on the rising level of development levies which have risen from. Thus planners and politicians have become increasingly self conscious of the costs engendered by sprawl. For example in a study carried out for the Greater Toronto Area Task Force, entitled The Economics of Urban Form, by Pamela Blais, it was calculated that efficiencies created by establishing a denser urban format could garner annual saving of between $1 and $1.4 -billion. Similarly, in British Columbia, $500 to $800 million a year are the estimates which have been produced of the extra cost of supporting more density urban development in the province (See B.C. Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing document, British Columbia's Strategy for Affordable Housing, p.6, April, 1996).

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140: However since 1991 of all local services transit appears to have suffered the most in terms of cutbacks according to Jeffery Patterson, who is an independent researcher who has studied patterns of expenditure on transit. Routes have been cut back and fares regularly increased, something which is reflected in declining transit use which has decline by around 25 percent across the nation between 1986 and 1996 (See Statistics Canada, Passenger Bus and Urban Transit Statistics Cat. No. 53-003 from 1982 through to 1985; SC-21). This has also raised some concern by public policy analysts such as Perl and Pucher (1995 in an article entitled Transit in Trouble, who cited how increased transit use and denser land uses resulted from the investment that was made in transit during the 1970s but now may be lost if investment in new transit infrastructure is not maintained.

Hence since 1991 there has been a radical shift in expenditures on transit and transit infrastructure with the only significant new expenditures made in Vancouver. Not surprisingly, other than Victoria, this has been the only metropolitan area where transit use has risen absolutely since 1991. Thus it appears that investment in transit infrastructure will play an important role in facilitating and patterning the densification process in Vancouver. Elsewhere in the country it will be interesting to see how ridership develop. Already there has been a turn around in places like Toronto. But without new investment it remains to be seen how far ridership can increase. Thus the current fiscal crisis of the local state has affected both road and transit infrastructure, so it is yet unclear which will be hurt more in the long run. As the chaotic situation over the funding of the Sheppard Subway Line in Toronto reveals, it will be a real struggle to see any further expansion of the transit system in Toronto over the next five years. And if some new funding is made available lack of capital may at least for planners to consider less transit systems (See editorial, The Globe and Mail, " The subway without tracks," August, 18,1996). Therefore, unless some way of funding transit infrastructure is devised transit will play a reduced role in shaping the densification process in Canada. Beside British Columbia the only other government that might engage in signification new investment would be the province of Alberta. With the Alberta government no longer in a deficit position, but rich with potential resources revenues may decide to free up significant new sums for the extension of the transit systems in Calgary and Edmonton. Meanwhile, despite the freeze recently placed on new capital expenditure in BC. it appears that transit investment will proceed albeit delayed by two to three years (See commentary about transit in Vancouver in Scott Simpson, Hell Week, in the Vancouver Sun August 31, 1996) How the extensions proceed still remains up in the air however as municipalities battle for priority over construction and the situation (as with Port Moody and Coquitlam over alignments near North Road) of lines with even the North Shore vying for a piece of the transit action. So far Broadway - Lougheed- Coquitlam Centre line s expected by be built by 2005 at a cost of 900 million; secondly a Lougheed Mall - New Westminister line is expected to be built by 2008 at a cost of 250 million. A few year after this a line to Richmond is expected to be built. However, Richmond is already complaining about being in last place because it has already upzoned its town centre (See "No end in sight in rapid transit fight," by David Marsh, Tri-City News June 4,1997.

141: The picture is not entirely bleak however. Over the past year in 'Calgary there has been a huge increase in transit use. in 1996 the number of transit user jumped from 60 million to 66 - a 7.5 percent increase while the city's population on grew by 3.5 percent (790.000). Ten percent increase in fares is expected to have little impact on ridership. Moreover, instead of decreasing service as Edmonton and Toronto have done, 40,000 additional hours of service have been added (Slade, 1997).

142: For Edmonton and Calgary this has been the case. In Ottawa, with its higher densification ratio, and more stable growth, this appears to have attracted more capital to these transit zones, although some of the claims made by the Municipality of Ottawa-Carelton appear to exaggerate the effect of these new transit links is. For instance in an undated pamphlet entitled, The Business of the Transitway, which was released around 1990, $1-billion worth of retail, office and residential development was estimated to have taken place in the transit zones created by the 31 km system busway system. However, much of this development has occurred in suburban nodes that were already attracting development, with non of the spectacular concentration that points to the influence of transit that can be seen around transit zones in Burnaby and New Westminister in the same time period in Greater Vancouver.

143: Of the large prairie cities Edmonton is the closest to Winnipeg in terms of the way the land market is shaping up with the inner city declining relative to the rest of the urban region, with small pockets of gentrification appearing emerging in the inner city but in terms of the

larger metropolitan market there the inner city has decline in relation to the suburban and exurban parts of the city. For example since the early 1980s there has been a significant reversal in the relative house values between the fringe and core areas of the city of Edmonton that resemble the pattern that can be seen in Winnipeg. This can be seen in the difference between residential investing in the City of Edmonton and its exurban satellites such as Sherwood Park and St. Albert.

148: While recent statistics on transit ridership show that in large centres patronage is rising this does not apply to smaller centres where ridership levels are still falling (SC-21). In spite of recent increases additional riders are not generally keeping pace with population increases. The decline, rise and decline again of transit in Canada can therefore be measured in per capita figures. In 1945, 120 rides per capita were recorded, this fell to 110 in 1950, 75 in 1955, 60 in 1960, 55 in 1965 and 43 in 1970, rising to 55 in 1975, 57 in 1980, peaking at 59 in 1985 and falling to 58 in 1990. For example in 1987 there were 1.475 billion transit riders, in 1988 there was a peak when transit users increased to 1.511 billion. After this the number of patrons fell to 1.478 by 1990 and to1.434 by 1991. By 1993 it the number of users had declined further to 1.383, 1.366 in 1995 and 1.349 in 1996. With these decline the per capita use of transit fell from 51 per capita in 1991 to 46.2 in 1995 and then to 45.5 in 1996. Meanwhile between 1995 and 1996 operating costs increase 4.6 percent from 1.465 billion to 1.532 billion in 1996. During the past decade the use of the automobile has increased. In 1990 there were 13.1 million registered passenger vehicles versus 10.3 in 1990 and the average distance traveled increased from 96,930 kilometers in 1996 versus 65,800 in 1980. As well the number of passenger cars per 1,000 population increased to 445. According to stats Canada Toronto had the highest transit use at 155 rides per capita in 1996 but this may not be correct since the decline in transit use in Montreal has been far less steep than it has been in Toronto since 1990.

Figures supplied by the Canadian Urban Transit Association, in correspondence indicated that per capita use of transit was higher in Montreal (September 24th, 1996).

In 1995 ridership levels for Toronto were 388,152,000, Montreal 335,572,000, Ottawa, 71,669,185; Edmonton 37,157,545 and Calgary 56,300,900.

(P.S.- Except for Montreal where cutbacks may just be starting it appears that the absolute drop in transit use may have ended as ridership levels in cities with weak transit use such as Regina have turned around despite cutbacks. For example, despite continuing cutbacks in service, ridership levels in Regina have begun to turn around. Ridership levels peaked in 1985 when there were 9.5 million riders. This fell to 6.7 million by 1992 but has recovered somewhat since then 6.8 million rides recorded in 1995 (See Regional Leader Post, Editorial March 1st, 1996).

154: By looking at what has happened in both cities' it is possible to show how the provision of transit infrastructure and the number of people using transit are interconnected with the densification process. In 1945 Winnipeg was a denser city than Vancouver and this shows up in transit figures. Then per capita ridership levels in Winnipeg stood at 322 passengers while ridership levels in Vancouver were only 293. During the 1950s and 1960s, when land extensive development became the dominant development pattern across the country, both cities suffered sharp declines in transit use. Although this was happening there were some important differences in the rate of decline.

Looking at gross population densities as well as the density ratios for each city from the 1940s and 1950s reveal that development became more spread out in Vancouver than in Winnipeg. Because of the positive relation that exists between urban density and transit there was a sharper drop in transit use in Vancouver than in Winnipeg. So while transit use fell by 75 percent in Vancouver it only declined by 63 percent in Winnipeg. Significantly, during this time Toronto experienced the smallest rate of decline in transit use in the country. Not surprisingly, it was the first city in the country to exhibit incipient signs of densification, as land intensive patterns of development emerged around the country's first subway system that opened in 1954.

During the first densification cycle, in the middle of the 1960s, there was a turn around in transit ridership. As the densification ratio started to rise transit ridership began to increase. This was also aided by changing transportation strategies, and demographics. With resistance to freeways expansion in the late 60s (Leo 1977) provincial governments in Ontario and British Columbia shifted their transportation strategies and move from a freeway centred system for their cities to one to that was more transit friendly.

In Winnipeg the other pattern remained in place. With the city constructing a transportation completely focused on freeways this greatly promoted the further development of land extensive development, and no doubt played a part in the sharp decline in transit ridership. Hence, compared to Vancouver, if we look at changes in density and transit use, over a period of 30 years, a dramatically different pattern of urban development emerged in both cities

Thus, in cities like Vancouver and Toronto, where development began to shift permanently towards more intensive development the downward postwar trend in transit use was reversed (Lea 1966; Patterson 1993). Meanwhile, in cities such as Winnipeg where land extensive patterns of development continued to prevail this did not happen and the downward trend in transit use that began after 1945 has continued unabated into the 1990s.

For instance, after ridership fell from 293 per capita in 1945 to 73 in 1965, ridership levels turned around, moving up to 107 rides per capita in 1986. The change in Toronto was even more dramatic, with per capita transit use rising from 143 in 1966 to 207 in 1986. By contrast, in Winnipeg per capita transit use dropped from 322 in 1945 to 119 in 1965. Moreover, unlike Toronto, or later, Vancouver, it did not turn around in the mid 60s or the 1970s. Ridership levels continued to decline throughout this entire period, falling from 105 rides per capita in 1986, a level on par with Vancouver in 1986, and then dropped precipitously between 1986 and 1996 as ridership levels fell from 82 in 1991 to around 60 rides per capita in 1995 (Lea 1966; Patterson 1993).

Whereas the level of transit use in Winnipeg and Vancouver was roughly equivalent in 1986 by 1996 ridership levels in Vancouver had moved nearly 10 percent above levels of transit use recorded in Winnipeg, reversing a long entrenched historic pattern in transit use whereby transit has been traditionally more intensively used in Winnipeg than in Vancouver. Also, while ridership levels in Winnipeg had traditionally been above the national average for urban areas during the 1980s. Since that time they have slipped well below the national average which Perl and Pucher (1995) listed as being 83 rides per capita in 1994. Although relative ridership levels have fallen in Vancouver transit it now hovers closer to the national average than in early 1960s when ridership levels were at least 25 percent below the national level. Conversely during the early 1960s ridership levels in Winnipeg were approximately 20 percent above the nation average whereas now they are more than 25 percent below the national rate for urban areas. These relations therefore show that the steady decline in the densification ratio in Winnipeg, the continued expansion of the city's freeway system and the steep decline in transit ridership during this time of slow population growth, has only further entrenched the land extensive pattern of development that persists in this city.

Thus, transit use in Winnipeg did not level out or reverse direction, as it had for a decade in Vancouver and Toronto, in the 1970s. For even as late as 1966 Winnipeg still had the highest per capita transit use in the West, with 50 percent more people using transit in Winnipeg than in Vancouver. Now the situation has been completely reversed since transit in Vancouver is now considerably higher than Winnipeg's. In absolute but not in relative terms, ridership levels have gone up in Vancouver, moving against the broader national trend. Whereas national ridership declined by about 25 percent between 1986 and 1995, in Vancouver ridership increased by over 15 percent between 1987 and 1995, as the number of passengers trips increased from about 101 to 117.4 million trips in 1995. Along with Vancouver, Victoria has been the only other major urban area in the country to experience increased rather than decreased transit use, although this is now changing in other cities as the economy picks up. Furthermore, it is likely that this upward trend will continue, as projections for future ridership levels indicate that with future investment in transit infrastructure a 64 percent rise

in transit use above existing trend lines, is expected in Vancouver, with transit's share of person trips in the morning rush hour expected to rise from 13 to 15 percent of all trips over the next two decades.

Meanwhile, in Winnipeg transit ridership experienced a dramatic decline in the 1990s. Whereas ridership across the nation decreased by around 25 percent between 1986 and 1995 transit use in Winnipeg declined by about 32 percent as the number of passengers fell from 58 to 40 million

To make matters worse the level of automobile dependence has increased in Winnipeg as the number of automobiles per capita as become one of the nation's highest although it is one of the poorest large cities in the country. For example Although Winnipeg poorer than Vancouver the level of car ownership is higher than in Vancouver. In Winnipeg there were 509 cars per thousand people, a level that approached the American level - that stood at 565 in 1992. But in Vancouver there were only 202 for Vancouver, 369 for Montreal with only Edmonton beating Winnipeg, with 622 cars per 1,000 recorded to a recent article in the Winnipeg Free Press(See two articles by Manfred Jager," City Shamed as beater capital," January 14,1996 and" In Transit- Life in the passed lane Transit taxed as ridership slowly dips).

Looking at the history of the provision of transportation infrastructure in each city more closely, 1971 can be viewed as the watershed year for public transit in Greater Vancouver. With the release of the Kelly Report, the transportation strategy for Greater Vancouver was reversed. Instead of a freeway centred system and transit oriented investment plan was put in place which set the basic parameters for what was to take place over the next twenty years. The report not only marked the beginning of a new age for transit in Vancouver, it also signified the end of Sutton Brown's freeway plan that had been aggressively promoted in the previous twenty years.

The second key moment in the evolution of transit was the decision of the provincial government to fund as well as set up funding mechanisms for the support of a rapid transit system. This happened in the early 80s. Thus between 1983 there was a dramatic increase in capital expenditures on transit in Greater Vancouver as $131-million was spent in 1983 - this peaking at nearly $318-million in 1985. In total $1.323-billion was spent on new transit infrastructure between 1983 and 1992. Revenues from non resident property tax and BC. Hydro levy increased from $6.8-million and $6.3-million respectively in 1985, when they were introduced, to 24 million and $12.5-million by 1992. The fuel tax also introduced in the same year increased revenues from $14.5-million in 1985 to $47.4 million in 1992. Meanwhile user revenues went from around $49-million to $124-million between 1983 and 1992. whereas the Ministry of Transportation and Highways spent 333,046 million on capital projects in the Lower Mainland capital transit expenditures were $1.3- billion, revealing the massive reallocation of funds to transit that had come about with regard to transit in the 1980s, something which also distinguishes the first phase in the postmodern development of the region from the first since the main trigger for this expenditure was a international transportation fair called Expo 86, which, as will be seen, in the next chapter inaugurated the era of the urban spectacle in Vancouver (for data on capital expenditures and revenues see Historical Public Transportation Expenditures in the BC. Lower Mainland, Transport 2021 Technical Report 12, August 1993, p.5, by the GVRD).

In Winnipeg there was no equivalent shift in strategy. In the 1960s a freeway plan even more ambitious than Vancouver's Sutton Brown Plan called WATS (Winnipeg Area Transportation Study) was released which has remained in force, providing the framework for investment in an expanded freeway system that has gradually taken shape over the past thirty years. Although Winnipeg city council officially abandoned the WATS proposal, the powerful but inept civic bureaucracy which runs Winnipeg has nevertheless been able to retain this freeway strategy in a modified form, on into the present. While Vancouver has spent billions on transit infrastructure over the past 20 years until recently practically nothing has been spent on transit infrastructure in Winnipeg. And even when a few million dollars were allocated to transit the money was wasted on a poorly designed and dated scheme to turn one or the city's downtown streets into a transit mall. More recently all pretense to implementing any

sort of rapid transit strategy has been abandoned as the proposal to build a rapid transit line out to the University of Manitoba, which was first proposed in 1974 has been deleted from the capital works plan.

156: For an insightful account on how the deficit issue was manipulated by the Alberta Government to initiate a neo-conservative fiscal regime see Kevin Taft, Deconstructing Ralph Klein, in The Globe and Mail March 8,1997. As a result Alberta now has the lowest level of publicly funded social programs, most of the deficit problem in the 1980s was caused by massive business subsidies. Thus between 1985/6 and 1991/2 average growth in program expenditure for the provinces was 6.8 percent while Alberta's only grew by 2.3 percent.

158: This can be seen in the on going trend to put as little money as possible into Winnipeg's Transit system while augmenting its freeway system. See Aldo Santin, Rapid transit idea braked, in the Winnipeg Free Press, February 28,1996. The modest 74 million dollar expenditure was to have been split between equally between the province and the city but the only component to be constructed is a transit mall, a questionable transit innovation of the early 70s which has been shown to be of very limited utility for both retailing and transit.

This has become particularly evident since the late 1970s. Beginning with the St. Vital Bridge, then a new bridge over the Red River in the North End and in the mid 90s the opening of the Charleswood Bridge all the river crossing shown for the inner suburban beltway have been completed with some of the freeway links between each bridge completed as well. Meanwhile with each five year capital works plan Winnipeg's modest bow to transit, the busway to the University from the downtown is deferred.

162: Thus between 1986 and 1991, the once sleepy City of New Westminister experienced the most intense densification in the entire suburban zone, nearly eclipsing Metrotown in terms of new dwelling units constructed between 1986 and 1991- which is the place most people seem to point to in order to illustrate the effect that the provisioning of transit infrastructure has had on capital investment and the densification process in greater Vancouver. Hence for the Metrotown area: between 1986 and 1991 the number of multiple residential units constructed in the area designated, as Central Park, which is the survey zone for the Metrotown area of Burnaby used by the regional office of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for the purpose of collecting statistics, 1535 new units were recorded. Following close behind was New Westminister, where around 1,550 units were constructed in the same period. And since that time the number of units produced in New Westminister has probably surpassed Metrotown. Statistics were taken from raw data sheets located in the files of the Vancouver Regional office of Canada Mortgage and Housing. Corporation, May, 1996. In addition to Metrotown (which is expected to have over 26,000 residents and 6 million square feet of commercial space by 2001 - See Condo Guide,"Burnaby" July 4,1997) and New Westminister, since 1991 the area around the Edmonds been transformed into a third node where intensive redevelopment can now be seen. With the Edmonds Town Centre adopted by Burnaby city council in September 1994 the way has been prepared for the eventually residential capacity of the area to reach nearly 15,000 housing units on the 708 acres of residential land contained on the site. If Surrey does not take off in the next few years signs of construction indicate that, other than New Westminister, this may be the most dynamic area for new residential construction around Skytrain in the suburbs over the next 10 years. See Edmonds Town Centre, City of Burnaby, September 1994. Also along the first transit corridor substantial development has taken place along Lonsdale Street in the City of North Vancouver. For example currently 6 developments are forecasted for the lower Lonsdale area, with one industrial site of 16.88 hectares the largest under consideration (See "North Van Core Issues: Shipyard site key to redevelopment in Lower Lonsdale" by Deana Lancaster in the North Shore News February 23,1997.

165: What is interesting about Richmond, but not entirely surprising, considering its location by the airport, and the region's high densification ratio, is its rapid transformation from an executive suburb into an Asian settlement zone between the late 80s and 90s and how, this, in turn, can be related to the promise of transit infrastructe, and the upzoning that lead explosive development in Richmond's core and elsewhere in the municipality. Although it was taken off and then put back on the list of regional town centres; in terms of implementation, it reamins at the end of the line, with no start on a transit line probably happening until the second decade of the next century. Despite this delay, massive growth has taken place because of demographic influences connected to the immigration of an Asian middle class rather than the provision of new transit infrastructure. While the promise of a transit connection acted as an institutional trigger which made the densification which has taken place, possible. It is this migration which has so far acted as the fuel for this process. That is why it is not unreasonalbe to expet that the population projected for the Richmond OCP will be realized -even without the transit connection - although an express bus lane is now in the works. Anticipating that a transit link will come Richmond's way the municipality has raised the population projection for city by 35,000 over the previous level, with most of this development anticipated to be funnelled into the city centre where 42,000 residents are expected to live. Even more impressive is the increase in the employment base, as jobs are expected to increase from 103,000 jobs, in 1996, to 178,006 jobs in 2020(In large part because of the airport and high tech industries. that have concentrated here (DaSilva 1997).

In the case of Burnaby, events would work the other way around. Although it is also part of the Zone of Asian immigration, investment in Burnaby has taken off here primarily because of the construction of Skytrain rather than the influx of Asian capital (although this has recently become more important). That is why Metrotown has become the closest rival to downtown Vancouver, rather than Surrey, in terms of functioning as a regional central place. But this could change if capital and the City of Surrey focus properly on realizing the potential of their own town centre and if stringent traffic demand management techniques are implemented, something which has already emerged as a challenge to the integrity of the regional compactation strategy for the region (VS-3356; VS-359). What is interesting to note is that Burnaby has been rather reticent about taking the growth quota's assigned to it by the regional district, while for Richmond the opposite has been the case.

Likewise, the District of Maple Ridge (1995), which lies outside the compact zone, wants more growth than was allocated to it and this is expressed in its Vision 1995 plan, even though by law all municipalities are supposed to amend their plans to conform with the regional plan by February 1998. Unlike Richmond the type of growth the municipality is hoping to sponsor is land-extensive rather than land-intensive, as it has the most inexpensive land and the cheapest housing in the region. Therefore, even in a region where densification is dominant it is possible to find enclaves of land extensive development.

Moreover, these three examples have shown, considerable variation in the shape of the growth process can take place within a single region. These three examples show that even within a single region a great deal of variation is possible and that much of this can be related to the specific way in which the three variables which shape the densification process are articulated to each other in a specific locality.

167: No doubt the best example of the revival of a 20th-century version of the 19th-century streetcar city (The 20th century doesn't really begin unit after the First World War) would be the rail oriented development of Stockholm. Even though automobile ownership is high, with 420 cars per 1000 population(p.43) and the city sits on a feature less plain like Winnipeg (albeit forested rather than prairie). For most internal commutes only about 30% are taken by automobile and walk/bicycle take up to 50 percent of all trips in the satellite towns, even in the high tech centre of Kistra, which is very unusual compared to other high-tech centres around the world, particularly in North America. To each satellite there is a great deal of commuting in and out since, unlike the British model, they were never meant to be entirely, but only

partially self sufficient (See Sustainable new town: Stockholm's rail-served satellites, Cities Vol. 12, No. 1, 1996 pp. 41-55).

P.S. Note the car ownership in Winnipeg was 509 per 1000, while Edmonton had the highest at 622, the GVRD at 202, Greater Montreal 414, the Montreal Urban Community (the core) at 369; Greater Toronto at 463 and Metro Toronto at 493, Phoenix at 499; Vienna at 311; Tokyo, 156. Annual rises per person on public transport 9 per capita in Phoenix, 313 in Vienna, 472 in Tokyo, 186 Metro Toronto, 128, Greater Toronto, 225, Montreal Urban Community; 154, Greater Montreal Region, 94 in Greater Vancouver; 87 in Winnipeg and 69 in Edmonton (table 4 - 1991 comparisons- in Steven Peck, The Ecological City: Canada's Overview, CMHC May 1995.

168: For example, by spending $2-billion dollar by 2007 (although half of this will be spent on maintaining the existing system) the Metropolitan Transit Authority hopes to attract 51,000 more users, as the number of transit users dropped from 357,000 in 1982 to 345,000 in 1993. The agency predicted that by 2007 about half the regions population will live off the island so more off island transit links will be created. There may even be extensions to Metro's Blue line to Pie 1X and on the orange line to Bois Franc and perhaps an extension from here to Laval. Other highlights in the ten year plan were the addition of 2,500 more park and ride spaces in Laval, express bus service from eastern north shore, adding three new reserved lanes from north shore and laval, a shuttle between Dorval airport and downtown, increase capacity of Deux montagnes commuter train,, setting up train service between Montreal and Saint Bruno, more reserved lanes on approaches to Mercier Bridge (See Monique Beaudin, " $2-billion transit boost," in the Montreal Gazette May 16,1997.

At the same time contradictory measures towards transit have also been taken in Montreal For example, See Elizabeth Thompson, " Build both Metro extensions or none, mayor warns Quebec," in The Gazette February 5, 1993. Also look at Mike King, "MUCTC budget cuts leave disable fuming," in the Montreal Gazette August 20, 1996 where earlier in the summer two routes were eliminated and service on 18 routes was reduced in order to save $7.5 million, with the mini taxi service for disable people that serves over 14,000 clients cut back by 3 percent in order to save $350,000. Like other Canadian cities these and other cuts appear to be having an effect on ridership levels. After resisting the dramatic decline experienced in other Canadian cities since 1986 ridership levels declined by 1% in the first six months of 1995 (See Andelia Cellini, "MUCTC cuts routes, eyes far hike as ridership dips 1995," in Montreal Gazette July 26, 1995) Even though the Quebec government has levied an extra 1.5 cents a litre tax on gas which will raise $45 million for transit this may not add much extra revenue since other cut backs are being put in place while this new tax is levied (See Carolyn Adolph, Regions drivers hit with new gas tax, in The Gazette December 2, 1995).

Addendum: statistics from Raad and Kenworthy article (1988) - based on 1990/1 data - car use per capita - V 8361 - C 7913 Ed 7062 W 6871 Ott 5883 TO 5680 M 4746 Cdn cities 6645 U.S. cities 11155 - transit trips per capita - V 117 C 94 Ed 109 W 98 Ott 135 TO 210 M 222 Cdn 131 U.S. 63 - percentage of workers walking to work or cycling V 5.7% C 5.3% Ed 6.0% W 8% Ott 8% TO 5.3% M 6.1% Cdn 6.2% U.S. 4.2 - land use - urban density per hectare net - developed areas V 20.8 C 20.8 Ed 29.9 W 21.3 Ott 31.3 TO - GTA 25.9 M 33.8 (includes MUC, Laval and 11 other municipalities) Cdn cities 26.2 U.S. cities 14.2 inner area - V 41.5 C 22.7 Ed 26.8 W 41.2 Ott 49.2 TO 60.0 M 64.1 Cdn 43.7 U.S. 35.6 - outer area 17.4 V 20.2 C 31.5 Ed 18.0 W 30.1 Ott 22.8 TO 28.5 M Cdn-24 U.S. 11.8 % jobs in CBD 13.4% in V 21% in C 19.4 in Ed 25.9 in W 24.2 in Ott - 7.6% in TO 20% in M 18.8 in Cdn 10.5 in U.S. % jobs in inner area - 41% in V 48.3 in C 47.6 in W 38.3 in Ott 26.1 in TO 43.1 in M 40.7 in Cdn 32.8 U.S. - figures show Vancouver region densities currently on par with New York City - Houston shows up less dense than Phoenix - in table one) - From Pucher article (1998) - public transit in Canada million 1396 in 1950 973 in 1960 980 in 1970 1315 in 1980 1529 in 1990 and 1337 in 1996 - per capita 1950 246 1960 135 1970 100 1980 97 1990 104 1996 84 sources cited The Daily June 5,1997 and Canadian Urban Transit Association in table one - in table five - revenue passengers V 96.7 in 1980 93.0 in 1985 and 107.1 in 1990 123.1 in 1996 Victoria 12.9 in 1980 13.4 in 1985 and 14.4 in 1990 to 17.3 in 1996 TO 366.4 in 1980 432.2 in

1985 and 459.2 in 1990 and 372 in 1996 M 314.1 in 1980 372.1 in 1985 386.4 in 1990 339.5 peak in 1994 to 333.5 in 1996 - Calgary in 1980 52.4 in 1985 was 48.6 then 50.8 in 1990 to 60.5 in 1996 - Quebec City 36.8 in 1996 was 39.1 in 1990 and 28.6 in 1980 - Cdn 1980 1315 1985 1434 1990 1529 in 1996 1337 - table two - capital costs local share 10% in 1980 in 1985 35% in 1990 25% in 1995 48% - provincial share 1980 89% 1985 63% in 1990 65% in 1995 48% total capital subsidy in 95 dollars in 1980 392M in 1985 461M in 1990 566 in 1995 689-million - operating costs local 1980 47% in 1985 37% in 1990 46% in 1995 58% - V is Vancouver, C is Calgary Ed is Edmonton W is Winnipeg Ott is Ottawa TO is Toronto M is Montreal.

169: For instance the quantitative variation can be readily illustrated by looking at the size of the immigrant population within each urban region in question. According to the 1991 Census (Cat. Nos. 95-385, 95-359. 95-338, 95-326) there were 957,370 immigrants residing in Greater Toronto, 467,350 in Vancouver, 411,865 in Montreal and 110.250 in Winnipeg. What is significant to note is that whereas the number of immigrants moving to Winnipeg and Montreal peaked in the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s the number of immigrants moving into Toronto and Vancouver has continued to rise rather than fall.

The qualitative aspect of immigration can be illustrated by looking at the point of origins of major flows of immigrants to each city. Here we see that Toronto and Vancouver have taken the overwhelming proportion of Asian immigrants who tend to have a higher socio-economic profile than most other groups. Likewise the over-representation of Haitian and the Filipino immigrants' into in Montreal and Winnipeg, indicate that these cities have become relatively more attractive to immigrants groups lower down the socio-economic ladder. Although these two groups are relatively insignificant in Toronto and Vancouver they are important in the immigration profiles of Montreal and Winnipeg.

For example in the 1991 census profile (refer back to Cat. Nos. listed above) 170,840 Chinese immigrants were found to be residing in Toronto and 166,790 in Vancouver. However while far lower levels of Chinese immigration were found in Montreal and Winnipeg these two cities had much larger numbers of poorer immigrants in their profiles. For Montreal this comes out in the high Caribbean population composed mostly of Haitians who number around 30,000 in Montreal. Similarly in Winnipeg it is the Filipino population that emerges in the profile of immigrants in this city, with over 8,000 Filipinos recorded as living in Winnipeg.

If a more detailed look at recent immigrants is carried out (between 1981 and 1991) the avoidance of Montreal and Winnipeg by capital rich immigrants and the attraction of capital poor immigrants to these cities becomes more apparent. For instance in Montreal, after Lebanon, Haiti supplied the largest number of immigrants to Quebec, hence Montreal, resulting in an influx of nearly 17,000 Haitians into Montreal whereas the number moving elsewhere in the country was negligible (See Viviance Renaud and Rosalinda Costa,"Immigrants in Quebec," in Canadian Social Trends, Summer 1995, Statistics Canada). In contrast to Montreal if we look at Vancouver and Toronto we see that the immigration profile is quite different. For example if we look at Canada we see that between 1981 and 1991 Hong Kong provided the most immigrants to Canada. However if we look at the top ten places of origin for immigration to Montreal or Winnipeg this group does not even appear whereas it does for Toronto and Vancouver where we find that two out of three Chinese live in these two cities with 39 percent in Toronto and 27 percent in Vancouver according to the 91 Census (See Costa and Renaus,"The Chinese in Canada," in Canadian Social Trends, Winter 1995, Statistics Canada). Of the 477,000 immigrants living in Vancouver in 1991 44 percent were Asian with only a small fraction from the Caribbean which is a major source of supply for new immigrants to Montreal (See Jennifer Chard,"Vancouver's Diverse and Growing Population," Canadian Social Trends, Autumn 1995, Statistics Canada).

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Addendum: Since the release of the 1996 figures on immigration the polarization that was mentioned has only increased further, with Toronto and Vancouver accounting for about 58% of the 1.039 million immigrants that came to Canada between 1991 and 1996. What is also interesting to note is the breakdown in each city. Whereas 80% of the 189,000 immigrants to Vancouver were Asian the percentage for Toronto was only about 60%. Nationally the top ten groups were Hong Kong -108,915-10.5%/Chinese - 87,875 -8.5%/ India - 71,335 - 6.9%/Philippines - 71,325 - 6.9%/ Sri-Lanka - 44,235 - 4.3%/ Poland - 36,965 - 3.6%/ Taiwan - 32,140 - 3.1%/ Vietnam - 29,020 - 2.8%/ United Kingdom - 25,425 - 2.4 equals about 52% of immigration. **Toronto** total between 1991 and 1996 441,035 -Hong Kong - 48,535 - 11%/ Sri Lanka - 36,735 - 22.2%/ China - 35,330 - 8.2%/ Philippines - 33,210 - 5.9%/ India - 33,185 - 3.5%/ Poland - 18,605 - 3.5%/ Jamaica - 16,780 - 3.1%/ Guyana - 13,195 - 2.4%/ Vietnam - 12,290 - 2.1%/ Trinidad/Tobago - 11,375 - 1.7%. **Vancouver** total: 189,660 - Hong Kong - 44,715 - 23.6%/ China - 27,005 - 14.2%/ Taiwan - 22,315 - 11.8%/ India - 16,185 - 8.5%/ Philippines - 13,610 - 7.2%/ South Korea - 6,335 - 3.3%/ Iran - 4,040 - 2.4%/ United Kingdom - 4,040 - 2.1%/ Vietnam - 3,855 - 2.0%/ US. - 3,640 - 1.9%. Montreal immigrant population 17.8% Toronto, 41.2% Vancouver 34.9%/ Hamilton (older immigrant population - 23.6%/ Kitchener - 21.8%/ Calgary 20.9%/Winnipeg - 16.9%/Windsor - 20.7%/ London -19.3%/ Victoria - 19.3% /Halifax -7.2%/ Regina- 8.0%/ Saskatoon7.6%/Ottawa 16.2%/ Edmonton 18.5% Sherbrooke 4.3%/ Chicoutimi/Jonquiere -0.7%l Quebec City 2.6% Saint John - 4.0% / St. John's 2.9%/Trois Rivieres - 1.6%/ St. Chatherine -18.3%. Of provinces Alberta 3rd largest destination 70,000 immigrants - 33,775 to Calgary and 27,270 to Edmonton - immigration matched population growth rate in Alberta which has 9% of population but only took in 7% of all immigrants. Immigrants = 24.5% of BC population and 25.6% of Ontario and 9.4% of Quebec/ 15.2 of Alberta and 12.4% of Manitoba Nova Scotia - 4.7% New Brunswick 3.3, Newfoundland 1.6% Saskatchewan 5.4%. In total 75% of immigrants went to three largest cities but they only have quarter of the population. 85% of immigrants settle in cities and 93% in Census Metropolitan Areas in 1996. Between 1990 and 1995 average immigration was 235,000 peaked in 1993 at 256,000, 1950s peaked around 150,000 lower rates in 1960s and 1970s. Asian immigrants 57% of all immigrants in between 1991 and 1996 compared to 33% in 1970's. 1960's Asians =12% of immigrants prior 1960=3%. 80 % immigrants to Vancouver Asian versus 60% in Toronto - In total there are 4.971 million immigrants in Canada - Hong Kong in 4th place - 241,095-4.8% India 235,930-4.7% Philippines- 184,550 - 3.7% See The Daily, November 4th, 1997 by Statistics Canada. **Nationally** - Between 1991 and 1991 Hong Kong 1st at 108,915 or 10.5%/ China 87,875-8.5%/India- 71-335 - 6.9% Taiwan - 32,060 - 3.1%/ United Kingdom -25,425 -2.4% -10th place, Poland - 36,965 - 3.6% US. - 29,020 - 2.8%, Vietnam - 32,060 - 2.8% Sri Lanka - 44,235 - 4.3%.(Vancouver -260,000 Chinese).

For additional information on immigration see Leo Driedger's book entitled *Multi Ehnic Canada*, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1996 and Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at out Gate: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy - 1540 - 1995*, Dundurn Press Toronto.

172: In the suburbs this becomes evident if Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge are compared. With Pitt Meadows having a larger middle class population the planning cultures of these two municipalities has begun to diverge. Significantly enough one of the areas in Maple Ridge where some significant opposition to the laissez faire policies has developed has come from the exurban areas of the municipality such as Silver Valley where an association called the Silver Valley Neighborhood Association with at least 30 members (Corine Jackson Group Forms to ensure Growth has a Silver Lining, Maple Ridge - Pitt Meadows Times August 11, 1996) has come into existence to monitor and pressure a pro-development on council, creating one of several grouping in the exurban part of the municipality which appears to forming into an articulate and increasingly influential middle class constituency which may eventually succeed in moving the political and planning culture of Maple Ridge closer to the emerging postmodern order that seems to be emerging in Pitt Meadows. See Karin Marl, "urban area fragmented, Maple Ridge - Pitt Meadows March 9,1994 and letter to the editor by Steve Broughton et al. "Critics of Silver Valley plan have done their homework," Maple Ridge - Pitt Meadows October 30, 1994. and Karin Mark, " Silver Valley, Albion plans debated, January 20,1994. This can be seen in the willingness of each council to control growth and work deliberately to see that qualitative rather than just quantitative development is allowed. Here Pitt Meadows has been more willing to consider stricter development controls to achieve these ends. In this regard for Pitt Meadows: see, Scott Pattison, "Council seeks quality as available land runs short," May 4,1994, and Chris Campbell, "Growth on hold for six months," December 24, 1996; and for Maple ridge the converse can be seen in the following reports - see, Ross McLaren, "Giant mall pushes ahead," July 28,1996, where councillor Candace Gordon is cited: Saying "Why go to the trouble and expense of doing a brand new OCP (general plan) if we don't intend to follow it? asked Gordon;" or look at "Port Haney rules to bend," November 2,1994; "Heritage zone protection at risk in review," February, 23,1994; Stan Pazurik,"Against the grain: councillor Candace Gordon doesn't have much faith in her fellow council member to protect the environment," January 29,1995; Karen Taylor, "Sweet repeat for MRNPA machine," November 24,1993 (all articles in Maple Ridge - Pitt Meadows News). Another good illustration is the reaction of each council to the distribution of a local gay magazine called Extra West in each municipality's library. While Pitt Meadows allowed the magazine to remain, Maple Ridge banned its distribution. In this regard See Don Fiovento, "Keep Xtra West, Pitt Meadows council decides, December 24,1994 Maple Ridge - Pitt Meadows News and Salan Pazurik, " Gay mag Pulled from Library: Maple Ridge council votes to have Xtra West pulled to protect community standards. But this view has not been expressed by residents in Pitt Meadows, who expressed concern about the lack of proper regulation in Maple Ridge. Finally, the difference in political and planning cultures has emerged in the debate over the amalgamation of each municipality. As the one reform councillor on Maple Ridge municipal council, Candace Gordon, ruefully confessed: she wished Maple Ridge had the political culture that was present in Pitt Meadows (personal conversation Spring 1996). Thus just as Pitt Meadow is paying more serious attention to implementing plans with a definite postmodern bias, such as the Meadow vale Area Planning Study (Corporation of The District of Pitt Meadows, Meadowvale Area Planning Study Results October 1995) plans for the core and old port areas are regularly ignored or challenged by the existing council in Maple Ridge.

173: Comparisons between the East and West sides of the City of Vancouver show this with regard to the resistance to densification and the related demand for more rigid controls for densification, See for example, Barbara Petite (1991) and the difference take on redevelopment in the Arbutus industrial lands on the West Side of the city, in Kitsilano, where there is a large and articulate new middle class and the Collingwood Development, on the far South East Side

of Vancouver, in a working class areas, where the resistance to high density development was quite muted in comparison to the vociferous opposition mounted against the much smaller and medium density development which was proposed and eventually approved for the Arbutus Industrial lands. In this regard see City of Vancouver, City Clerks File #8026, Redevelopment of the Joyce Vanness Industrial Area-Major Policy issue July 30 1992, where a proposal originally asking for the construction of 3000 housing units was eventually approved after some amendments. Meanwhile on the West Side of the city a much more rancorous approval process took place for a medium rise development where 700 units were accepted by city council. See, John Coleboum, "600 vow to fight Kits plan," Vancouver Province, January 15, 1992 and Elizabeth Aird, "Molson Lands: A string of self-serving sermonettes from city hall's little booster club, in Vancouver Sun February 10, 1994.

174: For example, since 1981 the urban development has proceeded largely through densification, with the population increasing 22 percent between 1981 and 1995 - from 13,550 to 17,300 with much of the residential dynamic supplied by the 65 plus age cohort which represented 35 percent of the population in 1981. With this age cohort increasing by 18 per cent between 1981 and 1991 while the general population increased by 20 percent this age group continues to energize this real estate market despite the steep rise in prices which would act to displace poorer seniors from the market - as has also happened in the West End. Thus while the percentage of single detached dwellings for the urban region stands at 50 percent for Greater Vancouver, they represent only 42.1 percent of the housing stock in White Rock. This correlates closely with the disproportionate number of seniors in the population in 1991, with around 34 percent of the population 65 years and older, this cohort is over represented in the population by around a factor of 3. Again this stands in contrast to Maple Ridge which still has one of the most land extensive development patterns in greater Vancouver, where the percentage of the 65 age cohort stands around 10 percent, slightly below the average for the urban region.

The market effect of this affluent seniors population can be seen in the price rise of the single family detached homes, where the prices change over the past year has been 31.8 % compared to 21.6 per cent in North Delta, 21.0% in North Surrey, 24.7% in Surrey 29.3 % in Langley and 22,7 % in Abbotsford, in other exurban zones of the region, with the average price in February 1997 standing at $320,000 in White Rock versus $258,060 in North Delta, $236,890 in North Surrey, $250,590 in Surrey, $240,540 in Langley and $201,110 in Abbotsford (See Whyn Chow, " Valley gets housing price index" in The Vancouver Sun March 22,1997 -VS-163).

177: Not surprising few residential neighbourhoods have been so extensively written about in the Canadian urban literature as the West End has been in Canada an abroad. For example, in Canada one can refer to the following studies, reports and articles: See Report No. 4: Proposed Revisions to Apartment zoning Regulations (RM-4), Technical Planning Board, City of Vancouver May 1965; Ann McAfee. "Residence on the Margin of the Central Business District," unpublished M.. dissertation, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia; R. W. Patillo, The West End of Vancouver: A Social Profile, June 1969; Forbes - Goldberg - Kelly, Survey of West End Residents for Marathon Reality, August 1970; Towards a Social Program For The West End, Social Planning Department, City of Vancouver, June 1971; John Gaylor, "Private residential redevelopment in the inner city: The West End of Vancouver, Canada," in Journal of the Town Planning Institute, January 1971; Ann McAfee, "Evolving Inner City Residential Environments: The Case of Vancouver's West End," in Peoples Of The Living Land: edited by Julian Minghi, Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1972; Setty Pendakur, High-rise Living, A Study of Socio-economic and Travel Characteristics of Vancouver's West End Residents, Montreal: Ministry of Transport, 1972; Harold Kalman, "The West End," in *Exploring Vancouver*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1974; West End Urban Design Guidelines, Planning Department, City of Vancouver, December 3rd, 1974; Walter Hardwick, "The West End" pp. 87-93 in *Vancouver*, Don Mill: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974;pp. 87-88; West End Plan Policies, Planning Department, City of Vancouver, April 1975; George Gray et al., Patterns of

Neighbourhood Change, The West End of Vancouver, Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, May, 1976; Fivehouse and Alderton, Report of the West End Community Survey, for the Planning Department, City of Vancouver, July 1977; Robertson, Angus, " The Pursuit of Power, Profit and Privacy: A Study of Vancouver's West End Elite, 1886-1914" Unpublished MA Thesis, 1977, University of British Columbia; The West End, in Urban Reader, Social Planning Department, City of Vancouver, Vol. 10, No. 5, 1982; W. E. No. 1 : A forum for West Enders and other urban dwellers, (circa 1983); Brett Heinz, West End Study, CROWE (Concerned Residents Of The West End), 1984; Hookers On Davie, Film Documentary, 1984; Terence John Fairclough, "The Gay Community of Vancouver's West End: The Geography of a Modern Urban Phenomenon, MA Essay, Unpublished, Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, August 1985; Craig Rowlands, "A Second Look at the West End," Quarterly Review, Vol. 12, No. 4, October, 1985; West End Residential Areas Policy Plan, City Planning Department, City of Vancouver, November 1986; West End Residential Areas Policy Plan Report 3, Planning Department, City of Vancouver, December, 1987; West End Georgia/Alberni Guidelines, Planning Department, City of Vancouver September, 1989; Robert Goodell, " West End 2000: Healthy Communities Study - Summary Report, May 15, 1991; Rosemary Neering, *West End, Vancouver:* Whitecap Books, 1994; Blair Petrie, Mole Hill Living Heritage: An early history of Vancouver's oldest intact block of housing, Vancouver: Mole Hill Living Heritage Society, 1995; Alan Durning, selections on the West End in *This Place On Earth*; David Beers, "Little Sarejevo," in Vancouver Magazine, March 1997.

186: For example, while the total number of multiple unit dwellings passed the 50 percent mark in the City of North Vancouver and New Westminister in 1971, establishing densification has the dominant form pattern with regard to the reorganization of urban space in these communities, this did not happen in Burnaby until 1986 and in White Rock until 1991. While statistics on housing construction for most of the outer suburbs still reveal that densification is still in the ascendant phase they also point to rapid entry of most communities into the next stage of development. For example, densification will soon become dominant in Port Moody, Richmond and Coquitlam as they municipalities soon pass the 50 percent mark. When this happens they will be in the same league as Burnaby and New Westminister and North Vancouver. Still further out, in the edge communities such as Surrey, Port Coquitlam, The District of North Vancouver and Delta, the densification process has moved beyond the emergent phase. As a consequence densification has become an ascendant force in these communities, as denser units now comprise 20 to 30 percent of the entire housing stock of these communities, moving ever upward in each succeeding year. See Perkins (1993) and *The Greater Vancouver Regional District, Greater Vancouver Key Facts: A Statistical profile of Greater Vancouver*, 1993 Edition.

187: Over the past 10 years' densities have risen here dramatically in Abbotsford. But here demographic influences appear to have played a larger role in the progression of the densification process. Looking at what has happened illustrates how demographic factors and not just economic influences, as defined by the real estate market or the densification ratio, can have an important impact on the densification process.

This can be shown by comparing the housing mix of Abbotsford and Maple Ridge. If the densification ratio is just looked an anomaly appears. While housing is cheaper in Abbotsford densities are noticeably higher here than they are in Maple Ridge. Although the average price for a new a single detached dwelling unit in Abbotsford was 12 percent less than in Maple Ridge much denser housing was being produced in Abbotsford. For example, in July 1995, the average price of new house in Maple Ridge was $278,732 compared to $249,795 to Abbotsford. If only the relation to price to income is considered this should have translated into more single detached units in Abbotsford but since the late 1970s Abbotsford has produced more denser dwelling units than Maple Ridge. While the proportion of the total housing stock made up of single detached housing units now stands around 72 percent in Maple Ridge, in Abbotsford the

percentage in 1995 was only 58 percent. With recent construction of single detached dwelling units falling to 38 percent of all new units in 1993 and with historic low of 28 percent reached in 1994 densification in Abbotsford has unquestionably become more than in Maple Ridge (City of Abbotsford, Development Services Report August 22, 1995).

This difference in housing production reveals that something in addition to economics must be at work in the demand for denser housing in Abbotsford. Upon further examination what stands out is the relatively larger percentage of older people in the total population of Abbotsford. With 14.6 percent of Abbotsford's population over the age of 65, compared to less than 9.5 percent for Maple Ridge, proportionately there are 50 percent more seniors living in Abbotsford than in Maple Ridge. In Maple Ridge, since 1981 the proportion of seniors has actually fallen from 10 percent to 9.5 percent in 1991 while the average for the region has risen. As a result, the percentage of seniors in Maple Ridge is 25 percent below the metropolitan average while Abbotsford stands nearly 30 percent above the metropolitan average for Greater Vancouver. As will be shown in the following section, the propensity of this seniors age cohort to consumer denser housing is quite high, so here, is case, which, unlike Richmond, demographic factor play a critical role in shaping the densification process, but not because of immigration but rather because of differences in the composition of the life cycle of each community (See: Statistics Canada 1981, 1986, 1991) and Housing: An OCP Review Discussion Paper, Maple Ridge Official Community Plan Review, November, 1995, prepared by Clayton Research Associates; City of Abbotsford, Draft Community Profile (July 1995) and Population Statistics (August, 1995).

Lastly, this may be starting to change. With the expansion of Greater Vancouver and the creation of job opportunities in the eastern part of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, much cheaper land, less stringent regulations, has meant that Abbotsford is increasingly being absorbed into the GVRD as a dormitory suburb. One indicator of this may be the rising percentage of single detached dwelling units that have been constructed over the past year and a half. It may be that this community may start to function more as an exurban land reservoir for the production of relatively inexpensive single detached dwelling units, replicating the role that Maple Ridge now plays. However, whether this continues to go should become more obvious as the next development cycle proceeds.

Together, the operation of the urban land market and demographic shifts favourable to densification created by a rapidly increasing seniors population have even cast a shadow on urban development in more distant cities that form part of the hinterland of the urban region of Vancouver. Moving much further a field than Abbotsford this can be seen in fast growing cities such as, such as Kelowna, which is over 400 kilometers away from the City of Vancouver, in the Okanogan Valley. If the recently adopted Official Community Plan provides an accurate forecast of what will come to pass, the housing mix in Kelowna will move decisively away from single detached dwellings units to multiple units dwellings in the near future. In twenty years, for instance, the proportion of multiple units is expected to rise from approximately 24 per cent of the total housing stock to approximately 65 percent (Vancouver Sun August 5, 1995, p.E-1). And just as in Abbotsford it is the aging of population and the migration of elderly people to specialized enclaves within in the Greater Vancouver Regional District such as White Rock, where a third of the population is over 65 - three times the metropolitan average - or to cities just outside the region, such as Abbotsford, 80 kilometers away or in cities further away such Kelowna - over 400 kilometers from Vancouver - that the demographic influence on the densification process come into clearer focus. This influence is even felt at the micro level. From surveys of Vancouver and neighbourhoods in Burnaby and Vancouver planners know from experience that timing is of the essence when it comes to introducing densification into local neighbourhoods. As the life cycle of the population in a neighourhood increasingly enters the 65 year old plus age cohort the resistance to densification by homeowners may diminish significantly. The dynamic for or against densification at this micro level can therefore change radically, opening or closing the window of opportunity for densification strategies in as little time as five years. From these examples the modifying impact that demographic influences

have in the macro, meso and micro operation of the urban land market is possible to map out ascertained, to a certain extent.

Furthermore, from a more distant vantage point what all these illustrations and digressions should make clear is how uneven and nuanced the densification process can be within a single urban region. For example there is a time lag of thirty years between the time that densification became an ascendant force for the re-organization of urban space in the City of Vancouver and the time that this began to take place in the outer suburbs and the exurban zones of the urban region. And as there variations and difference between the way that the densification process is unfolding in the City of Vancouver and its suburbs, even within the suburbs there are differences in the way that this common market impulse which favours densification actually becomes translated into the actual production of concrete urban spaces. For within this process, as the example of Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows reveal, class can become important. For the relative strength or weakness of the new middle class in each suburban community will influence how strongly postmodern norms for the organization of urban space will mediate and channel the densification process in each community. Similarly, demographic variables can also be seen as important modifying force in the uneven spread of the densification process in Greater Vancouver.

As the comparison that was made between Maple Ridge and Abbotsford points out, independent demographic factors, such life cycle changes, can significantly modify the densification process, even acting as counter veiling influence on the economic factors which promote either land-extensive or land-intensive development. And even here there are other demographic influences that can affect the densification process. Although the example was not cited in the previous discussion, besides general population increases and life cycle shifts, immigration is another demographic factor which can cause additional variations in the way that local real estate markets within the urban region are configured. This fact can be graphically illustrated by citing two examples where the settlement patterns of Asian immigrants have influenced the real estate market. Within the City of Vancouver, for instance, this is one reason why the price differential between the West and East Side of the City of Vancouver has diverged from 1.5 to 1.0 in the early 1980s to a ratio of 2.0 to 1.0 in the early 1990s. The same pattern of divergence can be seen if the real estate markets of different municipalities are compared. For example, dramatic Asian immigration into the suburb of Richmond, South of the City of Vancouver, has dramatically altered and repositioned the local real estate market in relation to the rest of metropolitan area as housing prices in Richmond increased faster than the region and the municipality became incorporated into a Zone of Asian Resettlement. Whereas the average value of a dwelling unit in Richmond was only 94.2 percent of metropolitan average in 1991 by the Summer of 1995 (See 95-385 Census Tract Profiles of BC.) the price of a single detached dwelling unit had risen 4 percent above the metropolitan average. Thus, these numerous examples show that the progression of the densification process over time and its diffusion over space in Greater Vancouver has been complex and uneven process of spatial transformation.

Final proof of the maturation of the densification cycle in Vancouver can be had if we go out to the very edges of the metropolitan region and look at what is happening to the most distant suburban and exurban communities in Greater Vancouver - to places like Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge. With the average cost of housing resting at $173,728 compared to the metropolitan figure of $244,539 Maple ridge had the cheapest housing in the region, in 1991, with the average dwelling unit priced 29 percent below the metropolitan average. Therefore, if the economics of land extensive development are favourable for land extensive developments anywhere in the region it is here - in Maple Ridge.

The attempt to artificially prolong the production of this form of development has provoked a political, economic and planning crisis in the municipality. With the most inexpensive housing market in the region, topped off by further indirect subsidies to new home owners which take the form of some of the softest regulations in the region as well as some of the lowest development levies the municipality has succeeded in creating a housing market where more people live in single detached homes in Maple Ridge than any where else in the

Greater Vancouver Regional District, but even with these institutional supports the distinction of having the most land extensive system of urban development in the region has come at the still come at heavy cost to consumers. For according to Vision Maple Ridge - a report which is part of the municipality's plan review process - in order to support this land extensive form of consumption proportionately more households in Maple Ridge have to spend 30 percent of their income on housing than in any other municipality. With the average income needed to buy a resale home in Maple Ridge estimated at $60,000 and an average income for the municipality of only $49,200 in 1991, the purchase of a used home exceeds the average household income in the municipality by 22 percent. Further aggravating the crisis in affordability is the traffic crisis that has come about because of housing consumers moving to the municipality in the search for inexpensive housing with the unstated expectation that the province would subsidize this inexpensive housing by providing the necessary traffic infrastructure which would allow them to commute to their jobs elsewhere. As one commuter, who was not willing to put up with the delay and cost of commuting, remarked, it was necessary to pay an extra $50,000 for housing, to live on the other side of the Pitt River to avoid the congestion (See "Hell Week", in Vancouver Sun August, 31,1996).

To this end a group called as been created to lobby the provincial government for freeway infrastructure so that the costs of this discounted housing can be externalized on to the government and the municipalities that have to endure the environmental degradation caused by the congestion created by the artificial maintenance of pockets of land-extensive development, in places like Maple Ridge. Thus even is the last bastion of land-extensive development the further extension of this system has become problematic on a variety of different levels. Despite all the indirect subsidies that have been mentioned more multiple unit dwellings are currently being constructed in Maple Ridge than single detached units. What this indicates is that even in the most inexpensive real estate market in the region that the economics of land-extensive development has started to flounder and become difficult to sustain. That is why, even here, the densification process has become an ascendant force in the re-organization of urban space in Maple Ridge.

Despite attempts to maintain this form of land-extensive development, a closer look at the relevant statistics indicates show how recent this shift from land extensive to land-intensive development has been in Maple Ridge. In new housing construction in the early 1980s is compared to that of the late 1980s it is only after 1986 that the shifts from extensive to more intensive development becomes firmly imprinted into the production of new housing. Not surprisingly, this shift closely corresponds to the dramatic upward movement in the densification ratio for Vancouver. When the densification ratio for Vancouver fell from 7.3 to 3.7 between 1981 and 1986, so did the number of new multiple units constructed in Maple Ridge. Except for one brief upward surge up to 61 percent in 1981, from 1980 to 1987 the percentage of new multiple units constructed in Maple Ridge ranged between zero and 25 percent in each of these years. After 1986, when the densification ratio rose from 3.7 to 5.7 in 1991, there was a corresponding surge in multiple unit construction in Maple Ridge, with the percentage multiple units added each year ranging from 27 to 60 percent of the new housing stock added in each of these years. Since 1990 this upward movement has further accelerated. Except for a brief dip to just under 50 percent in 1992, the construction of multiple unit housing in Maple Ridge has been consistently above 50 percent and nearer to 60 percent since 1990. A recent consultant's report on the housing market in Maple Ridge provides additional confirmation of this. The report's projections show that there would be no foreseeable shortage of land for single detached units but a possible shortage looming for medium density units as the pressure exerted by land-intensive development on the regulation and production of urban space begins to have a bigger impact - even in Maple Ridge.

In the adjacent outer municipality of Pitt Meadows the shift from extensive to intensive development has been even more abrupt than in Maple Ridge. Not surprisingly, with an average house price of $180,947 in Pitt Meadows compared to $173, 728 for Maple Ridge the market impulses favouring more land-intensive development have been stronger here. Looking at changes in composition of the housing stock in Pitt Meadows, in 1971, less than half of one per

cent of all dwelling units were apartments. And in 1981 only 2.9 percent of all dwelling units in the municipality were made up of apartments. Yet, by 1986 the number of multiple units had soared to 25 percent, moving up to 31 percent in 1991, and then rising further to over 37 percent in 1993 (Department of Building, Municipality of Pitt Meadows). If these trends continue, and this is likely to happen, by the year 2000 densification will be the dominant pattern given force in operation in the municipality. Since 1990 the construction of new multiple dwelling units in Pitt Meadows have therefore ranged from between 66 to 74 per cent of all new units each year. And so, in the short time span of just 15 years, but especially since 1986, Pitt Meadows has been completely transformed. In 1981 Pitt Meadows still had the look and feel of a small but sprawled out rural village. However by 1996 much of the built up portion of the municipality now resembles many of the medium density precincts that can be found in the older inner city suburbs which been restructured by the densification process for past twenty and even thirty years compared the decade that this process has been foreground of new developments in Pitt Meadows.

Beside the more rapid transformation of the built environment, when comparing the way that densification process has unfolded in Pitt Meadows to what has happened in Maple Ridge, the other important factor that has come into play in the evolution of the built environment in each municipality has been that of class. With the densification process evolving in conjunction with the emergence of a much larger and more articulate new middle class in Pitt Meadows, postmodern rather than modern planning norms have influence the way the development have been configured. As a result of stricter design controls more emphasis being put on the organization of space around the needs of the pedestrian rather than that of the car their are traces of urbanity which have appeared in new development in Pitt Meadows that are completely absent in Maple Ridge. Except for an increasingly influential new middle class in the outlying exurban parts of Maple Ridge the low profile and influence of this class have made it very difficult to mobilize the electorate in favour of measures to protect the heritage resources of Maple Ridge or to demand more sophisticated and urban oriented development controls that are in place in Pitt Meadows. That is why Pitt Meadows has more successfully negotiated the shift from land extensive to land intensive development than Maple Ridge, even though densification occurred more abruptly and developed with greater intensity in Pitt Meadows than in Maple Ridge. This also explains why public discussion about amalgamating the two municipalities became an issue in 1995, provoked such an immediate and strong reaction against the proposal by politicians and citizens a like in Pitt Meadows. This middle class has seen the chaotic land extensive regime of planning that is in operation in Maple Ridge and has no desire to see its land resources managed in this way. The power of this class can also be seen in the significant opposition to a resort development in the Pitt Polder, where a bridge has been set fire to, and a referendum attempted to block the pro-development policies of council (See, VS-359; and back issue of Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows Times).

As the next chapter will illustrate, cultural as well as structural factors also come into play as important mediating elements in the history and progression of the densification process within the suburbs of Greater Vancouver as well as within the City of Vancouver itself. The contrast between Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge is just one example of the how the interplay of postmodern regulation and the progression of the densification are inter-woven with class in the history of the most recent transformation of urban space in Vancouver.

196: Even before the seemingly dramatic deterioration in the Real-estate market, after 1991, a quick overview of housing prices in the inner City of Winnipeg revealed the weakness of the housing market in this inner city compared to Toronto, Vancouver or Montreal - the only other major city where the inner city real estate market exhibits some of the signs of the same weakness that is present in Winnipeg, but a far less worrisome level. When the housing prices in the 41 Census tracts nearest to downtown Winnipeg was examined 75 percent of all the tracts had average housing prices which were 10 percent below the metropolitan average of 97,000, or below $88,300, with over 25 percent of the tracts registering values more than 40 percent the

metropolitan average, two tracts even below 50 percent of the metropolitan average. Meanwhile only five census tracts or just over 10 percent of the tracts had values that were above 12 percent of the metropolitan average (or $106,700). Only about 12 percent of all the census tracts studied had values above or below 10 percent of the metropolitan average (See Cat. No. 395-360). By contrast in Vancouver, where densification rather than land extensive development patterns predominate, when 72 census tracts within the City of Vancouver were examined (approximately double the number of Winnipeg were included since the city is twice the size of Winnipeg) a radically different picture emerges. With the Average value of a home recorded at 244, 539 in the 1991 Census, only 22 percent of the census tracts counted had values below 10 percent of the metropolitan average versus 75 percent for Winnipeg. Approximately 39 percent of the tracts had values above 10 percent of the metropolitan average in comparison to about 10 percent for Winnipeg. While approximately 39 percent of all the census tracts in the City of Vancouver were either 10 percent above or below the metropolitan average only about 12 percent of all the census tracts in Winnipeg fell into this range. Also, while the lowest average value was recorded for Vancouver was in the Mount Pleasant Neigbhorhood, with $104,100 (Tract 050.01) the average prices listed; in Winnipeg the lowest average price recorded was located in the city's North End (in census tract 43) where the average price which was listed was $45,770 - over 65 percent less than the lowest values recorded in Vancouver. Meanwhile the highest average value recorded in the inner city of Vancouver was Census Tract 21, where an average value of $830,000 was recorded, which was 340 percent above the metropolitan average. By contrast the highest value recorded for Winnipeg was $153,000 in Census Tract 008, located in River Heights. Here we see that the highest value recorded in the inner city of Winnipeg is still roughly 40 percent below the average value for housing in greater Vancouver. While the highest value in Vancouver was 340 percent above the metropolitan average, in Winnipeg the highest value recorded only stood approximately 57 percent above the metropolitan average for Winnipeg. (See Cat No. 95-388 for Vancouver statistics). Since 1991 house prices in the city of Vancouver have continued to rise. For example in June 1996 the average price of a very small single (around 900 sq. feet) detached bungalow on the East Side of the City of Vancouver was going for $280,000 while on the West Side of the city a 2500 square foot dwelling unit was going for an average price of $652,000 (See Wyng Chow, "Hot summer on tap, real estate firms say," Vancouver Sun July, 3,1996). Meanwhile, as prices in Vancouver remain very high and have even continue to rise as the average sale price of a multiple listing has moved from $221,874 to $279,000 for the region as a whole (figures supplied by the Vancouver Real-estate Board, No Date), the opposite situation has developed in Winnipeg with Realtors noting a significant deterioration in the real estate market of the inner city since 1991, with eight postal districts in the city experiencing (R3A,R3C,R3B,R3E,R3G,R2L, R3W,R2X) redlining since 1994 (See Bud Robertson, "Insurance firms unfair," Winnipeg Free Press March 4,1996) accelerating a process which others claim had already begun twenty years ago, in the mid 70s, as no insurance is offered to residents or a premium is put on insurance offered to residents in the inner city, with some dwelling units selling below $20,000 unable to find buyers and others selling at very low prices remaining on the market for five to six years (See "Unacceptable Risk" Parts One and Two by Bill Redekop in Winnipeg Free Press, March 3 and 2nd, 1996). Again a similar contrast emerges if approximately 80 census tracts in Toronto and Montreal are compared in the same way. Once again we find that a greater percentage of census tracts in Toronto have values above the metropolitan housing Average than is the case for Montreal, where, like Winnipeg, land extensive patterns of development are more firmly ingrained. Thus of 70 Tracts counted in Toronto. (Cat. No. 95-353) 31 percent were 10 percent or more above the metropolitan average of $308,390 and 28 percent of all Tracts counted were at least below the average price of $252,000 or 10 percent below the average price for the metropolitan area, with 40 percent of tracts in the inner city 10 percent above or below the metropolitan average of $280,000. While the lowest average price for a home on the mainland in the inner city was $177,236 in the East End (Tract 018) (with lowest in the entire area $116,793 excluded since it is an anomalous area located on Toronto Island in Census Tract 2) the highest average value was $714,526 in the Rosedale area (Tract 86) Although the real estate

market in the inner city of Montreal is much weaker than Vancouver or Toronto, the weakness of the market pales in comparison to what we see in Winnipeg. Thus with 76 Tracts counted in Montreal (Cat. No. 95-329), 13 percent of the Tracts were above $158,000 or at least 10 percent above the average price recorded for a home in metropolitan Montreal, which stood at $144,459 in 1991. Fifty-six percent of all tracts in the inner city in Montreal were more than 10 percent below (compared with 75 percent with Winnipeg) the metropolitan average, with the average price of a home falling at or below $130,000. Finally, 30 percent of all tracts in the inner city of Montreal were within the metropolitan average - that is plus or minus 10 percent of the metropolitan average - compared to just 12 percent for Winnipeg. While the lowest valued recorded in a Census Tract in Montreal was $78,000 (Tract 24) in the East End of Montreal, this was still nearly 75 percent higher than the lowest value recorded in Winnipeg. At the other end of the market we see that although the highest housing value recorded for the tracts counted in Montreal was $346,502. This value (for an areas at the Eastern foot of Mount Royal) was approximately half the level of the highest values recorded in Toronto or Vancouver and was still at least 230 percent higher than the highest reading taken from a Census tract in the inner city of Winnipeg. Again the very poor showing of the inner city real estate market in Winnipeg compared to Montreal is yet another example of close to melt down the of how close to melt down the real estate market in Winnipeg may be. Since that time, the situation has even gotten worse as property values have fallen a further 30 percent since 1991. While Montreal exhibit's some signs of disinvestment but so far not on the level that can be seen in Winnipeg where comparisons with Detroit can no longer be taken as hyperbole but, unfortunately, as a statement of fact. (For example,this can even be seen for the real estate market of the entire city. Although the average price of a home in Montreal dropped to $108,000 houses in Montreal were still well above the mid 80s they have remained at throughout the 1990s in Winnipeg (See Konrad Kayabuski, "Montreal home sale listings decline," January 9,1997 in The Globe and Mail).

Indeed if nothing is done to reverse the redlining practices of private capital vast tracts of Winnipeg may well begin to physically disintegrate within the next five years, particularly as immigration dries up, for since 1990 immigration has dropped by 50 percent since it last peaked at 6,637 in 1990 - now standing at 3,396 in 1995, with Manitoba only receiving 1.6 percent of all immigrants versus 3.1 percent in 1990 (See Dan Lett in "Immigrants snubbing Manitoba," in Winnipeg Free Press, March 20,1996) which will, in turn, be further exacerbated as new immigrants are likely to be less willing than they have been in the past to settle in the inner city and thereby prop up the market. Hence even journalists have been able to make a connection between what is happening in Winnipeg and what has happened to some American inner cities like Detroit. See Doug Whiteway in "Detroit Up," in Western Living, July 1992.
(Note - In 1996 there was a turn around in after seven years of decline as the number of immigrants reached 4,290 a 26 percent increase over the 3,391 immigrants who came in 1995, with skilled garment workers and refugees accounting for most of this increase(See Dan Lett, "Immigration surge after 7-year slump 1997" in The Winnipeg Free Press February 16,1997).

197: Seattle greater orientation to land extensive development also comes out in the production of house types. Whereas the number of single detached dwelling units hovered around 30 percent in Vancouver between 1993 and 1997, with regard to Seattle, particularly in the 1990's, the proportion of single detached units has risen from a low point of around 40 to 45 percent in 1988 to around 60 percent throughout the 1990s. Thus proportionately, during the 1990s the production of single detached dwelling units was twice the rate of Vancouver.

Generally about 12,000 units of single detached units have been built on average every year since 1980, varying from a low of about 6,000 units in 1982 to a high of 16,000 units in 1989 (when the regional total of all units peaked at around 38,000 units. During the 1990 totals have averaged about 21,000 units a year (See Chart In Puget Sound Regional Council, "Puget Sound Trends," January 1997).

Also, the housing market is configured in a slightly different way from Vancouver, which once again reflects the presence of more land extensive development patterns in Seattle as compared to Vancouver. In the Puget Sound region, average house price for a 3 bedroom single detached housing units increased from $163,822 in 1993 to $176,223 in 1996 (August - in US. dollars). Meanwhile in Vancouver, the average price of single detached unit went from $350,00 in 1990 to about $325,000 in 1991, beginning a steady climb to $450,000 in 1993, $500,00 in 1994 before levelling out at $507,900 in 1996 (the median was $561,500). In the City of Vancouver the average was $980, 970 versus a range in the City of Seattle was from $150,000 in West Seattle to $325,000 in Madison Park (See CMHC, December 1996 and CMHC Vancouver Housing Forecast Spring 1996 for prices from 1990 to 1994) and Elizabeth Rhodes, 1996 in the Seattle Post - Intelligencer December 1,1996).

(Although Vancouver and Seattle are similar in size they are not identical, Whereas the number of units produced each year in Vancouver has averaged around 16,000, in Seattle the number has been closer to 25,000 units. So the market in Seattle is a third larger than Vancouver's. Furthermore, even with Seattle's densification strategy what is projected appears to be only one half what is expected for Vancouver when a comparison is made with its regional growth management strategy. Thus current urban centre densities are 5,313 people per square mile, compared to 2,463 people per square mile for the urban growth area, housing 119,377 people or 3.9 percent of the region's population. In the new regional plan the 21 urban centres, comprising 2 percent of the regions land mass and 27 percent of all employment are expected to grow by 135,000 more people, raising densities from 5,000 to over 11,000 people per square mile by 2020) and increasing the percentage of the region's population living in these urban centres to 6.5 percent. Currently about 428,190 jobs are in these centres and this is expected to grow by another 235,000 jobs increasingly the percentage of jobs in these denser nodal points from 29.7 percent to 31.8 percent of all jobs in the region, creating an employment density of between 25 to 30 jobs per acre (Vision 2020 and the Centres Strategy," in Regional View, Puget Sound Regional Council June 1997.)

Another way of looking at the contrast between both cities is to look at population growth rates at the county and regional government level. In population King county is the largest county in the State of Washington, with about 29 percent of the State's population or about 1.7 million people compared to the GVRD that has about 1.85 million. While the state's population rose from 4.8 million to 5.6 climbing by 15.2 percent between 1990 and 1997, King Country only grew 9.2, while the GVRD grew 14.1 percent, in a lesser time period. For Seattle, unlike Vancouver, most of the growth took place in the exurban counties of the region with the other three counties that make up Greater Seattle: Snohomish growing 18.4, Pierce 15 percent and Kitsap (population 229,000) by 20.9. Interestingly enough the fastest growing country was Clark County that contains the City of Vancouver that is essentially a suburb of Portland where tighter land use controls are in place, Here the change between 1990 and 1997 was 33.1 per cent, with annexations making the City of Vancouver the state's fourth largest as it grew from 46,700 to 127,000 (316,000). Meanwhile the City of Seattle grew up by only 3.8, from 516,259 in 1990 to 536,000 in 1997 - which indicates some modest densification but not the intensity seen in the City of Vancouver where the growth rate was 8.9 percent between 1991 and 1996. Again the same hold for the region where the much higher rate of growth in the provinces main region (over 14 percent) versus the same comparable regions in Washington - King County (Just over 9 percent) reveals how much more powerful land-extensive development is in this American urban region, particularly when its other outlying counties are included. Although Growth management practices have been in place it has done very little to stem the much more entrenched system of land-extensive development that is present here even though further plans are being made to concentrate population (i.e.. Urban Centers in the Central Puget Sound Region, by the Puget Sound Regional Council in 1997), in many regards the review of population figures from a number of different angles and scales, still indicates that the urban morphology of Greater Seattle is still being shaped in a completely opposite way to Vancouver's (See Modie 1997).

204: In 1997 median income for San Francisco was $64.4 thousand American dollars and the average price for a home was $288,0000. This contrasts with the national medium for household income, which was $43,500 and the national medium for homes, which was $120,000. Once the different exchange values are factored in the average price of a home in Canada would probably come to around $110,000 in US. dollars. Although this is below the American medium this figure probably discounts the relative price of single detached homes in each country because of the greater number of multiple dwelling units in Canada. No doubt the average price would rise if this were factored into the figures. To see this it is only necessary to look at the most recent price summary of houses sold in June for Vancouver (CMHC 1997d, table 19). Thus difference between the median value of a single detached dwelling and the most inexpensive condominium is quite substantial. For example the regional medium for a single detached home was $370,00 for the region, $269,900 for a semi-detached dwelling unit, $217,400 for a two bedroom row condominiums and $155,925, for a two - bedroom low-rise condominium - the cheapest 2 bedroom dwelling unit in the Vancouver Urban region.

207: Indeed, the only place where transit oriented development has been below expectations so far has been in Surrey. But this is probably has more to do with intervening opportunity rather than lack of interest (i.e., VS-372; VS-291; VS-174; VS-112c; VS-83), since the large amounts of investment going into the core and other transit sites closer to the downtown and the Zone of Asian Resettlement probably account for the slower pace of development in Surrey at this point in time (Diakiw 1997). Part of the reason may also have to do with the lack luster ability of council to discipline developers so that they locate their developments in the core, which can be seen in the overturn of planning recommendations on developments such as the $6M Chateau Fraserview which council will allow to be relocated outside the regional town centre. Also lack of co-ordination between the province and the municipality over such matters as the location of a high tech college that was slated to go to an exurban location - although this may now change with the premiere expressing support for a downtown location. Still the city plans to build a $60 million library and focus on cultural and recreational amenities to change the image and attractiveness of the area for capital. To this end development cost charges have been reduced as well which were up to $16,000 for a suite and $6,000 for a 1,000 sq. feet of office space. Whether this will attract the residential high rises that are desired for Surrey City Centre remains to be seen.

209: In relation to income and price Vancouver is in a league of its own and towers far above San Francisco's let alone Seattle and Portland where lower densification ratios are indicative of the much weaker economic impulses at work with regard to the densification of these cities. Because of the persistence of lower densification ratio densification will present a much greater challenge to planner and politicians wishing to bring about densification in Portland and Seattle. For instance if Bremerton and Tacoma are included in the calculation of the densification ratio for Seattle the densification ratio would probably descend to around 2.6 instead of the figure of 2.8 listed in the most recent survey of housing affordability in Greater Seattle. And in Portland, although it has a light rail system and a densification ratio of 3.2, the densification that can be observed to have taken place so far has been comparatively mild.

211: At the same time if we look at the Federal Government in 1945 it was spending $4.284B. Its expenditures were then nine times the combined expenditures of all the provinces. However, by 1985 the Federal Government's expenditures were $112.464 Billion (SC-9d Table 1.10) but the level of provincial expenditure had climbed to almost $98B. So by 1985 the gap between these two levels of government had been reduced to just 14%. Similarly, when Federal expenditures reached $160.955B provincial revenues were at $139,142B, which probably meant that provincial expenditures were now equal to or above the Federal Government since the provinces had started to borrow heavily, lifting their expenditure levels well above their recorded revenues (SC-9d Table 1.12).

Similarly local government dramatically increased their level of expenditure, which further added to their specialization as institutional organs for social reproduction as well as for the production of urban space, with most of the revenues and expenditures devoted towards servicing of the commercial and residential spaces of the city - or to the protection of the spaces of consumption and reproduction - and therefore to education, police and fire protection services. In nominal terms total current expenditures went up from $1.9 billion in 1961, to $2.9B in 1965, $5.5B in 1970, $10.6B in 1975, $18.4B in 1980, $28.2 in 1985 and $42.8B in 1991 (SC-9d, table 1.14). From 1961 to 1991 local expenditures had grown rapidly but not as fast the provinces that nearly reached parity with the federal government in terms of expenditures in 1971 and achieved this by 1981 when federal government expenditures only reached $65.2B versus $65.1B for all the provinces (SC-17a, table three; SC-9d, table 1.10). Nevertheless the rise in municipal expenditures has been striking. In nominal dollars it moved from $1.9B in 1961 to $42.8B in 1991, growing 20 times above the level of expenditure in 1961. In relation to federal expenditure local government expenditures grew from about 31% of the federal budget in 1961 to approximately 37% the federal budget by 1991 (SC-9d tables 1.10, and 1.14).

Likewise another watershed was crossed in 1995 when the federal government initiated a program of dramatic downsizing. Here there is a good change that this will in turn produce more differentiation within our cities as local and provincial levels are forced to fashion their own measures to cope with government downsizing and debt reduction. That is why the next densification wave that comes with the current uptum in the building cycle will be very interesting to see how it alters the viability of land extensive and land intensive development. For not only will the subsidies that continue to support the continuation of land extensive accumulation be under assault so to will be some of the institutional supports that have supported the postmodern regulation of the city - most noticeably housing, which has already been abandoned by the federal and provincial governments.

211a: For instance between 1955 and 1973 - the year the formal beginning inauguration of the postmodern period can be marked off as - the annual range of immigrants varied from 71,689 inn 1961 to 282,164 in 1957 (SC-17a, table 7). Meanwhile the number of births over the same time ranged from one peak in 1962 of 417,000 in 1963 resulting in a net natural increase of 291,000 to a dip in the beginning of the postmodern period when there were only 343,373 births in 1974 resulting in a net natural increase of 179,334 (SC-7a, table 6). Meanwhile the number of immigrants entering the country was 218,000. This would set the trend for the rest of the postmodern period where new immigrants exceeded the annual net birth rate. The other major change was the shift from European to Asian immigrants. While the changes to the immigration act in 1967 increased the number of Asian coming to Canada each year from around 14,000 to 21,000, Asian immigration remained in the low 20s until 1974 when it moved up to a new plateau of 40,000, where it stayed except for the odd peak such as 1980, when over 80,000 Asians entered the country. The next and most important jump took place with changes to the immigration act in 1986 and political uncertainty about the take over of Hong Kong. With this the Asian population increased to 67,000 by 1987 then to nearly 112,000 by 1990, with over 26% of these immigrants accounted originating from Hong Kong, which would peak in 1994. That year 42,474 immigrants alone came from Hong Kong. However the largest annual influx of Asian immigrants so far was recorded in 1983 when 147,258 came to Canada, since then the level have dropped down to the 120's. Although some say that 1997 will surpass the 1994 peak year for Hong Kong immigrants (VS-260) coming to B.C.. If the current pace continues the total number could exceed 50,000, breaking the previous record for immigration of 49,049 in 1994.

Thus Three things here distinguish the background forces that frame the emergence of a postmodern social ecology in the Canadian city. The first, no doubt is the growing relative importance of the immigrant population to the growth and composition of the general population. The second is the shift from European immigrants to Asian and the greater difficulties to assimilation potentially posed by this. The change has to do with class status and the rise in the socio-economic status of a large fraction of Asian immigrants coming to

Canada. Again this contrast sharply with the picture drawn up of the modern city by modern sociology, a picture which was essentially accurate until the early 1970s but is now increasingly a residual feature of the postmodern landscape that is evolving in Vancouver at least.

217: Except for Calgary, the presence of a large and growing Aboriginal population in every major city and large town gives the urbanization process in the prairies a distinctive socio-economic profile seen no where else in the country. As a result the social ecology of many Prairie cities is beginning to mirror what can be seen in some of their American counterparts, where the emergence of an urban underclass as become significant with regard to the evolution of the core areas of these cities. While only 1.7% of Calgary's population is identified as being of Native origin, the percentage is 5.4% in Winnipeg , 3.5% in Edmonton, Regina 5.8% and Saskatoon 5.7% (table 7.7 in Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996). There is also a correspondence between presence of this impoverished population and high crime rates that, along with low levels of investment in the inner city and stagnant if not falling housing values, suggest that an underclass formation in these inner cities have begun to gestate. This is further confirmed in statistics on violent Crime where Winnipeg has become the homicide capital of Canada of Canada's larger cities over 500,000 (Winnipeg Free Press 1997d).

While Regina may have the largest proportion of natives for cities with a population between 100.000 and 500,000, for city's that have over 500,000 people Winnipeg has the largest proportion of natives in the nation. The high rate of Native incarceration probably indicates that there is a correspondence between the high levels of reported crime in Winnipeg and the emergence of a large and growing Native underclass in this city.

For example while the rate of violent crime fell by 23,8% in Toronto, between 1991 and 1996 it rose by 19.9% in Winnipeg. Similarly in Calgary, the Prairie city with the lowest percentage of Natives, reported incidents of violent crime declined by nearly 30 percent over the same period. There was also an equivalent drop in Edmonton but only 2 percent in Vancouver. However if absolute levels of violent crime are taken into consideration the level of violent crime was much higher in Edmonton than in Calgary, suggesting that the sociological profile of Edmonton is more closely aligned to cities such as Winnipeg and Regina but that it is not suffering as much from the influx of a large Native underclass as its other Prairie counterpart are. While the percentage of Natives is not as large in Edmonton as it is in Regina or Winnipeg it is significantly larger than Calgary's.

For example while Edmonton and Calgary are both approximately equal in size the level of violent crime recorded by the Police was 25% less in Calgary than in Edmonton (6,579 incidents reported between 1991 and 1996 for Edmonton versus 5,5131 for Calgary). But in Winnipeg 6,968 incidents were reported - 35 % above Calgary and 6% above Edmonton. While Toronto has nearly seven times the population of Winnipeg, 20% fewer violent crimes were reported in Toronto (5,783) (SC-29). Even in Vancouver, with its larger population and Asian Gangs and explosive drug trade, there were far less violent crimes reported on a per capita basis. Having three times the population of Winnipeg , the number of violent crimes reported in Vancouver was 8,113 - only 16 percent greater than the total recorded for Winnipeg (SC-29). Although Winnipeg is the most violent and dangerous large city in the country because of the drug trade Vancouver does have the highest level of property theft that is now playing a role in the design of urban spaces during the age of the urban spectacle, but this has not lead to the formation of the underclass social ecology that has definitely come into existence in cities such as Winnipeg where capital is being repelled because of the poor image of the core and the reality of the violence that stalks the spaces of Winnipeg's inner city.

Chapter Four : Postmodernism

2: The greater prominence of the non domestic fraction of the new middle class and the rise of non traditional social formations occurred in the 1980s, when this second middle class generation gained a higher profile. This can be gleamed from general statistics on couples in Canada. For example (SC-43) Statistics Canada noted a number of significant changes in the structure of the family between 1986 and 1996. Married couples fell from 80.2% of all couples to 73.7% of all couples over the age 15. Marriage also became more fragile as the number of divorced people increased 28% to 1.6 million by 1996. Single males also increased by a small amount: from 2.2% to 2.5% of the population. Lone parents increased from 10.4% to 12.1% of all families and common law couples rose from 7.2% to 11.7% between 1986 and 1996. There were 735,565 children being raised in common law unions in 1996 up 52% from 1991. In total the proportion of couples declined from 61% in 1991 to 59% in 1996. See Infomat Oct. 17, 1997.

3: The interesting thing to note about the relationship between postmodernism and the political and consumer evolution of the new middle class and the gay community is how closely each parallels the other. This homology is traceable if the evolution of the discourse on community is followed in gay publications that were put out in Canada. In the modern era Canada's first gay publication, named ASK was established in 1964. The pleading and defensive tone of the paper reflected the marginalized feelings of this middle class gay population, and its yearning for respectability during the modern period. By contrast if publication's such as Gay Tide, which ran from 1973 into late 70s, are studied, quite a different tone is evident. The much more assertive and rebellious tone of this publication was in line with the era of middle class mobilization. As with other middle class urban social movement gay discourse was dominated by the Left and that there was a much stronger focus on community building and a decidedly hostile attitude towards the market that would match the dominant attitude of the more radicalized members of new middle class during the era of the livable city.

Finally if we look at Extra West and the approximately 300 entries in the 1997 Gay And Lesbian Business Directory of Greater Vancouver (1996) it is not hard to see the extent to which the normalization and commercialization of the gay community has occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. Here the gay population not only follows but leads the more mainstream middle class fractions during the era of the urban spectacle. Equally striking, but not surprising, given the context: is the more conservative turn of the gay middle class. With the normalization and commodification of this sub culture in the postmodern city, the gay sub culture in fact becomes the epitome of the era of the urban spectacle. Now valued as an important consumer group and tourist draw politicians and corporations pay this group much more attention Unlike the lumpen proletariat, who have no value to the market and are seldom organized enough to affect the political sphere there has been little change in their status.

This is quite different for the gay community, as it becomes a favoured group for new consumer items, such as lofts, which appear regularly in Vancouver's two gay newspapers. While this lumpen bourgeois sub-subculture has been fully integrated into the commercial mainstream of the 1990s precisely the opposite has happened to the lumpen proletariat who once shared the same exclusion and political and economic marginalization. As with other aspects of the postmodern spatial matrix, but most particularly in the age of the urban spectacle, both figuratively and literally speaking, the room for middle class social formations has expanded while room for social classes below the middle class has contracted.

4: Hewlett-Packard, created a high tech company that grew from out of $538 US loan into a corporation with $31- billion dollars in revenue in 1995. As the Obituary in the Vancouver Sun explained his method for decision making became known as the HP way "and served as a model form many companies. Its cornerstone was caring for people, admirers say. . . (it was defined by a philosophy which) . . . "scorned strict hierarchy and formality, encouraged individual

creativity and fostered respect and trust of employees, (VS-106)." The same collegial, artistically motivated sensibility can also be observed in the work cultures of many of the high tech companies that have formed in the Ottawa area. For instance in one of Canada's largest software companies, Cognos Inc. and Ingenia Communications a work culture modelled upon the University can be seen. As one worker for Cognos noted "Staring at a computer screen for hours and trying to solve a problem is mentally very intense. You just can't keep it up for hours on end. And when you do you just want to degrade to mindlessness. That's where the distractions come in. We don't frown upon that. We know they're going to get their work done. It's just a way to clear their heads" and as the president of Cognos states: "If we made everybody wear suits and people came in and did a nine to five thing . . . not only would we not be able to retain people. I don't think our software would be as good." Similarly in Ingenia " There are few rules . . ." The beer key stays closed before 5 p.m. Nerf guns are banned until after 5.30 p.m. (Eggertson 1997).

At the same time it remains a moot point whether these new models for work will be extended beyond a new middle class which looks like it is becoming the new labour aristocracy in the postmodern age. As a recent study entitled Skill and Employment Effects of Computer Based Technologies, by an economist, Kathryn McMullen for Ottawa based Canadian Policy Research Networks Inc., observed: "Employment opportunities for unskilled are disappearing in many sectors . . . with the continued spread of CBT. The occupational structure appears to be moving definitely toward employment of highly skilled professional, technical and managerial workers and away from employment of unskilled workers . . . Further, the . . . data suggest that unskilled workers are not being provided with the skills to move into the new created positions." (Little, 1997). Between 1992 and 1994 a survey of 263 Canadian employers found that in high tech companies 31 percent of the employees were managers and professionals and only 10 percent of the labour force was unskilled whereas in low tech companies 36 percent of the labour force was unskilled and only 15 percent of all workers were managers or professionals. With job creation and loss the biggest job losses were recorded in intermediate positions which were mostly clerical positions. Between 1992 and 1994 these jobs accounted for 22 percent of all new jobs but 60 percent of all job losses. Meanwhile managers and professionals accounted for 53 percent of all the new jobs created and only 9 percent of the jobs eliminated between 1992 and 1994. Furthermore the report noted that the unskilled are being sloughed off to other industry sectors that employ low skill workers like retail and food services but even here, as the author notes, new technologies will increasingly replace workers as well.

5: While this paradigm originated outside the corporate mainstream in North America, the battle between modern and postmodern norms and cultural competencies can now be observed in many mainstream corporations as they attempt to adapt to economic flux, instability and changing conceptions of authority (Hassard 1993). For example John Raelin (1987) has documented how this shift in bureaucratic culture has created tension between managers and professionals within many corporate organizations. An attempt has also been made to flatten out of the chain of command in many bureaucracies and development more flexible and interdepartmental bureaucratic organs which provide more flexibility (Morgan 1986; Clegg 1990). Moreover, many of the same influences can be seen in the public sector as well, where more entrepreneurial formats are being experimented with as discussion on the need to reinvent government becomes increasingly common stock word in the literature on government re-organization (Schacter 1994) something that can be seen in the emergence of a new kind of postmodern corporatism which is different from the modern form. Whereas in the modern period the citizen was seen as a client, in the postmodern era the citizen is now seen as a consumer - something that has become most apparent with a recent initiative to reform local government in the City of Vancouver known as the Better City Government Initiative (CVCO-20; CVCO-23; CVCO-34).

7: Pop Art acted as a talisman for what was happening within the cultural industries. It became a symbol for experimentation outside the domain of the bureaucracies that ruled the

modern art world. Pop Art was also able to market difference and rebellion, becoming an example of the new sensibility that informed a would increasingly define the leading edge of consumer culture in the postmodern age. Its success showed the growing importance of culture to the economy, how it could even become an important locomotive for capital accumulation in the fast growing information and cultural industries. As pop culture would show, instead of culture being carefully confined to a hierarchical ladder of high, low and middle brow formats, a new eclecticism was possible, which could be used to challenge the hierarchy that existed with modern art. Everyday items of consumption could become objects for the artistic gaze. Thus collage, the borrowing from several sources, the mixing of time, to create collage became a central feature of postmodern culture. Mixed and matched together, as Jameson has noted, collage became a much more important stylistic feature of cultural production within high culture and popular culture during the postmodern age. Rather than artists being repulsed by commercialism with Pop Art artists would start to embrace commercialism instead.

Again this points to the interesting rearticulation of the artistic sensibility with the economy that was previously noted when Pop Art was mentioned. Unlike the modernist artistic sensibilities, which attempted to keep art and the economy in separate spheres that were strictly compartmentalized; this changes with the rise of a new postmodern sensibility, where aesthetic opposition to the economy is transformed into accommodation. This new development no only finds expression in movements such as Pop Art but in the marketing of urban space as well which can be seen market cachet that bohemian spaces currently have in city's which have a large new middle class. Where this has happened the commodification of the artistic sensibility has become inextricably linked to new investment patterns and the production of urban spaces that are distinctively postmodern rather than modern.

Addendum: Unlike the modern era where a great deal of stress was put on privatized consumption, despite the rise in information technologies that allowed people to avoid interacting in public forums, public spaces exploded, as old forums associated with the premodern era, such as the street retailing, cafes. Even going to the cinema increased. For example, in 1997 movie going rose 3% rising to about 85 million visits. Although this was less than the postwar high of 256 million that was reached before television came along, this was a 13 year high(See SC-42).

8: Thus, despite many of the limitations of modernism its abiding concern with equality and universalism and the way in which this came to fit in with bureaucratic norms had a great deal to offer to the working class. While this may not have addressed the changing needs of the new middle class twentieth century modernism appears to have had a greater capacity to make sense of the material needs and life experiences of the lower classes in the city. Although working class citizens were oppressed by urban renewal, at least in terms of how they were represented, they were not absent in the image of the city, as is more the case with postmodernism. Moreover, in some instances modernism even produced a space which gave the working class a heroic role to play in the advance of civilization.

On the otherhand, if we look at the representations of class and space generated by postmodernism what become clear is how singular its focus is on the life world of the new middle class. It may successfully frame perspectives on the world which produce meaningful representations of the external world to a middle class that is rich in cultural capital who therefore have less need of pre-existing bureaucratic structures. But for people whose existence is framed by necessity rather than superfluity and to those who have less cultural capital to employ this new regulatory grid only has limited relevance and is, perhaps, even harmful.

One can speculate that this may be one reason why issues arising out of the experience of necessity have tended to be given short shrift or rendered invisible in this system, as postmodern has submerged these questions in nearly all cases, transforming nearly all controversies into questions pertaining to consumption rather than production. Because of these biases Postmodern regulation has therefore shown a strong tendency to occlude important parts of material reality that is significant to many non middle class social formation in the city as it

transforms urban space, rendering the real conditions of those operating in the economy of need and necessity invisible or necessarily incomprehensible to those who are shaped by the experience of superfluity. In this fashion, on a macro level, at least, it is possible to see how postmodernism operates as a double edged force for change in the city. While it may create new and exciting consumer landscapes, for a variety of reason not all classes may be able to participate in this consumer culture or find it meaningful to their life.

Even though modern and postmodern regulation has followed a similar path of opposition and accommodation, each ideological field has produced different effects on the settlement geography of the city and produced. As different aesthetics effects have also been produced. While the urban proletariat occupied a central role in the iconography of twentieth century modernism what is striking about postmodernism is the absence of the working class. Not only is this reflected in the symbolic representations that have been generated. As we shall see in the next chapter, this has even become apparent in the way that urban space has been reconfigured. This has become most obvious in Vancouver, where traditional working class spaces have been entirely erased or broken up and fragmented, not only in Vancouver but across the region.The same process can be seen in other Canadian cities where gentrification has become significant but no where else has the urban proletariat been so dispersed as in Vancouver since middle class resettlement of working class spaces and the colonization of these spaces by affluent immigrants have been most felt most intensely here as one contiguous concentric zones of working class habitation have been fragmented and dispersed by the movement of the middle class into working class areas of the City of Vancouver as well as working class suburbs like Burnaby, which the Northern part, at least, became an extension of East Vancouver (PI-25).

There are other differences that need to be taken note of as well. One reason why the working class is largely absent or its image is so debased in postmodern representations of reality has to do with the devaluation of production and the greater emphasis given to consumption in postmodern ideology. The other had to do with geography. For example, during the progressivist period both the city and the country were centres of agitation against corporate or monopoly capital. However, in the postmodern period this reaction was largely confined to the city. And when revolt spilled out of the city to exurban and wilderness areas this usually revolved around issues of consumption rather than production (e.g.. Maple Ridge/ Pitt Meadows News/1997d; VS-178; VS-213; VS-219).

This difference shows up quite well in the different configuration of the cooperatives movement in each period since in both instances co-ops became one of the most significant institutional expressions of working class and middle class collaboration that erupted into a populist outpouring against corporate rule in each era. In both cases the third sector became one of the most effective and long lasting counter hegemonic expressions to capital. Of course one was defined by the struggle between modernism and the excesses of laissez faire capitalism in all areas of life and the other was defined by the postmodern response to modernism, where the struggle were wage more in the consumer rather producer field, as can be seen in the profile of the co-ops that emerged during each period of activism.

Thus many of the largest and most influential co-ops created during the progressivist period were producer co-ops. Moreover, they were anchored in the rural rather urban areas of the country. (Fairbairn et al. 1991; Quarter 1992) In the postmodern era this would be reversed. The largest and most significant co-ops would be consumer oriented and they would primarily be located in the city. In this regard housing co-ops are probably the best case in point (Dreier and Hulchanski 1993; Cooper and Rodman 1992). But in Vancouver, for instance, important retail co-ops such as Mountain Co-op was also established. And then of course there is the phenomenal growth of VanCity Credit Union. Although it was established in the modern era the most spectacular and innovative period of its development took place during the postmodern period (Hardin 1996).

Looking at these differences in more detail, we see that although the dissolution of bureaucratic rule in the public and private sector opened up new opportunities for the new middle class, this was less the case for classes lower down in the social hierarchy who were much more dependent upon the bureaucracy for the provision of basic needs and for those who

lacked the economic resources and cultural competencies to fully participate in the opportunity structure opened up by the retreat of bureaucratic rule and the rise of the new entrepreneurial culture that arose in the postmodern era.

While many older bureaucratic structures associated with modern rule may have become irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of the new middle class who had the where with all to become successfully self employed or to provide services that the economy could use, other classes less well endowed with economic and cultural capital, were not so lucky and were left behind, enduring a legacy of unemployment, underemployment and general misery. This polarization would also surface in the occupation of urban space, as economic devaluation usually matched the loss of control over space. Similarly the new consumer culture that the new middle class were able to participate in exacerbated this, by identifying marginal spaces in the city that had always functioned as a refuge and hiding place for those left out of the formal economy. The result of this can be seen in the increasingly bitter struggles over the use of space between the middle class and the urban proletariat and the battle over expenditures within the local state as two completely different worlds fought for entirely different priorities.

Further complicating the situation, this new opportunity structure made the middle class more conservative and has aligned it more closely with the vanguard sectors of capital. This, combined with the decline in the activist state altered the postmodern geography of the city in numerous ways, putting the urban proletariat at a decided disadvantage in the struggle for space. Spatial inequalities and social polarization have therefore increased, as the social democratic elements of postmodern ideology have been washed out and replaced by a neo-conservative one, which has given more scope to the unrestrained play of the market and the more open display of class distinctions in the use and production of urban space. This has become most apparent in the housing sector where the co-op and non profit sectors have been decimated by the retreat of the state while the condominium market has exploded with the advance of the market.

An anti-labourist sentiment, which was always implicit and understated within postmodern ideology, became more explicit as a result of this conservative turn. So not only has the shift from modernism to postmodernism exposed divisions between the old and new fractions of the middle class, this cultural shift has also exacerbated social differences between the new middle class and the working class. In turn, this has created a new ground for class antagonisms to develop between these two classes in the consumer sphere.

This, in turn, has been exacerbated by the continuing identification of the working class with many of the values and spatial precepts of twentieth century modernism. Again, much of the divergence can be explained by the habitus of each class. Insecurity, lower incomes and the experience of scarcity by the working class have continued to make the productivist ideology of twentieth century modernism attractive. Meanwhile, the affluence of the 1950s and 1960s created conditions of superfluity for the new middle class, something which allowed it to embrace many more features of the consumerist ideology of postmodernism. This is not to say that consumerism is of no important to the working class, indeed it as, as anyone who has ever visited Las Vegas can testify to, but only that it has evolved in way quite that is quite different from the middle class because of the different habitus that shapes each class.

These different haituses existed in the modern period, but at this time twentieth century modernism provided a bridge between these two universes that enabled different classes to find a place for themselves in the same cultural matrix. This established a unified conception of the world from which each class could identify with, but from a different angle, according to its soci-economic status. Despite all the problems with twentieth century modernism there was an inclusiveness not present in postmodernism. Even the working class was able to purchase a single detached family unit and buy a car, although there were obvious differences in size, location and style.

With the advent of postmodernism this cultural bridge would collapse. Two different and often times opposing cultural languages emerged which have produced misunderstanding and conflict over the use of space between these two classes ever since. With the appearance of a new postmodern vocabulary a new social etiquette organized around the sophisticated

consumer rather than that of the skilled laborer arose. With this switch many representations of the labour process and the laborer, himself, that were often central subjects in the aesthetic and political discourse of twentieth-century modernism, were downgraded or eliminated altogether. At the same time many of the images of the external world constructed by postmodern discourse simply avoided the labour process. In many ways the laborer no longer existed - only the consumer. In this way the consumer rather than the laborer became subjects of the new age and indeed the heroes of this new cultural matrix.

Rather than viewing the struggles and concerns of labour as something heroic, as the earlier progressivists in Canada and the United States were wont to do, the new breed of urban progressivists that came of age in the 1960s were often as not, at odds with the productivist world view that labour was still allied to. Although this did not prevent early collaboration between urban reformers and working class residents and even, in some instances, the romanticization of working class life, this remained a secondary current of postmodernism and even as such did not last long. Tension between these two classes eventually erupted and this could be seen at an early stage in the development of postmodernism, in the struggle between the old and new left. And of course this would later take spatial form when the new middle class started to aggressively appropriate rather than to share space in the inner city with the urban proletariat (For Toronto see Philip 1997a) for Vancouver see VS-91;VS-96; VS-118).

These inter class rifts first became manifest in the consumer sphere as cracks in the hegemonic position of twentieth century modernism became evident in the breakup of the productivist ideology which underpinned the mass consumer culture which all but the elite participated in during the immediate post war years. When the first open challenge to this conformist consumer culture was articulated by the Beats in the 1950s this challenge was easily minimalize as something confined to the ranting of bohemians rather than as something expressive of a broader middle class malaise against bureaucratic conformity and the material culture that defined the 1950s. However as a younger bourgeoisie grew in numbers and strength and rejecting this culture not only did a rift development with the parent middle class culture but also the working class as well. However when the modernist consensus on consumer culture began to fray in the 1960s this challenge had to be taken more seriously and so words like the generation gap were coined to express this cultural antagonism. Closer inspection reveals that the difference in sensibility was more than a generational dispute within the middle class. In addition to this the interclass cultural consensus of the 1950s had broken down as well.

As the cultural situation of the working class remained static and very much bound up with modernist codes of consumption and behaviour the situations of the new middle class becomes more fluid. With the emergence of postmodernism a new symbolic vocabulary became available for the middle class to articulate new distinctions that itself apart from its parent culture and the working class as well as to establish its own social superiority. To use Veblen's words (1917), this set up a new basis for invidious comparisons between the new middle class and the working class. New cultural boundaries were drawn up that marked off class boundaries and urban space much more dramatically than in the modern period, something that was further amplified by the emergence of new consumer norms which increased the social distance between the new middle class from the everyday life of the working class, creating sufficient distance to allow the new middle class to now openly ridicule working class mores.

Popular sitcoms, such as All in the Family and Maude, which appeared in the 1970s, would graphic examples of this. Especially sitcoms like "All in the Family" the cleavage between working class and middle class norms became mistakable, as the working class became an object of parody through the hilarious contrasts set up between Archie Bunker, the working class patriarch of a suburban New York City family - and the son in law in college who embodied the new postmodern sensibility that stood in contrast to the modern sensibility of Archie Bunker. Like this sitcom and other popular movies of the time, representations of working class life were used as a foil to convey the moral and consumer superiority of the new middle class which abandoned modernism for postmodernism, but not the working class.

This change in attitude would have its spatial counterpart in the changing status of the city and the suburb. Again in the popular culture of the middle class the city began to be

represented in a more interesting and varied light while the suburb increasingly became an object for disdain in the popular books and movies of the time. For instance, during the 1970s, this could seen in movies such as "Slaughter House Five", "Saturday Night Fever", "Working Girl" or "Looking for Mr. Goodbar." No longer are suburbs used as a physical background to convey success or normalcy. Instead, they began to be portrayed as zones of social constriction and stagnation. Meanwhile the city was metamorphasized into a new promised land for the middle class.

Consequently, the suburbs became associated with the puritanical values of the old middle class and archaic values of the working class. In the movie Slaughter House Five this criticism would probably take its most outlandish and disenchanted form with the emasculated husband and the hysterical wife, particularly in the scene where suburbia is ultimately mocked by wife's final exit in her pink cadillac.

Conversely, there would be a complete reversal in the representation of the city in the 1970s. No longer just a zone of discard, the city became an alternative social space. This would become more apparent in movies produced during the 1980s and 1990s. Thus in Working Girl, a movie about a working class secretary, the opening accompaniment starts with Carly Simon singing a song called the New Jerusalem, as the protagonist takes the ferry from Staten Island to Manhattan. The same reversal can also be seen in the movie Saturday Night Fever, where John Travolta is shown looking longingly at Manhattan from Brooklyn. And then there is "Looking for Mr. Goodbar," where Diane Keaton is shown leaving Queens for Manhattan. Again what is common to all these movies is the downgrading of the suburbs and the reappraisal of the city. The association of the suburbs with failure rather than success and the identification of suburbs with repression and the city with the unleashing of desire therefore became critical motifs in the postmodern representation of the city by the new middle class.

For these reasons, in both the popular and mass media the suburbs were no longer seen as a place to arrive at but as a place to escape from. Of course, as the settlement patterns of the United States show, this would not become a mass sentiment (since a recent HUD report shows that only 11 of the 30 top American cities have gained population since 1970 see New York Times, 1997i) but largely confined to the new middle class. However because the new middle class make up most of the cultural workers this shift in attitude has reverberated far beyond this class. In Canada, at least, this has lead to attempts to urbanize the suburbs.

While working class observers, in Toronto, such as Sophia Firth (1974) first regarded the movement of the middle class back into the inner city with some amused curiosity this would later change, as gentrification became a major displacing force in inner city: something that was compounded by the growing intolerance by the middle class of other classes. The first signs of this antagonism in Toronto would appear a few years after the publication of Sophia Firth's book when Hugh Garner (1978) released his second novel on Cabbage Town, which criticized the gentrification that was taking place there. Since then middle class struggles with other classes in the inner city has become more strident. One of the most pervasive symptoms of this would be the mobilizations against prostitutes, which would became a fixture of community politics in the 1980s and 1990s.

Hence, in a few short years a stunning symbolic reversal for the middle class had taken place with regard to how the city and the suburb were represented. On the one hand, many suburbs would experience serious cultural devaluation in terms of their social status. On the other hand, many previously derelict inner city neighbourhoods in the conversion areas of the city or in the zones of discard, near the downtown, would experience dramatic gains in social status. Whether it be in Kitsilano, Gastown, or Fairview Slopes, in the case of Vancouver, or Cabbage Town and Yorkville, in Toronto, or even places like Strathcona and the riverbank communities of Edmonton or Hillhurst Sunnyside in Calgary, Lower Town in Ottawa, all these inner city neighbourhoods were suddenly upgraded. As they experienced a dramatic inflation in their status in the new spatial order the reverse would begin to happen to the suburbs.

9: Popularized by Claus Offe (1985) and Lash and Urry (1987) the concept of "disorganized Capitalism" has been used to convey the regulatory and organizational flux we are now experiencing. In this regard some commentators have even taken this analysis below the social level and have applied it to the psyche level. In this case commentators like Gergen (1991) have speculated that traditional middle class identities have decomposed to such an extent because of the new wave of commodification that concepts like the self, have dissolved since there is no longer any anchor to root stable social identities on to.

9a: One of the most recent account's of how this is affecting bureaucracies can be seen in a book by Dan Tapscot entitled *The Digital Economy: Promise and Peril in the age of Networked Intelligence*, published in 1996 (Montreal) by McGraw-Hill. Among the things mentioned is the reduction of mediation systems the increase in interaction among workers is also stressed. The authors also writes about the transformation of data into information/ knowledge and wisdom, the creation of potentially more democratic work places but also short terms disruptions as those not in the network are left behind. In the multimedia sector he sees employment rising to nearly 10 million jobs from 1992 to 2002 with the content oriented jobs growing from around 3.5M in 1992 to about 5 million around 2002.

11: See Jennifer Lewington (1996a) where a discussion of new ways of raising money for universities is brought up with regard to universities setting up charitable foundations and Jennifer Lewington (1996) "The high cost of getting through school," the Globe and Mail April 20,1996. As well as fewer public subsidies going to support the university increasingly the university is being viewed as a motor for the urban economy, putting much more emphasis on the commodification of knowledge production and its commercial application. In this regard see Bathelt and Hecht (1990) for their study of this new development in the Waterloo Region of Canada, which probably provides the most graphic example of this postmodern turn. Also see Wilkins and Lawson (1993) where MacMaster University rather than traditional smokestack industries is held out as the savior of Canada's largest working class city - Hamilton. Also refer to excerpt out of a book entitled *Petrified Campus: The Crisis in Canada's Universities*, by David Bercuson, Robert Bothwell and J. L. Granatatstein, published by Random House in 1997, where the authors talk about the need for universities to specialize. In discussing the universities they also draw out the fact that the Student population is now 500,000, five times its size in the late 50s while the population of the country has only doubled. This is the universe from which the new middle class is drawn although not all people who attend university are necessarily members of the new middle class (See Halting the decline of campus Canada, in The Globe and Mail October 18th, 1997, p. D9).

12: Here indeed bohemian norms can be shown to have entered into the mainstream. This can be viewed in negative and positive ways. At one level it represents the rise of the new entrepreneurialism, For instance compared to the bureaucratic anchoring of its middle class forbearers, the entrepreneurial aspect and petite bourgeois experience of the new middle class would become obvious in the expansion of cultural workers, where, according to statistics collected in 1993, 29 percent of the 156,600 cultural workers in the country were self employed compared with the national average of 15 percent. There is a downside, however. And this can be seen in employment instability and the polarization of incomes. For many cultural workers this can be measured in the difference between average and median incomes and the dependence that many cultural workers have on second jobs. For example if we look at acting and writing, the average income for acting was $29,0000, which was 2.2 times the median income of all cultural workers, which stood at $13,500. For writers average income was $15,300, twice the median income of $7,500.

Evidence of work insecurity can be seen in dependence upon a second source of income. In a survey carried out in 1994, painters and sculptors were found to be the only ones able to generate half their income from cultural production. For artists as a whole only 80 percent of

their income was derived from cultural production. Finally, the relative absence of economic capital and the dependence of the new middle class on its cultural capital can be read into the relatively low income level of cultural workers and their high level of education. Whereas artists made an average of $25,400 in 1993 and other cultural workers made an average of $34,000, 45 percent of all cultural workers had a university education compare with just 15 percent for the whole labour force. See Bruce Little, "How Earnings perform in the culture industry," Globe and Mail August 12, 1996.

13: The logic for modern planning that was embodied in Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. This was a plan that was clearly predicated on the promotion of a land extensive urban development. With urban development organized around freeway development rather than transit and special attention given to the preservation of low density single family zones in the plans and zoning protocols prepared under the initial direction of Sutton Brown, little incentive was provided for the promotion of denser urban development and where densification did occur, in places such as the West End, it was viewed with a great deal of ambivalence.

When Ray Spaxman took over as planning director in 1973 a more accommodating perspective on density was taken. In "Shaping The Future," not only was a postmodern framework, which had been gestating for several years, put in place; in addition to this, when the document stated that most new development would now proceed through redevelopment and that planning must now adapt itself to the reality of constant change, for the first time in a major report on planning strategy in the department. densification is formally recognized as one of the new structural forces that planners would now have to cope with and accommodate themselves to.

This theme would become one of the central feature of the CorePlan process, where the word densification is introduced as a term into planning discourse for the first time in Vancouver (VS-68). Hereafter the need to create more housing in the core while limiting office capacity in the downtown area would surface in CorePlan the Central Area Plan that currently guides development in Vancouver's core.

In the 1990s densification would also become a strategic concern for planning in the suburban parts of the city. This would become the key background issue in CityPlan process that was begun in the early 1990s. Here the fundamental question which CityPlan would have to address was how to manage densification in the suburban parts of the city that had largely been buffeted from redevelopment pressures until the middle and late 1980s. In this way the internal planning discourse on densification can be charted from Shaping The Future, through Core Plan, the Central Area Plan to CityPlan. The major difference in these documents was that CorePlan and the Central Area Plan dealt with these issues in terms of the inner city whereas CityPlan primarily dealt with densification in the suburban areas of the city that were dominated by single detached dwelling units.

14: Looking more closely at the three reports that formed the basis of Sutton Brown's 20-Year Development Plan, Downtown Vancouver, was the first of the three reports to be completed. With the cost of implementation set at around 33 million dollars, it was the least expensive of the three planning strategies for the modernization of urban space in Vancouver (CVTPB-1). Released in 1956, the key aim of the downtown plan was to formulate a zoning and development strategy that would spark the revitalization of the downtown and optimize the economic use of land in the downtown, which as earlier indicated, largely meant the creation of a high density core. In turn this was meant to act as a motor which would lifting assessment values that would produce new revenues for the city, which, by implication, could then be used to subsidize and support a low density landscape that was expected to surround the core area of the city. To this end, two high density nodes were projected for the downtown. One node would be for offices. The other node would be for retail activities. With the successful development of these two development nodes in the downtown plan it was anticipated that the economic well being of

the downtown would be secured and that the downtown's place as the premiere commercial centre for the entire metropolitan region would remain unchallenged.

The third element of this plan was the development of a civic centre. Taking a lead from the revised Bartholomew plan that was prepared in 1945 (CV-15) rather than the original 1928 plan, the civic centre was moved from the West End to the East end of the downtown peninsula. Moreover the residual Beaux Arts design elements that could be seen in the 1928 plan but were washed out in the 1945 report, became the basis for the 1956 plan, which was a more modest and market oriented proposal geared to the creation of an entertainment and cultural precinct rather than a government centre. Again this further erased some of the City Beautiful influences that were present in the original plan 1928 plan. This is not surprising since the symbolic orientation of the City Beautiful movement was oriented towards the glorification of state functions rather than fostering of an entertainment zone.

Finally, as one internal document produced by the planning department noted (CVPD-65), the stress place on creating a horizontal cityscape for the downtown, which was also a residual aspect of the City Beautiful Movement ht was contained in the original Bartholomew Plan, was also replaced by a new vertical emphasis. Again this would express the influence of corporate capital which Sutton Brown modelled planning after. Thus the symbols for bureaucratic capitalism were expected to the defining feature of the downtown in the 1956. The change in symbolism is hardly surprising if the utilitarian mindset that seemed to govern the actions of Sutton Brown is taken into account.

After interviewing several people about Sutton Brown a composite picture emerged of him as some sort of Mr. Gradgrind character who looked at everything in very utilitarian terms, with a constant eye on the bottom line, whether it had to do with justifying the department's budget, downtown urban renewal, or residential renewal (PI-24; PI-25). In so far as this is an accurate portrayal of Sutton Brown, it not hard to see how the lavish and non revenue producing spaces that were first presented in the Bartholomew Plan would have been out of place in the utilitarian order advanced by Sutton Brown. Even while Sutton Brown represented the state he gravitated to a model of bureaucratic rule that was commercial rather socialist in orientation - something he made explicit reference to when he wrote about the operation of government as being like that of a private corporation (Sutton Brown 1954).

To achieve the goals set out in the downtown plan three actions were undertaken. The first set of actions had to do with zoning for the downtown (CVPD-3; CVTB-6). For example, to prevent development the dispersion of development in the downtown a new zoning designation was created which was intended to concentrate office and retail development into two nodes. To this end a CM-2 zoning district was created in 1957 (CVPD-7). Secondly by creating a special parking district in 1957 a strategy for reformatting the downtown into a shopping mall was implicitly set out, with the organization of space in the downtown organized primarily around the automobile rather than the pedestrian (CVPD-7). Finally, in 1957, C-5 zoning was introduced as an amenity zone to upgrade Georgia Street into a processional way, as suggested in the 1956 plan (CVPD-7). In 1961 a report on zoning in the downtown suggested that this be expanded to include more elaborate amenity provisions and that this amenity zoning be extended to Burrard Street as well (CVTB-6).

These three zoning initiatives did not have much impact on the development of the downtown. For instance the parking zone was never used and the CM-2 zoning that was supposed to concentrate development does not seem to have been adhered since the general lack of development made the department eager to take what ever development it could get. As a result the willingness to enforce standards was probably absent when this meant that development might be discouraged since planners and politicians were so desperate for development. While some minimal landscaping was carried out along Georgia street, once again, the lack of development and the unwillingness of the city to spend money on improving street amenities meant that this special zone would also have little impact on the reconfiguration of urban space in the downtown during the 1960s. Despite these zoning initiatives their impact on the core was minimal.

The second main action undertaken had to do with the creation a civic centre and the creation of more amenity spaces in the downtown. Some concrete action followed with the construction of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, which Council actually decided to build in 1953, before the 1956 plan for the downtown was released (CVPD-6,p.15). Also the construction of a Coliseum was actively considered (CVPD-3a). But this structure was eventually constructed in Hasting's Park, at the edge of the city rather than in the downtown, during the late 1960's. Interestingly enough, the realization of this scheme would have to wait until the postmodern era, when the province opened B.C. Place in 1983, just a few blocks away from the site that was originally proposed. But other than this little else happened. One can speculate that this might have had something to do with Sutton Brown's utilitarian Mr. Gradgrind approach to civic expenditures. For example there was considerable discussion about the need to improve amenities in the downtown in the 1956 plan but little happened since this was not an expenditure that would immediately lead to a pay off. For example the site of the Old Hotel Vancouver, which the city purchased to built a park (PI-43) eventually became part of the of the Blocks 42 and 52 development. Just as with the plans for consolidating commercial development into one area this plan to consolidate public facilities came to naught in the 1960's, as the provincial government built a new court house and square on the West side of the downtown rather than on the East side where a civic precinct and public amenity area was proposed in the 56 plan for the downtown.

When Robson Square was opened in 1979 it therefore became the public focus for the downtown. Only recently, in the 1990s, with the opening of the new public library, and the creation of new zoning guidelines for the library precinct (CVPD-121) has an attempt been made to develop a postmodern version of a civic focus on the East side of the downtown organized around the economy of the urban spectacle. The success of this plan can be seen in the construction of a new library and the appearance of several entertainment venues such as B.C. Place, The Ford Centre for the Performing Arts and GM Place. Here a critical level of infrastructure has now been built and the area has become a magnet for hotels and apartments.

Finally, the third important action undertaken had to do with sponsoring a redevelopment scheme for commercial development in the downtown. Because of lack of interest by developers, a number of different studies on redevelopment in the downtown were conducted in the early 60s. As a result the need to develop a more detailed strategy for redevelopment was attempted and partnerships with the private sector were sought out (CVPD-4; CVPD-5; CVPD-6; CVPD-10). Unlike the first two actions significant action was taken on this part of the downtown strategy during the modern period. With the construction of Pacific Centre the Planning Department was able to successfully complete this portion of the downtown plan (CVPD-61). What is more, this development was significant because it was the first successful large scale partnership between the city a large corporate developer. Pacific Centre was also important since it was the first large project in the downtown where urban space was systematically re-organized around suburban land use principles, with all retail development placed in an interior mall. Here began the malling of the downtown that would ultimately be responsible for the sterilization of much of Granville Street.

If the downtown plan encapsulated the pervasive bias that modern planning had shown towards the automobile, and therefore to the notion of machine space, the 1957 Vancouver Redevelopment Study expressed how modern planning tended to view urban space as abstract space. This clearly surfaces when the subject of urban blight was broached in this study. Particularly when urban space was perceived as being blighted this was when professional discourse representation of space as abstract, inert and passive space came into full view as a blank slate which was presumed to be completely malleable to the functional specifications of the planner. In typical Cartesian fashion, the expert planner was conceived as the only active form giver. Here the functional categories of planners were used as aggressive instruments to shape space. In these instances the role of the planner was to discipline space. Through a process of deduction a vision of urban space deduced by planning experts was to be impressed upon external reality. Reality not the planner, who was an agent of disembodied reason, was expected to be molded to fit into the functional categories of the expert. In

Vancouver this would find expression in the 1957 plan that set out the comprehensive redevelopment of transitional. To realize the vision constructed by planners for this area it was expected that around 1000 acres would eventually be demolished.

As with the downtown plan, one of the most important reason for engaging in urban renewal in the transitional zone had to do with the need to generate higher assessment values for the city. Once again, the productivist bias of Sutton Brown, in particular, but modern planning in general was laid out in this second component of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan to modernize the city. If the measure of success of the private corporation was taken by its ability to generate profits for Sutton Brown, the public equivalent for this would be the generation of assessment values, which all three parts of his 20-year development plan were directed towards achieving in a context defined by land extensive development. Just like his corporate mentors this would be done by standardizing the production and regulation of space.

While the disordered and mixed land uses that were present in the transitional zone would have been enough to prompt some action by Sutton Brown, the main motivation for redevelopment seems to have been the persistence of weak and declining assessment values. For this reason, along with the downtown, it became a prime candidate for renewal. As with a development corporation this thinking gave planners more reason to pay more attention to exchange value rather than the use value of land, amplifying the tendency to further abstract urban space, since the commodification of land also became intertwined with transformation of this blighted space into pristine mono functional space that would also reflect the technocratic aspirations of the expert planner. Here the anti urban bias' of modern sociology and economic calculation merged together as well, with the negative moral judgments about urban density, mixed land uses and the presence of deviant urban sub-cultures, providing additional ammunition for the comprehensive renewal of this second settlement ring.

In 1958 dollars this plan was expected to cost around 75 million dollars. This was twice as expensive to implement as the downtown plan that had been released a year earlier (CVTP-1; CVTB-2). So until the Federal Government provided money for urban renewal very little happened until the middle of the 1960s. With the impetus provided by the federal government Bill Graham, the planning director touted this plan as the most ambitious urban renewal scheme in Canada (VS-29). Once completed, it was expected that a virtuous and more productive spatial order would result. Deviant social spaces would be normalized and just as important as the correction of moral decay, the economic decay of this part of the city would be arrested.

In the productivist conceptualization of space that is present in the Vancouver Redevelopment Study the order seeking and utilitarian perspective of the engineer can also be seen. As the study noted: "The Development Plan is concerned with the best and most appropriate use of the City's most valuable asset-its land. When the development on part of that land becomes blighted the asset is being wasted. Redevelopment, as it is conceived in this report, is aimed a preventing this waste and is therefore just as much a part of the City's development strategy as the location of highways, of the designation of zoning districts. It is important therefore that the period considered for redevelopment should be the same as for the rest of the Development plan."

To achieve this goal the study showed scant concern that this would involve the displacement of 25,000 people and the demolition of 900 acres that made up the "collar of blight," which had to be eliminated (CVTPB-2). In keeping with the productivist orientation of modern planning and the narrow perspective of the sociological imagination that guided modern planning practice mixed residential spaces were to be removed since they were perceived as being contaminated and devalued by the presence of other land uses, especially if the land uses were industrial. In tune with the productivist orientation of modernism existing residences were generally to be sacrificed to industry since the reorganization of this zone was to involve the expansion of industrial land uses. This would contrast directly with the postmodern strategy for the redevelopment of these lands, when a new strategy was adopted in the 1970s. Instead of industrial land uses becoming the dominant land use residential space

would take its place. As a result, between the late 1960s and 1990s, about 700 acres of industrial, or 25 percent of the city's industrial land, was converted mostly into residential land uses (CVPD-92). And most of this land would be in the transition zone that surrounded False Creek.

Finally, the third programmatic element of the 20-year development plan involved a transportation plan. Called A Study on Highway Planning, this study was completed in 1959 (CVTPB-4). Even though this was the last of the triad of studies that made up the 20-year development plan to modernize the city, this was the program that ultimately became the lynch pin around which the other two plans revolved. For without the freeway the strategy to create an intensive node of development in the downtown and redevelopment of the lands around the zone of transition was thought to be not viable. This was also the most expensive part of the plan: costing nearly 500 million dollars (in 1959 dollars), 45 miles of freeway were anticipated to be constructed, with the first phase of the freeway project scheduled to be completed by 1966 (CVTPB-4). As the maps and commentary in the report reveal, the freeway was expected to free up large swathes of territory for land extensive development while creating access to the downtown which would make the development of a high density core feasible.

19: According to Herbert Spencer, when the military spirit superseded the industrial spirit all the values associated with the industrial spirit become subjugated to the Militant spirit. When this happens, ideologies glorifying the individual give way to ideologies praising group solidarity. Not surprisingly one of the most cherished values of the Militant spirit becomes that of self sacrifice rather than self actualization - something which becomes readily becomes apparent to anyone who has ever visited a war monument or looked at the values which are encouraged or are frowned upon during times of war or when war is being prepared for. Also when the militant spirit becomes dominant social regimentation and the centralization of authority tends to become more noticeable. Although there are exceptions to this, such as the State of Israel, this appears to be a dominant tendency when these conditions prevail. This is, of course, the converse of what happens when the industrial spirit becomes dominant. These are periods when hedonism rather than self sacrifice, subjectivity rather than objectivity, individuation rather than group solidarity becomes more prominent in orienting the behaviour and perceptions of people.

Although the historic examples that framed the observations of Herbert Spencer (Turner 1985) were largely set by the rivalry that then existed between Germany and England in the 19th century, as we shall see, many of his insightful observations are applicable to the study of modernism in the twentieth century. The attitudes he described appear in many of the representations of twentieth modernism. Conversely, just the opposite is the case for postmodern depictions of reality in the late twentieth century. So not only were changes within the modernization processes, where advancing bureaucratic rule increasingly defined the representations of reality, were being construction, these representations were also being augmented by the on going militarization of society which was also growing in tandem with corporate capitalism. But when the postmodern condition is considered the reverse becomes the case. Not only was the re-organization of capital along Post-Fordist rather than Fordist lines intensifying the effect that commodification was having, as many aspects of modern bureaucratic rule were being undermined, at the same time, bureaucratic rule was put on the defensive by the growth of anti militarism amongst the new middle class. Beginning with the anti-nuclear agitation of the late 1950s, for the first time since the early 1930s, as Isserman (1987) and Levitt (1984) have shown in their studies of the New Left and the counter culture in Canada (Kettle 1984; Owram 1996) and the United States (Gitlin 1987), militarization faced vigorous opposition (Haig-Brown 1996).

What is so intriguing about all this is how a connection can be made between urban governance, the organization of space and the aesthetics of urban space and militarization. In the United States, for instance, the City Beautiful movement would be one example of the military spirit grafted on to the organization of urban space, as the attributes of centrality,

order and uniformity, so cherished by the advocated of the city beautiful were also military values that found favour in a society embarking upon its first imperial ventures under the tutelage of presidents like Teddy Roosevelt (Wilson 1994).

As befitting a satellite country, in Canada the connection between the regulation and production of urban space and the military spirit were not so grandiose. Nevertheless there were strong links between the institution of modern city planning and the war, which are central to the history of planning in Canada. It is therefore no coincidence that the institutional framework for modern planning in Canada was put in place in the context of a war time plan for the postwar reconstruction of the country. The Curtis Report would be the best illustration of this. The goals advanced in this report were a reflection of the military spirit and would not be seriously challenged until the 1960s, when opposing goals arose out of the anti-war movement, which was an integral part of the counter culture (Whitaker and Marcuse 1994). But for planning, it would only be at the height of the anti-war agitation, in the late 60s, that the reaction would directly affect modern planning practices across the country.

In Vancouver this connection can be seen the crystallization of the anti-bureaucratic sentiments that were distilled in the platforms of the two civic reform political that were established in 1968. While the anti-militarism implicit in the anti-bureaucratic stance of TEAM - or The Electors Action Movement was less obvious, this was not the case for COPE, or the Committee of Progressive Electorates. Here the connections with the anti-war movement were quite direct and explicit. This can be pointed to by looking at the background of important individuals in the party. For instance one of the founders of COPE, Frank Kennedy, was directly connected to the anti-war movement (Church 1993). Similarly, Carmela Allevato, who was the COPE Mayoralty candidate in the 1996 civic election was one of the founding members of End the Arms Race (Applebe 1996a). Another case in point would be Jim Green, the former director of the Downtown Eastside Residents Association and former COPE Mayoralty candidate in 1990, who was part of the great anti war migration from the United States to Canada in the 1960s (PI-8).

More significant for Toronto, the anti-war movement brought Jane Jacobs to Toronto (Fulford 1995; Chapter 5) where one of the progenitors of postmodern discourse has lived ever since and has been intimately involved with the evolution of postmodern planning for this city since that time. So even though Canada was not involved in the Vietnam war, its cities were dramatically affected by the cultural fall out that came from the civic rebellions which were triggered by the war in the United States. However, because of its distance from the war, the ant- bureaucratic sentiments sparked by the war would not lead to the anti-statist attitudes that became more common among the American new middle class. Although more anarchical and less authoritarian approaches towards the organization and regulation of urban space came out of this agitation, what came about, was not a movement away from government, but a redefinition of its practices, as can be seen in the policy shifts undergone by the federal, provincial and some municipal governments at this time. This did not lead to a retreat and disengagement of the state from the city, as was the case in the United States, but a the creation of a new agenda and a deployment of resources that would culminate in the amendments that were made to the National Housing Act in 1973 - amendments that would put in place a communitarian rather than bureaucratic focus for the construction of housing; amendments that would also placed more emphasis upon local area planning; Hence a form of planning that placed more emphasis upon community involvement and therefore dialogical forms of bureaucratic rule - a system of rule where less stress was on the rule of experts and more emphasis on the organic knowledge of the residents who actually lived in the spaces that were being regulated.

So not only can the modern postwar suburb and modern planning in Canada be viewed as spatial manifestations of the logic of the Fordist production that was applied to the production of urban space, as well, these suburbs were products of the military spirit - the home for warriors who had fought in the Second World War. As Bettinson (1975) makes clear in his analysis of the postwar suburb in Canada, the motivations for putting the institutional framework in place for the mass production of single detached dwelling units in the suburb had

as much to do with political as economic considerations, although, of course, both were inter-related. When bureaucrats were preparing for the demobilization of soldiers they were quite conscious of the involvement of ex servicemen in the wave of strikes that occurred after the First World War, which culminated in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 (Penner 1973). Hence one of the chief rationales for promoting the postwar suburb had to do with anxiety about what to do with veterans and the need to dilute any unrest that this group might cause by firmly anchoring them in a conformity inducing mode of consumption which home ownership was clearly meant to promote. What was also complementary to this goal was the potential of this strategy to create jobs, which made this plan even more attractive because it dealt with the issue of social unrest on two critical fronts, in the domains of consumption and production.

Whereas twentieth century modernism was shaped by the intense and unrelenting militarization of society, postmodernism emerged from quite a different social context, one where opposition rather than acceptance of the military values became central to the new sensibility that was constructed. This becomes obvious in much of the anti-authoritarianism and anti-bureaucratic sentiment that can be detected in most postmodern ideology. So, in addition to the shift from bureaucratic to market rule, postmodernism was also shaped by forces situated in the political rather than in economic sphere. Since the 1970s both these tendencies have worked in tandem to shape and direction postmodern culture, particularly since the late 80s, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the formal end of the Cold War. Now even in the military-industrial complex itself the regimentation and orientation to bureaucratic rule associated has been challenged by market practices (Strauss 1996a). Moreover, this has even penetrated into the activities of the Russian and Chinese military, the worlds other large military powers.

23: Modern planning in Vancouver was guided by three foundational sets of documents-two, of which, were produced before the Planning Department came into existence. The first document was the Bartholomew Plan. It was released in 1928 (Bartholomew 1928). later this plan was supplemented by studies undertaken after the Second World War by Bartholomew's consulting firm (CV-14 ; CV-15; CV-16). The Second significant programmatic work was the Bland and Spence Sales Report, released in 1951 (VP-1; VS-1). This report is significant because it resulted in the establishment of the planning department in 1952. Just as important, the report became responsible for the installation of a powerful system of monological rule. Finally, in Vancouver modern discourse finds its culmination in a twenty year development plan, prepared under the watchful eye of Sutton Brown. Essentially this plan was a further distillation of the philosophic principles for the modern organization of space that were advanced in the work of Bartholomew and Bland and Spence Sales Report. However, unlike the others, this 20 year development plan would become the operational plan for the modernization of Vancouver until a postmodern regime was brought into replace it.

The outline for this plan was set at a very early date, with many feature harkening directly back to recommendations made in the Bland and Spence Sales Report. Although the first component was not released to the public until 1956 the outline had already been prepared in 1954 . For the most part, this plan involved the reorganization of the City so that transit and pedestrian space would be subordinated to machine space, or the car. Between 1956 and 1959 three programmatic elements for the modernization were released. First a plan for the commercial renewal of the downtown was produced in 1956 (CVTPB-1). Later, in 1957, a massive residential urban renewal scheme for the conversion zone was produced (CVTPB-2). Lastly, in 1959, a plan for a costly freeway system known as the Sutton Brown plan, that had actually been in the works since the early 1950s, was released (CVTPB-4).

However, with the victory of urban reformers, in 1972, this strategy would be replace by another one as the era of modern rule ended and era of postmodern regulation began. As with the modern discourse a postmodern discourse was generated from with in the department. If the work of Bartholomew, the Bland and Spence Sales Report and the three 20-year development plans of Sutton Brown were the foundational documents that guided planners during the modern

period, a new series of documents would come into existence that would perform the same function in the postmodern period. The first document was "Shaping The Future," which was released in 1974 (CVPD-36). It would encapsulate the program for re-organizing the city during the livable city era. The second document would be the Central Area Plan. Adopted in 1981, it would embody the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city and be more closely aligned with economy of the urban spectacle. This plan also contained residual elements of the livable city era, where policy work for the city that came out of the Goals for Vancouver program (CV-17), and then the Vancouver Plan, which was released in the middle of the 1980s (CVPD-70) were integrated to and made reference to in this review. Lastly, there was CityPlan. Adopted in 1995, this plan would provide the blueprint for re-organization of the non core areas of the city (CVPD-141). As with Bartholomew Plan, The Bland and Spence Sales Report and Sutton Brown's plans, these documents would act as the institutional DNA for the department, establishing the policies and the framework that would guide the actions of planners from the 1970s through to the present.

24: Commodification is process that refers to subordination of non market relations to market relations in the economic sphere. This happens when the search for exchange value rather than use value becomes the primary motivation for engaging in production. Other than Marx and Simmel probably no one has written in a such pithy and revealing way about the effects of commodification on society than Karl Polanyi, who wrote *The Great Transformation* (1957). In *The Great Transformation,* Karl Polanyi observed that three types of relations define all economic activity. The first relation is that of reciprocity. The second is that of redistribution. And the third is the commodity relation. It is only when commodity relations become the organizing attribute of economic activity does the market becomes dominant and commodification begins to act as a solvent on existing social relations. As commodification transforms social relations these relations become increasingly segmented and instrumental. Utilitarian attitudes therefore increasingly become the norm for behaviour, undermining traditional social relations based on reciprocity and redistribution. Marx noticed this in *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,* when he stated that money is:

> The overturning power both against the individual and against the bonds of society, which claim to be essences in themselves. It transforms fidelity into infidelity, lover into hate, hate into love, vice into virtue, servant into master, master into servant, idiocy into intelligence, and intelligence into idiocy. Since money, as the existing and active concept of value, confounds and exchanges all things, it is the general confounding and compounding of all things-the world upside down-the confounding and compounding of all natural and human qualities. (Marx, p.169,1973)

Not to be outdone by Marx, Georg Simmel (1990) made the same point in *The Philosophy of Money.* In this book he remarked about how money engendered cultural relativism. It loosened up social ties while creating the condition for the creation of new identities that were both secular and tentative, advancing new forms of individualism at the expense of the hold of traditional social ties. As Simmel observed:

> The increase in the quantity of money will cause a constant sense of disorder and psychic shocks, and will thus deepen the differences and the comparative disparity between current conceptions and thereby accelerate the pace of life (p.499).

In the same vein he would also remark that:

The more the life of society becomes dominated by monetary relationships, the more the relativistic character of existence finds its expression in conscious life, since money is nothing other than a special form of the embodied relativity of economic goods that signifies their value (Simmel, p. 512, 1990).

It is at this junction, that the distinction between modern and traditional society begins to emerge in sharp relief for the first time and the connection between the modernization process and modernism becomes fully visible. In the West, historically, this process begins in the 16th century (Braudel 1992) but it is only with the industrial revolution and the transformation of the labour process that everyday life for the majority of people begins reflect this new social logic (Phillips 1986; Peet 1991).

25: For example Vickrey notes that policy makers and engineers have tended to overestimate the effect that the provision of new transportation infrastructure has on the efficient flow of goods and services. He also notes that even in 1960 only about 50% of the direct costs of automobile transportation were taken care of by users and that the rest of the funds came out of general government revenues. Moreover, Vickrey has pointed out how costing the various forms of congestion can be broken down into simple, complex, Bottleneck, Triggered (produce trouble on routes other than where bottleneck is), network and control (i.e., stop lights and signs) and general density forms: with each level usually a reflection of increased traffic density.

Addendum: In his essay on urban economics he states that a new urban economics came into existence in the 1970s which merged the five separate sub areas of urban economics which had previously focused upon, in a separate way, the issues of location, land uses, transportation, housing and public financing (See Public Economics: Selected Papers by William Vickrey, edited by Arnott et el., New York City: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

27: If commodification represents the revolutionary side of the modernization process, bureaucratization comes into existence on the other side of this dynamic, supplying the order required to keep the system in equilibrium, since it is impossible for the market on its own without the proper institutional supports. Because each of these facets of the modernization process exists in a mutually dependent but in a contradictory relation with the other there is a dynamic tension between the two that can be observed over time in the historical evolution of the modernization process and the different epochs of modernism.

On this subject few have written more forcefully about these issues than Max Weber. In this regard Weber viewed commodification and bureaucratization as simply different social manifestations of the same impulse that was propelling society forward towards greater rationalization and secularization. In his interpretation, commodification was simply viewed as the economic manifestation of this movement towards greater rationalization while bureaucratization was viewed as the political and organizational manifestation of the same process in both the public and private spheres. For although bureaucratization is mostly identified with the operation of the modern nation state it is certainly not confined to this sphere but can be found to be an important characteristic in the private sphere where ever large private corporations exist.

Just as Polyani sub-divided economic activity into three types of activities, in Economy and Society Max Weber (1978) does the same thing with regard to political activity, noting that legitimate authority can express itself in three different ways: first by traditional sanctions, secondly, by charisma and, thirdly, by appeal to bureaucratic rule. Bureaucratic rule is different from the other systems of authority because it functions by the use systematic use of rules that are generated from formal secular points of orientation. As Foucault (Rabinow,1984), Anthony Giddens (1993) and Michael Mann (1986,1993) have shown, this form of authority does not really become a pervasive part of modern life until the 19th century when the modern nation state begins to mature as an organizational entity. Until after the French Revolution, most states only had a rudimentary capacity to organize and shape the social life of their

subjects. Only when the capillary like system of control that comes with bureaucratic rule does the state begin to exert real control over the everyday life of its citizens. This would not happen until the beginning of the industrial revolution and the great migration from the country to the city. With the interdependencies that were created with this industrialism and urbanization bureaucratic rule gradually replace many of the local traditions and customs that shaped and defined people's location in the social order.

Thus there is a technological, an economic and political face to the modernization process, but it is the economic and political facets represented by the interaction of commodification and bureaucratization processes that are of the greatest concern since these are the two processes that provide were fuel each different epoch of modernism. Although commodification and bureaucratization may lead to the creation of a more secular and rational social order they do so by different means, carrying forward different sensibilities that create opposing experiences that require different symbols and representations to make sense of the world (Hauser 1973; Paglia 1990).

When the market is ascendant, commodification acts as a solvent, dissolving existing social relations and cultural constructs. This is when the anarchical side of the modernization process becomes most apparent in the shaping of modernism and this is when Dionysian face of modernity is becomes most prevalent - something which becomes quite apparent if twentieth century modernism is compared postmodernism within each of the regulatory dimensions that will be examined when looking at the city. For it is at such times that long established norms are undermined and mental constructs were once used to make sense of the world are challenged. Such times are therefore transition periods, moments when opposing values can be observed visibly struggling against each other for hegemonic influence.

If Commodification provides the material basis for the Dionysian face of modernism to show itself than bureaucratization provides the material basis for the Appolonian face of modernism to appear. When this happens, the order seeking side of modernism show itself. Unlike the commodification of social relations, the bureaucratization of social relations creates order rather than disorder and conformity rather than individuation. As a result, when it becomes dominant, the principle of conformity begins to subordinate the principle of difference in all facets of life. When this is further complemented by the substitution of the industrial spirit by the military spirit the effects of bureaucratic rule are even more compounded.

The contrast therefore emerges. If unrestrained commodification represents the most revolutionary and unstable aspect of the modernization process then bureaucratization expresses the most conservative and order affirming side of the modernization process. There are paradoxes and ironies at play here since both the processes of commodification and bureaucratization operate in tandem with one another and support each other. But, as noted earlier in this discussion, there are periods when one becomes more dominant than the other. When this happens the representations produced of the external world undergo radical change that makes it possible to subdivide modernism into various epochs, something which Marshall Berman has attempted to do.

Here it is interesting to note that it is only when bureaucratization starts to become an ascendant force after the First World War that positive images of bureaucratic culture appear. While famous negative accounts of bureaucratic culture are also generated, until the counter culture they would only be regarded as a minority opinion within the broader stream of cultural production that took place within the ambit of 20th-century modernism. Similarly, in the era of 19th century modernism, when market rule was ascendant, the technocratic order fashioned by Saint Simon and August Comte were produced but they only existed as a minority stream in the larger realm of thought, which, at the time, favoured the market. To see this it is only necessary to look at the critique John Stuart Mill makes of August Comte when he published a book about him in the middle of the 19th century (N.D.)

However when bureaucratic rule began to rise and market rule fall, this attitude would change. The foreboding that John Stuart Mill articulated in his book he authored on *Comte and Positivisim* (N.D.), would later be replaced by the optimistic embrace of the bureaucratic rule. Perhaps the most influential work that would express this new attitude towards bureaucratic

rule would appear in the novel about a utopian society that was authored by Edward Bellamy. Entitled *Looking Backwards* (Mumford 1961), this novel was written in the late 19th century and became very influential among progressivists seeking to install a new ideal for society in place of the chaos produced by unrestrained market, which defined the 19th century.

Again, what is significant to note is that a darker image of bureaucratic rule was also produced, in the twentieth century when Huxley published (1966) *Brave New World* and Orwell's (1949), *1984* . But the paradox is that these cautionary tales about bureaucratic rule only became widely read during the counter culture, when they became icons of the counter cultural rebellion against bureaucratic rule. What this also indicates is that modernism is not a monolithic cultural field, where impulses generated from within the modernization process find direct reflection in the images and representations of reality that are produced. Counter hegemonic works are always being produced; however their full effect, is usually only felt when the moment for their wider reception is right. For Orwell and Huxley, except for a small elite, this moment would not arrive until the 1960s.

29: On a reduced scale many of the postmodern experiments pioneered in Vancouver a few decades earlier are now being applied in the suburbs. In this regard 1987 is a pivotal year for the postmodern transformation of the suburbs. With the election of a number of reform mayors and a significant number of councillors in the suburbs a parallel between what happened in 1972 when urban reformers in the City of Vancouver came to power was established. For example, in Burnaby, a reform council was voted into office (PI-16). In the same year, Bob Bose, another strong urban reformer, became mayor of Surrey (Reid 1990), making urban reform a significant political movement in Vancouver's largest suburb. Because of this political shift, for the first time the regulation of urban space started to become as politicized as it had in Vancouver, in the late 1960s. The more flamboyant and polarized politics that arose in Vancouver in the mid 60s, when the transition from modern to postmodern systems of regulation had begun, can now be observed in the suburbs. The politicization of space was further emphasized in the 1990 civic elections when reform councils were elected in Delta and Richmond. To a great extent this supplied the political base for the forging of a consensus about the creation which resulted in the adoption of an update of the Livable Region Plan in the middle of the 1990s (Reid 1993/4). But as with Vancouver, change moves backwards as well as forwards. In the civic elections of 1996, reformers were not only eliminated from the City of Vancouver, but were also defeated in Surrey and Langley. Despite the advances that were made in Port Moody and Coquitlam, the defeats in Surrey and the District of Langley and the regression of the reform agenda in Richmond, represented an overall set back, of which the repercussions are now being felt in the disputes now raging between the Greater Vancouver Regional District supply more proof that postmodern regimes are now becoming a generalized feature of suburban politics (VS-281; VS-283; VS-338; VS-384a). Similarly, as with Vancouver one of the mains sources for politicization of land has to do with the diffusion of the densification process into the suburbs and not only the resistance to the absorption of postmodern norms.

Just as in the case study of Vancouver, with densification, pressure for more elaborate spatial regulation is being generated in the suburbs. This, in turn, has created a material basis for the adoption of postmodern norms where there is not a large new middle class to agitate for this type of regulation. The interesting challenges that these new developments pose are that unlike the 1970s, all municipalities are being confronted with the limitations imposed by fiscal restraint. As a consequence, a contradiction has developed between the pressure for more regulation and the demand for more regulation that has been generated by the spread of the densification process. How city managers in the suburbs cope with this challenge may be foreshadowed, once again, by what happens in the City of Vancouver, as bureaucrats in the city are attempting to create a more efficient system of regulation through the re-organization of the bureaucracy.

Looking for efficiencies will be no easy task since channelling urban growth into a land intensive pattern of development usually requires that more civic resources be devoted to

regulation if the interests of developers and the community are to be kept in balance. For the suburbs this presents a dilemma, since they are even more reluctant to fund such an apparatus than the City of Vancouver. How this challenge will be met will be one of the interesting things to track in the next few years as this problem becomes more acute. A choice will have to be made. If decision making authority for many of the discretionary aspects of this new form of regulation are not to be devolved to community groups then the burden for this more elaborate form of postmodern regulation may have to be born, a great expense, solely by the bureaucracy. If not, as a recent controversy over development in Port Moody has revealed, much more conflict and political volatility can be expected to be generated, creating significant barriers to more intensive investment in land (For Pitt Meadows see VS- 398; 327; for Port Moody see VS-385; for the District of Langley see VS-270; For the District of North Vancouver see District of North Vancouver (Draft Plan - 1997),VS-151; VS-264; VS-180a).

With this new mode of regulation gaining control over large part of the region other questions about cost and taxation and whom should pay for this form of regulation are raised as well. If such costs are viewed as a necessary part of the production process for the creation of the non standardized spaces then the matter of equity should dictate that this form of regulation be completely self financing with regard to the charges made to the development industry. Hence, rather than being viewed as an external financial burden, these regulatory costs become treated a cost of production and not as regulatory burden or tax on development. But, as with Vancouver, this question will not be resolved through some abstract calculation of cost and benefit. In the suburbs, as in Vancouver, this issue will only likely be settled through the political struggle of citizens who become involved in the urban social movements that are bound to arise over the struggle about the production space.

In the suburbs, just as with the City of Vancouver, densification and postmodernism have become the active structural and ideological regulatory forces that are reshaping the region and dispersing reform politics into the suburbs. With the emergence of this new mode of urban development in the suburbs a more intense and combative form of urban politics has spread to the suburbs. Although not as intense, nevertheless, it is reminiscent of the political activism that took hold of the political culture of the City of Vancouver during the 1960s. The unprecedented political turbulence experienced in Surrey since 1987 and the massive community mobilization against development in Port Moody (VS-129; VS-130), the struggles in Squamish (VS-219), and the turbulent politics that can now be seen in the District of Langley are political signs that convey the politicization of space and the further consolidation of a new urban order in Vancouver.

Even though the exact direction suburban politics will go cannot be predicted or the exact way that these new political pressures will shape planning remain unclear, some general structural and ideological tendencies can be identified which make what had happened in the City of Vancouver instructive for looking at what is likely to happen in the outlying suburbs.

With the spread of the densification to the suburbs many of the same political pressures for dialogical systems of planning have arisen in the suburbs. As well densification has forced a movement away from the organization of urban space solely around the automobile. It has also brought about the emergence of more organic representations of space in the planning that is now taking place in the suburbs. In the suburb of Coquitlam (City of Coquitlam 1995), for instance, this has become manifest in the current debate about the restructuring of local government and the attempt to articulate a postmodern vision for this suburban municipality (VS-180). In Surrey, evidence of the same regulatory shift can be seen in the new postmodern plan for the city (City of Surrey 1996; Young 1997). The same can be said about the plan recently adopted by the District of North Vancouver (1997). However, as the overturning of the postmodern matrix in the District of Langley reveals (VS-149; VS-185; VS-181; VS-257; VS-338) and the shelving of Surrey's plan indicates (VS-296), progress does not move in one constant or uniform direction. While the City of Vancouver provides a model for looking at the broad paradigm shift that has taken this region into a different period in its development, what is also certain, is that the impact of densification and postmodern regulation will not unfold exactly in the same way that it has done in the City of Vancouver or in other urban centres, elsewhere in Canada and

North America. To understand what is likely to happen in the suburbs of Vancouver more research will be required to map out the unique pathways which will no doubt be taken in the here. Unfortunately this lies beyond the compass of this study but is something that, nonetheless, deserves to be taken up.

31: Hence in terms of shifting paradigms there was a great deal of unevenness within the civic bureaucracy. For example of the three departments most concerned with the regulation of space and the built environment Engineering, unlike City Planning or Social Planning or the Police Department, has been the department most resistant to the cultural revolution that put the postmodern agenda on the map when civic reformers rode to victory in the 1972 election. But even before this political victory the process of transformation had already begun within the bureaucracy. Here the shift can be dated with the establishment of the Social Planning Department in 1968. In the planning department this change was effected with the appointment of Ray Spaxman as planning director in 1973 and the re-organization of the department in 1974 when the Department formally repudiated a freeway system. Similarly changes within the Police Department reveal a matching change in direction. Yet, nearly 30 years after the establishment of the Social Planning Department and over 20 years after the Planning Department had repudiated its early support for a freeway system active suspicions about the Engineering Department remain, as some community activists feel that the Engineering Departments not green and still favours the revival of a freeway system in some form (PO-1; PO-3; PO-5; Will 1996a; Blore 1995). What this shows that is that even within a single bureaucracy the shift to a postmodern as been uneven. Even with the new transportation plan it is far from uncertain what the take this postmodern plan will not be subverted by the Engineering Department when budget priorities are set and actual implementation of the plan is attempted. A taste of this can already be seen in the internal dispute between the Planning and Engineering Departments over money the Engineering Department wishes to spend on Left Turn Bays (VS-165). That is why it is not possible to say that postmodern regulatory completely dominates the regulation of the city even though it is dominant. As in all change there are gaps, lags and counter eddies. So unless there is a catastrophic change usually one institutional system is never completely erased.

32: The shift from modern to postmodern systems of rule can therefore be tracked by looking at the internal organization of the planning department and by seeing how the creation of new institutional organs made it possible to engage in actions that would eventually lead to the modernization of the city. For while discourse, as represented in plan, may have provided the blueprint for action, without institutional organs and the organizational muscle to bring the goal set out in a plan about they only remain as ideals and not operational ideas that effect change. In the City of Vancouver, this can be seen in the internal re-organization of the Planning

After the plan preparation phase, in the 1950s, the resources and organization of the Department needed to be changed to move the planning from a conceptualization to implementation mode. In order to implement the Sutton Brown agenda changes were therefore required in the division of labour within the Department.

From out of the General Planning Division, which had been responsible for policy formulation in the 1950s, two divisions were spun out. One was the Long Range Planning Division. The other was Current Planning Division. Each new division would be given specific responsibilities that would now have to do with the implementation of the 20-year plan (Sutton Brown 1954).

For example, the creation of the Current Planning Division in the early and middle 1960s clearly indicated that the Department was moving from conceptualization to implementation of the 20-year downtown plan, as it was given primary responsibility for implementing the downtown portion of the plan (CVPD-8; CVPD-9). As well, with the entry of the Federal Government into urban renewal, an Urban Renewal Division was created. During the middle of

the 1960s Urban Renewal became a separate division. As the name suggests, this Division was primarily given the responsibility for implementing the 1957 urban renewal plan of Sutton Brown. While the Long Range Division retained many of the tasks that were the responsibility of the General Planning Division, in the 1950s, most of the broad policy work for the modern era already been completed, with the release of the three reports that made up the 20-year development plan. So even this division became bound up in the implementation of some aspects of the 20 year development formation rather than further exploration of new policy directions. Most noticeably the Long Range Planning Division was given the task of revising the city's zoning ordinances (CVPD-9). In addition some work was carried out on transportation. However by this time this had become the domain of the Engineering Department and a plethora of private consultants, who now did most of this work.

Finally, there was the zoning division. Because zoning was largely viewed as a technical operation no policy initiatives or significant matters that were concerned with implementation appear to have come out of this Division. This, in turn, reflected the clear division between policy and implementation that had been set out in Bland and Sales Spence Report. The Zoning Divisions place in the order of things therefore closely reflected the corporate culture of the Planning department. Closely mirroring the Taylorist division that was common in large private corporations, a clear line of demarcation was drawn between thinking and execution. With the Zoning Division of the execution side of this divide its role appear to have remained technical. As well, it is important to keep in mind that at this time the Zoning function was not entirely controlled by the Planning Department since the Building and Permits Department was partially responsible for administering the zoning bylaws created by the Planning Department (Fountain 1961).

This division of labour shift even more dramatically in the 1970s as the Department had to respond to a paradigm shift in its operation and not simply a switch from conceptualization to implementation of an existing plan. With the adoption of the recommendations for reorganizing the department, which were set out in Shaping The Future, put into place, the regulatory organs that had been created to realize the Sutton Brown Plan, in the 1960s, were eliminated or transformed. For example, the Long Range Planning Division was transformed into the Overall Planning Division. Current Planning and the Urban Renewal Divisions were eliminated, with their functions erased or absorbed into the Local Area Planning Division that was created in 1974. Similarly Current Planning Division would resurfacing in its postmodern guise when the Central Area Division was spun off from the Local Area Planning Division in 1975 (CVPD-36; CVPD-41).

The Local Area Planning Division and The Central Area Divisions became the institutional dynamos for the Planning Department during the livable city era. Not only did they carry forward and advance dialogical systems of planning, just as significant was the way that these two divisions gave institutional expression to new ways of representing space, something that even comes out in the way that these two divisions were named. For example, the modern counterparts of the Local Area Planning Division and the Central Area Division were Current Planning and the Urban Renewal and Housing Division. Whereas the word Local Area and Central Area refer to real space and suggest an organic rather than functional angle to the regulation of space, quite the opposite is suggested in the use of generic titles such as Current Planning and Urban Renewal.

The only division to remain intact from the modern period was the Zoning Division. Even here, however, there were significant changes that reflected the presence of a new spatial paradigm and the rising stature of the Planning Department in relation to the rest of the civic bureaucracy. Now, for the first time the Planning Department gained complete control over zoning functions that it once shared with the Building and Permits Department, as employees were transferred from this Department to the Planning Department's Zoning Division in 1973 (CVPD-36, p.43). Otherwise, the Zoning Division remained very much a technical arm of the other Divisions, growing as it adapted to the more complex systems of regulation that were generated with arrival of area based discretionary zoning and the institutionalization of organic rather than abstract conceptualizations of urban space.

In a similar way the organizational changes and shift in resources that have come after 1989, in the Post-Spaxman period, can be seen as a reflection of the priorities and political culture of the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city: a time defined by fiscal limitations, the densification of the suburbs, and the era of the urban spectacle. Although modification of the structure put in place by "Shaping the Future" was begun Tom Fletcher, who succeeded Spaxman as planning director, more fundamentally re-organization of the Department only began after his departure in 1994, when the Better City Government initiatives was initiated.

Under Tom Fletcher reform rather than any radical departure from the structure put in place by Ray Spaxman defined his tenure, with many of the changes he undertook being more cosmetic than substantive. For example three divisions in the Department had their names changed. The Zoning Division became Land Use and Development Division. The Local Area Planning Division became the Community Planning Division and Overall Planning became the CityPlan Division. As stated earlier, Community planning and the Central Area Division appear to have suffered the most under Fletcher. Key senior people were transferred out of the Central Area Division. And in Community Planning there was a significant reduction in personal and a dilution of the original mandate to carry out local area planning (PI-14). Instead of engaging in comprehensive local area planning exercise the work of the division was increasingly directed towards special projects. Also for a while resources were taken out of the Central Area and Local Area Planning Division and placed into the CityPlan Division in the early 90s in order to supply the personnel needed for the City Plan process. The only other division that experienced significant growth in the Fletcher period was the Zoning Division. Again, now renamed the Land Use and Development Division, not surprisingly, this, the most conventional and bureaucratic of the Divisions in the Planning Department would experience the most growth. However, this expansion was not only the more conventional approach to planning that Fletcher took up, this expansion also had a great deal to do with the building boom and the diffusion of discretionary zoning into RS-1 areas. Thus, with the housing crisis triggering the need for an overall plan and the spread of discretionary zoning and rapid growth City Plan and the Land Use and Development Division became the only Division to grow during the Fletcher's tenure as director.

With the departure of Fletcher in 1994, the Planning Department has been without a director for three years. With regard to this point, it is possible to speculate that the absence of a single head may be yet another sign that the plan formulation period of postmodern rule has come to an end and that just as with the modern agenda, after 1960, the Department has entered into an implementation phase where strong leaders are not needed to take the department into uncharted directions. With the Central Area Plan and CityPlan and the Transportation Plan (CVPD-152) a consensus for the direction that Planning is to follow in the era of the urban spectacle appears to have been set hence what is required for the time being are competent administrators who can expeditiously follow along the grooves already laid out.

With Bringing CityPlan to Neighbourhoods (CVPD-154), underway, with the first two pilot projects of a Community Vision exercise involving the community of Dunbar and Kensington Cedar Cottage (CVCO-37), started in 1997, implementation is already well underway. While the desire to save money was the initial motivation for not hiring another director (PI-1) the existence of the current consensus can also be seen as another reason why many feel a single director to lead the Department is superfluous. Presently a collegial structure has evolved, with the directors from the four non clerical Divisions meeting regularly to co-ordinate policy and to integrate their activities. Whether this headless horizontal bureaucratic structure is to be permanent or temporary feature of planning in the City of Vancouver remains to be seen.

Thus, within the Department, the realignment of resources and power would become most evident in the changes made to the Local Area Planning Division and the Central Area Planning Division: the two divisions most actively involved in bringing about the realization of the livable city ideal and the two divisions most closely associated with the focus on the core that had defined the focus placed upon the core of the city Ray Spaxman. At the same

time, the changes would also be registers of the rising influence of the market and political constraints that came with the turn to the Right, with the victory of Non Partisan Association Party in 1986, something that would be reflected in the intrusion of Mayor Gordon Campbell into the internal operation of the Department and the involvement of the mayor in the Central Area Plan, which some planners claim he was the real author of.

One of the most obvious signs of this change would become evident in the fast tracking of mega-projects along the North shore of False Creek and Coal Harbour (CVPD-91; CVCO-6; (CVPD-93; CVPD-94; CVPD-111). To accomplish this a special committee made up of planners and large developers was created (CVPD-113). This abbreviation of the planning process would bear many similarities with protocols initiated elsewhere when large corporations attempted to proceed with mega-projects where significant public participation had to be managed (i.e.. Freeman 1996). With most of the strategic pieces of land now privately rather than publicly owned and less funding available from senior levels of government for experiments that had been possible during the livable city era, political and market pressure would force the Central Area Division to defer more to the market.

Of all the divisions in the Planning Department the Central Area Division has probably been the Division most affected by the economic and ideological shift that brought the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city into existence. Here, most clearly, the ascendant force of the market can be seen and more polarized outlook of the new middle class with regard to the urban proletariat is revealed. During the first period the ideology of the livable city clearly acted as the main guide for planners. However, in the second period, which began in the mid 1980s, the frame of reference shifts even as many of the previous forms of regulation were retained.

This second period was trigged by the emergence of the economy of the urban spectacle, where tourism, the production of information and a growing concern with image making would increasingly define the context for the actions taken by the Central Area Division in the late 1980s. For example in a report called Downtown Vancouver-Proposed Goals, released in April 1973 (CVPD-32), of the eight principle functions listed for the downtown, the first function that can be linked with the economy of the spectacle is located in fifth place, where culture and entertainment are listed, followed in sixth place by the tourism, hotel and convention business. Today if a similar list were to be made these activities would probably rest in second or third place instead of fifth or sixth.

Even as recently as late 80s, the ramifications of this shift were not apparent to the Central Area Division. For example, this was one of the criticism leveled by the Vancouver Planning Commission against the Central Area Plan, as it remarked upon the lack of attention devoted to the subject of entertainment (PI-3). However, events would soon changes in this direction during the 1990s as more time and resources of the Central Area Division were consumed by projects associated with the promotion of the urban spectacle, such as casinos, convention centres and related controversies having to do with the regulation of entertainment districts in the downtown (PI-6).

Although this new context was not formally recognized in the Central Area Plan that was adopted by City Council in 1991, implicit recognition of the changing context for planning in the Core was revealed in the contraction of space set aside for offices. Changing land uses provided another clue. In the 1980s and 1990s there was a significant expansion of the space devoted to the urban spectacle when new venues like The Ford Centre and GM Place were opened and up market boutique and retailing sector related to tourism grew dramatically.

Commercial displacement of local retail for tourist oriented retailing between 1986 and 1996 along Robson and Denman Streets, would be another symptom of this change, as rents in some localities rose by over 300 percent (VS-136). This in turn, raised issues about livability that have to do with the homogenization of the retail environment and the adequate provisioning of the local population. This re-orientation would also become observable in the planning carried out for Yaletown, the Downtown South and Granville Street where the promotion and regulation entertainment would become a major pre-occupation of planners and a reference point for developers as well (CVCO-14; CVC0-15; CVC0-16; Edelson 1993).

As well, part of the economy of the spectacle would be associated with the transformation of the core into the fastest growing residential precinct in the region during the 1990s. With the influx of Asian capital, the residential boom that had been anticipated for the Core in the 1970s and 1980s finally took off in the 1990s.

Ultimately, the rising influence of the market, the influx of an Asian middle class and the spread of the densification process into the suburban parts of the city, would become manifest in the creation of an entirely new division called CityPlan and the creation of a similarly named plan, as these would become the defining attributes of the second period of the postmodern transformation of the city. Indeed, the raison d'être of CityPlan had to do with the challenge posed by the movement of the densification process into the suburban areas of the city. However, the direction that CityPlan would take and the conclusions it would arrive at were already foreshadowed by CorePlan and the deliberations that came out of the housing crisis that affected the suburban areas of the city in the late 1980s. As well CityPlan also reflected the greater emphasis now given to strategic planning. If we remember Shaping the Future, the process orientation given to planning largely rendered this function superfluous since there was presumed to be no end to achieve only guidance supplied by citizens, that would be formalized in planning processes that articulated their goals, goals which would then be used as the basis for negotiating change with developers and neighhourhood activists. Because of this strategic orientation it would integrate and subsume the Central Area Plan, and other new planning initiatives that had taken place during the reign of Mayor Gordon Campbell (PI-6), such as the recommendations contained in the Task force on Atmospheric Change (CV-6; CV-7), The Landscape Taskforce (CV-8; CV-27) and the Safer City Task force (CV-8a).

Other organizational changes would also reflect the new fiscal reality faced by the city the influence of the new corporatism. Most dramatically, this would be shown in the integration of the Planning Department into a larger organizational entity class the Community Services Division. This would flatten out the organizational hierarchy of the bureaucracy by bringing the Planning Department, Social Planning, the Housing Department and Permits and Licenses under one organizational umbrella (CVCO-44).

However, besides this major realignment, there have been further organizational changes in the Planning Department that reflect the new priorities that have been mentioned. While these changes were not as radical as those set out in the Better City Government Initiatives, they do, nonetheless, resonate with the changes caused by the spread of the densification process and the growing influence of the urban spectacle.

To summarize what has happened, in addition to the changes to the Divisions that make up the Planning Department, after the departure of Tom Fletcher the Planning Department's position in the larger civic bureaucracy was altered in a more fundamental way. Within a larger re-organization of the Department, planning now part of a larger departmental envelope called Community Services, with Ted Droettbrom the General Manager of Community Services, this former Associate Director for the Overall Division when the Goal for Vancouver and the CorePlan processes were undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s.

In a loose fashion this has made Droettbrom the de facto director of planning. If there is dissension within the Department or a major crisis that concerns planning he will be the one who will ultimately have to become involved in any of the decisions that are made. Otherwise, from discussions with two of the Directors for planning (PI-1; PI-13), it would seem that each division operates more or less on its own without the intervention of the General Manager. While the directors of each of the divisions appear to be happy with this situation some public criticism has been made about this arrangement, as some critics have remarked that the absence of a director makes the department less visible or open to outside scrutiny (VS-114).

It remains to be seen how the Planning Department will be altered with the Better City Government, which Mr. Droettbrom is also one of the key sponsors of, is concluded, since this will likely affect the Department more than any of the changes brought about by Tom Fletcher. With up to five million dollars to be spent in a three year program to rationalize local government planning functions have been made the first in line for review. Hence, of the fifteen

civic processes to be reviewed and re-designed, development and building regulation have been made the top priority in this review process (CVCO-20).

The other interesting thing to note about The Better City Government Program is how closely the proposed changes mirror the thinking about corporate reorganization in the private sector (CVC0-23). Once again, what is happening in the Planning Department mirrors the retreat and broader reconfiguration of the state and bureaucratic activity in general that can be seen outside the civic bureaucracy. Not only planning, but most bureaucracies have been suffused with a market logic to organize the provision of services. This is something quite typical of the corporatism that marks the second phase of the postmodern development of the city.

As a result participatory and communal ideologies, which played a large part in the livable city program during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city, have been amended accordingly. With the advance this postmodern corporatism and the retreat of the communal orientation that was more characteristic of the first postmodern phase the decision making process as been significantly modified although it still retains its dialogical form. Analytical modes of thinking are now more prominent. More traditional bureaucratic structures have also resurfaced in some instances. While this does not mean that decision making processes will necessarily revert to discredited monological methods, which defined urban governance during the modern period, nonetheless, these developments indicate that the rules of involvement for participatory planning are being rewritten to establish a new balance between analytical, and therefore top down approaches, and bottom up approaches, where relatively unstructured input from citizens was solicited. This focus on the bottom up, it would seem, has come to an end.

One consequence of this is that the comprehensive local area planning exercises, which defined local area planning in the 1970s and 1980s, have been changed. Currently a more analytical approach to citizens involvement in local area planning is being exercised since the parameters for what takes place are no longer open ended but framed by the goals articulated in CityPlan. Subsequently bounded rather than open ended dialogue now frames how local area planning is undertaken. With this development the Community Planning and the CityPlan Divisions work quite closely together (VS-113). So not only is local area planning more streamlined, operating along an eight month time table instead of a three or four year time table, as was the case during the Spaxman period when Ron Youngberg was in charge of local area planning, it is also subordinate to CityPlan in terms of the direction to be taken (PI-13; CVC0-37).

One result of all of this is that polling and other mechanisms of citizens involvement have been modified so that an individual is increasingly consulted more as a consumer rather than as a citizen belonging to a specific community. Some paradoxical results have come out of this. On the one hand more actual people may have actually become involved in the decision making process but, it would seem, on a far more superficial level, where there appears to be more evidence of the massaging of information and the production of outcomes.

By perhaps focusing too much on individual responses rather than organized community responses, such processes probably isolate and fragment the responses of individuals rather than allow more social responses to important issued to congeal into a communal rather than individual vision that can turn into something which is more than the sum of the individual opinions which have been consulted. As a result there has been a tendency to de-emphasize formal community representation - something now worries some community activists (PO-2)-as more effort is put into soliciting the participation of isolated individuals when carrying out public consultation. Partially this is another reflection of the rising influence of the market, where individuals rather than larger social structures become the more relevant unit. This disenchantment with community participation is also a response to the more conservative turn of the new middle class and other middle class fractions who have put more self serving agenda forward under the rubric of community.

While this new method of inducing public participation may prevent the worst excesses of the particularism and Nimbyism, which even progressive politicians and planners complain about, or, prevent the incorporation non representative perspectives; unfortunately, at the

same time, such an approach also limits and discourages autonomous communal voices from emerging and being heard. There is a dilemma here, especially as the middle class have become more exclusive and conservative. In this context giving more room easily gives a forum to an already privileged segment of the general population. Still, community activists rightly complain about the invalidation of a perspective that deserves to be recognized and given more attention to, since community interest does not always necessarily equate with special rather than general interests. Both points raise problems for planners, politician and citizens who sincerely care about authentic participation, but suspect that local groups can indeed be unrepresentative, self serving and exclusive. This is perhaps one area where Portland and Seattle might provide some instruction on how to give recognition to the community level (Here one can speculate that this change is connected, in part, to changes in the tenure status of the new middle class, as it has moved from renting to Strata Title and Fee Simple ownership in the inner city of Vancouver).

This same trend to downgrade the existence of community surfaces on a more extensive level in the Better City Government proposals as well. In this review process the citizen is now portrayed as a customer and consumer of services rather than as a political animal belonging to a specific community. This stands in striking contrast to the notion of citizenship advanced in "Shaping The Future," where a great deal more emphasis was placed upon active participation by the public as members of a community. In this fashion the Better City Government Proposals have replaced "Shaping The Future" as the touchstones for next phase in the regulatory development of the postmodern city in Vancouver, signifying more clearly than any other document that the communalism associated with the livable city agenda has come and gone. While the dialogical system of postmodern regulation that was formally introduced during the Spaxman era remains intact it is has been modified to reflect the return to corporatism and, as a consequence, to whom such planning is directed. For example, with the emphasis placed on the consumer rather than the citizen may an organizational bias towards large corporations and developers is built into the regulation of space since these entities are the most frequent and influential customers for planning services, not an individual citizen or volunteer members of a community group.

And then, of course, there is the reality of fiscal restraint, which is also one of the prime motivations for the Program For Better Government. Again, what this highlights is the weaker position of government and the stronger position of market rule in the current phase of the postmodern transformation of the city. As the report For Better government to council states: the basic assumption that informs the proposed re-organization is that "the city will be required to do more with less, as service expectations increase and financial constraints tighten," (CVC0-23, p.3).

The other intriguing aspect about the changes, which might follow, that will be interesting to look at is what the role of City Manager will be in this new re-organization. In this regard it is possible to speculate that the city may be reverting back to a system of administration more reminiscent of the powerful bureaucratic system that was in operation during the Sutton Brown period. Despite the claim about more open ended and customer based service will be provided, the current re-organization of local government has created a potentially powerful new office now run by Ted Droettbrom, that might wield power in the fashion that the Board of Administration did during the Sutton Brown years. While there is some discussion about devolution and deregulation, one is reminded of the fact that the same kind of justification was to justify to re-organize government in Britain during the Thatcher years and what came of all of this was the massive centralization of decision making and the establishment of a more authoritarian system for making decisions rather than the opposite (Hambleton 1989). Again, with this in mind it will be interesting to see what ultimately transpires out of the pending re-organization of city government in Vancouver.

The relative decline of local area planning and the corporatist bias can therefore be seen as one of the attributes of market rule during the second postmodern phase. While this was prominent in the United States from the start of the postmodern era, in the 1970s, this has only

become a defining feature of local government during the era of the urban spectacle, in the 1980s but most especially in the 1990s.

As the controversies over displaying corporate logos in the public domain already reveal (VS-109; VS-110), there is a very real danger that the move by local government to accommodate the market in order to save money or to raise revenue may unbalance the proper relationship between planning for public and private interests. As private interest is increasingly interwoven into the public realm there is a greater potential for agencies like the Planning Department to become too closely aligned to developers, as was the perception of the Planning Department in the middle and late 60s, when the lack of public funds to implement the Sutton Brown Plan forced the Planning Department to become more actively involved in courting private development (Vancouver Urban Research Group 1972; Gutstein 1975). As government agencies are forced to align themselves with private interests or to engage in partnerships to make up for short falls in revenue or the expectation of more services the risk of government agencies losing their legitimacy as protectors of the public interest may be increased by these changes if a major disagreement over the nature of development arises as it did in the 1960s. While this scenario is by new means certain the possibility of such a situation arising again is certainly not inconceivable and would not be out of keeping with the more limited parameters for independent action by agencies such as the Planning Department or the Vancouver Parks Board which have been reshaped by the relative retreat of the state and the rising dominance of market in the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city.

What ever the interpretation that may be placed on the current situation, a few things remain clear. One issue, of course, is the rising influence of the market, the other is the increased recognition by all parties of the limits to government action. Another thing that remains unmistakably clear is the corporatist bias that has crept into thinking about the reorganization of the Planning Department since the departure of Spaxman. Signs of this were apparent in review of the department conducted by Tom Fletcher in 1990 (CVPD-96; CVPD-98; CVPD-99; CVPD-102; CVPD-101). However since the Program for Better Government was begun in 1994 this tendency has grown much stronger, as the role of the citizens being recast form that of an active participant in the decision making process to that of a passive consumer of services.

34: Modernization can be defined as the process of social and economic change that is engendered by constant technological and institutional innovation brought about by the expansion of the market or systems of bureaucratic organization organized along secular lines. When modernization therefore becomes a dominant transforming force in the 16th-century modernism appears, and with this development, culture now begins to construct representations that make constant change rather than stasis appear as the norm. Perceptions of time and space are permanently altered as a result. This establishes the condition of modernity, which, as Berman defines it, is the unmediated experience of change. In turn, this is the raw material that modernism fashions into representation that attempt to make sense of this.

Looking in more detail at the modernization process that created this new sensibility, closer inspection shows that this process is shaped by three dynamic factors. The first and foremost factor is the presence of a market economy. The second factor has to do with bureaucratization of daily life that begins the construction of a modern state apparatus. Lastly, the third dynamic shaping the modernization process has to do with technological innovation. Although technological change has been included as one of the defining elements of the modernization process it will not be incorporated into this analysis of modernization because it falls outside the boundary lines which have been established for the examination of the concept of culture in this study. Since the cultural field has been restricted to mental representations, for analytical purposes, technology, is excluded (not the representations of it however) from consideration because it is viewed as a material rather than as an ideational element in the conceptual framework provided by Regulation theory that is being used to study the urbanization process. This is not to say that technology will be ignored only that it has been

integrated into the discussion about urban change when the densification process and the new middle class were dealt with.

So it is the dynamic created by continuous technological innovation, along with the gradual commodification and bureaucratization of social life that energizes the modernization process. These are the forces that make continuous change the norm rather than the exception and this is what ultimately defines the context for modernism. Here it is noteworthy to see that technological change has tended to be the factor most often seized upon when relating the progression of modernization to the evolution of the city. This has lead to the construction of uni-linear urban typologies based on tracking the impact of changing technologies on the built environment by various authors such as Geddes (1915), Mumford (1961) and Borchert (1967, 1991).

However there are more complex patterns of change generated from out of the modernization process that deserve study as well. Not only are there linear impulses, like those created by technological innovation, there are also, in addition to this, spiral trajectories for change, which emanate from out of the internal dynamic of the modernization process, take place when there is a shift in the balance between the commodification and bureaucratization of the life world. By looking at changes in the modernization process from this angle a different periodization scheme for urban development can be constructed which is based on the consideration of the dynamic created by the non technological components of the modernization process, something that can be done by linking modernism to the modernization process and by further specifying it in terms of spatial regulation. When this is done the cultural rather than technological impact of shifts in the modernization process can be assessed in relation to changes that can be observed in the city. By relating modernism to the modernization process in this way and by restricting modernism to its manifestation as a mode of regulation, the political, institutional and economic dimensions of change that are the concern of political economy can be related to the discourse on modernism in a very concrete and specific rather than vague way.

To do this it therefore becomes important to look at the commodification process and bureaucratization in more detail as it will be the dynamic created by these two aspects of the modernization process rather than the technological dimension that will become the material basis for explaining the evolution of modernism. As will become more obvious, there is a cultural dialectic between modernism and modernization that has to do with the way that the commodification and bureaucratization shape the modernization process as it progresses through various cyclical stages in its development. As already pointed out, there is a relation that can be discerned between the modernization process and the various epoch of modernism by looking at the correspondence which exists between discrete phases in development of the modernization process and changes in the organization of the city that are induced by cultural rather than technological shifts. In this fashion it is possible to show how commodification and bureaucratization structure the experience of modernity, experiences that are then digested and made sense by modernism in each epoch, creating new representations of urban space and symbols of urban reality which subsequently affect how space in the city is regulated and organized.

(More exactly Berman writes about the several phases of modernity, beginning with the first phase that runs from the 16th century to the end of the 18th century, when people are experiencing modern life for the first time. Berman dates the second phase, or 19th-century modernism, from the French Revolution. This is the epoch he finds most interesting, since this is where the idea of living in two worlds is strongly felt by people who still have memories of a more traditional social order. Finally there is the third phase that is described as 20th-century modernism. Berman views this phase with less interest, noting how the experiences of this epoch show a remarkable flattening of experiences. Within 20th-century modernism several sub-divisions are made: one of which is postmodernism which Berman considers a sub set of twentieth-century modernism (See Berman 1982, pp.35-36) but which this study views as an epoch in its own rite.

34a: In the 1990s SAME, or Synchronous Administration through Managerial Excellence, may become for the organization of office work what Taylorism was to become for manufacturing and corporate capitalism in the 1880s - only this time corporate governance will be based upon dialogical rather than monological principles for the organization and production knowledge. The system was originated in a parts distribution centre in Woodstock, Ontario. What Nick Vanderstoop noted was that when a person retired his knowledge went as well. In one case the cost amounted to $1.5M. In response to this, Nick Vanderstoop invented SAME thirteen years ago (1984). The purpose of the system was to prevent erosion of knowledge that white collar workers tended to hoard and keep to themselves because of the way that their work was segmented. This system was also refined to promote learning other tasks and more interaction among staff - the exact opposite of Taylorism, which focused on specialization. To do tasks are placed into knowledge folders contained within a lazy Susan device which all employees can have access to. In this system people work in clusters rather than in separate cubicles. With this system office productivity doubled and many mistakes were eliminated. In one plant the amount of staff required went down from 34 to 15 yet to 40% more work was accomplished. The number of Meetings were chopped by 60% and the need for office equipment was reduced. To create these efficiencies SAME takes knowledge out of the heads of managers and office workers and puts into knowledge files. This is accomplished by getting people to sit down and write down what they do daily-so that other people can do the task if required - Longer hours were not worked and 45% less office space was used in the re-organization of the plant that used this system. In this one case the cost saving was estimated to be $750,000 a year . Unlike Taylorism, SAME was organized around the premise of continual learning rather than the deskilling of the labour force. The Oshawa head office for GM Canada now uses this system but it hasn't spread to international headquarters (See Business In Canada Magazine, November 1997).

41: In many ways the GVRD has had a tumultuous history. Its planning functions were eradicated in 1983 . However now that they have been returned friction between the GVRD and local municipalities has developed. The recent election of right wing pro-growth councils in Surrey, Langley and Richmond has made it more difficult for the GVRD to act. In the public's mind the perception and imageability of the GVRD is still weak and confused. Even if politicians are asked they cannot often tell whether it is another level of government or a service bureaucracy. To try and resolve any future conflicts a complex arbitration process has been set up by the province (See-VS-256).

46: Elsewhere, the emergence of an underclass is less obvious. A recent study of 35,000 Canadians in 1993 and 1994 by Statistics Canada provides some information on the potential size of this social formation. Surveying the labour force over two year's statisticians found that on average about 2.3 million people stay below the low income cutoff. But within this universe there was a great deal of movement in out and of this category, with 1.2 million falling into poverty and another 846,000 falling out of poverty. In all, nearly 16 percent of Canadians and 22 percent of children under the age of 6 were below the low income cutoff line. About 8.5 percent of the people or 13 percent of the children were under the poverty for the entire two year duration of the study. This may indicate that a core underclass, that is non native, may be smaller than what people suspect (Mitchell 1997a).

Furthermore, in comparison to other countries Canada's position with regard to poverty varies according to whether absolute or relative measurements are used. One method is to look at the percentage of people who have disposable incomes that are one half the median income of the nation. Using this method the Luxembourg Income Study arrives at figures that are similar to Statistics Canada's, where 11.6 percent of the population is located below the low income cut off point. This is the second highest amongst the world's 16 richest nations. On this scale the United States leads with a poverty rate of 19.1 and the Scandinavian or Benelux countries have the lowest rates of poverty - with only around 6 percent located in this category.

Yet if absolute measures are used a different profile emerges from the Luxembourg Income Study. If the official US. poverty yard stick of $14.40 (1995) a day is taken as the benchmark to make comparisons. Using purchasing power parities Norway had the lowest rate of poverty at 2.6 percent, Finland at 3.8 percent, Luxembourg 4.3 percent, Sweden at 4.6 percent. Then came Canada at 5.6 percent, which was the fifth lowest. On this scale the US. came in with the third highest rate of poverty, with 14.1 percent located in this category, after Iceland and the Netherlands (VS-265). Looking at ten percent of the poorest Canadians in Absolute terms the study found that they came up to 45 percent of the US. median. The Scandinavian and Benelux countries were at 47 percent, France 40 percent, Australia 37 per cent and the United States 36 percent. So how relative poverty is measured has a great deal to do with the affluence of the middle class in each country according to the analysis of recent comparative studies conducted by Andrew Coyne, a columnist for the Vancouver Sun (VS-265). Whereas the median for Nordic countries hovered around 80 percent of the American rate in Canada it was 95 percent. Thus he states: "If our median income was as low as the others, we'd have the same relative poverty rate, too". However, this analysis does not take away from the fact of the existence of an underclass, only its relative size, and this varies considerably according to which city one looks at in Canada.

47: This change was further amplified by the emergence of Vancouver as a major centre for film making. For the core of the city this is significant as this is where much of the work and accommodation for the workers in this sector are located. As a recent report, put out by the Vancouver Economic Development Commission stated: this new economic activity directly employs 9,500 people and indirectly creates 25,000 jobs in the greater Vancouver area, generating $550 million in revenue (Gregory 1997a). Not surprisingly this new sector developed during the era of the urban spectacle. In some instances the link is quite direct as Jimmy Pattison remarked that the producer of one TV series moved the series up to Vancouver after having visited Expo 86 (G/M 1997bz). Also this was the period when the commercial potential of bohemia and the gay community started to take off. As well it was a time when image making and style became much more central to the organization of space and the way it was used. While this raised the social profile of the lumpen bourgeoisie the opposite happened to the lumpen urban proletariat.

Addendum: In this new cultural setting, the gay community, a group that was once criminalized come into its own as the quintessential postmodern sub culture. Once repressed by civic officials it is a community that is sought after by many civic official looking to generate more tourist dollars (The Globe and Mail 1997) Not coincidentally this change over happened at a time when the benign relation between had existed between the gay and bohemian communities and lumpen members of the urban proletariat started to fray and even become antagonistic in a number of cases (PI-22; CVSP-8).

This happened at a structural level and personal level, as bohemians and gays became key agents in the gentrification process. Not only would the working class and the more traditional fractions of the middle class be caught off guard by these developments - so too would the bureaucrats - especially in Vancouver, as we shall see when the leadership styles of Sutton Brown and Ray Spaxman are compared. Just as the movement of culture changed the position of the markers that defined what was acceptable, where, in the fashion world, for example, jeans were once considered to be a badge of poverty, in the new consumer culture, that these two marginalized middle class groups helped to create, they now became status symbols. This would happen to other cultural artifacts of the working class as low brow items of the lumpen middle class and the proletariat became normalized and commodified. Since the Planning Department was not a self contained universe it would not be sealed off from these changes, and as we shall see, in terms of leadership, this would take its most dramatic symbolic turn, in the replacement of Sutton Brown and Bill Graham by Ray Spaxman. In contrast to the engineering mindset embodied in the leadership of Sutton Brown and Bill Graham, Ray Spaxman would bring to planning the artistic mindset that would reflect the new

sensibilities that had been formulated by social formation once thought to be alien or marginal to the established order.

So within these Bohemian enclaves this segment of the lumpen bourgeoisie would act as one of primary progenitors of new types of built environments and other urban practices that would become part of the larger movement against bureaucratic rule and social conformity that would unfold from the mid 60s onwards because of the stage for this to occur on had been set up by deeper shifts within the social structure that emanated out of the modernization process. For as the internal elements which made up the modernization process shifted, and bureaucratic rule began to take a backseat to market rule, new things became possible. An artistic rather than engineering sensibility started to govern the sensibilities of the middle class.

But with these changes there would be role reversal amongst the lumpen elements of the new middle class that would cast them in a different role in the postmodern city if a comparison with their position in the modern city is made and the relationship they had with their proletarian counterparts is examined. During the modern period the influence of the lumpen bourgeoisie on the occupation and design of urban space was minuscule. As the description of New York City by the Jack Kerouac (1972) or los Angeles by other authors such as Charles Bukowski (1988) clearly show, in North America, during the modern period, this lumpen middle class was largely composed of bohemians and gays who intermingled and often took part in the everyday practices of the lumpen proletariat, of whom the most prominent figures were often drug users, prostitutes, working class transients and the unemployed. Because of their low status and some overlap in world outlooks the effect that each of these two different lumpen groups had on each other was generally benign.

However, with the role reversal that came with the postmodern turn this changed. As the social standing of urban bohemians and gays changed, not only did their social status rise, with this change in stature, their impact on the organization and occupation of space changed in a corresponding way and both groups became key catalysts for gentrification. Not only did they now act as a magnet for more mainstream middle class fractions they, themselves, increasingly changed, as their incomes and outlooks began to diverge from the lumpen proletariat. Particularly for commercial rather than non-commercial artists and the fast growing gay middle class, as earlier indicated, the presence of the lumpen proletariat became increasingly anathema to the universe these two groups now wished to inhabit. So as the gay sub-culture became decriminalized and the production of art became more closely integrated into the economy, functionally and socially this benign co-existence, that had existed during the modern period began to unravel and rifts started to develop which became antagonistic in a number of cases (Steed 1996).

Like the relation of the non lumpen elements of the new middle class, who had once allied themselves with ethnic groups and the indigenous working class during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city in places like Vancouver and Toronto (Gutstein 1975; Granatstein 1971; Sewell 1972); a process of disengagement began to take place between the lumpen elements of both classes in the second period. Thus a process of political and social distancing took place. Bohemian and middle class fractions of the gay social formations that had once consorted and co-existed with this proletarian population in a benign way, now increasingly moved against this group, as the struggle over space intensified. As a consequence, space that was once shared is now being fought over (PI-22; CVSP-8).

In just a few short years, something quite fundamental had happened. While the tension between the lumpen elements of the bourgeoisie and the respectable middle class diminished with the rising stature of the artistic mindset, a contrasting development occurred with regard to the lumpen proletariat. Here the tensions increased.

Now, at the local level, it is not uncommon to see gay men acting as leading speakers on issues that have to do with the removal of the urban proletariat. There is a certain Orwellian colouring to this development that makes some gay representatives and the audience they represent look like the pigs who learned how to stand on two legs: as they castigate people who only a few years previously had been their cohorts in the marginal order of the modern city.

However with their rise in status, like their middle class brethren, therefore working class counterparts become dispensable.

For example, in Toronto, Councillor Kyle Rae (Philips 1997a) has spoken against the use and occupation of urban space by this group. Likewise, in Montreal's Gay Village, the same criticism of drug dealers and the lumpen elements of the working class is now finding a voice as well (Brooks 1997). And, in the case of Vancouver, Councillor Gordon Price (PI-17) played an active role in expelling prostitutes from areas occupied by gay men, a social formation that was closely aligned with the gay population during the modern period, when circumstances created by the social ecology of the modern city forced these two group to consort with each other until the postmodern era began.

This aspect of the middle class colonization of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and Yaletown mirrors the transformation of urban space which has been documented in cities such as New York City. So what is happening in Vancouver is not unique. For society as a whole the role that the commercial and non commercial artist now plays is that of a catalyst and agent for urban change. Naturally, much of this has to do with the impact that the popularization of artist modes of production and consumption have had on the need to create new kinds of urban ambiance in places that were previously considered derelict spaces. As this happened these spaces became more attractive and highly marketable to more mainstream elements of the new urban new middle class during the period of the urban spectacle, something that can by seen by greater emphasis placed upon the stylization of the environment and image making. This would put the lumpen proletariat in conflict with this trend since they embody the direct antithesis of any attempt to remodel the environment in such a way, since image making cannot not conceal the reality of their predicament as the lowest members of the social order of the city.

This expresses itself in numerous ways. For example a recent demonstration such as the laying out of crosses to commemorate the death of the over 1,200 deaths by drug over doses in Oppenheimer Park, the most frequented park in the Downtown Eastside (VS-260), is not likely to be well received by the promoters who are trying to market this area as a middle class nirvana located in the downtown. In the promotional material prepared for the new housing under construction such as the Europa these groups are presumed to not exist (PM-3) in the Downtown Eastside. (PM-1; PM-2; PM-3; PM-5; figures seven C and E).

As a result, because of these changes, the benign relation that once historically existed between artists and lower class formations in the bohemian zones of the city (Siegal 1986) have become strained and, in certain cases, have become antagonistic, as artistic production becomes more clearly implicated as an active rather than a passive force in the appropriation of urban space for the new middle class.

Consequently individuals and social groups connected to bohemia that were once thought to be deviant, or physical landscapes once perceived to be eyesores and therefore deserving of urban renewal, were now being revived or carefully nurtured back to life. There is now an accommodation between art and the economy that has become so tight that some social critics like Russell Jacoby (1987) now wonder whether bohemia can function as an alternative or oppositional space in the city. With the commodification of bohemia and art production in general they have started to ponder whether these areas can still act as an incubation ground for the intellectual vanguard? This pessimistic assessment has also been given voice by Fredric Jameson (1984), who has written about the totalitarian cultural order that is being created by the apparent seamless integration of culture and economics which he defines as being one of the distinguishing aspects of the culture of postmodernism in late capitalist society.

Indeed, in Canada, since the mid 1980s, with the dissolution of the livable city for the rise of the urban spectacle, this concern takes on a special resonance, as the normalization and commodification of gay and bohemian spaces have become a key factor in the redevelopment of the inner city.

60: Indeed in other related areas researchers in the United States like Gordon Berline and William McAllister (1992) have shown that there is a direct relationship between the generation of homelessness and gentrification. For the weakest fractions and most un-organized social strata in the city, the postmodern transformation of urban space has bad disastrous consequences. The specter of homelessness rather than social and physical amelioration has arisen, creating new fault lines in the social geography of city as homelessness has become a chronic problem in Toronto and Vancouver. The fierce battle over the control of urban space between new middle class colonizers and working class male and female prostitutes stands out as one of the more visible examples of the discord that has been created by the altered social ecology of the city (Steed 1994; Cernetig, 1994; Martin 1993). Not since the last great push against prostitution in the progressivist period (Gray 1971) has the issue of prostitution become such a pervasive concern for the middle class in the city.

63: If the Fordist norms that governed leading edge organizations and the attitudes of various classes are studied during the modern period certain commonalties can be observed. The working class, a large part of the middle class and capital operated within different but overlapping frame of reference despite their different habituses. Because of the war and the depression all were acquainted with scarcity. This created a common grounding for the development of similar attitudes that make modern norms more acceptable to a broader array of classes than would be the case in the postmodern era. Thus, when a new consumer culture anchored in a new sensibility, based on the existence of superfluity and the realization of desires rather than the satisfaction of needs arose the divergence in sensibility was quite jarring to those still situated in a modern universe defined by scarcity and need.

That is why, in part, the engineer became transformed into a modernist icon. For here was some one who could use knowledge to deal with the concern about scarcity and take from nature what was required for growth and survival. The middle class, capital and the working class - each in their own way - therefore viewed the engineer as a positive representative of the modern order. Unlike the postmodern era, where consumption was the dominant concern, production itself still contained heroic connotations that would not be present in the later era, when an artistic sensibility based upon superfluity rather than scarcity would gain have influence on the outlook of the new middle class, in particular. Even though the working class and the older middle class fractions clearly operated as subordinate social formations in the modern order they were, nonetheless, still integral parts of it and this was represented in the symbols that modernism produced.

For each class the engineer became an icon that could provide some form of positive identification during the modern period: as capital, the middle class, and the working class were linked to each other at the ideological level by their collective buy into the productivist ideology that was most cogently embodied in the symbol of the engineer. With the switch from the engineering mindset to the artistic one, newer fractions of the middle class were able to leap over construct opposing associations. Even people who were engineers began to take on the outlook and some of the mannerism of the artistic mindset, where lack of regimentation, informality and the idea of work as play rather than drudgery took hold over some sectors of the information economy. Still, embedded in the realm of scarcity and necessity, these attitudes were incomprehensible and inherently alienating to the working class. Consequently the common ground that had once existed during the modern era evaporated as the engineer no longer functioned as the archetype but, rather, the artist.

To capital, for example, the engineer becomes a symbol of Fordism and Taylorism, as the engineer became a generalized symbol of the subordination of the technical expertise of the middle class to profit making and production. Other than medicine the engineering profession was often the most commonly cited professional model aspired to by the softer professions that hoped to regulate the city. Furthermore, the engineer's attachment to a narrow and segmented notion of rationality and efficiency was compatible with and supportive of the mode of capital accumulation that was dominant during the modern era.

For the middle class that became dependent upon the bureaucracy during the modern period, the engineer expressive of their aspirations - embodying the search for order and conformity that would define the outlook of this class until the beginning of the counterculture, it provided the utilitarian attitude that framed the middle class outlook on the city. Moreover, unlike the traditional professions, such as medicine, law, or theology, the profession of engineering did not have any pre-modern roots, being a thoroughly modern occupation, it stood the engineer stood for industrial progress and the advance of bureaucratic rule, where the opportunity structures for this new stratum of the middle class were being created.

Forged entirely out of the industrial revolution and more particularly the demands for technical competence generated by the rise of military state and the large corporation, this was one profession that was solidly anchored in an objective scientific order. It therefore provided a model for order that inspired both capital and the middle class. Not surprisingly, engineering became a beacon for new field like city planning. Engineering was therefore attractive to urban progressivists. For here was a successful field that could be used to legitimize technocratic forms of governance. Being the most conservative new profession and the one most closely identified with capital and the military it supplied a model that was to be aped and glorified in the progressivist period (Hacker 1989). In the case of the city, this would become manifest in the ideology of the city efficient, which would become the rallying cry for the progressivists who saw no problem with imposing the order of the factory on to the organization of the city. For in the popular ideology of the middle class, at the turn of the century, the engineer showed the clear rewards and gains that could be obtained through administration rather than politics.

Even for the working class the engineer represented the apotheosis of the new worker. Unlike other professions engineering was one profession that had clear working class origins. Emerging from out of the upper strata of the working class, the engineer embodied the successful struggle over nature and the overcoming of necessity that was possible. Heroically struggling to overcome the resistance of nature the engineer offered the promise of the creation of a more bountiful existence. As a consequence the engineer functioned as a secular symbol of hope for the working class.

The hegemony exercised by the engineering mentality therefore made this profession a popular symbol for both the Left and the Right. This also explains why there was a fair amount of overlap in the program for urban reform put forward by social democrats such as Wordsworth, and the League For Social Reconstruction (1975), which published Social Planning For Canada in 1935 and the program for postwar reconstruction that was eventually advocated by progressive fractions of corporate capital. In this regard, it is only necessary to compare the language of Social Planning For Canada to the Final Reports of the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction to see the common affinity, particularly Report Four on Housing and Community Planning that became known as the Curtis Report (1944), which was published in 1944 and became blueprint for the modern regulation of the city in Canada.

Looking more specifically at the impact the engineering mindset has on the city, when the three classes are examined again, evidence of agreement can be pointed to. For capital the application of the engineering mindset to the production of space meant profit making in the production of urban space would be become an orderly and administered affair with few surprises. For labour, job security and the satisfaction of basic needs such as housing, which there was a shortage of because of the depression and the war (Firestone 1951; Wade 1994) would make the administered spaces shaped by the engineering mentality very attractive. Even for the artist, who would later stand out as the antithesis of the engineer, the engineer was often represented as a progressive symbol of the new order. What significance this would have for the aesthetics of space can be seen by looking at one quote from the greatest modernist of them all, Le Corbursier, when he explained: "The engineer's aesthetic and architecture are two things that march together and follow one from the other: the one being not at its full height, the other in an unhappy state of retrogression. The Engineer, inspired by the law of economy and governed by mathematical calculation, puts us in accord with universal law. He achieves harmony (Conrads 1970, p.59)."

At the philosophic (technocratic and a-political decision making as well as abstract space), sociological (conformity and suppression of deviance) and aesthetic levels (machine space), of regulation the engineering mindset was embraced and can be found in nearly all of the key attributes that were to define twentieth century modernism.

In contrast to the engineer, there is the artist, who stands as the archetypal personality that would become representative of the postmodern order. If the mindset of the engineer conveyed the imperative for order and a utilitarian attitude that was required to deal with the challenges presented by the need to eliminate uncertainty to solve the problems posed by material scarcity, and so, subsequently, the need for social conformity to efficiently achieve the conservation of scarce resources; then, in contrast to this, the artistic sensibility presented an entirely different and contrasting metaphorical and practical image of the outside world that would unmistakably set the modern order apart from the postmodern one in terms sensibility and outlook. With the development of the artistic mindset the contingencies decreed by the search for order and certainties are replaced by a new individualism and subjectivism. Rather than search for objectivity artistic temperament rebels against the regimentation and conformity that goes with this. This is helped along by the fact that artistic activities are located in the realm of consumption, not production.

As the artistic sensibility takes hold the common links between the working class, the new middle class and capital that once existed in modern era disappear. While it was possible for the working class to identify with the engineer and include him in his symbolic order, this was not so easily accomplished in the case of the artist, who represented an incomprehensible if not alien order to most working class people whose attitudes were shaped and informed by a habitus that was coloured by a lack of freedom, and the demands of necessity and scarcity that compelled obedience to the social order, particularly if they worked in sectors controlled by corporate capital. What asserted once again is the there are two quite different class dimensions to modern and postmodern representations of reality as a result of this difference, producing a gap that did not exist in the modern order. That is why most postmodern representations of reality appear unintelligible or irrelevant to the real concerns and circumstances governing the working class individuals no matter how progressive or sensible they may seem to someone who has been socialized into a middle class milieu, more especially that of the new middle class.

While the growth of the information and entertainment economy has created work situations and environments that loosely follow artisanal models of production that have provided a material base for the artistic mindset to flourish and become something that is more than a metaphor for the outlook of one fraction of the middle class and some vanguard elements of capital - where unstructured environments provide the flexibility required to cope with uncertainty and the constant need for innovation - for a working class socialized to accept regimentation and discipline these new organizational environments have no doubt been regarded with suspicion and viewed as being entirely alien. So even if this artistic sensibility make's sense to certain middle class groups because it reflects the material reality that informs their activities and aspirations; for the urban proletariat their material and social circumstances preclude such an attitude from gaining a wide following. Still conditioned by necessity, their ability to identify with the new representations of work and the spaces created by this attitude are decidedly more limited than that of the middle class. Whether it be the new consumer landscapes or even with regard to matters that have to do with ecology, the postmodern landscapes created by these new representations of space are foreign are largely a foreign universe to the urban proletariat.

Not surprisingly this has lead to sharp conflicts in the inner city and in exurbia where these two sensibilities have collided in land use controversies. It is therefore not surprising that the cleavage over jobs and the environment is a fault line that has surfaced in inner city as well in exurban areas whenever the different worlds of production and consumption that each class dwells within, have crossed over each other.

By necessity and conditioning the urban proletariat is still locked into a consumer landscape defined by the mass market and a suburban outlook. While it is able to participate in

the finely engineered landscape of Cosco and Kmart it is less able to become a full participant in many of the more artistically conceived landscapes in the inner city, where new and much more refined modes of consumption are carried. To participate in this consumer order, not only would the urban proletariat need additional economic it would also require additional cultural capital, which it does not have, to fully participate and understand how to situate itself without losing social face in these new postmodern landscapes. Saying this, the working class is not completely excluded from this landscape, but generally it is only allowed to enter this universe as a tourist and not as an organic participant in this order.

66: It is important to note the existence of different underclass strata. Included in this category are individuals such as prostitutes, drug users the low unorganized criminal element, some transients, people who are mentally ill, people defined as being outside the labour force entirely or who work in the informal economy or underground economy. Statistically one measurement that has been used as an indicator of the germination of underclass social formation are measurements such as one labelled the long term unemployed. Those fitting into the category of the long term unemployed are those workers who have been unemployed for more than a year and, because of this, have become increasingly separated from the labour force. While the number of unemployed in Canada has been hovering around 1.5 million for the past seven years, many of these people have been only been temporarily unemployed. Of this group, a quarter of these people have been unemployed for less than four weeks. Half have been out of the labour force for three months. So there is a tremendous amount of mobility into and out of the employment stream. Moreover, with the job market picking up in 1997 this percentage has moved up to 58 percent for the first part of the year. But even with this movement there is still a substantial number of people who have been permanently left out of the job market.

For this segment of the unemployed, who have been out of work for more than three months, the chances of becoming part of the long term unemployed increase dramatically, since work contacts dissolve, skills become rusty or obsolete and employers become more mistrustful of the reasons for long absences in the employment market. Similarly, the social network of people who have become long term unemployed changes as socialization with groups not employed increases and contact is lost with people who have jobs or know of people who have knowledge of job opportunities or those that might be able to open doors through personal recommendation or references. So there is a strong social component to the concept of the underclass that is not just confined to ethnic or racial attributes, as is partially the case for Natives in Canada and Blacks in the United States, but to the individual situation of people, who are included in the labour force but whose value and ability to participate in this labour force has fallen or been compromised.

As a distinct group, the long term unemployed groups was a rarity in the 1970s. At that time this group accounted for less than 4 percent of all those who were then unemployed. In the 1980s this number climbed steeply. In 1984, while still in the shadow of the recession of the early 1980s, this number reached 10 percent. Even with the boom of the late 80s the size of this core group only fell to 5.5 percent. So when the next recession took hold the number of long term unemployed surged even higher, peaking at 14.8 percent of those unemployed in 1994. In 1991 the number but the long term unemployed rose by only 43,000 while the total number of unemployed increased by 328,000. However by 1992 the number of long term unemployed started to swell again. With a further increase in unemployment of 148,000 the number of long term unemployed increased by 74,000. However, by the beginning of 1994, when unemployment started to decline there were 227,000 long term unemployed people even as the total number of unemployed people had fallen by 108,000. Since then the situation has improved and the rate has fallen to 12.3 for the first half of 1997. But within this group the probability of remaining unemployed varies a great deal and increases with age. The 15 to 24 year old group, has a rate of 4 percent. But this increases to 13.7 percent for those 25 to 44 years of age and 19.8 percent for those who are older than 45 (largely because of low education, competition from younger workers, or obsolete skills).

Even though Canada still has 181,000 who have been unemployed for over a year this compares favorably to most other countries. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, in 1996 the ratio of long term unemployed in Canada was 14 percent. In was 60 percent in Italy, Ireland, and Belgium, 40 percent in France and Britain and 20 percent in Japan. Out of 27 countries surveyed only three countries had lower rates than Canada: South Korea (4.2%) Mexico (2.2%) and the United States (9.5%) - (See Little 1997f).

These numbers have important consequences for the regulation of space. In cities such as Vancouver where low cost rental housing units are rapidly being lost these people are being forced out of the core and into the interstitial spaces of the city or to the periphery of the region. This has only further exacerbated their plight since this dispersion has made it more difficult to make use of the social agencies that exist to serve this group, something that is made worse by the pressure exerted by the new middle class to limit or remove social agencies that perform this function from the core area of dynamic cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. In this and in many other ways it is not only the lumpen proletariat that is being marginalized and dispersed but the working class that is also becoming fragmented, displaced and dispersed by the postmodern social ecology that has arisen in the city.

67: However Because Graham was a weak leader (PI-26) he was not able alter the planning agenda that Sutton Brown had entrenched in the Planning Department. So the engineering mindset continued in the planning department many years after it had fallen out of favour with the new middle class who began to display a visceral dislike for the authoritarian methods for regulating space that came with this. As a result, this set up the conditions for the cultural clash that was soon to typify the relationship between middle class activists and the Planning Department.

73: For example, in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside neighbourhood middle class gentrifiers have begun to aggressively appropriate territory in a neighbourhood reputed to have the lowest average incomes of any urban community in Canada (Sarti 1995). Clashes with long time residents over the control and configuration of urban space have arisen because of this. New middle class organizations such as the Gastown Historic Area Planning Committee and the Gastown Residents Association have appeared to lobby for the insertion of a new aesthetic regime in this neighbourhood and the for the exclusion of the indigenous population that has long lived here. In turn, they are opposed by several organizations based in the Carneige Centre and the Downtown Eastside Residents Association. These organizations represent the interests of the urban proletariat. As result, several clashes between these organizations have taken place. Because of the existence of two different ways of viewing and using the same space the animosity between these two groups has grown, as the aesthetic orientation of middle class gentrifiers clashing with the utilitarian outlook of the proletarian population that places more importance on the basic provision of social and physical infrastructure rather than with the beautification of the environment (Gurlewski July 15,1995). One example of this clash would be the middle class opposition to a rampway proposal that would have allowed local handicapped people to gain access to a nearby waterfront park (PI-21). While this was supported by working class people in the neighborhood, for aesthetic reasons, it was successfully opposed by the new middle class.

What is happening in the Downtown Eastside therefore illustrates how there is both an economic and cultural side to the class antagonism that has surfaced over the appropriation and use of space here. Successful resolution of this spatial problem will be difficult since the conflict over space is rooted in cultural as well as economic differences that are deeply entrenched in the opposing habitus of each class. This also explains why many conflicts are quite personal. For the disagreements over the use of space exist at a much deeper level than the antagonism generated by formal ideological differences. Feeding into this difference is a visceral repugnance that the new middle class has developed particularly for the lumpen proletariat that not only generates ideological differences but feelings of personal revulsion to

the presence of this class in the same space that they occupy (McCoy 1995). That is why the struggle over the control of space in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver is also a semiotic one. It is an opposition that is therefore imprinted into the very personality structure of the people representing the opposing factions who are vying for the control of space (VS-90; VS-91; VS-96). Elsewhere in downtown Vancouver, in Yaletown and in an adjoining area known as Downtown South, the same antagonism has surfaced, with middle class gentrifiers throwing garbage out of their balconies on to the prostitutes who worked in this area long before the new middle class began to settle here (This information was supplied by social services worker who worked for the City of Vancouver in a conversation about the Downtown South in the early part of 1996).

In Toronto, the same is happening as the new middle class is turning more mean spirited and vicious. One example of this would be what the Seaton-Ontario-Berkeley Residents Association is doing by lobbying for the removal of social service agencies so that derelicts who have long inhabited this area will be moved away (Philips 1997a). Here again familiar code words such as safety have been used by middle class gentrifiers who bought cheaply into the neighbourhood cognizant of the presence of this marginalized population but now expect the city to help this neighborhood become like the other gentrified neighborhoods of inner city Toronto.

In a conversation with Michael Shappcott (a community activist) held in early January in 1991, he remarked that in order to get low income houses approved by Council in such newly gentrifying areas extra money had to be spent to make them appear as if they gentrified dwelling in order not to prevent the wrath of the middle class colonizers.

A similar remark was made by a Vancouver consultant, at the Downtown campus of SFU, in the spring of 1996, when he noted how it was necessary to camouflage one non profit housing project in the suburb of Port Moody in order to have it accepted by local residents.

Not surprisingly, where gentrification has become an important transforming force in some American cities many of the same clashes have appeared. For example, one the best known instances of this is the struggle over Thompkin's Park, in New York City, something which Janet Abu-Lughod (1994) has documented in her book on the Lower East Side of New York City.

75: In most cities the cultural devaluation of working class space can be seen. In Winnipeg this happened to the working class suburb of Transcona and in Vancouver, it was Surrey that became synonymous with working class Yahoo culture. Space therefore became a key ingredient in the new aesthetic agenda. The re-evaluation of the city and suburb was therefore one pivotal element in the construction of a new culture of consumption that set the new middle class firmly apart from the working class. This new geographic code for the city was one that firmly imprinted the cultural superiority of the new middle class over the working class into the configuration and occupation of urban space. This also applied to fractions of the old urban middle class and corporate capital that remained tied to the modern aesthetic order and the consumer culture embodied in the postwar suburb.

76: Also, unlike the modern period, the constant monitoring of public goals becomes an on going process that the Planning Department had to involve itself with. This new attitude would find expression in The Goals for Vancouver program. The task of monitoring the population became one of the new tasks that was given to a newly revived Vancouver Planning Commission in the late 1970s (CV-17). Thus, unlike the modern period, when goals for the city being devised internally by experts, this now became a public endeavour, something that was to be conducted externally, outside the confines of the Planning Department, or professional discourse. Although this consultation process has changed, this tradition in Vancouver continues, as can be seen in CityPlan.

The attention and energy placed into the public participation of a process of goal articulation in the city of Vancouver is probably unparalleled in Canada. Initially, on an informally level, this function was undertaken by the urban social movements, something that

was eventually distilled into the ideology of the livable city, which, in due course, provided the ideological raw material for the articulation of the three themes that surface in Shaping The Future. Hence the informal beginning of this postmodern, a process of postmodern goal formation can be traced back to the period between 1966 and 1973 when the shift from modernism to postmodernism started in earnest when groups like the Citizen's for the Improvement of Vancouver (CIV) was created, in 1966, followed by Vancouver Tomorrow in 1966-67 and a group, which, in due, course was later incorporated into the Citizens Council on Civic Development (CCCD) in 1968, which would remain an active ideological force until well into 1973 providing much of the ideological platform for TEAM, the first reform party to take power in Vancouver and install a postmodern regime for the regulation of space (Pendakur 1972; Macdonald 1987; Tennant 1980).

76a: Interestingly enough the strongest institutional expression of this subversive and anti-establishmentarianism in both eras would be reflected in the surge in co-operatives. At the same time the different nature of the subversion is revealed in the makeup of the co-operatives in each period. Hence the radical moment of the progressivist movement in Canada was reflected in the creation of large producer co-ops producer co-ops like the Grain Pools in the Prairies. Moreover, the most significant experiments were in the country rather than in the city. However, when the same counter cultural phase was entered during the incubation phase of postmodern era the co-operative movement would once again emerge. But in contrast to the modern period, rapid growth would occur in consumer rather than producer co-operative, especially in the housing sector, which would be to the co-operative movement during the postmodern era what the wheat pools were to the modern period, in terms of size and influence. Another difference between the expansion of co-ops in the modern and postmodern periods was that in the postmodern era they were far more urban oriented.

Thus the production of co-op housing became the most potent symbol of the subversive side of the postmodern transformation of the city - closely matching the idea about there being a radical dimension to postmodernism which some theorists like Frampton wrote about in terms of the creation of a critical regionalism.

77: According to Jim Wilson Sutton Brown basically wanted to centralize all power in Vancouver and control what was going to happen to the region. In Wilson's estimation this was a grave error on Sutton Brown's part, as he did not realize that New Westminister, where the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board was located, was still a powerful political counterforce to the City of Vancouver in the region. Here Sutton's Brown's arrogance and his inability to read or understand the local power structure no doubt had something to do with the opposition that was generated by the suburban municipalities and the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board to his plans.

78: This would be reflected in the 1967 re-organization of the Planning Department (CVPD-16). While the motivations for re-organizing the department were related to the need to fast track the implementation of the 20-year development plan, in actual fact there were no dramatic changes made to the department, as the reorganization generally reconfirmed and formalized the existing division of labour that had already come about to secure the implementation of the 20-year development plan. Consequently Current Planning was to focus on the implementation of a commercial urban renewal strategy for the downtown and the Long Range Planning Division was to focus on implementing the various other parts of the 20-year development plan not assigned to the Urban Renewal or Current Planning Divisions. According to departmental reviews and the opinions of people who then worked for the department, this was not a very effective arrangement. Work tasks were fragmented and disjointed because of the way that some projects were split up between the various divisions (CVPD-23; PI-18; PI-23; PI-24). This, combined with the growing criticism of the department, appears to have impeded the department's ability to engage in strategic planning since the work task of the Long Range

Planning Division were so fragmented and this appears to have prevented the formulation of sense of direction for the department just when this was what was most required because of the larger changes that were occurring in the city.

82: After the war Bartholomew's consulting firm was brought back to update the 1928 plan and provide recommendations for a new zoning bylaw (CV-1). With more emphasis put on the organization of urban space around machine space the residual elements of Beaux Arts and City Beautiful influences (Meek 1979) that were still visible in the earlier plan were completely erased when his firm returned in the late 1940s (CV-15). Hence, in the 1948 report on transportation new revisions recommended a freeway system for the first time, crystallizing the bias that modern planning would show towards the organization of the built environment around the car, something that would be further amplified and carried forward under Sutton Brown (CV-14). The bias towards the car also came out in the 1946 report on zoning (CV-16). This would also find expression in the call for more off street parking in the revisions that were recommended for the 1930 zoning bylaw.

84: One of the interesting similarities between reform politicians in every city across the country were their ties to the NDP (in the case of Quebec the PQ) or the federal Liberal Party. Of all the leading reformers who appeared in the 1970s and 1980s the only exception would be former Toronto Mayor, David Crombie, who was connected to the federal Progressive Conservative Party. But even in this case he was not of its mainstream, but to left since he was deemed to be a Red Tory.

Far from being confined to Canada, in the United States urban reform also flowered intermittently in cities like San Francisco (Deleon 1992) Santa Monica (Kann 1986), Philadelphia (Spain 1993) Austin, Portland (Abbot 1995,p.111), Seattle (Norbert 1987) and Boulder. It even became manifest outside North American in other English speaking countries with similar urban cultures such as Australia (Mullins 1987). The class permutations that apply to postmodernism are therefore different in a number of ways from those that applied to the development of modernism.

Addendum: The progressivist movement in both Canada and the United States initially involved a conglomeration of groups, including farmers and fractions of the working class who were allied against large capital. However as modernism developed the more radical and populist elements of this middle class mobilization were washed out.

86: A central feature of the second generation postmodern landscapes that were produced in Canada was the creation of tourist environments. When urban reformer's first came to power in 1972 the strategy for economic development in the inner city was anchored to assumptions about the executive city. At this time it was though that the office sector would be the economic dynamo that would propel change in the inner city of Vancouver. The challenge was therefore how to manage this growth without impairing the livability of the core, because the new middle class now saw the core as a residential space. This rational therefore occupied a central place in the planing that was carried out for the downtown and adjacent inner city areas into the early 1990s.

Since that time this concern has largely disappeared. Now more attention is being given to the management of tourist landscapes. This first became evident in Montreal, with Expo 67 and the 1976 Olympics. However by the early 1980s this new agenda could be seen in Toronto with Harbourfront and the construction of Skydome. In Vancouver, the infrastructure for the urban spectacle began with the construction of BC. Place. With this facility it is possible to track the gradual replacement of the livable city agenda by that of the urban spectacle and the other the shift that accompanied this movement, as the anarchist moment in the postmodern transformation of the city gave way to the corporatist moment. Communitarian aspirations associated with the livable city became much weaker as a result.

In contrast to the communitarian focus of the livable city era, where community building is emphasized, with the urban spectacle, as Dubord notes, the systematic organization and integration of isolated individuals becomes a central feature. This even becomes apparent in the change in postmodern aesthetics that can be observed in Vancouver, as shinier surfaces replace the grittier earth tones of the first period. Related to this shift is the re-arrangement of class alliance by the new middle class as they move closer to capital (but do not merge with it). This happens in conjunction with their transformation from renters to homeowners, as this, no doubt, has played a part in creating a demand for the production of more exclusive spaces, and so the increased intolerance shown towards other classes, lower down in the social hierarchy, and the reduced commitment to the principle of social equity, which animated the ideology of the livable city.

In this fashion the attributes of the urban spectacle can be contrasted with the aspirations advanced by the livable city ideology. Concerning governance we see the passage from the anarchist to corporatist approach to regulation and public consultation. Aesthetically the change can be detected in the creation of more stylized environments, something also closely associated with the marketing of space that become part and parcel of the transformation of urban spaces into the tourist landscapes. With the increased presence of the market the political shift of the new middle class and the adoption of new economic strategies organized around tourism and images and how space is represented has become much more important,. As well, as already mentioned several times, for various reasons, there is a reduction in the commitment to social equity. In Vancouver all these shifts can be seen in the new community centre that has opened at the foot of Davie Street- where artistic modes of life, wholly concerned with consumption will be the defining function of this new community facility (See Allison Appelbe, "Artsy centre take shape," in the Vancouver Courier, March 6,1996 - where the operating costs may be up to $1.25-million a year, higher than most other community centres).

87: Furthermore, what is noteworthy about this mobilization and the program for the re-organization of the city that followed from this was that all of these changes were a manifestation of an organic ideology of the new middle class. There is no manifesto written by middle class ideologues which announces its birth in late 1960s only the spontaneous and widespread revulsion towards modern regulation and a concomitant willingness to experiment with new forms of regulation (Axworthy 1970; Vaughan 1970; Lorimer 1970a). In both large and small centres this produced a common outlook that can be seen even where the new middle class was underdeveloped or small in size. For example refer to See Plan Winnipeg, Regina RSVP, the 1980 Plan for Edmonton, the Livable Region plan for Vancouver released in 1975 (GVRD, 1975) and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto's Metroplan, released in 1976.

91: By looking at what happened in Canada's three largest cities it is possible to show how an oppositional strategy for the production of urban space arose, how, in Canada, a space which theorists like Hal Foster (1983, pp. 169-70) and Kenneth Frampton (1992, pp. 314-343) have theorized about, when they coined terms such as critical regionalism, was actually realized in Canada. In Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver powerful examples of opposition landscapes that would extol communitarian values and stand as an alternative to the bureaucratic and market rule would be built. In Vancouver this would South False Creek. It would become the most powerful example of an oppositional postmodern landscape in Vancouver (Hulchanski, 1984, Hardwick 1994). In Toronto the St. Lawrence Neighborhood would become the equivalent to South False Creek in this regard (Hulchanski 1984). And, in Montreal, Milton Park would no doubt stand out as the most appropriate example of the realization of the ideals of the Livable city in that city (Helman 1987). Moreover, South False Creek, the St. Lawrence Neighbhourhood and Milton Park would become the apogee of the livable city agenda in each of these cities - becoming real life manifestations of the critical regionalism that Frampton and Foster have speculated about.

Curiously enough the size of each of these path breaking developments also gives some insight into the relative strength of the new middle class in each city and the strength of the postmodern regulation in each locality as well. Hence in Toronto, which had the largest and most vibrant new middle class in the 1970's the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood became the key symbol for the realization of the Livable City agenda in that city, with approximately 3,600 units constructed in this development, whereas in Vancouver, which stood in second place, in this regard, South False Creek was produced with 1600 housing units (Hulchanski 1984). Then there is Milton park in Montreal. Here there are only 597 units. And this seems to reflect the weaker state of the new middle class in Montreal, as it failed to mobilize any where near the level that was present in Toronto or Vancouver until the middle of the 1980s, when a reform party called the MCM was elected in 1986.

93: The two justifications for blocking the use of space by the urban proletariat are quite revealing. Here, again, another example of conflicting class habitus surfaces as the ideological orientation of the new middle class changes and begins to increasingly embrace rather than oppose a market rationale for justifying its actions. In this case, the market rationale was revealed by middle class loft owners when declining property values were cited. The presence of two different class habituses was also revealed in code words like safety which, in this case, was a polite way of expressing middle class revulsion and distrust towards other classes lower down in the social hierarchy as well as their unwillingness to share space with them (Tanner September 1,1995).

A few years earlier a similar scenario was played out on a larger scale within Edmonton's gentrifying riverside communities. As with the more recent controversy in Edmonton's Warehouse district, the same hysteria and class prejudice can be observed. Once again, the elite who settled in these communities used similar rationales for the social and economic closure they invoked against low income people who were originally supposed to be part of these refurbished communities. As with other mobilizations, in this case the successful mobilization by the middle class against a modernist plan for the redevelopment of several derelict neighbourhoods into a regional park, low income people were used as allies but then left out in the cold once the threat of redevelopment had been removed (Geiger 1992; McKeen 1992; Mackinnon 1991; Schute 1992).

In still larger and faster growing cities these symptoms of exclusion become even more obvious as a more prosperous new middle class with a more refined postmodern sensibility becomes active in the struggle over urban space. In these instances entire neighbourhoods and not just single building or a groups of buildings are transformed and taken over by the new middle class, sanitizing large areas of the city which were previously inhabited by low income people. In Toronto the two best examples of this would be Cabbage Town and Yorkville (Sabourin 1994; Tsimikalis, 1983; Winnipeg Free Press 1997bm, Jennings, 1997). And in the case of Vancouver a huge area of middle class re-settlement was established around False Creek because of gentrification (E.g., Mills 1989).

93: As already indicated, amendments to the national housing act in 1973 allowed participants other non profit groups, besides Cityhome, would become involved in realizing the livable city agenda in Toronto. For example, between 1975 and 1989 there would be an explosion in the amount of co-operative housing units built in Metropolitan Toronto. From 10 co-ops in 1975, by 1984 the number of co-operative would increase to 74 and then rise further to 104 by 1989. In 1975 there were only 800 units in Toronto, however, by 1989, there were 9,000 units (Cooper and Rodman, 1992, p.43).

Changing Federal program also influenced housing initiatives undertaken in Vancouver. While only about 4,000 public housing units were constructed in the City of Vancouver during the modern period, between 1971 and 1995 the number of non market housing units greatly expanded, rising by nearly a factor of five, as the number of subsidized units grew from around 4,000 to approximately 19,000 units (CVPD-57; CV-24). However after South False

Creek South the involvement in housing by the city would become less direct. Like Toronto, a non profit housing corporation was created but it remained inert as responsibility for producing housing units was shifted over to the Greater Vancouver Regional District (CVPD-1979). Using the classification scheme employed in 1979 study Called Understanding Vancouver's Housing the involvement of the city in housing during the 1970s is charted (CVPD 1979, p.4). The main observation made in the study was that the city's involvement in housing was largely reactive during the modern period, to one, in the 1970s, where the city became a comprehensive developer. At this time the City of Vancouver undertook the development of Champlain Heights and South False Creek. However, after this spurt in the middle of the 1970s, the city's involvement in housing would regress in the late 1970s. Instead of becoming a producer of housing, the city took on the more modest role of becoming a facilitator of housing initiatives initiated by the non profit sector and the Federal Government.

So, while the city ceased to act as a house builder it did lend support to the non profit sector, facilitating the middle class resettlement of the conversion zone. Still, for a short while, in the 1970s, with its direct involvement, for a brief time co-operative and non profit housing units made up the largest amount of new housing construction taking place in the inner city. Again this was when communitarian tendencies were at their most powerful. By the early 1980s, this would change as more privatized versions of communal housing such as strata title units would expand and overtake the production of non profit units.

In Montreal, although reformers did not obtain formal control over the local state in the mid 1970s the surge in support for the MCM in the mid 1970s did force the Drapeau administration to pay more attention to housing. According to former reform city councillor and housing activist, Arnold Bennett (1997, p.5), this was one reason why Operation 20,000 Logements was initiated by the city during the 1970s. Only belatedly, after 1986, with the victory of urban reformers and the election of Mayor Dore and the MCM did reformers engage in an ambitious housing program that would rival what their counterparts had accomplished a decade earlier in Toronto.

Although more corporatist in its orientation, in the housing field, the MCM would mimic what the liberal-social democratic coalitions had done fourteen years earlier in Toronto and Vancouver. Hence several powerful public corporations were founded to create and refurbish housing in the city. In a publication entitled Habiter, which was released In 1989, two years after reformers had won power at the local level, the ambitious plans that were had for the city were laid out. Like the Living Room Report, in the case of the City of Toronto, in the early 70s, Habiter saw the city playing a very active role in the production of housing. In terms of official discourse this was probably the most ambitious articulation of the livable city agenda in Montreal.

If the Living Room Report had called for the production of 4,000 housing units, of which, 2,000 of these were to be assisted units, Habiter called for the construction of approximately 4,000 housing units a year to meet the goal of providing 40,000 additional housing units within the City of Montreal by the year 2000. However, Montreal's golden age of urban reform only lasted eight years. With the defeat of the MCM in 1994 most of the institutional supports for the realization of the livable city agenda were dismantled by Dore successor, Mayor Pierre Borgue and his Vision Montreal party. Subsequently most of the housing programs initiated by urban reformers in Montreal between 1986 and 1994, have been terminated or wound down (Editorial, Montreal Gazette December 12,1994; Lamey February 1995).

95: Therefore, unlike the United States the political context that coloured the introduction of postmodern regulation was quite different in Canada. For example, in Canada the most active period of state intervention in the affairs of the city began just as Federal involvement in the United States was beginning to wind down. Although the Canadian State had played an important but background role in the regulation of the city during the modern period, the United States Government was more active than its Canadian counterpart. Reasons for this

probably had to do with the militarization of the economy associated with the Cold War, since the Cold War provided a climate for the acceptance of government intervention in many areas where it probably would have been resisted otherwise. No doubt the most important example of this was the massive restructuring of the city that came with the inauguration of an interstate highway program, that was linked to the defense of the nation (Walker 1981).

Being the centre of Fordist culture also helped. This, combined with the numerous aspects of modern regulation that were associated in one way or another the Cold War, where dispersed development was seen as one response to the threat of nuclear attack, modernism and postmodernism evolved somewhat differently in the United States than it did in Canada.

Beginning with Fordism, it is only necessary to point to Robert Moses, and his ties with the large automobile companies or to go and look at the part played by General Motors in dismantling the transit infrastructure of the United States to see how being the world centre for Fordism sped up the modernization of the American city. In Canada there was no equivalent to the Interstate Highways Act, nor was there a large private corporation buying up and dismantling transit systems. On the contrary, while transit systems were being aggressively dismantled across the United States, Toronto was moving in the opposite direction, as it started the first postwar transit system in North America.

The stronger and more obvious link that existed between modernism and militarization in the United States would spill over into the postmodern era and affect the way urban regulation evolved in the United States, as compared to Canada. Because of the involvement of the U.S. Government in Vietnam it is possible to speculate that this may have been a factor in the greater disenchantment with the state amongst the American middle class, why, as a result, even among reformers a much stronger anti statist sentiment developed. While the new middle class in both countries became opposed to modern systems of bureaucratic rule, in Canada this aversion to bureaucratic rule did not translate into the active disdain or mistrust of the State, as was the case from both the Left and Right sides of the political spectrum in the United States. This may account for the relative success of the livable city agenda in Canada and its near absence in the United States. For although the livable city program was very much a communitarian policy it depended upon the support of the state to realize its aims. Fortunately it was at this time that the Canadian State temporarily assumed an activist role in the regulation of the city, imprinting itself on the city in postmodern era rather than the modern era, as was the case in the United States. It did not therefore suffer as much from the discrediting of modernism, since it had no freeway program to attack and had only been involved in urban renewal in a very limited way before it was cancelled in 1969. Meanwhile, in the United States disenchantment with modernism more easily translated into disenchantment with the state. While the Federal Government in Canada and many municipalities had become much more involved in innovative programs, in the United States measures, such as Proposition 13, which gutted and paralyzed the operation of the local state, were being passed.

This may explain why the most popular and well publicized experiments in postmodern planning in the United States during the 1970s were market driven projects that bore the mark of the urban spectacle in the 1970s, long before this happened in Canada. By contrast, in Canada the most innovative projects were largely driven by the public sector, bearing the sign of the ideology of the livable city rather than that of the urban spectacle. As a result, the most significant postmodern spaces in American cities were private developments such as Battery Park in New York City (Schuman and Sclar 1996), or took form as the festival markets, which the Rouse Corporation built in Baltimore, Boston and New York (Nasmith, 1996; Goss 1996). This may also explain, why no equivalents to South False Creek or the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood are be found in the United States in the 1970s. As these projects demonstrate, for the first twenty years of the postmodern transformation of the city, communitarian rather than market principles played a much larger role in the production and organization of the postmodern spaces in Canada than they did in the United States.

Rather than urban policy makers in Canada writing about the abandonment of the city and urban triage, a much more optimistic and activist strategy for the rebuilding of the city was

underway in Canada, as active measures were taken to implement the ideology of the livable city. As a result non market and communitarian spaces. would become much more prominent in the Canadian city than in the United States. There are exceptions of course. For some examples of the application of the Livable City ideology to urban spaces in the United States see Philip Langdon's book, Urban Excellence, New York City: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990. Here one of the best examples would be the Pike Street market in Seattle. What happened here would resonate much more closely with the Granville Island Market in Vancouver and the St. Lawrence market in Toronto, than the Rouse developments, as this market embodied most of the six principles associated with the livable city ideology in a way not present in the Rouse developments.

So while intellectuals in Canada attacked the modern regime advanced by state, this did not lead to the call for less involvement by the state in the affairs of the city, only the adoption of a different strategy. Therefore no Canadian equivalent can be found to the publications that were to set the general direction for government policy in the United States like *The Unheavenly City* by Edward Banfield (1968), which questioned the efficacy of planning and bemoaned the futility of government action; or Jay Forrester's (1969) work, which was laid out in *Urban Dynamics,,* that predicted the city would become a sinkhole for the discarded elements of society. While these influential prognostications about the obsolescence of the city were being made in the United States, a different trope could be seen in the Canadian literature of the time, as most cities were experiencing a Renaissance rather than a decline in their fortunes.

98: The populism that was given institutional sanction by government in the Hellyer Report for the first time also had an influence on the architecture and design in Canada, as the changes which eventually came out of the Hellyer Report enlarged the space for more public participation in design, something that would later become known as Community architecture (Wates 1987). In the report's criticism of high rise dwellings and the call that was made for more varied building types and human scaled developments would also make it an important catalyst for further development in infill housing and medium rise dwellings, playing a role in the hatching of a new postmodern aesthetic for the city, one that soon began to congeal into new planning and architectural codes for the regulation of space as designers such as Anthony Jackson (1995;1978) Barton Myers and Jack Diamond would emerged out of the first postmodern flowering that was facilitated by documents like the Hellyer Report (Carter 1996; Kuwabara and Sampson 1975).

106: Unlike the Vancouver Planning Department, The Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board seemed to have retained a closer affinity to an earlier and more progressive stream of modern planning that that was connected to the regionalist thinking that had played a prominent role in early modern planning in Great Britain and Canada and, to a lesser extent, the United States. Especially when looking at how the discourse on the livable city evolved under the direction of Harry Lash (PI-11), the Greater Vancouver Regional District's first director, what started to emerge many years before the City of Vancouver, was the recovery a populist stream of thought in planning that was once part of modern planning but had long been suppressed. Unlike Bartholomew or Sutton Brown's open embrace of corporatist ideology, Harry Lash took an anarchical approach to planning, becoming one of the first professional planners to become committed to the ideology of the livable city.

107: For this reason, not only can "Shaping The Future" be viewed as the formal inauguration of postmodern discourse in the Planning Department of Vancouver, on a more general level, it can be seen as one more manifestation a much wider and more embracing philosophical turn that has taken place in the field of culture in general. The epistemological modesty that surfaces in "Shaping The Future "put the postmodern philosophy expressed in this document in a middle ground within a much larger debate that was raging in academic circles about the nature reason

and the postmodern condition which philosophers such as Lyotard (1984) would take up. While the philosophical ground that serves as the foundation for "Shaping The Future " does not imply or even suggest that a radical negation of Enlightenment principles has occurred, nevertheless, it did signify the rejection of the Cartesian rationality that had formed the philosophic foundation for construction of the panoptican perspective taken up by planners in the Sutton Brown period.

110: Informally this function was initially taken up by urban social movements that first articulated a postmodern agenda for the city. The ideological work they carried out would eventually be distilled into the ideology of the livable city, which, in due course, provided the raw material for the three themes that surface in "Shaping The Future". Hence the informal beginning of this postmodern discourse can be traced back to the transition period between 1966 and 1973 when the shift from modernism to postmodernism started in earnest when the Citizen's for the Improvement of Vancouver (CIV) was created, in 1966, followed by Vancouver Tomorrow in 1966-67 that, in due course was later incorporated into the Citizens Council on Civic Development (CCCD) in 1968, that remained an active ideological force until well into 1973 (Pendakur 1972; Macdonald 1987; Tennant 1980)

Together these groups were responsible for nurturing the ideas that lead to the formulation of the vision of the livable city. After Shaping The Future, this function would begin to involve the bureaucracy when The Vancouver Planning Commission started the Goals for Vancouver Exercise (CV-17). Finally, with CorePlan in 1980 (CVPD-61) and CityPlan (CVPD-141) in 1992 this function would be fully absorbed into the Planning Department. Consequently, over the past 30 years an incredible amount of time and energy has been devoted to the formulation of goals for Vancouver. This dialogue between planning professionals and the citizenry was not naturally accepted but made a requirement if the legitimacy of the actions of the Planning Department were to be preserved in a period of dialogical rule. For with the disappearance of certainty and loss of faith in expert knowledge the use of goals endorsed by a public process become one of the few methods for making decisions about how to manage change in a situation where there was a great deal of mistrust of the bureaucracy.

120: In particular during the era of the urban spectacle this was the form that urban boosterism took in almost every major city in Canada as one city after another, rich and poor, became involved in subsidizing sports teams and stadium venues. For example, to no avail, in Winnipeg, tens of millions of dollars were spent on keeping a hockey team in the city (Silver 1996). Whereas in the 1960s cities chased office developments, in the 1980s and 1990s more emphasis began to be put upon creating the infrastructure for an economy based upon the urban spectacles. This, in turn, would lead to the further corporatization of the inner city, where most of these venues have been constructed (for example the new baseball stadium at the Forks in Winnipeg - see Winnipeg Free Press, 1997W).

For an account of one successful critique and mobilization against the public subsidy of the urban spectacle see Stop Playing Games With Toronto: An anti-Olympic People's Bid Book, from the Bread Not Circuses Coalition, January 1990. Also look at David Shoalts, Senators finally get a home of their own, in The Globe and Mail, January 18,1996; Marta Gold, "Northland in a league of its own: City of Edmonton owns the facility but has limited influence on how it is used," in the Edmonton Journal, August 8,1993; Editorial, Unsubsidized arena, in the Winnipeg Free Press, February 17,1992; Jennifer Well,"Jets Propulsion- Fearful of becoming just another Regina, Winnipeg's business elite is scrambling to save one of the city's biggest status symbols - its ailing NHL franchise." In Report On Business Magazine, March 1995; see Mike Board, Prices Going Up: New Saddledome means flames fans will have to cough up more dollars," in the Calgary Herald, February 23,1995; Frances Russell, "Hockey hinges on tax breaks, in the Winnipeg Free Press, June 22,1995; Stephen Brunt, "Fear, blackmail determine Jet's fate," in The Globe and Mail, May 19, 1995; Don Braid, "Bypassing sewers for posh seats an injustice," in the Calgary Herald, July 6,1995 - for an American take on the same phenomenon

see Footloose football: in other places, players move from team to team. In America, teams themselves up sticks," in The Economist September 9 1995, p. 90.

122: One of the most visible signs of the market appropriation of the symbolic landscape can be seen in the application of private logos to building faces and public spaces. Thus whole buildings are now being turned into advertisement boards for corporations. This also has to do with the privatization of space and the symbolic retreat of the state. In Vancouver, one example of this would be the Ford Theatre for the performing arts. In North York, as well Ford Motor Corporation has been able to buy the right to have its name attached to this building. This corporatization of the symbolic landscape can also be observed in the renaming of the Edmonton convention centre to the Shaw Centre. Then there was the attempt by Canadian Airlines to have its corporate logo emblazoned across the Saddle Dome in the City of Calgary. In Toronto, the Roy Thompson Hall and the Hummingbird Centre (formerly the O'keefe Centre) would be another example of this trend Then there is the Corel and Molson sport complexes that have recently been constructed in Ottawa and Montreal.

Addendum: However the most extreme example of this can be seen in New York City, where the advertisement value of some buildings have subordinated their use value. This is the case for the 93 year old Time Square Building, which was sold for 100 million dollars US. or $1,000 a square foot, the highest price ever paid for office space in New York City. Although the building is only of marginal use as office space it is able to generate large amounts of revenue by selling its wall to advertisers. For instance advertisement space only fetched $34,000 for this building in 1976 but now generates up to $2-million a year. Nearby the same thing is happening to the New York City Port Authority Terminal where the largest sign in the country, measuring 930 feet, is going to be placed on the building. With this and other advertisements the authority hopes to generate $2-million dollars a year.

123: The sociological dimension most clearly surfaces in the non domestic fractions of the new middle class. This is the client group that would make up the market for high-rises in the 1980s and 1990s, something that its more domestic counterparts had rebelled against in the 1970s. Thus high-rises and the rise of non-domestic fractions of the new middle class can be seen as one of the defining features of the era of the urban spectacle.

134: In contrast to this, during the same time, the urban literature in Canada painted a different picture of the role of government. Rather than engage in an intellectual assault on government the opposite occurs. Influential studies like Harvey Lithwick's (1970) Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects appear. Furthermore, critical commentary on modernist urban policy was also generated by activist's such as Michael Dennis and Susan Fish, who wrote an influential book called Programs in Search of a Policy. Unlike the intellectual thrust in the United States, this critical tome called for more rather than less involvement by the state. Indeed, just as the influence of federal government in the United States began to recede with the election of a conservative government when the Republican party came into power with the election of Richard Nixon, in 1968, just the opposite happens in Canada. With the victory of the Liberals, under the leadership of Pierre Trudeau, the momentum for more involvement in urban affairs was produced. And even a separate urban ministry, called the Ministry Of State For Urban Affairs was created for a short time. Meanwhile, a massive commitment to the postmodern transformation of the city was made by the Federal Government when amendments to the National Housing Act were enacted in 1973. As commentators such as Herschel Hardin (1974) have noted: one of the distinctive features about the political economy of Canada has been the development of a public enterprise culture and indeed this can be said about the participation of the state in the creation of postmodern urban spaces during the 1970s. As the numerous examples that have been cited, show, this was a time when the local state took on a leadership role in the production of postmodern spaces. Unlike most of their American counterparts city's themselves became entrepreneurial agents in the production of urban spaces -

becoming directly involved in landmark projects such as South False Creek and St. Lawrence Neighbourhood.

Without an activist state ideology of the livable city would never have dominated the first period of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city. More than anything else, this is why the end of the activist state can be used to mark the end of the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the Canadian city and the commencement of a second phase, one where market rather than the state or bureaucratic influences would exert more control over the production of space.

This change would also be reinforced by changing attitudes within the new middle class itself, changes that were linked to shifts in the labour market and hence, to processes anchored in the modernization process. With the rising number of contingent worker (i.e., non standard employment) increasing to 39 percent of the labour force in 1994 and continuing to rise, the bureaucratic context for defining the work experience of the middle class would lessen and even greater emphasis given to entrepreneurial attitudes, which would further dilute the communitarianism of the first postmodern era (Time Podmore 1996). Hence statistics now show that for the first time the number of entrepreneurs out numbers civil servants in the work force. For example, between 1976 and 1995 the number of civil servants fell from 20 percent of the labour force to 14.8. Meanwhile, the number of entrepreneurs rose from 11 percent to over 15 percent of the labour force between 1976 and 1995.

Like the government's abandonment of housing, this shift can be seen as another threshold, which would show how the influence of the market had expanded, while bureaucratic and state influences were retreating. Thus a strong dividing line between two distinctive postmodern phases of urban development was generated (See Globe and Mail, p. A7, 1995). If the first phase was one distinguished by the growth in communitarian attitudes the present one is one more defined by entrepreneurship. While there is still a residual amount of communalism present from the first period of transformation, the dominant trend is definitely towards the individualism and hyper consumption associated with the economy of the urban spectacle. In the economic realm, so far as the cultural and economic realms can now be separated, the entrepreneur has become the complement and counterpart to the artist in the second phase of the postmodern period. This can be seen in the spread of entrepreneurial methods. This ethos has even invaded the state as well as large corporations such as 3-M, where modern bureaucratic norms were once dominant. As the director of the Asper Centre for Entrepreneurship, at the University of Manitoba, recently exclaimed in the Winnipeg Free Press: " Entrepreneurship is the new trend sweeping the business landscape as we move toward the year 2000. The trend is not limited to business. It is also seen in the way employees, students and society view work and the economy ," (Warren 1997).

135: One of the first problems that resulted from these new developments was the replacement of low income housing in the downtown Eastside for inexpensive hotel rooms for visitors who were expected to come to the world's fair in 1986 (Shalyer 1986). As result of Expo 86 the problem of maintaining the existing stock of Single room occupancy dwellings became a major issue for the first time, seriously exacerbated the situation of people at the bottom of the housing chain.

So not only was gentrification creating displacement pressure in the inner city, it was also contributing to the transformation of Vancouver, facilitating its transformation from an executive city into a tourist city. This not only affected housing but also had an impact on retail land uses, as commercial displacement appeared as a problem for the first time in the city's history.[i] Consequently well know establishments like Galloways or the medium priced restaurants such as While Spot were forced to move from Robson Street because of the commercial redevelopment the dramatic inflation in rents which came with Vancouver becoming an international destination centre for the tourist trade.

Problems having to do with displacement and rapid change therefore became more generalized throughout the entire Downtown peninsula. This frenzied development even

affected dominant land use functions, such as offices. However the major burden would be experienced in the Downtown Eastside and the Downtown South, by Low income, predominantly made residents and by prostitutes, not retailers or office users, as these two groups were squeezed out of familiar and safe locations and forced to relocate to less safe and more inhospitable environments (Edelson 1993; PI-6).

On the West Side of the city, another housing crisis was brewing as well. In part because of Expo 86 and its aftermath, Asian capital, in particular, discovered Vancouver (Gutstein 1990), intensifying the densification process as capital flowed out of the Core and Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and entered into suburban parts of the city. For the first time the middle class were being displaces. One immediate consequence of this resurgence and extension of the densification process was the generation of a new series of housing controversies which rivalled in intensity those that had arisen in the early 1970s when rapidly inflating housing prices and the displacement of low income housing stock made housing a trigger point for community mobilization. While this began on the East side, the main focus soon shifted to the West, as a series of housing controversies followed one after the other, forcing politicians and planners to deal with the management of the redevelopment of the suburban section of the city (Petite 1991).

The first major controversy focussed around straight livability and nuisance issues having to do with shadowing and parking caused by the production of larger homes on the East side. But with the redevelopment pressures exerting pressure on the West side of the city for the first time as well, the issue of secondary suites became important. This lead City Council to delegate the task of regulating secondary suites to the Planning Department (CVPD-78a). In the wake of the public outcry that came with the demolition of older rental units in Kerrisdale the suburban parts of the city became politically turbulent (HO 1989). Finally, the construction of monster homes (Read 1989) and mounting concern about the destruction of the pastoral suburban landscapes that predominated on the West Side created the third major housing controversy on the city's West side that the Planning Department would have to contend with (Petite 1991).

For instance, one study, found that the greater site coverage of new homes was affecting the permeability of the soil. When one city block on the City's West Side was measured, what was discovered was that between 1980 and 1992 the overall site coverage on the lots had increased by 10 percent and that garage sizes had doubled their size. As a result, there was a significant expansion in impermeable surfaces on the lots in this one block, as the amount of impermeable surface increased from 35 percent of the surface area in pre-1980 development to upward of 60 percent in post 1980 development (CV-27, p.98).

So if the Eastside of the city was forced to deal with the negative side effects which rippled outward from the promotion of urban spectacles, then on the West side of the city as well, the specter of displacement and the fundamental modification of the pastoral landscapes which the Caucasian middle class cherished loomed forward as major political issues that had to be dealt with. In this way commercial and residential densification would become the structural force that politicize areas of the city that had largely been inert up until this time, creating new fault lines in the Core as well as in the suburban areas.

To recapitulate, this first began with the controversy over the destruction of single occupancy room, then moved out into the suburban areas, when secondary suites became an issue in the early and middle 1980s (CVPD-78a). In turn, this soon broadened out to include a host of other issues having to the design (CVCO-26) and landscaping issues as well (VS-115).

These housing problems were further exacerbated by the depletion of surplus industrial land, which has acted as a safety valve and cushion for new residential development in the livable city era. Up to the middle 1980s, underused industrial land around False Creek and the Fraser River had absorbed much of the pressure for residential redevelopment. For example between 1973 and 1990, 400 acres of industrial land that was primarily located around the False Creek Basin land was converted into residential land. And after 1990 a further 270 acres of industrial land was let go for this purpose.(CVCO-19a). Overall figures on industrial land use show what happened. In 1973, there were 2400 acres of land zoned for industrial use in the city,

yet by 1994, only 1695 acres remained (CVC0-19a). Since a basic floor, in the amount of industrial land required to maintain to support other economic activities in the city was needed, the conversion of industrial land into residential land was reaching its limits, with the suburbs remaining as the only area largely untouched by the densification process.

However, even if there has been more industrial land, this probably would not have prevented much of the development pressure that resulted since much as this was connected to a related process whereby the suburban areas of the city were being transformed into a Zone of Asian Resettlement. For Asian capital was not only flowed into the mega projects that were located on former industrial lands in the Core, it was also moving into the suburban RS-1 residential areas of the city (VS-103; VS-105).

As a result, considerable pressure for redevelopment on the 75 percent of the city's land base that had been previously immunized against major redevelopment by the existing RS-1 (Single family dwellings) zoning regime started to take place. Moreover, this development became quite intense as thousands of units were demolished and reconstructed in some years. Here a low rise format of densification took shape, something that became manifest in the construction of larger homes and increased site coverage, as many of modest homes constructed after 1955 were replaced by much larger dwelling units. While the CorePlan process had tried to address the issue of densification in single family areas during the early 1980s, little attention was given to this issue until events forced politicians and planners to re-examine the question of RS-1 zoning in the late 80s and 1990s with the inauguration of the CityPlan process (Petite 1991).

137: For example the original protocol set out that developers had to set aside 20 percent of all housing capacity for social housing but no requirement was made for its production or measures installed to make the production of segments of these megaprojects concurrent with the actual production of the theoretical number of social housing assigned to each development phase. While approximately 2,500 units have been created in theory so far only a few hundred social units have been produced. Meanwhile, at the same time, several thousand private units have already been built. Accordingly, if no further remedies to address this imbalance are undertaken it is quite conceivable that when the 20,000 units forecasted to be built on the downtown peninsula are completed there could be less than a thousand social housing units constructed, representing 5 rather than 20 percent of the new housing stock.

139: As the report on better government to Council stated: the basic assumption that informs the proposed re-organization is that "the city will be required to do more with less, as service expectations increase and financial constraints tighten," (CVC0-23, p.3).

These changes can be viewed as part of a broader movement to curtail the more unstructured participatory approaches that existed in the 1970s and to dilute the communal ideologies that held greater sway during the first phase of the postmodern transformation of the city. One result of these changes is that citizen participation has increasingly been transformed into polling. Meanwhile, other mechanisms for citizen's involvement have been modified to reflect the perception of them as consumers rather than as citizen's. The de-emphasis on the formal involvement of community organizations has worried some activists (PO-2) because they view over reliance on soliciting isolated individuals as potential manipulative and as something that can diminish the role of the community as a legitimate participant in decisions making.

147: First there was Expo 86, which firmly entrenched the logic of the urban spectacle into the Core, as a new economic force behind the re-organization of space here. Institutionally, the first recognition of this by the Planning Department came with the creation of B.C. Place and Expo District that provided the first encapsulation of the urban spectacle in the city's zoning bylaws. Similarly, the later sell off of the fair grounds on the North Shore of False Creek set the preconditions for the market rather than the state to play a much larger role in the production

of postmodern spaces, unlike South False Creek. Thus, with Expo 86 unmistakable signs of the informal articulation of a new strategy for the redevelopment the Core area appears with the rapid expansion of urban space devoted to the staging of urban spectacles. This is reflected in statistics on tourism for Greater Vancouver. While only 3.3 million tourists came to Vancouver in 1985, with the world's fair this increased to five and a half million in 1986, rising to 7 million in 1995, pumping $2. 2-billion into the local economy (CVCO-38). Furthermore, with the sell off of this public land to Li Ka- Shing for $250 million in 1987 (Chan 1996; Olds 1995; Beazley 1994), the first economic trigger for the kind of privatization that would typify the next phase of urban development was put in place. The privatization of public land on North False Creek would permanently weight development towards market rationales rather than the communal vision of the livable city that the public ownership of land on to South of False Creek made possible.

The second event that would mark the beginning of a next phase in the postmodern development of the city would be the reactivation of the densification process. Because of the crash in the real estate market in the early 1980s the densification process became dormant, as prices on the West side of the city fell by around 45 percent, with the median price of a single detached dwelling unit falling from approximately $630,000, in 1981, to around $360,000, in 1982 (CVPD-119). With the influx of well to do Asian immigrants and increasing migration from elsewhere in the country this situation would be reversed after 1986. For example, in 1986 the number of Asian immigrants moving into Metro Vancouver steadily moved upward from approximately 5,000 a year, in the early 80s before the rate of increase peaked around 20,000 immigrants a year in 1991 (CVPD-119). Because the West side of Vancouver and the suburb of Richmond were particularly favoured by this wealthy Asian population house prices rose dramatically in these localities, creating a ripple effect which affected the rest of the metropolitan market. Because of market pressures and the demand for larger housing units created by this new population intense redevelopment pressure occurred in single detached areas for the first time. Housing prices show the extent of this pressure. For example a single family detached dwellings at the higher end of the market in the Western part of the city might of went for $360,000 in 1982 but would sell at around $830,000 by 1992, creating incredible market pressure for the demolition and replacement of the existing housing stock. Consequently the demolition of single family units exploded in the later part of the 1980s. From a low point of 500 demolitions a year, in 1982, the number of demolition rose to around 1700 unit by 1988 and then peaked at over 2300 demolitions in 1989 before levelling off at approximately 1500 demolitions for most of the succeeding years up to 1995 (CVPD-135; Stern, 1996). Moreover, not only were the number of demolitions at an historical high, there was also a major geographic shift in the location of demolitions, from the East end to the West end of the city, which induced the wrath of the traditional Caucasian middle class.

This would have important political consequences. For one, it would force the Planning Department to place more emphasis on non core areas of the city. As a result there would be a shift in resources the development of new policies in the Post-Spaxman period. This would become most apparent in CityPlan when $3.2-million dollars were allocated for developing a new plan for the city in 1992. Again, the political impetus for all these planning initiatives came directly out of the pressure that was exerted on the NPA council to find a way of comprehensively dealing with the resistance towards densification. This had become a political imperative since this issue vitally concerned its core middle class constituency on the West side that was the power base of the NPA. Dis-satisfaction with what had gone on resulted in a close election for Mayor Gordon Campbell in 1990 as COPE mounted a strong challenge to the NPA over the housing question.

Understandably, when Tom Fletcher replaced Ray Spaxman as the next planning director the preparation of an overall plan to tackle this problem would become a high priority for the Department (PI-4; PI-13). This also lead to more resources being poured into zoning as development on the West side lead to a demand for more sophisticated zoning schedules, as far more sophisticated and labour intensive forms of zoning such as the RS-5, which was created in 1983, and RS-6 were demanded (McGilvray,1994).

The third event, would be the rightward shift on city council. Eventually this would lead to the resignation of Ray Spaxman. As Libby Davies, a COPE, Alderman explained (PI-4), many of the corporate developers who backed Mayor Campbell wanted Spaxman reigned in or removed. Another planner speculated that there may have been bad blood between Campbell and Spaxman that went way back to the time when Campbell was upbraided for behaving in an arrogant fashion when he was an assistant to Mayor Art Phillips in the early 1970's (PI-7). Still other observers implied or have speculated that a clash between Campbell and Spaxman would have been unavoidable because of Campbell's determination to control the bureaucracy and his unwillingness to work with strong individuals who might stand in his way, as Mayor Campbell had a habit of terrorizing anyone who was weaker than him, that opposed him.

Whatever the exact reason may have been, there is little doubt that there was considerable tension between Campbell and Spaxman, which only seemed to increase as time passed. In the 1970s Ray Spaxman was able to successfully challenge Mayor Art Phillips because of the strong social democratic slate on council gave him allies. In the late 1980s, however, with an NPA council firmly in control, this was not to be, especially with a council dominated by Mayor Campbell. With no strong allies to back him up Spaxman wasn't strong enough to survive a major clash with the mayor this time around. As well, over time the planning director began to lose control over more planning tasks because of the encroachments of the mayor. Unlike the 1970's when council made threatening noises about relieving the department of responsibility for preparing a downtown plan because of its displeasure with Spaxman, this time around Spaxman was unable to withstand council pressures and the department was relieved of responsibility for developing a policy on view corridors. As well, the Planning Department lost control over the planning of the Fraser River industrial lands when this task was turned over to a private consultant and friend of the Mayor's Jim Moody. The battle with the market also surfaced in his attempts to put more restrictive view corridors in place with regard to development around the False Creek Basin (VS-76). To no avail Spaxman appears to have tried to moderate market pressures on the North False Creek lands by trying to keep densities down (VS-73; VS-76a)
With the growing animosity between Spaxman and the NPA even the newspapers began to comment on the situation, with one article quoting Spaxman as saying that he would wait for the results of the 1988 elections before making a decision on whether he would remain as the director of planning (VS-77). So even if Spaxman had not agreed to resign he may well have been forced out because of the sour relations that existed between himself and the NPA council. Criticism by COPE, would have no affect on what happened, even as the opposition party on city council voiced their concern about the Department becoming a pawn of developers with the departure of Spaxman (VS-77a).

Thus a strong leader was replaced by a weak one, as Tom Fletcher was chosen as the new planning director (PI-4; VS-123).

151: Just as with the City of Vancouver, in the middle of the 1980s, it was possible to identify auguries of what was to with regard to the Federal Government. In this regard the Neilsen Task Force, which was begun in 1984, can be viewed as a foreshadowing of what was to occur in the 1990s, when privatization and de-regulation began in earnest, in Canada. While not apparent at the time, since the recommendations were largely ignored when they were released in 1986, this Ministerial Task force on Program Review would provide a foretaste of what would be put into actual practice, a decade later, when the Liberals returned to power in 1993 (Savoie 1994, pp. 127-139).

151a: Together, the impacts of this resurgence in the densification process and the struggle to more firmly establish the agenda of the urban spectacle would surface most intensely in the controversies that arose over housing. This change created an explosive situation, colouring most of the important controversies that would grip politicians and the Planning Department between 1986 and the present.

One of the first problems that resulted from these new developments was the replacement of low income housing in the downtown Eastside for inexpensive hotel rooms for visitors who were expected to come to the world's fair in 1986 (Shalyer 1986). As result of Expo 86 the problem of maintaining the existing stock of Single room occupancy dwellings became a major issue for the first time, seriously exacerbated the situation of people at the bottom of the housing chain.

So not only was gentrification creating displacement pressures in the inner city, contributing to this process was the transformation of Vancouver from an executive city into a tourist city. This not only affected housing but also had an impact on retail land uses, as commercial displacement became a problem for the first time in the city's history. Consequently well know establishments like Galloways or the While Spot were forced to move from Robson Street rent inflation.

Problems having to do with displacement and rapid change therefore became a generalized problem for the entire Downtown peninsula. Even once dominant land uses, such as office buildings, were effected. However the major burden would be experienced by low income residents and prostitutes in the Downtown Eastside and the Downtown South as they were either squeezed out of familiar and safe locations or forced to relocate elsewhere (Edelson 1993; PI-6).

On the West Side of the city, another housing crisis was brewing as well. In part because of Expo 86 and its aftermath, Asian capital, in particular, discovered Vancouver (Gutstein 1990), intensifying the densification process as capital flowed out of the core area of the city and entered into suburban parts of the city. For the first time middle class as well as working residents had to worry about displacement. One immediate consequence of this resurgence and extension of the densification process was the generation of a new series of housing controversies which rivalled, in intensity, those that had arisen in the early 1970s, when rapidly inflating housing prices and the displacement of low income housing stock made housing a trigger point for community mobilization. While this began on the East side, the main focus soon shifted to the West, as a series housing controversies followed one after the other, which the planning department was forced to deal with because of the pressure exerted on politicians to control redevelopment (Petite 1991).

The first major controversy was focussed around straight livability issues having to do with shadowing and the like that came with the production of larger homes on the East side. But with the redevelopment pressures exerting pressure on the West side of the city the issue of secondary suites became important here as well, leading City Council to delegate the task of regulating secondary suites to the Planning Department (CVPD-78a). Following in the wake of this problem the demolition of older rental units in Kerrisdale sparked another political upheaval (HO 1989). Finally, the construction of monster homes (Read 1989) and mounting concern about the destruction of the pastoral suburban landscapes that predominated on the West Side, which were now threatened by more intensive development, created the third major housing controversy on the city's West side that the Planning Department was forced to contend with (Petite 1991). For instance, one study on the permeability of a city block on the City's West Side, revealed that between 1980 and 1992 site coverage had increased by 10 percent and that garage sizes had doubled in site coverage, greatly expanding the spread of impermeable surfaces on the lots in the one block that was measured from 35 percent of the surface area in pre-1980 development, upward to 60 percent in post 1980 development (CV-27,p.98).

So if the Eastside of the city was forced to deal with the negative side effects of the urban spectacle, then on the West side the specter of displacement now emerged as well. Just as important was the impending destruction of the existing urban habitat due to the extension of the densification process into areas that had previously been immune from the restructuring effects of this transformation process, creating a new fault line in the suburban areas of the city. This started with the controversy over secondary suites in the early and middle 1980s (CVPD-78a), but soon broadened to include a host of other issues having to the design (CVCO-26) and landscaping issues (VS-115).

152: Except for Toronto Vancouver is probably the second most important tourist destination in Canada. Because of the difference in the size of each city the relative importance of tourism is probably far greater in Vancouver than in any other city. Looking at Toronto 23 million visitors were expected in 1997, up 1 million from 22 million in 1996, the fifth year there has been an increase . According to Tourism Toronto visitors spent $4.8- billion in 1996, of which $1.8- billion was taken up by taxes. The tourist sector also employed 115,000 people full time, making this sector the largest generator of jobs, after the financial services sector in Toronto (See Tony Wong, "Metro prepares for a flood of big-spending tourists: Study projects 1 million more visitors this year." in Toronto Star May 21,1997).

158: In fact this literature on communitarianism became a leitmotif for most middle class social movements in the city. Although this has diminished, identification with communitarian ideals of the livable city era continues to play an important part in maintaining a philosophic distance between the new middle class and any agents who embody bureaucratic rule, such as planners. For this reason there is a tension between planners and the urban middle class that did not exist in the progressivist period. In some instances even urban based working class groups, such as The Downtown Eastside Residents Association, in Vancouver, have been able to embrace and make use this anti-corporatist sentiment as well, and have engaged in the self management of their environment (Ley 1994; Gerecke 1991). But so far this is more the exception than the rule. For the most part the revulsion towards bureaucratic authority and the cultural competencies to employ non bureaucratic systems of management remain largely confined to the new middle class.

This explains why communitarianism is problematic for the urban proletariat in ways that it is not for the urban new middle class. Again, differences in the perception of authority and ways of dealing with authority return the study of the problem back to the background created by the presence of a different class habitus for each group. The variation that can be observed between the new middle class and the urban proletariat speaks volumes about the life circumstances that invariably come into play to invisibly shape the personalities and world views of the individuals who occupy these two different class positions and more importantly, for the purposes of this study, the attitudes towards space and who has the right to occupy space and command resources to physically shape urban space and command police powers to regulate its use.

Consequently, there is a socially progressive and socially regressive side (Economist 1995a) to the ideology of place and the politics of identity that have become part of the postmodern condition.

162: Indeed after listening to sincere planners and politicians from both the Right and Left ends of the political spectrum this is a concern which has surfaced over and over again in many of the citizens' forums and formal planning exercises that I have been able to observe and participate in over the past four years in Vancouver at the local and regional level as a participant observer in an organization called Neighbour to Neighbour, at the local level, and Community Steps for Regional Governance, at the regional level (See- PO-1; PO-2; PO-3p; P0-4; P0-5; P0-6 and Barton Reid, "Greater Vancouver- Three recent community initiatives into more participatory forms of urban governance," in City Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1995). For those interested in making sense of dialogical modes of decision making this has become the wicked question that cannot be avoided or skirted if a truly progressive and democratic model for urban governance within a postmodern framework for action is to be addressed.

165: In this regard, the contrast between modern and postmodern representation of space can be illustrated by looking at Le Corbusier. What is most noticeable about the representation of space in Crobusier's model is the absence of people. As he so well shows the modern city is a city of and for the machine. In The Radiant City (Corbusier 1964) the anti-humanist orientation of modernist conceptions of urban space therefore becomes fully revealed. Here Corbusier divides

space into is sun, sky and greenery - elemental features which are distinctly anti-urban. The abstraction of space into these elemental forms and the machine scale required to tie all these elements together indicate how space was reduced to pure functional form or abstract space and how complementary this was to the machine aesthetic of modernism. Just as with Descartes space, everything standing outside a single active consciousness was reduced to something that was passive and lifeless. With this conception of abstract space there are only objects and relations in space. The final form that space will be given is determined by an all knowing and comprehending authority. Subsequently, there is a very close correspondence between imagining space as abstract space and monological systems of regulation. For As Corbusier remarks: "the plan must rule. . .since I am a professional man I make plan according to my professional concepts (1964, p.6).

However when Corbusier writes about the engineer this is when all the features that define abstract space become distilled into one icon. Some three hundred years after Descartes wrote about the ideal city it is interesting to see how little Le Crobusier's rationalism deviates from Descartes. With this perspective on space it is not hard to understand why so many modern landscapes appear as technocratic pastoral landscapes, or why there is such a powerful anti-urban current built into so much twentieth century modernism. For in this space, except for one over searing subjectivity there are no subjects and only objects. As the graphs and diagrams of The Radiant City show this is primarily a landscape devoted to the efficient movement of machines rather than people. Although in it most extreme form, Corbusier clearly shows how modern representations of space stood opposed to the humanism that prevailed in the scale of classical planning and architectural theory that predated modern planning. For here the human body and not the machine supplied the building block for the construction of space.

167: In the case of Vancouver, for instance, if we would then look at community gardens, greenways, and attempts to restore urban creeks and shorelines, this shows the persistence of the communal vision of the livable city. What it also shows is the continued refined of organic representations of urban space. If modern representations of space negated or broke up natural space into its primordial elements then the opposite would occur when organic representations were employed. It would be misleading to say that such a vision was entirely absent within modernism. However, at an early stage in its development it was suppressed or made subordinate: In this regard the work of Mckaye, Mumford and Geddes can be cited.

For postmodernism, however, Mcharg's work can probably be used as a starting point in charting out the development of an organic discourse on space. More recently the image of organic space can be seen in the ecological orientation of works by Tony Hiss's (1991, such as *The Experience of Place; EcoCity: Berkeley,* by Richard Register (1987); Peter Berg's, *A Green City Program for San Francisco,* (1989); David Crombie's Watershed Report, for Toronto *Regeneration* (1992) or *Our Ecological Footprint* by Mathis Wackernagel and William Rees (1996).

Related to these organic representations were subjective perspectives that began to develop with regard to how space was represented. Therefore, if The Port Huron Statement can be interpreted as the starting point for the emergence of a postmodern discourse on urban governance then the *Image of The City* and *Complexity and Contradiction* can be seen as the intellectual inauguration of a postmodern discourse on subjective space which postmodern representations of urban space would also generate and make use of. As much as The Port Huron Statement can be viewed as a polemic against bureaucratic rule *Complexity and Contradiction* and *Image of the City* can be viewed as a polemics against the objectification of space and its presentation as abstract space.

Here, as well, it is interesting to note the cultural context in which Complexity and Contradiction appeared, since it accomplished for architecture what Pop Art did for the field of painting, as both functioned as polemics against rigid categorical boundaries that modernism had established to set high and low brow art apart. Like the Pop Art of Warhol Venturi's work signified a shift away from Appollian to Dionysian perceptions of reality and the movement

away from elitism towards a new kind of middle class populism and hedonism. Here the mass market itself became the raw material for the construction of new forms. For as with most other aesthetic aspects of postmodernism, what would distinguish postmodernism from modernism, was the embrace rather than the rejection of the market. As a consequence, implicit, in Venturi and Wharhol's work was a rejection of bureaucratic rule, something that would become more obvious in the later works of Venturi's, such as *Learning From Las Vegas* (1972).

Thus in his book, *Monuments and Main Streets: Messages from Architecture*, Harris Stone remarked: "the authors of *Learning From Las Vegas* set up architecture for sale as a commodity (1983, p. 44). In this way the contradictory aspects of the way that postmodern regulation represented space can be seen. While the more subjective aspects provided a basis for the integration of these representations into the market, because this subjectivism established the basis for new markets to develop; organic representations had a potentially more subversive quality since they often appeared more often as a barrier rather than an opportunity for the further expansion of the market. Since nature imposes itself upon the market as a fundamental limit, the greater use of organic representations can work to limit the range of market rule.

That is why the oppositional and subversive representations of space present in postmodern regulation have primarily to do with the promotion of ecological frameworks for the regulation of urban space. The subjective aspects of representation can also perform an opposition function, as the historic preservation movement reveals. However, at the same time, the incorporation of historic motifs, the preservation of past landscapes, it also much more easily integrated into the operation of the market, providing more chances for profit making than spaces regulated more by ecological standards, particularly in the age of the urban spectacle. Because of its ability to resist the market, the ecological strain of postmodern regulation is one aspect of the livable city program that looks as if it might persist into the second phase, as other goals associated with the livable city, such as social equity, are made increasingly irrelevant by the retreat of the state and the rise of the market.

Hence, there are the representations of organic space that are problematic because they take their cue from the market rather than biological conceptions of urban space. From the off spring of Venturi the aesthetics of the urban spectacle have surfaced in various, in the form of festival markets, formats like Two Rodeo Drive, in Beveley Hills, or even in simulacra like replicas of the street such as Citywalk in Universal city, in Los Angeles or much of the new urbanism.

Addendum: There are examples of a middle ground lying outside the influence of the market and bureaucratic rule, which, no doubt, the most noticeable would be the work on pattern language by Christopher Alexander (1977). In Vancouver, this framework was applied to the planning of False Creek and the construction of Britannia Centre, a community centre in the East End of Vancouver. Still, this oppositional format for postmodern planning clearly represents a subterranean current in the broader movement we now see within a broader, but definitely more main stream attempt, to revive pre twentieth versions of urbanity in the postmodern age. And these attempts are more tied up with the economic logic of the urban spectacle. As Harris Stone has already pointed out, this is the waltz of the market and culture that can be seen in the postmodern representations of space advanced by people like Venturi. As can be seen in the application of Alexander's work in Vancouver, there is an alternative to this. But as we have seen, in Canada, the institutional supports that could have secured an expansion of these alternative spaces, has steadily been eroded since the 1980s.

168: For example, the impact of densification on the evolution of zoning can be illustrated by looking at what happened to zoning in the West End. Long before densification became a generalized phenomenon in Vancouver it emerged first as a localized force that was largely confined to just this one neighbourhood. In fact densification in the West End started to take place in significant way after the First World War when apartment buildings started to invade this neighbourhood, which was then dominated by single family dwellings (CVA RG 9).

Almost immediately this caused a negative reaction (CVA RG 9). In order to protect the existing property values of homes and preserve the social status of remaining single family areas from the contamination of apartment buildings an interim zoning bylaw was put in place in 1927 and the city was divided into three zones: a general business zone where anything was permitted, an apartment zone and finally a zone for residences (CVA RG 9). Later on, in 1930 a more elaborate zoning system was put in place when council passed zoning bylaw #2074 (CV-1). Instead of three zoning districts eleven were created. Of significant for the West End, six story apartment zone for this neighbourhood was created whereas for the rest of the city only a three story apartment zone was created. So even as far back as 1930 the groundwork was already being set for the emergence of the West End into Canada's premiere high-rise residential district.

178: A further connection can also be drawn between modern planning and the way modernism became manifest in other cultural fields as well. For the process whereby modernism deconstructed the real experiences of urban life into abstract spaces were something that was certainly not unique to planning but was something that corresponded to what was happening in other fields of cultural activity such as painting, architecture and Music that can be seen in the works of Manet, Le Corbusier or Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone system (Hauser 1952,p.931). No matter which medium is examined, whether it be urban space, the design of buildings, a painting or even a piece of music, the common trend ties of these representations of external reality together is the elimination of the subject and redirection of attention to the analytical study of the objective elements which could be distilled from the sensuous experience of the phenomenon chosen for study. In short, this way of seeing involved a very cerebral and, at time puritanical approach, to the representation and understanding of reality that was highlighted. It also enhanced the role of the seer or the expert. At the same time, however, it downgraded the popular perceptions of reality and common sense notions of everyday life which were the representation of external reality that the lay public used. As Arnold Hauser remarked:

> Modern art is . . . anti-impressionistic and . . . is a fundamentally 'ugly' art, forgoing the . . the fascinating forms, tones and colours of impressionism, it destroys pictorial values in painting. . . The intention is to write, paint, and compose from the intellect, not the emotions; stress is laid sometimes on purity of structure, on the ecstasy of a metaphysical vision, but there is a desire to escape at all costs from the complacent sensual aesthetic of the impressionist epoch (Hauser 1952, p.951).

186: Beginning with the West End, then the downtown, and then the transitional zone around False Creek the zoning bylaw was amended to accommodate the spread of densification. So even without the use of postmodern zoning codes the requirement for more flexible and design oriented forms of zoning were forcing modifications to the zoning bylaw. Because the most intensive densification was taken place in the West End, this was where the modern zoning that regulated space mutated the most and was transformed into a hybrid modern form of regulation that would provide a bridge to the postmodern era in terms of the evolution of postmodern zoning. As with postmodern zoning, this would require more resources. Hence, by 1964 the number of people employed in the zoning division had more than doubled from the 1954, increasing from four to nine positions or 20 percent of the department's personnel (Sutton Brown 1954; CVPD-9).

187: For example there was a 58 percent increase in the number of planners from 1989 to 1994. In part the increase was accounted for by more building activity, however some of the renewed emphasis on zoning might have had something to do with the new director's interest in more conventional planning functions and the general winding down of the policy formulation operations of the department in favour of those functions having to do with implementation, particularly after the completion of CityPlan (CVPD-141) and the city's Transportation plan

(CVPD-158). Like the Post Sutton Brown period, which occurred after 1960, the Department now entered a distinct implementation rather than policy exploration mode of operation. To a certain extent, this may explain the continuing growth of the administrative organs in the Department, such as Land Use and Development and, to a lesser extent, Community Planning , because the Community Division appears to be turning into more of an administrative arm of the CityPlan Division rather than an independent policy making entity, since these appear to be mostly locate in the CityPlan and Central Area Divisions of the Department

For instance, the number of people added to the Zoning Division during the five years of Fletcher's supervision of the Department exceeded the number added during the 18 year reign of Spaxman. In 1994 land Use and Development consumed 35 percent of the personnel in the Planning Department and this percentage has probably increased since his departure in 1994, with the extension of discretionary zoning into the single family suburban areas of the city. Using a rough approximation, over the postwar years the ratio of zoning planners to the general population has grown from one zoning planner for every 90,000 people in Vancouver in 1954, to one for every 44,000 residents in 1964. By 1975, with the introduction of postmodern zoning districts this ratio had moved down to one zoning planner for every 26,000 residents. By 1994 it had settling to around one zoning planner for every 12,000 people - nearly eight times the 1954 ratio.

188: The feminization of planning discourse can be seen in programs like the Safer City Task force. More significantly, perhaps, it is revealed in the increased participation of women in the Department as professional planners. Since the Department was established there has been an important shift in the gender balance of the work force. Until the 1970s, planning in Vancouver was largely a male preserve. However by 1990, for the first time in the Department's history two divisions- the Community Planning and CityPlan Divisions- would be lead by female directors. And in the Department as a whole there would be a dramatic increase in female professional staff. For example when looking at the work and organizational chart for the Planning Department in the 1950s a random survey of the employment charts revealed that no women were employed as professional planners in the department (CVA Human Resources Department). And even in 1964 only three of the fourteen women who worked in forty-nine member department were employed as bona fide planning professionals (CVPD-9), with the rest concentrated in clerical services. Of the four main divisions - Zoning, Housing and Redevelopment, Current Planning and Long Range Planning - only the Long Range Division had any female planning professionals and here, as with the other female planning professional who was located in the drafting group, these professional positions were located on the lowest rung of the professional ladder in the planning department (CVPD-9).

Thirty years later, in the 1990s, the change in the gender profile of the Department would be quite striking. While women are still concentrated in clerical positions, a rough count of the positions occupied by women in the 1994 organization chart for the Department revealed that at least 65 of the 143 job positions in the Planning Department were held by females, accounting for approximately 45 percent of the entire staff (CVPD-137a). Moreover, over half the staff positions held by female staff members were in professional positions. As well, in some divisions, such as CityPlan, nearly half of all the positions in this Division were occupied by women. Compared to 1964 this change is quite dramatic. At that time only 6 percent of the staff was composed of female planning professionals. This would contrast with the employment profile that existed in 1994 when nearly 25 of the entire staff was made up female professionals, with some divisions like City Plans having up to 50 percent of their professional staff made up of females. Another interesting side note is that department probably has one of the first females in the country to obtain a Ph.D. in planning field, as the assistant director for CityPlan, became Ann McAfee, who received her doctorate at UBC in the early 1970s.

188a: At the same time that lower densities were being considered for the West End more attention was placed on accommodating the automobile. This appears in changes that were

made to the zoning code in the 1950s and 1960s, as higher parking requirements were put into force. For example, by the 1960s 50 percent more parking space had to be provided for new apartment buildings than was the case in the early 1950s (CVPD-61). Consequently, two-third's of a parking space was now required for every average sized suite. In 1962 other amendments were made to the RM-4 zoning code. One important amendment had to do with establishing an 80 foot limit on the horizontal length of an apartment building. This was brought in to preserve views as well as to encourage point block rather than slab apartment buildings, which predominated elsewhere in Canada (CVPD-17). Because of this amendment, the West End was transformed into the most distinct and glamorous apartment district in Canada, giving the West End the look of a resort - creating a decidedly postmodern touch to a modern landscape in an era when productivist values dominated the mind set of builders and planners. By this means the West End began to resemble the North West Coast Marine's climate answer to sub tropical Miami Beach. Then in 1964 balconies and covered parking structures were removed from the FSR calculation. This created an incentive for the expansion of balconies and the internalization of parking spaces, which were to greatly affect the look of the West End (CVPD-68a; CVPD-17; Kalman 1974).

The last major amendment was made in 1972, when an interim measure to lower densities was adopted. All together in the 14 year history of the RM-4 zoning district it had therefor undergone at least five major amendments. As a result of these changes by the early 1970s, it had become the most sophisticated and complex zoning bylaw in the region, if not the country. It complexity and the way that it evolved to respond to the pressure exerted by densification can be seen in the length of the regulations that were used to govern the West End. When the RM-4 District was established in 1956, it only took up three pages (CVPD-1). However by 1968, when most of the amendment had been made, it had already expanded to seven pages (CVPD-17).

What is more, RM-4 zoning provided the regulatory bridge to postmodern regulation since this was the place when the first important experiments in discretionary zoning were conducted. This would start the process of perceptual change in the way that space was represented. Even though this discretionary zoning was carried along functionalist rather than place centred contextual lines, nonetheless, more organic notions of space began to creep into this regulation and displace the purified notions of abstract space that hitherto dominated the regulation of space.

Similarly rudimentary forms of dialogical planning started to emerge conditional uses became the defining protocol since about the structures that were being constructed were apartments. While negotiation did not take place with residents it occurred within the secret confines of the bureaucracy where negotiation between developers, the design panel, politicians and planners became regularized although, it would seem, not entirely effective - if the comments of people who were interviewed are accepted at face value. This was given further emphasis with the introduction of bonus zoning in the 1950s. For as mentioned earlier, soon after the 1956 bylaw was passed the outright FSR for the West End was reduced from three to two point six in order to give planners room to negotiate with developers who wished to built at three. With this tool planners were able to encourage developers to things such as consolidate their properties, create larger development sites, provide more underground parking and so on (CVPD-17).

The treatment of density in this bonusing system is quite revealing and provides a glimpse into the prevailing uneasiness that modern planning had with density. For what the zoning bonus encouraged was the reorganization of urban space into a suburban rather than format. This was what was behind the granting to bonuses to developers who consolidated their land holdings: as this allowed larger scale redevelopment to take place where building would ideally be organized along a campus format rather than oriented to the street. At the same time, this provided incentives for large corporate development companies rather than smaller ones to become involved in the construction of apartments. So what planners were aiming for was the creation of abstract planar surfaces that would be expressive of the modern penchant for dissolving dense structures in a sea of green grass and blue sky.

The most complete realization of this goal was achieved with the construction of Beach Towers. The Development is one of the few examples where a developer was able to assemble an entire block and redevelopment it as a single comprehensive unit. For some planners it would be viewed as a crowning achievement and symbolized their best attempt to meet the challenge posed by densification within a modernist format. Beach Towers can therefore be seen as the culmination of all the amendments that had been made to the West End's zoning bylaw. Consisting of four high rise towers, construction of this complex began in the mid 1960s. Because of its size it was one of the few developments in the West End that was oriented away from the street. Furthermore, it was one of the few developments that was able to completely obliterate the preceding property boundaries. Unlike most other developments it was organized according to a campus format that would echo the widespread use of suburban formats for the organization of space in the city as well as the suburb during the 1960s - with the best examples of this kind of development appearing with the construction of new universities in the 1960s: such as Waterloo, The University of Calgary, York University or the University of Regina.

Beach Towers would be the closes the West End would come to imitating campus format that was would elsewhere in the country, when the large scale public and private apartment development was initiated. Thus, except for Beach Towers, the West End was the very antithesis of St. James Town, in Toronto, although each had the highest densities in their respective cities. While the West End was built my a myriad of small and medium-sized developers and investors St. James Town was built by just one development, who bulldozed the entire site to create a an apartment campus for upwardly mobile professionals. While the West End would later become a symbol of the postmodern high rise city St. Jamestown would become the symbol of the failure of modernism and high rise living.

While both neighbourhoods were entirely transformed this transformation came about in quite different ways. So even though there was massive change in the West End over a short span of time, at the same time there was a layering of space and development was usually framed within existing property lines which preserved a link with the past, something that would not happen in St. James Town, as the entire site was treated as a blank slate an therefore conceptualized as abstract space rather than organic space, as was the implied and practical outcome of the development history of the West End even before postmodern regulations were formally introduced.

For the middle class, the success of one development and the failure of the other can be read into the socio-economic profile of each neighbourhoods. While both apartment precincts were built to house young singles the West End would remain a middle class settlement zone while St. James would be transformed from an upper middle income apartment complex into one of the region's largest emigrants portals (Phillip 1997e). By the accident and as much as by design, the existence of many small builders, the existence of a hybrid form of modern regulation, resulted in the successful transformation of a neighbourhood that was once almost entirely composed of single family homes into the most successful example of high rise living in the country.

In turn, this development also created the physical habitat that would allow a Collage City to form in the Core. As the West End would show, all high rise development is not the same. For this reason it ended up becoming a postmodern landscape in modern guise, something planners and middle class reformers would not see in the 1970s, when the hysteria about high-rise building reached its height and the West End was tagged as a concrete jungle. This antipathy would begin to change in the 1980s. Instead of being viewed as a failure the West End would emerge as a success story (During 1997) and act as a model for the redevelopment of the rest of the downtown peninsula, something which would not be the case for St. James Town.

197: The alignment of zoning to real places comes out in the further disaggregation of each comprehensive district plan. Hence, in each of these plans space was further broken down into

character area. Here, in addition more specific design guidelines could be used in order to preserve and maintain a sense of place.

Again, the determination of these guidelines was one of the primary tasks of local area planning. While the comprehensive districts were place centred, orienting zoning to real places, a series of historic zones were also established which contextualized zoning regulations more towards time rather than space. Although the first two historic districts came into existence as a result of provincial decrees, when special historic districts were established for Gastown and Chinatown in 1971 because of middle class agitation. Two other ones, both in the Yaletown area, were created in the 1980s. Like the B.C. Place and Expo District these districts mirror the concerns and priorities of the era of the urban spectacle much as the inauguration of comprehensive district s in 1974 stamped out and claimed space for the new middle class in the name of the livable city agenda rather than that of the urban spectacle.

199: To work the subjective face of bureaucratic rule had to show itself. Even if no significant power was transferred in the postmodern era, the nature of authority was altered in a fundamental way. With the introduction of dialogical systems of rule the exercise of power became more consensual rather than imperative or command driven, as the exercise of power had to camouflage itself to a certain extent. In part this helps to explain the seemingly contradictory situation of expanding bureaucratic rule at a time of its general retreat and the advance of the market.

In light of the general retreat of the state, the sustained expansion of the Planning Department in these circumstances raises certain questions about the evolution of planning in the City of Vancouver and in other cities which did not adapt to the new etiquette of power and, as the case of the Planning Department in Winnipeg shows, found itself dismantled in the 1990s. In this case the question that needs to be asked is: Are the conditions which have guided the evolution of planning in Vancouver anomalous? Or, are the circumstances which have lead to this apparent paradox - of expanding bureaucratic rule at a time of when bureaucratic rule was in retreat in most domains and market rule on the rise, as deregulation rather than regulation became the major trope of postmodern regulation, is something that still remains to be determined. Besides differences in institutional and political culture the answer may lie in the absence or presence of densification, something almost absent in Winnipeg but something that is becomes absolutely central to the evolution of Vancouver.

200: Being a middle class city, full of sophisticated and demanding consumers, who has an appetite for customized urban spaces as well as portable consumer goods any attempt to rational discretionary zoning will run into resistance unless the city decides to devolve this authority to the nieghbourhoods themselves.

While the new middle class may be willing to bear the costs of this craft production of urban space others may be less willing to pay the price. And this appears to be the case in the outer suburban areas, where the new middle class does not exist as a powerful constituency. While more sophisticated regulation has appeared in these places the results of less intensive and sophisticated regulation can be viewed in the watered down postmodern landscapes that have appeared in the suburbs (VS-187).While some abbreviation of discretionary zoning may be possible, it may, over time, become less an issue, as large corporations develop the capacity to routinize this type of production and produced simulacra landscapes that is arleady becoming apparent in spread of neo-traditional planning. However even in these instances, a premium is still charged for the production of these landscapes so minimizing costs can only go so far in this new mode of production, which, by its very nature is craft rather than mass produced in nature and therefore more expensive to produce, just as the case with any other non standardized commodity. Where too much cost cutting has taken place or the sophistication to undertake the production of these environments has been absent and a bargain basement product was all that was really desired, again, as with any other commodity in the market place, what will be produced is something that is Kitsch. But even with kitsch landscapes these

bargain basement postmodern landscapes still will exact a small premium or a discount, depending upon the situation, both socially and economically, as the first thing to suffer in these landscapes will be the maintenance of class distinctions.

204: Just as Anderson (1984) and a recent article in The Economist (1997a) have pointed out: lifestyle Consumption has become much more central. Instead of consumption being organized around the nuclear family, institutional and social normalization of non traditional couples and families, of which homosexuals are the most obvious example would be homosexual couples, consumerism in the postmodern era is much more linked to the existence of consumer sub-cultures.

In a graph, put out by the Council of Europe, comparisons were made with 18 European countries showing the convergence and divergence that is taking place between non traditional sexual unions and the institutional sanctions for and against sexual behaviour and how each society is coping with their recognition as couples: with the all the benefits and responsibilities assigned to traditional heterosexual couples applied to homosexuals and common law unions measured against each other. What the graph shows is that Scandinavian countries are the furthest ahead in this regard and that France is in the middle of this continuum. For example in France, as common law unions have doubled to 2.3 million couples or 14 percent of all couples living over the past 15 years the previous distinction between heterosexual and homosexual couples has become increasingly recognized as arbitrary. Or at least this is the way France's new justice minister feels and the minister is now considering new laws which will provide a contract basis for establishing benefits and obligations to all couples regardless of sexual orientation or martial status - although the minister opposes same sex couples from adopting or being medically assisted in procreating - laws which are now just being formulated in Scandinavia.

205: Not without reason did conservative Christians react to the symbolic assault on modern norms that first took popular style with Rock and Roll music. What was subversive about this music was its articulation to a new market dynamic not its connection with Black music. For this was one of the first successful instances of the cultural entrepreneurship that would challenge the bureaucratic regime of standardized mass consumption that then controlled most consumer markets. This would be one of the first places where the effect of an ascendant market rather than that of an ascendant bureaucracy would be reflected in the creation of a new sensibility, which advertising would exploit (Frank 1997), as a wide variety of new cultural representations would be generated during the counter culture that would use subversion as the basis for marketing new goods and services, and by doing so defining a central feature of the postmodern sensibility. Here, for the first time the principles of diversity and difference would find social expression and actually become the basis for defining what was acceptable and representative of success. For as Palmer (1995) noted, long before the first political mobilizations to create integrated social spaces took place in the United States, this was already occurring on an informal level in the field of pop music.

205a: Even without increasing land prices or immigration considerable pressure for densification in the next few decades is to be expected by internal household formation without any necessary increase in population from within each neighbourhood in Vancouver. This will happen simply because of changes in the life cycle of the population. With the population aging increased demand for new and smaller dwelling units in existing neighbourhood will therefore increase even if there was no net population growth (CVSP-7; CVSP-9; CVSP-10).

For example in one projection used by the Planning Department 60 percent of the demand for new housing units in the City of Vancouver over the next fifteen years was expected to be internally generated by the demand for new household units created by lifecycle changes in the population (CVPD-112a,pp.5-6).

206: Because modern urban sociology stressed conformity and was constructed around a narrow view of what was considered to be normal, urban sub-cultures, such as bohemia, ethnic groups and sexual minorities were consigned to the urban under world. The inferiority of these groups was symbolized by the spaces they were consigned to in the modern city. As model of the modern city constructed by the Chicago School reveals, these groups occupied the transitional zone of the city: spaces that were considered to be dispensable and ephemeral. Not surprisingly they became the prime targets for urban renewal. This is one reason why Chinatown's were often amongst the first community's to face the threat of urban renewal (Lai 1988; Anderson 1991; Lui 1994).

While Herbert Gans (1975) was one of the first to lament the destruction of ethnic communities, such as Boston's North End Italian neighbourhood, the tone of his criticism was that of an elegy rather than celebratory one, as would be case of the sociologist Claude Fischer, who reviled in the presence of difference in the city. While Gans sociology was anti-modern Fischer's sociology was definitely postmodern. In his interpretation of the social spaces of the city these urban sub cultures were no longer seen as being transitory, inferior or abnormal. Instead they were redefined as positive spaces whose presence signified health rather than pathology.

Within this new sociological framework, ethnic ghettoes would no longer be seen as temporary and residual landscapes that would be expected to gradually disappear or be absorbed into mainstream culture but as landscapes that provided the basis for new market opportunities, where status and profits could be generated by exploiting the market niches created by the presence of difference rather than the adherence to one hegemonic notion of conformity (Vincent 1995).

This would also happen with bohemia. In response to the postmodern sensibility put forward by the new middle class, the bureaucracy would do a complete about turn on bohemian neighbourhoods like Gastown (Denhez 1978). Instead of being slated for urban renewal special legislation was passed which was set out to preserve them. A similar trend would appear with regard to inner city Chinatowns. To a certain the revival of Chinatown can therefore be connected to the arrival of the postmodern age. Even moreso, perhaps, it would also foreshadow the age of the urban spectacle, for even in the early 1960s, Chinatown's began to be seen in a positive light as tourist attractions. Especially in the Prairies, attempt to revive Chinatown's became a staple of postmodern planning. This can be seen in the Chinese Gates and cultural centres that appeared in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton during the 1980s. What this also showed was that this re-alignment in status was also connected to the commercial absorption of urban sub-cultures into a mass culture formats - that is to say the urban spectacle, particularly during the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city where the logic of the urban spectacle and tourism have become central elements of urban regulation (See the *Forbidden City within Victoria* by David Cheun yan Lai and VS-85aa; Liu 1994.).

This would even happen in some of the most neglected inner cities in the United States, as the example of Greektown, in Detroit, would show. Even if every other economic function in the inner city faltered, there was one activity that still could bring new life into the inner city and this was the creation of an infrastructure for the economy of the urban spectacle and the creation of entertainment zones. Not surprisingly, Detroit is now planning to built a huge Casino complex in its downtown to counter the one constructed across the rive in Windsor.

208: In 1980 this three block area was a nondescript honky tonk strip where there were no obvious signs that a large gay clientele existed nearby. For example in the directory contained in the 1980 Vancouver Gay Community Centre News only one establishment was listed on Davie Street and this was Gordon House, a neighbourhood house that was a non commercial establishment that was not solely devoted to serving a gay clientele. However, by 1985 five gay owned or gay oriented establishments were listed in the Angles directory (Angles, June 1985). And by 1996 eighteen listings were located on a map of Davie Street in the Gay & Lesbian Business Association of Greater Vancouver's Directory for 1996/1997. In fact these

figures underestimate the of gay oriented establishments, When a visual survey of the gay commercial village was conducted in April of 1996 (between Burrard and Thurlow Streets) 42 businesses were identified which made direct reference to the fact that they were gay owner or served a gay clientele.

Again the link that exists between commerce, social status and marginality in the postmodern era emerge here in a similar way that it does with ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown. Moreso than Chinatown, however, the emergence of Gay villages is bound up more tightly with the shift from the livable city to that of the urban spectacle. This is revealed in the timing for the emergence of each precinct. While Chinatown was rescued in the early 1970s when it was designated as an historic district, the Gay Village only became noticeable in the middle and late 1980s. Moreover, what is interesting about this timing was that Davie Street became the commercial centre for the gay community in Vancouver at the same time that this was happening in Toronto and Montreal. In Toronto this occurred at the corner of Church and Wellseley streets in Toronto. And in Montreal this happened along East St. Catherines Street. What this suggests is that the emergence of a Gay Village along Davie Street, in Vancouver, was not an isolated occurrence, but one manifestation of broader cultural forces at work, which had to do with the commercialization of these sub-cultural spaces and the increasing organization of consumption around desire rather the satisfaction of needs (Frank, 1997; McLeod 1996; Murray 1996, Chapter Eight; Ross 1995; The Economist 1982; 1997).

Another interesting correspondence that can be noted is the absence of gay commercial spaces in cities that had small or a weak middle class. In these cities the cultural conversion of the gay community did not proceed or moved much more slowly because of the weak tide of postmodern regulation that was washing over these communities because of the weakness of the new middle class. Thus bohemia, the rising stature of various ethnic sub-cultures and the emergence of a commercial precinct for the gay community would become part of construction of a distinctive postmodern social space in the city.

Furthermore, with this normalization and commodification the representation of space occupied by each group would change. This would become most apparent with regard to gay spaces and the changes that can be observed in their design and architecture. Until the 1980s gay premises were mostly constructed or designed to look like abandoned warehouses. Gradually, this would change as windows and doors that opened directly on to the street were constructed and gay icons were placed on building, which announced their gender affiliation.

209: Diverging cityscapes are also observable if the Mountain metropolis' of each country are compared. Hence, in Denver, which is Calgary's American counterpart, there is no area which can be found that is comparable to the Beltline area of Calgary even though Denver is a much larger than Calgary. The pattern repeats itself further to the East, in the Prairies, when Minneapolis-St. Paul and Winnipeg compared. Although the Twin Cities are four times the size of Winnipeg, there is no equivalent to Fort Rouge, Winnipeg largest apartment district. In Minneapolis, the closest equivalent would be Loring Park. But this was an urban renewal project and not something that happened as a result of a switch in the investment pattern of private capital. To bring this high rise development a formal partnership between the public and private sector was necessary. The same, of course would apply, to Vancouver's West End, which was entirely redeveloped by private capital, becoming the most dramatic symbol of the return of private capital into the inner city .

On the East coast the same contrast is observable. If Montreal and Toronto are compared to their closest equivalents in the United States - to places such as Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh or Philadelphia the presence of high-rise apartment districts in Canada and their absence in the United States in the 1960s is striking. Here there are only three important exceptions to this pattern, with New York City, Chicago and Miami Beach being the only large cities in the United States where high-rise apartment living accounted for a significant portion of the housing stock in the inner city.

Because Miami Beach functioned primarily as a resort city, the high-rise development in this city can not really be compared to that which took place in Toronto and Montreal. So only New York City and Chicago matched what was happening as a generalized phenomenon across the country in Canada. But even here the construction cycles were not the same (Tunnard 1955). While some considerable high-rise residential development took place in the 1960s, the largest wave of construction had actually taken place earlier in the century, before the Great Depression when the Gold Coast and Fifth Avenue precincts described in the Chicago School literature first appeared. By contrast, in Toronto or Montreal, with the first wave of high-rise apartment construction only begun to gather steam in the late 1950s and during the 1960s. Only in the mid 1980s did Toronto and New York City converge in this regard, as both experienced a surge in high rise apartment construction in their respective cores.

Whereas intense private redevelopment of the inner city was largely confined to just one or two of the largest American cities in Canada this occurred in even the smallest cities. In part this, explains the pervasive nature of the reaction to private development corporations and the strong reaction that grew to modern regulation. However, unlike the United States it was as much connected to private rather than public corporations and it appeared in the smallest metropolitan areas, such as Regina, which then had a population that was less than 150,000, when the first wave of densification hit.

Circumstances therefore forced academics, planners and citizens in Canada to pay more attention to the question of density when the turn to postmodern discourse came about. Negative associations between urban density and the industrial city that informed the modern attitude towards urban density in North America became a subject of scrutiny because of this. At first the dismissal of high-rise forms lead to numerous innovations in medium-rise residential development, which South False Creek and St. Lawrence are the best examples of, and experiments in infill development, such as Milton Park, in Montreal.

Later, during the 1980s, there would be a reappraisal of high-rise residential development. Particularly in the Core of Vancouver it would now become accepted as legitimated building form, receiving the blessing of planners as this became the dominant house form in the mega-projects that started to be constructed.

Addendum: Also, apartment construction exploded in the suburbs forcing planners in the suburbs to deal with this built form for the first time. In Burnaby, for example, this lead to the first in depth study of suburban apartments in the Vancouver urban region (See City of Burnaby, Apartment Study,1969).

Elsewhere, but on a smaller scale this pattern of development was repeated in Canada's medium sized cities, which then had populations between 400,000 and 500,000. Hence prominent high rise district appeared in Centretown (City of Ottawa 1991) in Ottawa. Likewise, Fort Rouge became Winnipeg's answer to Vancouver's West End (Hurst et al.,1967; Vincent 1974; Gallagher 1975). Similarly, in Edmonton Oliver was transformed into that city's premiere high-rise apartment zone (MCann and Smith 1978; Myers 1979) as was the Beltline in Calgary (Bain,1973).

What is remarkable about this sudden transformation in the physical fabric of the city was its depth. Although the impact was felt mostly in Toronto or Vancouver, and Winnipeg, the first phase of the densification process was able to peculate downwards into Canada's smallest metropolitan centres, such as Regina and Saskatoon where miniature versions of the high-rise precincts that arose in Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg, appeared here as well.

For example in Regina this occurred in the Transitional Neighbourhood (City of Regina 1977) and in Saskatoon this took place in few square blocks immediately to the North of the downtown core, between 25th and 23rd streets and later the CityPark Neighbourhood (Delainey 1982; City of Saskatoon, 1991 - for further evidence of this trend see The Changing Inner City by McLemore et al., commissioned for the Ministry of State For Urban Affairs in 1976.)

Even though high-rise redevelopment was far less intense in these two cities the reaction against apartment development in general and high-rise development in particular became almost as intense as it was the larger cities, leading to a moratorium on apartment

construction in Saskatoon in 1977 and the articulation of concerns about the environmental impact of densification in even the smallest of cities such as Regina, where statements like " we are becoming quite helpless against these monstrous skyscrapers where people will only come into to make their money and leave these cold uninviting place for their homes somewhere in the suburbs," (City of Regina 1977, p.99). Thus, everywhere, the reaction to high-rise construction became one of the most common political and social postmodern motifs of the 1970s.

(For example, in Winnipeg, a widespread reaction of conservative homeowners to a planned high rise along the fashionable Wellington Crescent Area, by the Maryland Bridge, sparked an important legal battle over procedural justice which came out of the challenge that was launched by the local community association made against spot zoning in the case of Wiswell v. Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1965 (See Harvey 1979, p.33).

As a result there is a direct link between the progression of the densification process and the incubation of postmodern discourse in Canada. Leaving aside the influence of the counter culture for the moment, in large measure the turn to postmodernism was a reaction to the first wave of the densification process. With this switch in investment the first important challenges to the modern regulation of the city appeared and the conditions set for the search for alternative building formats to accommodate increased density. This spawned numerous experiments in medium density development across the country - of which the most significant were the St. Lawrence Neighbourhood and South False Creek. Later on, during second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city, when another cycle of high-rise apartment construction began, greater acceptance and understanding of the high-rise form led to a reappraisal of the high-rise, something that had already started in academic circles with Michelson's (1970) inaugural work. However, unlike the first densification cycle, as was earlier mentioned, this second surge in high-rise apartment construction was initially confined to Toronto and then later to Vancouver. Moreover, as already stated, this second surge in high-rise apartment construction involved the production of strata title rather than rental accommodation. With the imprimatur of ownership rather than rental, high density living gained a middle class respectability, which it had lacked during the first great cycle of high rise construction in the mid 60s.

Far from being accidental or coincidental, the reconcentration of capital into the core established the material basis for a new mode of urban development. And with this the urban fabric of the Canadian City was dramatically altered. Before the mid 60s there were no real large or distinctive clusters of high-rise apartments in Canada. But from the mid 60s to the early 70s, in the brief span of only ten years the inner city of every major city in the country was radically transformed as distinctive high-rise enclaves emerged in almost every large inner city. Also see SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 239.

This also account for why the subject of density became a central issue in the renaissance of urban Studies that took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Not surprisingly this differentiated the urban studies literature that arose in Canada from that of the United States. Whereas much of the American literature was focussed on capital flight and urban redevelopment projects, in Canada, more often then not, the problem became one of inappropriate or too much private investment. One of the first academics to document this diverging pattern of investment was Larry Bourne who published the *Private Redevelopment In The Inner City* in 1967. This was one of the first academic publications to focus on this distinctive feature of the urbanization process in Canada. Soon after this publication would soon be followed by a raft of other studies across the country, which would provide the historical context for Michelson's work on density. This in turn would set the state would a later shift in attitude towards density: one that would eventually result in the deconstruction of the existing discourse on density taken up modern city planning and its replacement by a postmodern one - especially in the 1980s, as a non-domestic fraction of the new middle class grew in importance.

Even for radicals the debate that arose around high-rise development became a leitmotif for the postmodern reaction to modernism in the discussion which ensued about the city in the late 60s. Hence, for a brief while a vital and a remarkably extensive critical

literature about the nature of the city was born out of this reaction. With high-rise apartment buildings becoming the urban nemesis for Conservatives (Harvey 1979, p.33) liberals (Clarkson 1972) and Marxists (Barker et al.1973) alike.

Also, as stated earlier, unlike the United States,the reaction to high-rise development and to modernism was directed more a private development corporations in Canada than was the case in the United States, where the government bore the brunt of this reaction. For as Lorimer (1987,1983) has shown what the disenchanted new middle class in Canada were reacting against were the four elements of the corporate city, which he identified as being the corporate suburb, high-rise apartment blocks and, suburban industrial parks and downtown office towers.

This difference would be reflected in the anti modernist imagery used in each country. Because middle-class angst against the modern city in Canada, here it became the privately initiated high-rise residential tower built for lower to upper middle income renters and to office towers (Urban Reader 1993). In the 1970s these were taken as the symbols of modern urban alienation. Thus one of the most powerful images produced was the juxta-positiong of defenseless looking Victorian duplex that was profiled against the background of a menacing horizon of high rise apartment buildings. However, in the United States, the imagery would be quite different. Here it would be the high rise publicly owned high rises that would become the symbol for the failure of modernism. As a result, the most powerful image of the failure of modernism would be the public housing project. That is why Charles Jencks cites the demolition Pruit Igoe (a public urban renewal project in St. Louis) as the death of modernism in the United States. In Canada the same epiphany would occur but in a different context as the reaction against the modern city crystallized in images which represented the private rather than the public sector as the primary culprits. In Canada it was not Pruit Igoe, but St. Jamestown, a privately initiated development of luxury high-rise towers that would become the most powerful symbol of the failure of modernism to the new middle class (Reid 1989; Philip 1997e).

Yet, despite the rapid redevelopment of the West End and the movement of high-rise apartments into the suburbs of Vancouver, Toronto remained the epicenter for this first wave of densification. This can be seen in decline of the proportion of single detached dwelling units in each city (table two). For instance between 1961 and 1981 the proportion of single detached units fell from 56 percent of all dwelling units to 45 percent in 1981- a 16 percent decline- while Vancouver fell from 71 percent to 57 percent in the same time period - a significant but lesser drop of 14 percent.

Addendum Two: In Canada's three biggest cities the largest clusters of high-rise apartments developed, with the Western part of Centreville in Montreal becoming the main focus for high rise apartment construction during the late 60s. In Toronto, this occurred in a rectangular area bounded by Carleton, Parliament, Bloor and Yonge Streets. And of course in Vancouver, this was the time when the most dramatic changes occurred in the West End, with over 8,000 high-rise apartment units constructed between 1965 and 1970.

The only anomaly was Montreal. While significant apartment construction took place on the West Side of the downtown, in Centreville, unlike other large metropolitan areas, the proportion of single detached dwelling units increased rather than decreased, as the proportion of single detached units rose from 11 percent in 1951 to 20 percent in 1961, 24 percent in 1971, 27 percent in 1981 to 30 percent in 1991. (For statistics on all three cities see The changing Canadian inner city by Reg McLemore, Carl Ass and Peter Keilhofer, Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, Ottawa, June 1975 (Also see footnote 44 in Chapter Three).

215: If the United States is compared there is no counterpart to the discourse on urban density, which emerged in Canada at this time. As a result, in addition to the variation in government intervention, which was earlier noted, the absence of this first wave of densification in the American City created another contextual difference which no doubt had some affect on the evolution of postmodern discourse in each country. However, this second characteristic was probably not entirely unrelated to the first, as high-rise apartment development in the inner

city of the United States was more tied into public urban renewal while in Canada it became associated with the private investment that was initiated in the inner city by corporate capital. For by the time that the Canadian government ended its program of urban renewal only about $125-million has been committed to urban renewal (Fraser 1972) compared to the billions in the United States (Beauregard 1993). And no doubt this different redevelopment dynamic contributed in some way to the diverging political response that took place with the regard to the postmodern reaction to the modern organization of urban space in each country, with the reaction to modernism in Canada molded as part of a larger reaction against corporate capitalism whereas in the United States it was much more closely directed towards the state.

211: Statistics were taken from *Greater Vancouver Key Facts 1993* Edition, published by Greater Vancouver Regional District and David Baxter's publication, "Population And Housing In Metropolitan Vancouver Changing Patterns o f Demographics and Demand. "

216: Just as with the philosophic and sociological dimensions of postmodern regulation, postmodern aesthetic did not develop in an intellectual vacuum. Here as well, the characteristic that defines this aesthetic can be found distilled in formal intellectual discourse that provided a point of departure for the evolution of this dimension of postmodern regulation and its eventual application to the city. While the early work of Kevin Lynch can be seen an augury of this perspective on space, it wasn't until the publication *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, in 1961, that a new postmodern emerged out of the formal critique that Jacobs made about the way twentieth-century modernism organizes space. While a critique of modern aesthetics is certainly implied in the phenomenological perspective taken on urban space in the Image of the City by Lynch, it is only with Jacobs that beginning of an alternative postmodern code for the organization of the city is firmly enunciated. As Jane Jacobs states:

> This book is an attack on city planning and rebuilding. It is also, and mostly, as attempt to introduce new principles of city planning and rebuilding, different and even opposite from those now taught in everything from schools of architecture and planning to the Sunday supplements and women's magazines. It is an attack, rather, on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding (Jacobs 1961, p.3).

In Jacobs critique every attribute except the fourth one is elaborated upon in intricate detail. The case she makes for urban life is one that functions as a clear counterpoint to suburban ways of life. Pedestrian spaces are given priority over machine space. And the street is clearly made the centre of her account of urban life with the material culture symbolized by the highway and the freeway cast as the villains in her account of the city. Needless to say her book also distills other attitudes and representations of urban space that pertain to the philosophic and sociological dimension of the regulation of urban space.

On the sociological plane this can be seen in the idealization of the ethnic ghetto rather than its stigmatization. There is also a class perspective on the city that also becomes unmistakable. In her support of bohemia and the values of the small shop keeper what is inscribed into her analysis of the city is the habitus of the new petty bourgeoisie. On the philosophic plane, the emphasis that is put on the informal interactions and control mechanism which regulate behaviour on the street is one case in point. The self regulation and self organization that are involved in this policing of space illustrate this very well. For it is neither the bureaucracy, as represented by the police, or the market, since it is the community rather than any single individual, who become responsible for the policing of space. The market is present in this perspective, but it is not the atomized individual that is described in standard micro economic texts but that of an economic agent who is part of a community.

Moreover, idea about eyes on the street, speaks the conceptualization of urban space as organic space, a space which is shaped by informal processes of interaction between people

rather than administrative boundaries or functions defined by the bureaucracy. Hence, rather than view space as being abstract and functional where relations are formally codified a much loser and fluid representation of urban space is set out in her description of the city. Jacobs alignment with more organic conceptualizations of urban space also comes out in her criticism of urban renewal and the promotion of incremental rather than rapid change. Consequently she warns against catastrophic change, where change proceeds to rapidly and people lose control over their environments and become alienated from the places in which they live. For this reason the speculative market and the urban renewal projects of the state are causes for concern. As a result there an implicit anti-corporatism emerges out of her critique of private and public development. This leads to the next point, which has to do with her allegiance to dialogical rather than to monological formats for making decisions about the regulation of space. Here Jacob's populist discourse on the need to involve people who actually live in a neighbourhood and her abiding skepticism of professional planners whom she continues to successfully annoy into the 1990s reveals this sentiment quite well: as does the complaint about the transformation of her doctrines into part of a new official orthodoxy, which is something that has certainly occurred in Toronto where a week long conference organized around here work was held in October 1997 in Toronto (Stein 1997d; Suanders 1997; G/M 1997zrr; Toronto Star 1997v).

220: The contradictory aims that were established with the plan to construct a freeway system that promoted land-extensive development while supporting the goal of redeveloping the downtown into a dense core are noted when the reports states that: "While freeways are designed primarily to meet a traffic demand caused by a general pattern of land development, they also have very great secondary effects on land development itself, which are as far reaching as the primary reason for their construction. They will cause an immediate acceleration in the process of decentralization. This will result from the fact that a much larger land area will be brought within commuting range than exists today . . With the recommended network . . . a total of 200 square miles would be with in 30 minutes driving time of the Central Business District, by comparison with only 110 miles today (CVTPB-4)."

Because the freeway was to be the glue that held the contradictory elements of the 20-year development plan for the modernization of the city together this may explain why the program was held on to so tenaciously by the civic bureaucracy. For without the freeway, the plan to redevelop the core area within in a larger context defined by land extensive patterns of investment was not thought to be possible. Despite the expenditure of over a million dollars on transportation studies after the publication of the Sutton Brown plan and massive public criticism there was surprisingly little deviation from the plan for the freeway system advocated by Sutton Brown throughout the 1960s (Pendakur 1972). And like the 1956 plan for the downtown and the 1957 plan for urban renewal the main challenge presented by this last segment of the 20-year development plan would be the city's dependence on outside funding sources to implement the plan. As with the two other segments of the 20-year development plan, the freeway plan would also be undermined by the middle class reaction that developed against the modernization of the city during the mid 60s (McKenzie 1985). Ironically enough this happened just as outside funding for all three components of the 20-year plan appeared nearly secured.

222: Here, Not surprisingly, the Local Area planning division was called upon to act as a trouble shooter in this process (CVPD-74, Chapter One). In the 1980s it was therefore given the responsibility for developing local plans for areas within a ten minutes walk from each of the proposed transit stations. More than just mitigation was involved in this planning exercise. Securing more density was also made part of the mandate of the local area planning process for as well (PI-27; CVPD-74, p.6). So what is interesting to note about this particular planning exercise is the formal connection which was made between transit and densification and the use of postmodern planning processes outside the core area of the city. For the first time the City of Vancouver was actively involved in extending this new logic for urban development into

previously untouched suburban localities, foreshadowing what would take place with CityPlan in the middle of the 1990s.

While transit officials such as Glen Liecester (PI-12) indicated that they were unimpressed with the modest rezoning achieved through the Local Area process when Ron Youngberg, Associate Director for Local Area Planning, was asked about this he took a contrary position on this matter, expressing satisfaction with what was accomplished. When asked about this Youngberg noted referred back to the last large scale attempt to densify suburban areas, where single family dwelling units predominated, and how this process had foundered badly in the mid 60s while his attempt had at least met with some success. Youngberg indicated it is usually unrealistic to expect vast blanket rezonings for more density in existing residential neighbourhoods. As Youngberg's experience with development issues in the False Creek Basin may have shown him, the regulation of space now had to be conceived of in a different way. With densification operating as the major structural force in the development of the city, no longer could planners realistically expect to get away with treating space as if it were an abstract and passive object easily susceptible to unopposed expert manipulation. New circumstances created by densification, that started with the negative reaction that was generated to urban renewal in the 1960s forced planners in Vancouver had to learn new ways to adapt to different ways of representing space, one in which space was viewed as political object which had certain organic qualities that had to be respected. Therefore more attention now had to be paid to context or, in the jargon that developed in the Planning Department - whether or not development was neighbourly. As the attempt, without public consultation, to engage in blanket rezonings by the Planning Department in the early 1960s revealed, any attempt to unilaterally impose such a would not be accomplished without a great deal of disruption and neighborhood opposition (VS-18; VS-22).

What local area planning had shown, was that on already developed residential land, it was only possible to gain density by engaging in a process of continuous dialogue with the community. This process was process oriented and continuous, something that naturally fit into organic notions of space, where change was expected to be modest in scale and incremental in nature - with each change secured through negotiation with the communities involved rather than being imposed in a blanket fashion. Indeed this is what happened soon after the local area planning process was completed in the Joyce Station area in the late 1980s, however, here special conditions did result in dramatic changes, with West End densities created because tracks of industrial were successfully converted into residential areas when a new planning process was initiated in the early 1990s (CVCO-13; CVPD-127).

Furthermore, as with the disputes over the Expo lands, because of the different agendas of the City and the Province there was a great deal of conflict over planning for rapid transit. For instance, the province was concerned more about profit maximization and minimum cost while the city was more concerned with livability issues. The difference was further amplified by the existence of a left of centre council and a right of centre provincial government. And this is what set the political context for both local area planning around transit stations and the attempt to plan for the Expo lands in the central area. For a more detailed analysis of this conflict see East Neighbourhood Study (CVPD-68b) and Hasson (1984) study on locational conflict and community action that arose over the alignment and construction of the Sky Train line.

While this open ended approach to planning and the incrementalism may be frustrating to bureaucrats used to employing monological methods for restructuring urban space the Vancouver experience has shown that this approach has been successful in a way that modernist approaches undertaken in the 1960s were not. With the adoption of this postmodern approach the housing capacity for the city was increased when ever a local area planning process was conducted. The best example of this would be what happened to the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, which was the settlement ring most affected by local area planning in the 1970s and 1980s. Without making use of massive urban renewal programs, in the short span of twenty years, the average residential density for the entire city of Vancouver increased by over 25 percent and until the 1990s, the greatest proportion of this increase occurred in the Zone

of Middle Class Resettlement. In a North American context, this must be viewed as a phenomenal achievement. With yet another 30 percent increase in density projected over the next thirty years under the guidance of CityPlan and the Community Planning Division what can be seen is the how successfully postmodern regulation has been articulated into the management of the densification process (CVPD-141).

Again, with these local area strategies for managing urban change, power may not have been transferred outside the bureaucracy but there was a change in the management style of the bureaucracy. Change now had to be negotiated rather than imposed. As local area planning has shown, the postmodern agenda for the regulation of space did not stop urban growth. On the contrary, postmodern planning exercises, such as local area planning, have facilitated rather than resisted densification. However, in Vancouver, this growth was managed so that the effects of change were modulated so that they would be experienced incrementally rather than as catastrophic - to use Jane Jacob's words.

The Vancouver approach towards the management of densification has shown that much more intensive management of urban space rather than less is required if such an approach is to be used. Similarly, the same can be said of postmodern transportation strategies because, in addition to public consultation, as with land use, diversity rather than homogeneity with regard to transportation options are the attributes sought out and this takes time and money. For transportation planners who appear to have an inherent built in tendency to standardize landscapes rather than to diversify them, this poses a particular challenge.

A similar problem emerged with regard to the operation of the market whenever the rate of growth is too rapid. This too, can set off catastrophic and is now an issue faced by the Caucasian middle class in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. At such times postmodern planning practices may play a subversive role with regard to the operation of the market. And on this point it is possible to speculate that this may have been one reason for the pressure that was exerted upon Ray Spaxman to resign as planning director in 1989. For this was what Spaxman appeared to be doing with regard to development in the Core: pace it properly rather than attempt to kick start and rush development, as the fervent desire and aim of Mayor Gordon Campbell's. This made Spaxman an impediment to the mayor, one that was removed after the 1988 election. So even though Mayor Campbell may have succeeded in generating catastrophic change in the Core, even with Spaxman's departure the approach to densification outlined in CityPlan reveals that the approach taken by local area planning is still being followed, albeit in modified form, in the Zone of Asian Resettlement.

Addendum: If many citizens still harbour suspicions about the Engineering Department's commitment to the organization of urban space around pedestrian space. A similar concern about the capacity of the Engineering Department to handle the implementation of postmodern programs for the reorganization of space, like traffic calming, greenways, design initiatives involving bicycles, also exists among many citizens because of the organizational culture of the Department. The existence of a modernist mindset in the Department is revealed at the philosophic and aesthetic levels. At the philosophic level monological rather than dialogical approaches are still used in problem solving. Furthermore, at the aesthetic level, there is still a clear orientation towards machine rather than pedestrian spaces - although this may be changing especially as for women seem to be working as engineers in the Department.

There are other signs of change. For example in the report on the Bicycle Advisory Committee (CV-30) for the period 1994 and 1996 the following accomplishments were cited, which the Engineering Department was involved with: such as the Bikeways programs (with the creation of the Off Broadway Bikeway in 1994; the Ontario Bikeway in 1995 and the Cypress Bikeway in 1996) as well as the adoption of Bicycle Parking Standards in 1994.

222a: All these points are easily illustrated by looking at the response to a recent $800,000 dollar study of gay male sexual habits and perceptions of sexuality called the Omega Cohort, carried out in Montreal. Besides the health issues raised by the study what is interesting to

note is the Dionysian perspective on the use of the body and sexuality by gay men. Particularly shocking for the straight community was the common practice of becoming involved with multiple partners in an anonymous fashion. So far 800 men have been involved in the research. The study has been broken down into age categories and sexual practices with special emphasis put on those practicing unsafe sex. Here the findings were that the majority of these men were found to be 'socially fragile' - 'they are the one who having the most difficulty in admitting their homosexuality. They often lacked experience, were passive and uncomfortable with themselves and the messages that society projected about gays," with this group ranging from teens to middle aged men (See Yakabuski 1997a).

224: Accordingly, the shift to the urban spectacle occurred at a time in Vancouver when tourism became the largest single industry in the world and Vancouver's profile within this sector moved dramatically upwards (The Economist 1991). While Vancouver had not become the Executive City it has undoubtedly become an international centre for tourism. For example, of the 17 cities surveyed by Statistics Canada, in 1996, Vancouver stood in second place in terms of revenues generated by overseas visitors. Thus in 1996 foreign visitors spent $9.6-billion in Canada, a rise of 11.5 percent over 1995. Of this, Overseas travellers spent $4-billion. Broken down by city: $748 million was spent in Toronto, $645 in Vancouver and $476 in Montreal. In contrast to Vancouver, Winnipeg placed 11th for overall tourism and only came in 13th place in terms of overseas visitors, with only 51,000 overseas visits in Winnipeg and 202,000 American visitors. (See Winnipeg Free Press, "Visitors drop $9.6-billion," May 28,1997).

225: Again, what this different symbolism reveals is that the initial reaction against modern regulation in the United States became much more intertwined with the devaluation of state intervention into the affairs of the city. But as Lorimer shows, the critical anti-modernist sentiments that developed in Canada between 1970 and 1980 were more focussed on the actions of private development corporations. Although the private development corporation certainly did not escape from criticism in the United States (Hartman 1984) the State seems to have come under more sustained attack in the United States than was case in Canada and this can be seen in the contrasting urban landscapes that were constructed in each country during the 1970s. Hence, whereas, the shortcomings of the modern city became symbolized in the reaction that emerged against public urban renewal in the United States in Canada the reaction against modernism was directed more towards the corporations that were responsible for the private redevelopment of the inner city.

For example, on the West Coast, in the United States, no equivalent to Vancouver's West End can be found in Seattle, Portland or even San Francisco. In this regard the closest approximation to the urban development that took place in West End only appeared belatedly in the Westwood area of Los Angeles, where even the substantial scale of the high-rise enclave that has arisen seems to pale besides what evolved in Vancouver, particularly since this was the largest concentration of high rises in L.A. a metropolis of 14 million compared to less than 2 million for Vancouver. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 209.

So even when the first signs of densification appeared in the 1950s, in The West End, the elation that planners and politicians felt about the return of capital to the inner city was also tempered with unease that they also felt about the social and physical consequences of this residential densification. Thus until the early 80s planning for denser urban living was marked by a great deal of unease and ambivalence which still persists into the present although it is beginning to dissolve as attachments to modern conceptions of social space fade with the growing irrelevance of the nuclear family, ecological concerns and the bias towards the traditional suburb promoted by modern planning challenged by alternatives such as the new urbanism.

Indeed, with the growth in non family households, the rise of urban sub cultures and the growth of a new consumption regime organized around bohemian principles where public rather than privatized modes of consumption were becoming more popular for the new middle class, urban density would in fact become a precondition for the successful operation of healthy urban

spaces and profitable consumption rather than ominous signs of urban dysfunction. With this change even congestion was seen in a new light. Thus, by the middle of the 1990s, changing gender relations, the normalization and simultaneous commodification of urban sub-cultures helped to shift the discourse on urban density as radically different social spaces appeared on the postmodern landscape which were dependent upon density rather than its absence. With these developments a new urban sociology, which had not existed in the 1960s, came into existence.

226: Until the recent plan adopted by the GVRD in the middle of the 1990s the Kelly Report guided transportation planning in Vancouver. At the present moment Vancouver remains the only major city in the country where plans to augment and add on to the existing transit infrastructure are still being actively pursued. For example in Transport 2021 Report released by the Greater Vancouver Regional District (1983b) significant expansion of the current rapid transit system to 99 kilometers is contemplated. More significant is the capital works program of BC. Transit, where expenditures of $2- billion, or 200-million a year, are projected to be spent in the next ten years, with the greater part of this sum to be spent in the Vancouver area (CVC)-36; B.C. Transit 1995).

227: Density became a central issue in the renaissance in urban Studies that took place in Canada during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Not surprisingly this differentiated the Canadian literature from that of the United States. Whereas much of the American literature was focussed on capital flight and urban redevelopment projects. Because of different economic circumstances in Canada attention shifted to private investment in the inner city and the problems that became associated with this type of investment, of which the most notable sign became the high-rise apartment. Private Redevelopment In The Inner City by Larry Bourne (1967) was one of the first academic publications to focus on this distinctive feature of the urbanization process in Canada. But this was soon followed by a raft of other studies that would provide the historical context for Michelson's work on density, a work which would initiate a shift in attitude towards density that would eventually result in the deconstruction of the existing discourse on density taken up modern city planning and the negative stand taken on some aspects of density by the first postmodern spatial discourses.

Even for radicals the debate that arose around urban high-rise development became a leitmotif for the postmodern reaction to modernism. For a brief while a vital and a remarkably extensive critical literature about the nature of the city was brought into existence from out of this reaction. With high-rise apartment buildings transformed into the urban nemesis for Conservatives (Harvey 1979, p.33) liberals (Clarkson 1972) and Marxists (Barker et al.1973) alike, all of whom who were attracted to the debate about the modern city because of this reaction and from this a fertile literature about urban density evolved.

Also, unlike the United States, the reaction to high rise development and to modernism was directed more at private development corporations in Canada than was the case in the United States, where the government bore the brunt of this reaction. For as Lorimer (1987,1983) has shown, what the disenchanted new middle class in Canada were reacting against were the four elements of the corporate city, which he identified as being the corporate suburb, high rise apartment blocks and, suburban industrial parks and downtown office towers.

This difference would be reflected in the anti modernist imagery used in each country. Because middle class angst against the modern city in Canada was directed mostly to the high-rise apartment building but also to downtown office tower (Urban Reader 1993) the most gripping symbols of the middle class rage against modernism became symbolized by the juxtapositioning of defenseless looking Victorian duplexes profiled against the background of a menacing horizon of high rise apartment buildings. but in the United States, the most powerful images would be of public housing projects. The difference is meaningful and says a great deal about the different reaction to modernism and postmodernism that developed in each country and explains why Charles Jencks could accurately point to the demolition Pruit Igoe (a public

urban renewal project in St Louis) as the death of modernism in the United States. In Canada the same Epiphany would occur, but it would be marked by different circumstances and different actors, as the reaction against the modern city crystallized in images of high-rise apartment buildings constructed by the private sector. Moreover, the apartment buildings in question were initially built as private luxury high-rises units and not as low income housing. That is why for urban reformers in Canada St. Jamestown became the most powerful symbol of modern alienation.

228: In Canada William Michelson was a key figure in the evolving discourse on urban density. Because of his deconstruction of the absolutist imperatives modern sociology had established about density he became a pivotal figure in the discourse on density. To this extent, Michelson can be viewed as the first postmodernist within this specific discourse. He would soon be joined by others, like Fischer who reappraised density from a slightly different angle but which was nevertheless complementary to the work which Michelson was doing in Canada.

Hence, in Canada the first major challenge to the modernist conceptualization of urban density came with the publication of *Man and His Environment*, by Michelson, in 1970. In this book he argued that many of the negative views about urban density were culturally based, functioning as stereotypes rather than as cultural or biological absolutes. In light of the reigning orthodoxy of the time, his point that dense urban living was not necessarily inferior or more unhealthy was pathbreaking.

On this note, Canada produced another notable scholar, who specialized on issues pertaining to density, This was Oscar Newman. Both were no doubt affect by the same intellectual ferment on the modern city that came about because of the sudden explosion of residential high rises in Canada. In 1972 he published *Defensible Space*. Like Michelson's book this would become an important book on the postmodern reconstruction of the city. Although more strongly opposed to high rise residential development than Toronto based Michelson, Oscar Newman was no doubt influenced by what he saw happening in his native city of Montreal, since he graduated from McGill University's School of Architecture, in 1968, during the height of the boom in high-rise apartment construction in Canada and was therefore able to experience at first hand the differences between medium density triplex and duplex housing which dominated in Montreal and the high-rise development that had suddenly sprouted in a number of Montreal neighbourhood (Lamey 1996).

229: Lastly, even though it overlaps with the aesthetic dimension, the third philosophic orientation point for the postmodern regulation of urban space can be seen in the movement from machine space to pedestrian space . Here the changes which have taken place can be discerned in the changes that have been made to zoning. This is illustrated in the changes made to parking regulation during the modern period. When zoning was first established there were no parking regulations but as modern planning evolved this machine space orientation became more pronounced as zoning codes evolved to accommodate the storage of the automobile. Especially in apartment districts this can be seen. For instance, with regard to apartments, in 1950, the minimum parking requirement was that there be one parking space for every two suites. This rose to three quarters of a parking space for every suite in the 1960s (CVPD-61). The greater emphasis on machine space was also revealed when a special parking district was created in 1957 (CVPD-8). The emphasis placed upon the automobile can be seen in the revision of the zoning schedules for commercial districts: as they were amended to provide more parking spaces during the 1960s (CVPD-7; CVPD-61) To paraphrase the reports prepared on commercial zoning in the 1960s: the traditional shopping street was dead and it was therefore necessary to consolidate development around nodes of commercial development where adequate parking could be provided (CVPD-8).

To a greater or lesser degree, almost every zoning district in the city was modified to expand the space given over to the storage of the automobile. While the first real move against machine space zoning took place when A CM-2 high density district was created in the

downtown in 1957, this was more of an anomaly that actually highlighted rather than diluted the modernist focus on the automobile. In the larger scheme for the downtown, this small concession to the pedestrian was just that. Moreover, when taken in conjunction with the parking district created for the downtown what the CM-2 zoning really put in place in the downtown was a suburban shopping mall format for the organization of space, with the CM-2 district acting as blueprint for the creation of a pedestrian precinct that would be surrounded by parking structures and freeways (CVPD-1; CVPD-4). Not until the creation of official district development plans for False Creek, the West End and the Downtown District plan was there a formal attempt to deliberately shift away from this accommodation to the automobile (CVPD-45a). Consequently, in each of these district plans explicit goals for curtailing the used of the automobile were mentioned. In other zoning districts, as well, after twenty years of rising parking standards, reductions were now being attempted to discourage the use of the car (e.g.. CVCO-28; VS-57; VP-31).

Especially as alternative transportation strategies are being implemented further reductions in parking are likely to result. One example would be the recent proposal now before council to reduce parking requirements in the next phase of Collingwood Village by nearly a quarter (CVC0-39). Again, this is just one of many attempts now underway to deconstruction the machine space orientation of modernism that still remains in many of the city's zoning bylaws. Along with this, during the 1970s zoning was changed so that street life was enhanced rather than compromised. Here planners reversed their previously held position on the need to accommodate the automobile along commercial arterial streets. Instead of zoning giving priority to the automobile regulations were changed so that the design of the street would be tailored more to the needs of pedestrians. For example this happened when C-2C commercial zoning was adopted for West Broadway and applied to other commercial arterials in the 1970's (CVPD-30). Here, for the first time, zoning would begin to take the needs of the pedestrian rather than the parking requirements of the car into account. Over time this would expand to other commercial streets such as Robson Street, Commercial Drive and West Fourth Avenue. Finally, the elimination of the special parking district in 1975 and the creations of new district plans for the downtown peninsula and False Creek, in 1974 and 1975, marks another turning point in the evolution of zoning in Vancouver. From here on in, over time, there would be a steady increase in zoning measures adopted to curtail the use of the car and more attention placed on putting regulations in place that would encourage more pedestrian activity. In this regard 1974 and 1975 represent an important watershed in the history of zoning. The new draft Transportation Plan, another watershed may have been crossed, and more elaborate measures may soon appear to curtail the use of the automobile in the City of Vancouver.

232: Further, evidence of changes in the Engineering Departments can be observed in its greater involvement in planning for non mechanized spaces. This can also be seen in the Bicycle Network Study (CV-21) which was carried out by the department in 1992, which amended the 1988 Bicycle Plan by giving more priority to the task of integrating bicycles into local street systems. What resulted from this was a number of new bikeways, such as the Adanac/Union, Broadway and Ontario Corridors. From this the beginning of a bicycle infrastructure for commuters and recreational bicycle users is coming into existence. As a result, increasingly over time, the bicycle is becoming accepted as a legitimate mode of transportation (CVCO-33).

234: For the Engineering Department engagement with these policies will be a challenge since it still faces difficulties implementing non machine oriented plans because of its use of a discredited management style anchored in the modern era. The recent controversy over traffic calming on Blenheim Street in the City's West side may be good case in point. The advocacy of left turn bays may be seen as another example of this (CVCO-29, VS-165). While opposition to this scheme has been generated because of substantive disagreements between those involved, it would appear that just as much heat has been generated because of the lack of consultation and the poor dissemination of information by the Engineering Department. As Local area planners

have had to learn, dialogue with people affected by important changes in land use, particularly if they are middle class, is often essential if any program is to proceed without paralyzing opposition developing. Here, how the process of managing change is carried out may become just as important as the substance of the change contemplated. Here, perhaps, the Strathcona Local Area Traffic Plan (CV-20a) that was carried out in conjunction with a local area planning process in 1989 may have established a precedent for the participation of the Engineering Department in dialogical formats for making decisions. However, the Blenheim Street traffic calming exercise may indicate that this approach has yet to become firmly established and accepted within the institutional culture of the Engineering Department (CVCO-29).

239: This would happen in the middle of the 1960s when the first successful campaign against freeway expansion was launched and there was a revival in street life. So the very thing which modernism had attempted to eliminate was beginning to become a central feature in the revival of the city rather than a residual feature, inverting the modern attitude towards the street that was best exemplified in Corbusier who viewed the street as the source for urban squalor, disorder and inefficiency: for which it was the task of the modern planner to excise if the sluggish channels of the city were to be opened up for the movement of machines (Corbusier 1948, p.56). As Sigfried Gideion would remark, this would require that the city be looked upon on an entirely different scale. In Space, Time and Architecture, Gideion would therefore state: "Today we must deal with the city from a new aspect, dictated by the advent of the automobile, based on technical considerations and belonging to the artistic vision born out of period-space-time" (1970, p. 822).

As Gidieons comments would show, Modernism's glorification of the machine involved a futuristic aesthetic that negated both history and geography because of the construction of an entirely different scale. This, in turn, would involve the destruction of the older spaces. However with the turn to postmodernism this futurism would be replaced by a new historicism. Particularly for the new middle class this would affect the way that space was perceived. Eventually this change would result in the cancellation of modern urban renewal and the expansion of freeway systems.

With these events another change in the history and geography would take place as the relation between old and new would be reversed. Rather than eliminating older environment they would be refurbished instead. Thus conservation rather than redevelopment would become one of the leitmotifs of postmodernism. With this development futurism took a back seat to historicism. Unlike 20th-century modernism, which undervalued history,with the arrival of a postmodern sensibility just the opposite attitude would occur. The notion of progress or improvement remains but now it is tempered with appreciation of the past. At the same time this use of the past also has to do with the emergence of the collage as one of the dominant aesthetic motifs of the postmodern era: where the mixing and matching of history and the marketing of retrograde styles became a dominant marketing ploy in the postmodern era.

241: Here there are interesting twists, with some streets more able to absorb marginal elements than others. According to the precise retail composition and use of a particular street, this capacity varies, but no matter what the capacity may be in each street, the further spread of the urban underclass poses a real threat to the use of the street as a social space for the new middle class. Concern about the social devaluation of street life and the negative impact that this might have of on the urban experience sought after by the new middle class is one reason why class tensions have increased. If incomes and opportunities in the city continue to polarize as they have done over the past 15 years and housing is not dealt this conflict over the street can only be expected to intensify.

This situation has created new points for conflict between the poor, planners, politician and business owners who are increasingly being confronted with the problem of managing the

growing population of panhandlers, prostitutes and the homeless who are also forced to seek out some sort of existence on streets that are now being aggressively colonized by the new middle class.

In Vancouver this has become increasingly apparent in the Downtown Eastside and Downtown South. The situation has become so conflict laden that some Downtown Eastside advocates for the poor have even had to consider providing local residents with cards to remind them of their rights to occupy the street because of the rise of rent-a-cops who have emerged (ie.VS-118).

This colonization not only affects large cities such as Vancouver, but can also be witnessed in smaller Canadian cities where gentrification has become important. In Calgary, for instance, the attempt to remove prostitution and sex oriented retailing in places such as Inglewood is quite instructive. What is happening here and can be seen as a parallel to what has been taking place in the Downtown Eastside and the Downtown South areas of Vancouver (i.e. Don Martin, 1993,1993a) or the Seaton area of Toronto.

248: Of course, when acceptance of this course of action was gained the 1957 plan for redeveloping False Creek was completely overturned. By the late 70s, a space that was expected to be part of the most ambitious modern urban renewal project in Canada was, instead, transformed into one of Canada's quintessential postmodern urban landscapes. Once identified as a collar of blight, this marginal industrial area was transformed into one of the most exclusive residential areas in the city, setting the stage for the creation of a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement which would almost completely surround the downtown peninsula and create a concentric ring of middle class settlement around the Core.

253: For example in the 1959 five year capital works plan some funds had been set aside for the implementation of the downtown and urban renewal schemes. However, this would not happen for the freeway plan component of the plan until the 1963 five year capital works plan was submitted to a vote and even then further delays ensued because the voters initially rejected funding for the rebuilding of the Georgia Viaduct, which was to be the first component of Sutton Brown's freeway plan. So only after vigorous lobbying by the business community was this first step approved in 1965.

These delays created a huge gap between the projections originally set for the completion of the various phases of the freeway plan and what took place. For example, the 1959 plan had projected that $166-million would have be expended on the completion of the first phase of the freeway system by middle of the 1960s, but up to 1965, the city had only managed to gain approval for the $10-million needed for the construction of the Georgia Viaduct. And this very limited start on the freeway plan had to depend upon the employment of scare tactics by the business community to secure the necessary public consent for this modest project. So at the time when the freeway plan projected that the first phase was to have been completed not even a modest start yet begun. As with the other components of the 20-year plan the this plan would flounder because of the absence of funding from senior levels of government.

The only exception to this was the program for residential urban renewal. Here the presence of a Federal strategy for residential renewal provided the funding and impetus for some progress to be made on this component of the 20-year development plan.

To summarize, comparing the transportation program undertaken during the Sutton Brown era and the one that developed in reaction to it: the following things can be said. First one of the main reasons why the Sutton Brown plan failed and the GVRD's Kelly Report succeeded, had to do with the actors who were involved in each program. With only the city firmly behind the Sutton Brown plan the finances were simply not available for launching the freeway plan. Unlike the Sutton Brown plan the province and the Greater Vancouver Regional District was firmly behind the Kelly Report. This was critical, for in Canada any major decision about freeway or mass transit expenditure has always been dependent upon decisions made by the provinces, in the last instance. With the city being the main sponsor of the

freeway proposal rather than the province the Sutton Brown plan was stymied from the very beginning while the initial buy into the Kelly Report by the province and the Greater Vancouver Regional District gave this plan momentum despite the delays which were experienced in carrying out its recommendations. So even though the city did not play an important role in the formulation and implementation of the transit plan that came out of the Kelly Report, the city did, nevertheless, put more emphasis on creating transit and pedestrian friendly environments (CVPD-73; CVPD-74; CVPD-75). Planning was redirected from the servicing of the automobile and this did have a profound impact on the practices of the Planning Department during the Spaxman period. As earlier stated, this would find expression in amendments that were made to numerous zoning bylaws (CVPD-45a; CVPD-47; CVPD-53), the re-orientation of planning in the central area (CVPD-42; CVPD-82), and now, more recently, for the rest of the city, through CityPlan (CVPD-141,pp. 32-33).

Just as with urban renewal and local area planning, when modern and postmodern programs for the construction of transportation infrastructure are compared the success of the postmodern agenda and the failure of the modern agenda become apparent as well. Whereas the Georgia Viaduct was the only element of the freeway system to be built, almost all the new infrastructure recommended in the Kelly Report has been constructed. With at least $1.5 billion spent on the rapid transit component of the Kelly Report alone between 1983 and 1992 (CVRD,1993b+c), the mobilization of resources towards a postmodern rather modern program has been quite substantial.

As said before, the difference in outcome can be tied very much to the fact that Sutton Brown was only able to muster funding from the city rather than the province or the regional government. Rather than bringing billions to the table, with great difficulty he only managed to obtain $10-million for the construction of the Georgia Viaduct (Pendakur 1972). As result, only a kilometer and a half, or so, of freeway standard road came out of the 1959 transportation plan whereas over 23 kilometers of rapid transit have so far been generated from out the recommendations of the Kelly Report (Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD, 1972). Another interesting irony is that Sutton Brown's transportation was even bested by the Bartholomew Plan (1928) which Bland and Spence Sales (1951), who gave Sutton Brown his marching orders, seemed to regard with a great deal of condescension.

Again while Sutton Brown was struggling to put in place the first link in his freeway plan engineers were silently going ahead with the implementation of the arterial road system which had been recommended in the Bartholomew Plan (PI-13; Bottomley 1971, p.273-275).

258: Particularly in the new sectors of the information and entertainment economies this shift to non bureaucratic formats for the organization of work and the production of goods and services has had a profound (Farley 1997). Here market impulses rather than bureaucratic ones would shape the background context that would support the artisan values associated with these new physical spaces. Not only were theses spaces more attractive to this class because they were cheaper; they also were a physical reflection of the world view of this class fraction. (Scott 1996; Phillips 1986; Bourdieu 1984) .

Demographic changes and the adoption of postmodern tenure forms are two other background contexts that need to be considered when looking for a more detailed explanation of the forces which brought this new mode of consumption into existence. No doubt one factor that made this change in consumer behaviour possible was the unique possibilities opened up by the unique demographic and consumer profile of the new middle class that started to take shape in the 1960's: when falling birth rates and increasing affluence released this social stratum from many of the time and monetary constraints of its predecessors, who were tied down by the task of child rearing during the modern period.

New consumer norms would also be abetted by a changing tenure forms adopted by the new middle class. With the move back into the inner city and the movement into smaller strata title units rather than larger fee simple single detached dwelling units even home ownership took on a more communal and public aspect. Furthermore, the smaller size of these units

probably further encouraged the use of the street and other public realms for socializing which would have taken place in the home during the modern period when the suburbs and the single detached dwelling unit were the preferred form of accommodation.

Thus, the non family orientation of the new middle class and the take up of new tenure forms gave this class more discretionary time and financial resources with which to become involved in new forms of conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1917) and the incentive to carry out this consumption in the public realm rather than in the much more private spaces of the modern period which was organized primarily around the private automobile and the single detached dwelling unit. With these new developments more resources could now be allocated towards the stylization of the built environment. As said before, this involved more than the marking out of status. With less residential space and the dilution in the family orientation of middle class household the need for creation of new commercial and public spaces for this class to socialize in arose. In this way a great deal of the momentum that pushed the aesthetic reorganization of the city was framed by the redirection of resources away from the private and domestic realm and the channelling of more attention and resources into commercial spaces which the economy of the urban spectacle, in particular, would champion.

261: This trend not only supported the development of more specialized and refined consumer spaces in the city, it is also affected the two other aesthetic components of the postmodern city. As Foote (1995) has suggested, as the population of mature adults and seniors grows, this should aid the revival of street retailing. Similarly, planning studies such as one recently carried out in Ottawa, indicate that the aging of the population should make living in the inner city more appealing.

In this regard, it is probably no accident that there are often high concentrations of elderly people in gay ghettos since both groups require more and better public spaces and less privatized domestic space to socialize in or to be participants in the urban spectacle where having something to look at is as important as actually being able to do something (CVSP-10). This may be one reason why the social ecology of Vancouver's West End (CVPD-112) bears so many interesting similarities to that of the City of West Hollywood in the Country of Los Angeles (Forest,1995). Not only are there similarities in the proportion of single men and the elderly, interestingly enough both communities are also the home to a significant Slavic population (CVPD-112; PI-10; PI-10; PI-28; PI-39; Forest 1995).

262: Finally despite all the problem that have been enumerated about the aesthetics of the modern city, if considered on a symbolic level, although modernism may have been conceived within a paternalistic or technocratic framework, nonetheless, its close identification with public housing, its idealization of work and the egalitarianism it set forward as an ideal for the organization of space certainly made it more congenial to the aspirations of the working class than the postmodern ideology which was to follow (Egbert 1970; Guibault 1983).

By contrast, as stated several times earlier, because of the close connection that exists between postmodern aesthetics and the habitus of the new middle class this aesthetic has not been incorporated into a belief system of other social classes lower down in the social order, particularly by the working class whose habitus is framed by opposing attitudes that have to do with scarcity rather than the condition which influences the outlook of the new middle class. On both a symbolic and practical level, this makes the postmodern transformation of the city an extremely problematic issue for the working class.

Unlike modernism which delegated the task of city building to the large corporation or to the State, with this postmodern vision of the city a special place was made for the participation of the urban entrepreneur in the transformation of urban space (Tsimikalis 1983). And this became reflected in the language which was now used to describe urban reinvestment, with terms such as urban pioneering appearing, to describe the rapid but incremental resettlement of the inner city that was launched by the new middle class, something which would later became known as gentrification. Here a symbiotic relationship between the

diffusion of postmodern aesthetics and the spread of gentrification developed which would reveal the central role played by an autonomous new middle class in the postmodern transformation of the city. As Kathyrn Nelson (1988) has shown in the United States and the surveys of gentrification by David Ley (1985) and Pierre Filion (1987) in Canada have also convincingly illustrated - gentrification is an uneven urban phenomenon that is clearly related to the new middle class and the place that a city occupies in the urban hierarchy.

269: What does all this mean in terms of the original values projected for the city by first generation postmodern ideologues? For example, while higher densities are encouraged in some of these second generation landscapes, places like Seaside certainly do not embody the search for creating denser urban environments that was part of the first generation thinking about the city, and while more effort may be put into creating varied and usable public spaces that are organized around the street rather than the highway, a close look at the values that are being incorporated into the new towns that are being influenced by the new urbanism reveals that it is a bit of a misnomer to label much of this movement as necessarily being urban (Southworth 1997). Particularly in America, the angle taken on a great deal of the new urbanism suggests that what is being projected is not the celebration of the city, but rather, its avoidance (Barber 1997); for what is being idealized is not the city but rather a mythical version of a 19th century small town and this appears to be one of the stronger background motivations for the creation of these postmodern landscapes - a sensibility which would certainly be alien to Jane Jacobs or to other first generation postmodern theorists - where the celebration of the city was unequivocal.

272: In this regard a comparison between the landscapes produced in White Rock and Maillardville is instructive. While the application of postmodern regulations to the formatting of space in White Rock has lead to the production of a believable townscape which makes reference to a resort landscape that has some authentic relation to the actual geography and history of White Rock; this did not happen in Maillardville although the design guidelines that were adopted in 1989 and the plan that was adopted for the area in 1990 made an effort to do. Here lack of experience in applying design guidelines and the imperative to use this postmodern format to convey higher status meant that the attempt to revive the historic legacy of this Francophone community would have to succumb to marketing needs (City of Coquitlam 1989, PI-46). Still, except for the criticism of local preservationists, the generally low turnover in the units that have been constructed show that this area has become popular to a certain segment of the market. Furthermore there appears to be general satisfaction with the new design guidelines by both planners and politicians that shows that the postmodern reformatting of this suburban space is largely viewed as a success (PI-46).

Moreover, the positive relation that exists between the application of postmodern aesthetic norms and the successful implementation of densification strategy for the area is also indicated in what has happened. For example since design guidelines were put in place, in 1989, construction on over 860 units has begun between 1989 and 1997. Similarly the population has increased by about 50 percent in just seven years (City of Coquitlam 1997; PI-46). Furthermore, once the first five year review of the Maillardville plan is completed in 1997, it is expected that further expansion in single family areas by multi family housing will be allowed. Thus, when interviewing one planner involved in the review of the Maillardville Plan (PI-46) it became apparent that the application of postmodern formats had assisted the densification of this suburban community. As indicated earlier, this can be read into the willingness of residents to allow the further extension of multi family zoning into areas previously zoned for single family residential uses. So far two parcels of land are likely to be rezoned increasing the housing capacity of the plan by a further 400 to 500 units (For information on the working class stature of this community consult Plan Maillardville Technical Annex, 1974, by the District of Coquitlam - now the city of Coquitlam).

What is also important to note about Maillardville example is how much easier it is to densify working class areas. Other factors that facilitated the densification of this area

also have to do with the presence of absentee landlords and older, generally run down housing units sitting on inexpensive land near important transportation routes. In this regard Neil Smith's concept of rent gap came to mind when the planner started to speculate on why the area took off. Similarly the question of displacement was also raised. Here the planner conceded that a great of lower cost rental units which had been located in the homes that had been demolished were destroyed. So even at the lower end market that Maillardville was pitched to there has no doubt been some displacement. As a result there has been some change in the class composition of the area.

When talking with the planner about the application of design guidelines comments about market imperatives and the creation of gaudy ersatz environments but on the whole the application of design guidelines was still felt to be a success, giving planners experience with a something that they had no previous experience with but were now more comfortable with in using - something which also applied to developers and politicians as well. Anecdotal evident (PI-37; PI-46) was also brought out about the return of former franco phone residents to the area because of the upgrading of the neighbourhood as a French community. However, no figures were available to support this contention.

On this matter, some criticism of the inauthentic landscape that has been created have been brought up by this French constituency. Finally, while residential development has taken off, commercial development has been much slower to develop in Maillardville. Unlike White Rock or Steveston which has been able to evoke the characteristics of a resort to foster commercial development this has not been possible with the inland working class community of Maillardville. Also, the lack of commercial development probably has to do with the fact that most residential development has taken place away from the Western area of Burnette Avenues where most the commercially zoned land is located. Moreover the development potential of the area was likely compromised by Council's willingness to allow big box retailers, such as Superstore to locate nearby on industrial land. However by limiting the expansion of commercial land used into the residential area of Maillardville planners are hoping that commercial uses will eventually concentrate into the area set aside for them in the plan.

273: This problem has only been further exacerbated by the decay of modern institutions which once housed part of the marginalized population that can now be found on the street. Here unfortunately well meaning attack against modern bureaucratic institutions has produced a number of unintended consequences. This deinstitutionalization (Dear and Wolch 1987), now poses a barrier to the new middle class wishing to make use of the street. While trying to make the street more livable the street is becoming a storage place for a growing marginalized population that now inhabits the postmodern city.

Further compounding this situation was that residential gentrification was also destroying Single Room Occupancy units (CV-22), removing one of the few housing options left [illegible] this marginalized population, further exacerbating the problem of homelessness. [illegible] this is becoming a growing problem in Vancouver (VS-188; CVPD-166; CVSP-8) the effects of this cannibalization of low income housing stock appear much more prevalent in the United States. According to studies it is not just the polarization of the labour market or the deinstitutionalization of the mentally handicapped but the destruction of these units that has caused homelessness to expand dramatically in the United States (New York Times 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; 1996d; Fox 1996; Dreier 1997)

John Fox (1996), coordinator for the Seattle Displacement Coalition spoke to this issue citing a 1994 study conducted by Columbia University, which found that 25 million people in the United States are affected by homelessness during some part of their life, with 13 million made homeless for a few days and some for up to a year. While deinstitutionalization has made things worse, as the number of beds has dropped from 550,000 to 200,000 between 1963 and 1975 this was not when homelessness became serious. Widespread homelessness only happened in the early 1980s and coincided with the loss of 1.1 million SRO (single-room occupancy) units.

277: Moreover, not only are postmodern principles for the re-organization of urban space being applied to the recycling of inner city and older suburban spaces, over time these principles are becoming an integral feature of many new projects that are taking place on greenfield sites on the edge of the city where neo-traditional communities are being constructed. More so than with the previous examples of redevelopment that have just been cited, these development bear the signature of the mass market. As a result of this, these communities have a decidedly corporatist imprint. Consequently, more so than with the conversion of industrial and working class landscapes this development provides the clearest proof that postmodern aesthetics are now beginning to operate as generalized mode of regulation across the entire urban region and not just the inner city.

As earlier stated, the new urbanism is the clearest that postmodern norms are being absorbed into the mainstream. Appropriately enough there is a correlation between the physical and social space traversed by postmodernism and the location of these communities. Whereas the most subversive communities were located in the inner city these new landscapes of conformity are usually located the furthest point away from the inner city. Not only are new neighbourhoods being organized according to postmodern principles but entire towns as well. However, in this case Vancouver appears as a bit of an anomaly, until a development for Abbotsford was recently approved and two have come under contemplation in Coquitlam and Surrey, large neo-traditional communities have been absent because of the scarcity in land. For this reason, while it is one of the main cultural hearths for postmodernism in Canada, curiously enough, when it comes to the practice of the new urbanism, compared to other cities, Vancouver makes a weak showing with regard to the undertaking of large scale projects on greenfield sites. So while there are several examples of neo-traditional development that can be cited in Greater Vancouver, they are minuscule compared to projects that underway elsewhere in the country. For instance the largest development now proceeding according to neo-traditional principles in Vancouver would be Murray's Corners in Langley, where 79 homes on a 17 acre sub-division site in Langley is being constructed (McQuade 1995; Gracey 1987). Another modest example of neo-traditional planning in the suburbs of Vancouver would be the recent attempt to use of neo-traditional planning principles to urbanize parts of Tsawwassen (Lemistre 1993). While these projects are significant they pale beside the projects in other Canadian cities where thousands of acres of land are being transformed into neo-traditional landscapes.

Especially impressive are plans for several new neo-traditional communities on the outskirts of Toronto, which is being labelled as the centre for neo-traditional development in North America (Canadian Building - August/September 1997). The largest project now underway is the new town Cornell, which will be constructed in the eastern part of Markham, just North of the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. Projected to cost $2-billion dollars by the time it is completed in 2016, Cornell is being constructed on 1,300 acres of land that were sold to Law Development Corporation by the Province of Ontario government. Like Mackenzie Towne, in Calgary, Cornell is expected to accommodate about 10,000 homes and house around 35,000 people (Zehr 1996b). Further to the West, in Oakville, a smaller, community called Oakpark (Toronto Star September 28,1996) is being development by MetroOntario Development Corporation. Covering 200 acres, this development will be supplemented by many smaller projects such as Montgomery Village (Saunders 1996a) that are also using design principles associated with the new urbanism. And just as in Calgary, suburban governments in Greater Toronto are now beginning to recalibrate their zoning and regulatory codes to accommodate these postmodern formats For example the zoning codes of Markham, a fast growing community of 161,000, North of Toronto, are being altered to incorporate some of the design principles that are linked to the new urbanism (Baird 1993).

And in Montreal, in 1993 a huge new development known as Bois Franc was initiated in the suburb of Saint Laurent by Bombardier Corporation. When completed, sometime in 2003, Bois Franc is expected to house up to 25,000 people in 10,000 housing units (Sauer 1994). The embrace of Neo Traditional planning is not only confined to Canada's largest and most dynamic

cities. Its growing influence can be seen in places like Edmonton where Carma has plans for a 400 acre sub-division which will be organized according to Neo-Traditonal principles (King 1996). Even in conservative and slow growing cities, such as Winnipeg (Saunders 1996), and Windsor (Saunders 1996a) developers like Ladco have begun to consider this format as well.

What this brief overview of the spread of the new urbanism presents is unmistakable evidence of the growing pervasiveness of postmodern aesthetic codes and the closer link that now exists between the acceptance of postmodern norms for the organization of urban space and densification. Unlike the 1970s and 1980s, when postmodern regulation was largely an inner city phenomenon, in the 1990s it has moved beyond the inner city and social space of the new middle class to embrace other social classes and greenfield sites as it has become transformed from a popular spatial ideology of the new middle class into a generalized mode of regulation for the city as a whole. The spread of neo-traditional planning is but one example of this. In various other ways postmodern regulation is being woven into the landscape.

Already, if we just look at the neo-traditionat that is already currently underway or in the pipeline will house well over 150,000 people and $15-billion of capital investment are already being absorbed by this one manifestation of postmodernism. So even while this new mode of urban development may still be in its infancy, its growing importance can be summarized and taken note of in the above estimates. Indeed, if planners have their way, all new suburban development will bear the imprint of postmodern regulation. Although most of this development will take shape as the most conservative form of postmodern regulation and the level of densification will be the least intense, as a low rise rather than medium rise or high rise format is likely to dominate future urban development in the City of Calgary the attempt to institutionalize postmodern regulation into most new suburban development here must be viewed as a watershed of sorts (In this regard see City of Calgary: Sustainable Suburbs Study; Fish Creek Growth Area Management Plan and Draft Shaunessey Centre Plan).

285: With the input of a planner who cut his teeth in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in the City of Vancouver in the livable city era, development controls were put in place in the City of White Rock which have lead to the creation of a landscape that successfully evokes the milieu of a seaside resort which is not just an illusion but in truly represents a real part of the geography and history of this community (VS-105a). Then there is the redevelopment of downtown Port Coquitlam (1983). Here luck and favourable circumstances created a situation that resulted in a successful experimentation in place making when the city hired a director of planning who was committed to good urban design in the early 1990s - just as the development boom in this city was beginning (PI-30; Taylor 1996). With the support of the mayor and Council the director was able to implement a successful postmodern strategy for the reshaping of downtown Port Coquitlam. In the space of five years the struggling retail sector has been turned around. Usable public spaces have been created. And an urban ambiance has been created which encourages people to treat the downtown as an urban living room. If these favourable developments continue downtown Port Coquitlam may well emerge as the sleeper in the contest to create an authentic urban centres in the suburbs Greater Vancouver. Not designated as a major regional town centre, and with a working class rather than middle class population base, it may well become the first successful town centre. In this case an environment that was the product of accident and coincidence may succeed where the more grandiose attempts to create urban town centres such as Burnaby (Ito 1995; PI-33) Coquitlam (1995) Richmond (1991;1992) and Surrey (1991,1996) may fail, as they are still floundering about in terms of creating livable urban spaces that do not feel contrived or that actually function as urban rather than suburban centres.

286: In the case of White Rock this can be seen in the transformation of the railway corridor into a promenade.What has happened here has a great deal in common with the transformation of the False Creek Basin in the City of Vancouver, since here as well, an industrial landscape has been largely erased or transformed into props that have become part

of the urban spectacle. For example while Maillardville was a working class community that came into existence because of Fraser Mills, no reference or hint of this comes out in the postmodern reconfiguration of the town. Instead of this facet being revived the ethnic rather than class dimension of Maillardville's past was taken up and reworked into a theme for the postmodern reconstruction of this community. Hence the idea of Frenchness, expressed in design elements such as Mansard roofs, rather than existence of this community as a working class village is what emphasized the most in the reconstruction of Maillardville that has taken place since 1989. Similarly in White Rock (VS-105a) and Port Coquitlam one does not find any evocation of the working landscapes that once existed in the areas that have been refurbished. It is also rare to find any direct reference made to the working class who once inhabited these spaces. So while direct references are made to the French fact in Maillardville no similar acknowledgment is made of this community's working class heritage. The same can be said of the redesign of the waterfront in New Westminister or the fishing port in Steveston, that is located in Richmond, where, the original working landscape seems only to be retained as part of the urban spectacle or as a novelty item that functions as a tourist attraction. So just as in the inner city the same tendency to render working landscapes invisible can be observed in the postmodern transformation of the suburbs.

289: As postmodern formats for the organization of urban space spread out from the inner city their symbolic function therefore changes. Consequently with the diffusion of postmodern regulation there is a symbolic as well as geographic shift with this movement. No longer do postmodernism motifs just function to appropriate urban space for the new middle class, as was the case in the inner city, increasingly they are becoming part of a larger spatial project that has to do with the densification of the entire region - hence the urbanization of the suburbs and of the exurban fringe.

As the recent history of the new urbanism has shown, when postmodern representations of physical space are partially absorbed into the apparatus of mass culture they can operate as powerful ideological constructs that both capital and the state can use to promote densification strategies that seek to reconcentration of capital on already developed areas or intensify development that takes place on greenfield sites in suburban and exurban parts of the urban region.

291: More so than with the redevelopment of industrial land and underused land in already built up areas of the city these developments bear the sign of the mass market. And with this the imprature of corporate capital rather than that of the new middle class. Consequently, more so than with the conversion of industrial and working class landscapes this development provides the clearest proof that postmodern aesthetics are now beginning to function as mode of regulation for the city as a whole rather than for those areas in the urban region settled by the new middle class. For places like Toronto, the impact of this new spatial configuration should become more apparent after the current building cycle, which has been in progress since 1996, is completed.

If a national estimate is possible to make, if all the developments currently projected are realized, these neo-traditional communities may house over 250,000 people over the next 10 to 15 years and absorb over $15-billion in capital expenditures. With two to three large developments now planned for Greater Vancouver, one for Calgary and Edmonton, and more than a handful in Toronto, plus one large development that is already in progress in Montreal, this facet postmodern regulation is no localized phenomenon or flash in the pan. Also refer to SNC, Vol. 2, Chpt. 4, Note 277.

296: Maillardville is instructive to look at once more, since its transformation between 1990 and 1996 rivals what happened in the False Creek between 1975 and 1985. Like False Creek, both the physical and social landscape of Maillardville has been fundamentally altered. Not only is Maillardville much denser now, its social status has changed as well. While the market

niche Maillardville appears to cater to seems to be lower middle class and working class the income profile of this community is certainly much higher than it was in the early 1970s (City of Coquitlam 1974). Although the environment may have a kitsch appearance, nevertheless, Maillardville stands out as the first extensive postmodern space to be created in the suburbs of Vancouver. While less sophisticated than its counterpart in the False Creek Basin of Vancouver, the way that this space has been transformed denotes the same tendency to erase producer spaces and working class spaces.

Chapter Five: The Postmodern Transformation of Vancouver

9: According to the Calgary Real Estate Board this would include Eau Claire, Downtown, South Downtown (or the Beltline and Downtown East Village - See "Calgary Housing Prices", January 11, 1997). In this regard also see Pommer (1997) and Ketchum (1997)to see the similarities that exist, although, on a reduced scale, between the core of Vancouver and that of Calgary. For instance downtown Calgary had a population of 10,423 in 1996 and is expecting $170 million worth of residential investment over the next five years, which will create 1,000 housing units in this area alone (Ketchum 1997). Also whereas Calgary houses 103 major head offices Vancouver only had 51 in 1996 (Pommer 1997). If a comparison is made perhaps the biggest difference becomes tourism. Although even here there are similarities because of Banff and the Olympics that were held in the core area, the scale is still much smaller. Compared to over the one million overseas tourists that come To Vancouver only about 280,000 arrived in Calgary in 1996 (See SC-19).

10: The best example of the mass spectacle is the stadium and entertainment park mania that has practically gripped every North American city. However the first signs of this program no doubt came with the rash of convention centres that were built across the country in the 1970s and are now being expanded to meet the increased demand that has come with the growth of the economy of the urban spectacle. However, in the 1960s these activities were clearly subsidiary elements in larger economy that were more focussed around the promotion of the office buildings sector, which was expected to be the main economic support for hybrid late modern or early postmodern versions of the executive city that were put forward in the 1970s.

In the mid 1980s, when the phase of the urban spectacle began in earnest, convention centres and stadiums did become more the focus of a new economy based on entertainment. With the demise of the office sector and producer services as the dynamos of the downtown economy, building infrastructure that would support the urban spectacle became especially attractive to policy makers. While Montreal had lead the way in the 1960s, in the late 70s and early 80s the provincial government of B.C. would set the ball rolling and start the construction of BC. Place. This would be followed by Skydome in Toronto, and then pressure for the subsidization of teams and sports complexes across the country. For additional information on this phenomenon, in the case of Winnipeg see Silver,1966, Santin, 1997c; for Ottawa, see Shoalts 1996; for Edmonton see Gold 1993; Vancouver Cernetig; Toronto see Boroway and The Globe and Mail 1997d; Montreal, Aubin 1997a, Todd 1997; Calgary, Braid 1995.

11: The first sign of this shift can be detected in CorePlan. Here the beginnings of competing postmodern vision for the downtown appear as planners and local politicians were forced to adapt to the province's vision for the core. Up to this time planning in the downtown had been guided by the populist ideology of the new middle class, but with the intervention of the provincial government a second development strategy, one which was more corporatist than populist in orientation, was germinated which challenged the ideology of the livable City. Because the city was lead by a centre-left coalition this lead to fierce struggles between the city and the province about density, amenities and the lay out of the Expo site (CVPD-64; Carline, 1986). However, after the fair, and the shift to the Right by City Council, with the victory of the NPA and the election of Gordon Campbell this would change. A new protocol for mega-projects was established and the difference between the province and the city diminished, as the fast tracking of development on the Expo site became the aim of both levels of government (PI-6). While most of the aesthetic program that originated in the era of the livable city was preserved, other dimensions of postmodern regulation were modified to reflect

the corporatist orientation. Thus the level of public involvement was curtailed, although not entirely eliminated, and equity concerns were downgraded, as the mayor reacted strongly against anything or anyone, who got in the way of his agenda for fast tracking development (PI-3). Hence, compared to the 1970s, the parameters for the implementing the livable city program by the Planning Department had therefore become more constrained.

Thus, for the Core of Vancouver, with the completion of a sports facility called BC Place in 1983 and the inauguration of Expo 86, in 1986, and the opening of a new convention centre in 1986, a new type of infrastructure was created that was anchored in the tourist rather than office sector. This would create the material basis for the organization of space around the urban spectacle and lead to the subordination of the livable city program that was put in place when new zoning bylaws were adopted for the downtown in 1975. Livability remains an important goal for the Core but its meaning and intent has been modified by these new developments. Furthermore, the sources of congestion and the creation of negative externalities have a different source now. Rather than the office sector being the culprit, it is increasingly from tourism rather than with the concentration of command functions in the Core that issues pertaining to the preservation of livability in the Core are being brought up and discussed.

Because of these changes, there has been a significant enhancement of the spaces devoted to entertainment and amusement in the core. This shows up most clearly in the dramatic increase in hotel rooms. For example, in the early 1960s there were 1,720 hotel rooms in the downtown (Smith 1963, p.60). However this number increased to 5,100 in 1970 (CVPD-25,p.7) and by 1995 there were 9,878 rooms in the core area of the city (Government of British Columbia 1995a) with an addition 5,600 units expected to be constructed in the near future (Zehr 1996, May 22nd). Indeed, if all of these anticipated projects are built this will mark a significant watershed for Vancouver's downtown in relation to other Canadian centres, as Vancouver will then have more hotel rooms in its downtown than Montreal, and be second only to downtown Toronto.

Thus, changes in the urban hierarchy and the changing demand structure for office space have begun to undermine some of the assumptions which supported the original vision of the livable core that was distilled into the zoning regulations that were adopted for the Core area in 1975. First of all, Vancouver's ambition to become the executive centre of Western Canada was cut short by the rise of Calgary, upon which the original assumption of the livable core had been made. Thus in 1996 Calgary was home to 92 major corporate head offices compared to just 49 for Vancouver (Nikiforuk 1996; Laghi 1996; VS-128). While Vancouver's stature as a command centre has diminished, its status as an international centre for consumption has risen. As tourism figures reveal, since the early 1980's the City role as a destination point for tourism has been enhanced considerably (McInnes 1996; Eng January 1st,1996).

Perhaps the best indicator of this would be statistics on overseas visitors coming into British Columbia. In 1974 only 168,000 overseas travellers entered British Columbia. By 1985 there was a modest increase as the number of travellers grew to 366,000 in 1985 (CVPD-132). But since then, the number of overseas visitors has catapulted to nearly one million, as the number of overseas visitors nearly tripled between 1985 and 1994, with nearly 900,000 coming to the city in 1994 (CV-19). Another good illustration of the growing importance of tourism would be the convention industry. In 1959, during the modern period, only 26,000 delegates came to Vancouver. Clearly, at that time, the city was not a major destination point for conventions in Canada (Smith 1963, p.59). However by 1995 more than 150,000 delegates a year were coming to the city (CVPD-165, p.32). With plans to build a new convention centre (VS-285) this market can be expected to further expand into the future (CVCO-33; CV-29; VS-93a) Even more significant is the expansion of the cruise ship industry. In 1980 around 75,000 passengers visited Vancouver. But in 1995 over 600,000 came to the city (CVPD-165, p.31) and is expected to approach 800,000 in 1997 (VS-322). The same expansion of tourism can be seen in the increasing number of passengers going through the international airport. Moreover, the numbers indicated that Vancouver is fast becoming an entrepot in addition to a place of consumption and spectacles, with the number of passengers rising from below 6 million in 1978 to 12 million in

1995 (CVPD-165, p.31) and when figures are released for 1997 this may well by upwards of 16 million.

Changes in the place occupied by Vancouver in the urban hierarchy and the saturation of the office market in the 1980s further moderated the growth of the office sector in the 1990s giving the economy of the urban spectacle an even higher profile. This made it easier for the Planning Department to reduce the amount of land zoned for office space in the Core, making it easier to address the imbalance between core employment in the office sector and available living space, which was identified as the major concern in CorePlan

Unlike the 1970s and 1980s, when commercial constructed dominated the core, other than the infrastructure of the urban spectacle, mega-project planning primarily devoted to residential land uses dominated the activities of planners in the late 1980s and 1990s (CVPD-81; CVPD-93; CVPD-111). This would go a long way in rectifying the imbalance between residential and commercial development identified in CorePlan, breaking the log jam on residential development that had been in place in the downtown peninsula since 1970. With the mega projects providing accommodation for around 25,000 people the problem of housing in Core for the middle class had become unstuck, while the problems for the lumpen proletariat were just beginning.

As well, this change in circumstances made it easier for the Planning Department to address the need to disperse office development that was set out in the Central Area Plan as well as the Greater Vancouver's Regional District's Livable Region Strategy (1975). Altogether, between 1975 and 1991 office capacity in the downtown has been reduced by nearly nine million square feet (CVPD-105).

In addition to the downzoning of office space, the opening of rapid transit system in 1986 made it easier for the Planning Department to consolidate office space in the core. In this regard planners were much more successful than their counterparts in the Sutton Brown period, who were not able to prevent the dispersion of office buildings in the downtown. With the reduction in the demand for office space and the market incentives created for office consolidation that came with the introduction of rapid transit into the downtown planners were therefore able to more effectively consolidate and reshape the office sector than their predecessors in the modern period. In fact the circumstances influencing the location and demand for new office buildings have changes so much of late that rather than worry about the over expansion of office buildings and the colonization of the downtown by office complexes the opposite has been the case, with some developers now worrying about the invasion of residential land uses into the city's main downtown office precinct (Will 1996)

These changes highlight two different facets of the changing economy that have affected the postmodern transformation of the core, one is the growing influence of consumption and culture; the other, the role of the information economy. For Vancouver the main change has occurred with regard to consumption. When writing about competition between urban centres David Harvey (1989, pp. 43-53) noted four different functions can be competed for in the national and global economy: they relate to the international division of labour, that of consumption, command functions and redistribution functions.

If the changes which have taken place over the past twenty years in Vancouver's Core area are related to these functional areas it becomes clear that the city's position as a command centre has diminished in relation to other cities while its role as a nodal point for international consumption has been greatly enhanced. To a lesser extent, it is also possible to speculate that Vancouver's place within the international division of labour with respect to the information economy may be improving as well, although this is less certain than its position with regard to the tourist economy.

For Vancouver, but especially for the Core, tourism has become central to the economic development of this settlement zone at the local, national and international level. Hosting functions, as Gottman (1990) referred to it, have therefore become more important. For as David Harvey has remarked" sports stadia and convention centres, marinas and hotels, exotic eating places and cultural facilities and the like," (1989,p. 48) are becoming increasingly prominent features of the postmodern landscape.

Then there is the information economy and Vancouver's place in the international division of labour with regard in terms of this sector. While not as important as tourism, the information economy has also become more central to the evolution of the core. As Castells remarked: "although information and knowledge have been critical for economic accumulation and political power throughout history, it is only under the current technological, social, and cultural parameters that they become directly productive forces,"(Castells 1994. p.19). That is why commentators like Manuel Castells have identified this as being one of the defining features of the postmodern city (1989; 1994). For as Jameson (1984) has also noted, one of the characteristics of the information economy is the breakdown of boundaries that separate the cultural realm from the work realm, something that can even be seen in the evolution of planning regulations in Vancouver, as separate zoning categories such as industrial, commercial and residential land have increasingly begun to overlap with one another in this new economy (Chu,1991).

Moreover, the merging and increasing overlap that can be seen between the domain of consumption and production has made it easier to organize work and consumption around artisanal and artistic ideals as well, a new manifestation that becomes obvious when looking at the redevelopment of Yaletown (CVPD-48) and Gastown. However, the increased importance of the information economy to the core can also be illustrated by looking at the location of learning institutions in the downtown, such as the relocation of a satellite campus for Simon Fraser University in the core, in 1990, the expansion of Vancouver Community College and the opening of a new downtown campus for the British Columbia Institute of Technology in 1996. Besides this the Architectural Institute of BC. has relocated to a site at 400 Cambie and a Film School on Hastings Street has opened (Ward,1997). Even the City's two newspapers - The Vancouver Sun and The Vancouver Province, have reconsolidated their information production functions in the downtown (VS-102b).

What is more, these functions further complement the tourist function, since interpersonal interaction is of central importance in the production of knowledge upon which the information economy and something that generates further tourist activity in the Core (Gottman 1990). So with the concentration of segments of the information economy in the core and the additional impetus this has been given to the mixing of functions that were once separated in time and space, such as entertainment, producer and consumer activities, the notion of collage space increasingly applies to commercial as well as residential land uses in the core (Rowe 1978; Zelinsky 1994).

Three important developments have therefore modified the original framework for planning that was intended to guide the postmodern transformation of the downtown in 1975 (CVPD-45). First, as the economic base of the downtown changed the expectation that Vancouver would become an executive city is giving way to different context where tourism and the urban spectacle now play a larger role in reshaping the core area.

So while downtown Vancouver has not become the command centre for Western Canada, it has become the pivot and hinge for the three destination points for international tourism in - the Core itself, Victoria and the resort at Whistler: both approximately a hour and a half away by car from downtown Vancouver.[i] Besides overseas visitors, the Core is now the main node for non overseas tourism as well, acting as the strongest magnet for tourism in the province, a sector that generated 6 billions dollars in revenue and attracted over 25 million visitors within British Columbia during 1994. Furthermore, by 1999 this sector is expected to generate nearly 10 billion dollars in revenue (Eng 1996) with much of this growth likely to be concentrated in the core area of Vancouver.[i] Moreover, even at the regional level, there has been a massive concentration in the infrastructure supporting the urban spectacle in the downtown. To see this it is only necessary to look at the phenomenal concentration of sporting facilities in the Core since the opening of BC. Place. Since the opening of BC. Place, in 1983, (Campbell 1996) the downtown now accommodates professional basketball, Hockey and football for the entire region, drawing about 1.75 million spectators into the core each year to attend these events (CVPD-165, p.67). So not only are overseas tourists pouring into Vancouver;

in addition to this group, the Core area has become the regional magnet for the hosting of mass spectacles as well, further specializing and concentrating this sector into the Core.

Secondly, the completion of light rapid transit system in 1986 has had important consequences for planning and development in the downtown which were not fully anticipated in 1975. As mentioned earlier, one change has to do with the location of office activities. The other change, one which was completely unexpected in the early 1970s, was the incorporation of Skytrain into the infrastructure of the urban spectacle, which made it possible for the concentration mass entertainment facilities and events. While the original justification for building Skytrain had to do with moving office workers into and out of the downtown, with these new developments, this task has been now been augmented by the task of transporting spectators into the downtown, for an ever expanding array of spectacles offered in the downtown. For example, whereas 120,000 workers might pour into the core each day to work, mass spectacles can now attract up to 400,000 people into the core area for a single event (VS-114).

This has created a new array of problems which were not anticipated in the studies carried out on the downtown in the 1970s or even those which were undertaken in the 1980s that lead to the creation of the Central Area Plan. For example very little attention was given to congestion arising from the over use of public spaces such as the sea wall in Stanley Park (The West Ender January 18th, 1996) or to crowd management and the noise and pollution caused by tour buses (Douglas 1996). But as the core area becomes further specialized as a zone of spectacles livability issues raised by the further cultivation of this function should become more important to planners. With the Stanley Cup Riots (CV-10) and increased congestion and noise being experienced by residents as more spectacles are concentrated in the core it is quite possible that a new political dynamic for planning within the core area over the upcoming decade will be created which will revolve around these issues. While low income people may be flushed out of the core by the feverish expansion of these activities the growing middle class population that is taking up residence in the core is bound to become more powerful and may start to react against aspects of the urban spectacle which they do not care to be involved with.

In this way the changes in the economic base of the core area and the construction of rapid transit have created a different political and economic dynamic for the evolution of the Core which was not present in 1975. In the 1970s middle class activists and planners worried about overdevelopment of the downtown in terms of the office sector. In the 1990s, however, it has been the expansion of tourist venues rather than office building complexes that have excited public debate about the livability of the Core. Already people who have moved into the first phase of the Concord's mega-project along North False Creek have started to complain about noise and congestion that has been created by GM and BC Place and this is likely to become an augury of future conflicts that will probably follow as more people settle in the mega-projects with the completion of each additional phase (PO-7).

The third important change had to do with density and the reversal of the Planning Department's perception of high residential density in the core. The aversion to high density, which once found its most tangible expression in the downzonings that were put in place during the middle 1970s, began to be challenged in the early 1980s (CVPD-80). This lead to experiments with higher residential densities and eventually large parts of the downtown peninsula were upzoned (The Forum For Planning Action, 1988).

In part this adaptation appears to have been forced on the Planning Department and City Council because of the province (CVPD-64). In order to recoup its costs the province wanting much higher densities than the city or the Planning Department were willing to grant for the Expo lands (CV-12a). Here the choice of an outside expert who was brought in to confer with the B.C. Place Citizen's Advisory Committee about density was an interesting choice. Rather than choose Oscar Newman (1973), who was more supportive of medium rather than high rise development, William Michelson, was chosen. Unlike, Newman (Lamey 1996), Michelson (1970) was much more tolerant towards density and his selection to soothe some of the concerns which were voiced about density became part of the re-evaluation of density that continues to the present (CV-12a).

Thus political pressure and a change in attitude about density that took within the Planning Department lead to the most significant modification of the aesthetic program of the livable city. For one of the most important thrusts of the livable city agenda across the country had been experimentation with medium density and medium rise formats rather than high rise formats since this format had been discredited by reformers in the 1970s.

Willingness to experiment with much higher densities in Vancouver was therefore a significant departure from the original aesthetic regime for the livable city. In this regard, the first important experiment was probably the Carlyle which was constructed in the early 1980s. This building was probably the first high rise residential building in the postmodern era that had a floor space ration above four (CVPD-80) After this, the next great experiment in higher density residential development took place on the Granville Slopes between the Burrard and Granville Street bridges in 1984, where high density residential development was allowed to predominate over an entire district (CVPD-87; VS-80). This, in turn, laid the groundwork for a more ambitious experiment in high rise living when a plan for the redevelopment of the Downtown South was adopted in 1991 (CVPD-103), where allowable floor space ratios were set as high as five: two-thirds higher than those allowed in the West End (CVPD-80; The Forum For Planning Action 1988).

As the attitude towards density began to change in the Planning Department the perception of the West End improved as high rise residential development began to be seen in a more positive light and this would affect what happened along the North Shore of False Creek. Whereas development along the South Shore of False Creek arose as a direct reaction to the West End (VS-33), in the 1980s this attitude may not have softened for those middle class fractions who settled in the former conversion zone around False Creek, but it did in the Planning Department and with the non domestic fractions of the new middle class who lived on the downtown peninsula rather than conversion zone. Thus for many people densities that were two-thirds higher than the ceiling for the West End, which had been regarded as a concrete jungle by urban reformers, were no longer an important issue.

With higher density formats now accepted a two pronged strategy towards densification appears to have informally taken shape in the Department. As far back as the Goals For Vancouver this could be seen but was more clearly articulated in the CorePlan process (VP-46). The strategy that informally evolved was that high-rise residential development was to be channelled into the central area while medium-density development was to be allocated to the rest of the city wherever it was possible to find sites for redevelopment. The Central Area Division was to specialize in planing for high rise development while the Local Area Division would concentrate on planning for medium rise developments in the transitional zone and the outlying suburban areas of the city. With the passage of The Central Area Plan in 1991 and the adoption of CityPlan in 1995 this tacit division of labour seems to have become more formalized and made more explicit in the programs and allocation of responsibilities that have been made. Whereas the Central Plan sets out the direction for high rise development which will be the responsibility of the Central Area Division to implement, a similar game plan has been devised for the Local Area Planning Division, now renamed the Community Planning Division, whose function will be to attempt to implement CityPlan through an initiative called, Bringing CityPlan to Neighbourhoods (CVPD-154) that will commence with Dunbar and Kensington - Cedar Cottage in 1997 (CVCO-37).

Addendum: Interestingly enough the City of Winnipeg has just hired an American by the name of Dan Hunter, as a consultant for $60.000, to tell the city how to turn downtown Winnipeg into a fun and entertainment place, a strategy that has been in place in Montreal since the mid 60s, but has not really worked and one which looks positively absurd in the context of the growing underclass in Winnipeg. The interesting thing about this move, which goes beyond Winnipeg, is how the Core areas of the Canadian cities are increasingly being perceived as places of entertainment. During the era of the urban spectacle, Vancouver is therefore not alone in specializing in this activity. The only difference is that Vancouver will succeed at this strategy while Winnipeg will most likely fail because of unfavourable

demographics, a slow growing tourist economy, and inept leadership which still feels that it must buy outside help to do a makeup job on the city (See Santin 1997e).

17: It also has to be recognized that there is a strong material reason for the rise of such a culture, particularly for the managerial and professional fractions of the new middle class who were having to accept massive amounts of overtime in an economy with a national unemployment rate of over 9 percent. Thus with little time, and with incomes to buy goods and services rather than producing or consuming them domestically, the middle class fraction that has settled in the Core and the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement has generated a whole new infrastructure to service to their need that oriented to lifestyles that are centred outside the home and hence, to a certain extent, the urban spectacle. While this has been noted in the particular case of the gay community (The Economist 1992; Anderson 1984; Lukenbill 1995) since the 1970s, once was once considered an aberration in consumption is now the norm for an ever large segment of the middle class, particularly in the first and second settlement zones where the proportion of children among the middle class is below the norm (The Economist 19997a).

Addendum: For example it is possible to infer from a data new data published from Statscan, in the Labour Force Update, that the time demands placed upon the new middle class have played a role in intensifying the commercial revival of street life, with its restaurants and amusements and services. Hence, in the White Collar Category, Managerial jobs experienced 30.6% overtime, natural sciences (i.e., engineers) 28.2%, social science 23.7% and Medicine 13.4%. Unlike the Blue Collar Sector for most occupations in the White Collar sector overtime was unpaid. In the Blue Collar sector overtime was highest in mining at 26.4%, Machining, at 24.9%, Construction at 17.7% with the lowest level recorded in this work field 13.8%. Meanwhile, in the Pink Collar sector - that is Artistic (18.2%) Sales (12.3%), Clerical (12.2%) and Service (8.5%) levels of overtime were below the national norm.

More specifically engineers worked 8.7 hours a week over time, with a third getting paid, compared to only 15% of managers. Miners put in a great deal of over time each week. On average 15.8 hours a week beyond their normal shifts. (Teachers are mentioned as most likely to work overtime but Statscan warns that this may be misleading because of the type of work contracts that they have). In total 1.9 million people - 18.9% of the labour force worked overtime during the first quarter of 1997. Unpaid overtime workers put in more hours: 9.2 versus 8.5 hours and the average percentage of all workers engaged in overtime work was 9.1. In the case of managers this amounted to about 10.1 hours of unpaid overtime a week (See Little 1997f).

28: Here it is interesting to note that the middle class fractions which lead the fight against higher buildings were located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement within the community of Fairview. According to planners only about five sights in the downtown are eligible for these higher structures however this has provoked a challenge from middle class activists who have voiced concerns about the creation of a concrete jungle (See "Vancouver approves taller buildings downtown," by Frances Bula, in the Vancouver Sun May 7,1997, VS-183).

It is also important to note that one reason why there was a reappraisal in high rise living was the increasing concentration of non traditional families in the downtown. Whereas the reaction against high rises was fueled in part by the domestic ideology of the livable city this has been less the case during the era of the urban spectacle.

For in this zone a significant concentration of non traditional and ethnic households have appeared. As the previous analysis of the origin and diffusion of the densification process in Vancouver, has shown, it was the initial differentiation and stratification of households in the West End which first triggered the densification process. That is why the first zone can also be viewed as the institutional incubation ground for an entirely new mode of urban development and not just the point of origin for both the densification process and the incubation ground for postmodern norms, because this is the place where both of these separate transforming influences begin to mutually interact with each other for the first time, something

which can easily be tracked by looking at the symbiotic relation that developed between densification in the West End and the modification of the zoning districts that took place as a result of this.

30: Carnegie Centre has now become the organizational centre for the defense of working class territory and the main defender of the homeless who are growing as gentrification here intensifies. Consequently a vigorous class struggle between upper and lower middle class residents and the middle class and the urban proletariat in the core has ensued which has become more volatile than in other cities in Canada or similar sized cities in the United States, such as Seattle, for that matter (Hill 1997).

Addendum: Another example of the attempt to render all signs of the working class invisible is the recent controversy over taxis going to the airport. With tourism image is very important, and the working class look and behaviour of many taxi drivers was recently found to inadequate to the image that Vancouver needed to project to visitors. As a result Tourism Vancouver and the corporation running the Vancouver airport set up new requirements for taxi drivers to make them more presentable as well as to standardize the quality of service. For this reason all taxi drivers using the airport will have to have a Level - one TaxiHost certification by April 1988 (VS-211) where manners and proper etiquette as well as a better knowledge of the geography of the city will be taught. While this may be a very good ideal it does nevertheless reveal a great deal about the postmodern tendency to render traditional images of working class labour invisible

33: While its role as a Central Business District remains intact what emerges from the comparison is that downtown Vancouver is now also a large settlement zone and not just a Central Business District where residential land uses are peripheral. Secondly what the comparison shows is that Vancouver performs a powerful role as the Central Entertainment District for the region and acts as a destination point for international tourism in a way Seattle does not. Even though Seattle has developed many postmodern characteristics in its own land use regime in the downtown over the past 10 years it does not come close to rivalling what is happening in Vancouver.

Hence although Greater Seattle is one third larger than Vancouver there is only 3.25 million square feet of retail space versus 7.5 million in Vancouver in each city. Seattle has 26 million square feet of office space while downtown Vancouver has about 18.8 million downtown. In Seattle there are 8,200 hotel rooms downtown but in Vancouver there are 9,685 and a building boom in hotel construction currently taking place which may see the number of rooms in downtown Vancouver increase by 50 percent. The resident population of downtown Seattle is 17,700, fairly high for an American city of its size but this pales besides the 55,000 people that live downtown in Vancouver. Finally 170.000 people work in Seattle while only 125,000 work in Vancouver. Again what these work and residence numbers reveal is that the core of Vancouver acts more as a place of consumption and a powerful node for the urban spectacle.

Addendum: addition tourism statistics for Vancouver - Tourism Expenditures for the Greater Vancouver Regional District as supplied by Tourism Vancouver 1996 -$2.4-billion: accommodation$608.4-million or 24.8%, restaurants $561-million or 21.9%, shopping $498.4-million or 20.3%. Place of origins 1996 B.C. 32% versus 32.4%, Canada 29%, Western United States 18% or 1.3-million other United States 464,000, Japan 306,5000 - 5.6%, United Kingdon 2%.

44: A new kind of Medieval postmodern architecture has made its appearance in Vancouver's core. The signature of this architecture is the presence of high gates, surveillance cameras, security guards posted around the periphery of new developments and the construction of large developments on podiums which convey a fortress mentality. The transformation of buildings into fortresses, once a common denominator of downtown America is increasingly becoming the norms for Vancouver's Core, as more aggressive measure to keep out unwanted intruders has

gained a great deal of momentum in the late 1980s and 1990s and appears to have become part of the experiment in postmodern high rise living which mimics common fixtures of the cores of American cities were crime rates are much higher (Davis 1990; 1993).

Addendum: For instance in Citygate at 1255 Main Street to purchase a key to enter the building costs $75. Other elaborate measures to keep the garage safe has resulted in very elaborate measures being taken here as well.

45: Furthermore if current proposals go forward the lead between Vancouver and Montreal will widen considerably. With a 90 percent occupancy rate at the moment up to 40 new hotels are may be produced which would add 10,000 rooms, most of which, would be in the core area. In 1996 there were over 7.6 million overnight visitors who spent $2.45 billion in greater Vancouver so a doubling of the hotel capacity in the core would significantly affect the inner city economy of Vancouver.

Also in comparison are made with its closest regional rival, Seattle, the importance of tourism and entrepot functions become obvious. While command and high technology functions in Vancouver do not come close to rivalling Seattle a different picture emerges when looking at tourism.Although tourist visits to Seattle were 6.7 million versus 6.3 million to Vancouver, in 1994, in per capita terms Vancouver was already ahead of Seattle because of its smaller population. (VS-97aa). However with around 7.7 million tourist visits projected to visit Vancouver in 1996 Vancouver has probably developed a significant absolute lead over Seattle. With the open skies policy now in force this lead should be further enhanced as Vancouver will have connections to 20 American cities by the Summer of 1996, becoming the number two West coast airport in terms of transpacific traffic - closing in on San Francisco.

Moreover, whereas a decade ago Seattle was more successful at gaining Asian Passengers the situation has now been turned around. While over 20 million people go through Seattle airport and about 12 million go through Vancouver, Vancouver airport now has 82 flights a week going to Asia versus 39 a week in Seattle, a sharp rise for Vancouver since 1994 when only 58 flights a week were going to Asia (See Robert Williamson, "Open skies helps Vancouver soar," in The Globe and Mail April 18th 1996). With these changes Vancouver may even emerge an airport hub for many American flights rather than just acting as an origin and destination point for travellers - further enhancing its growing role as an entrepot. For instance, with the open skies policy of 1994 the number of pass through passengers between American and the Far East rose from 13,000 in 1995 to 80,000 in 1987. This in turn has lead Canadian Pacific Airlines to hire 300 more people, bringing the total employment at the airport to 6,250 (Bertin 1997a).

51: Even in Toronto the collapse of the office market has lead to the invasion of residential land uses into the very core of the this city's office district. But in smaller cities, with more limited command economies, the realization is dawning that the downtown will have to take on a new role in each urban region as the office, retail, warehousing and manufacturing sectors decline in the inner city. For example, in the case of London Ontario, see Keith Oliver, "A Future For Downtown," in City Magazine, Fall, 1996.

Addendum: Not only in Canada but in the United States tourism is increasingly viewed as a panacea for the woes of the inner city. For example in Philadelphia office and residential development in the inner city has dried up but there remains a large potential for the tourist market that is now being tapped. The recent construction of a convention centre has spawned proposals for 2,000 new hotel rooms. To encourage their construction tax-increment financing has been used to assist in the construction of 6 hotels and will result in the addition of 2,300 new hotel rooms. All of this is being helped along by occupancy rates which have risen to 73 percent from 63 percent in 1992 despite a 30 percent increase in the number of rooms. Most hotels are now being constructed in the downtown or near the airport and the subsidy given usually amounts to a 3 to 1 ratio for the support of hotels so far, with $110 million in subsidies leading to $360 million in hotel construction (See David Wallace 19970).

52: This began in the 1950s, when a large number of seniors began to migrate into the West End. Later on, a second wave composed of young singles - and especially young females - migrated to the West End. More recently, in the late 1970s and 1980s a third major migration has taken place. Only this migration wave was composed of gay men, who added yet another layer to the non family social formations that had already concentrated here, deepening and diversifying this non traditional residential bastion while also further setting it apart from the more domestically inclined middle class fraction that was settling across False Creek in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement.

Addendum: In the modern era large concentrations of non traditional households were viewed with alarm, particularly if they were made up of men. In the modern order this was taken as one of the clearest signs of deviance and pathology. Not until the 1980s when a sizable non domestic fraction of the new middle class arose was this notion overturned during the second phase of the postmodern evolution of the city. On the downtown peninsula, this deconstruction of modern social space was carried out by gay middle class activists, in the West End, and by working class activists who lived in the Downtown Eastside. Neither accepting definition of the concrete jungle, in the case of the West End, or the stereotype of being a skidroad, in the case of the Downtown Eastside, the image of both neighbourhoods changed. Although middle class gay activists were more successful in securing legitimization from the bureaucracy, because of the weaker class position of residents on the east side similar recognition has been more tentative and susceptible to being overturned.

Despite the tentative recognition of the Downtown Eastside as community it is still contested. The community building initiated by former activists such as Bruce Erickson and Jim Green are now being challenged by aggressive middle class colonizers and the hysteria over prostitution and drug dealing in the Eastside which has created the perception that the area is only a sinkhole (G/M 1997zm; G/M 1997zr).

Nonetheless because working class advocates have insistently badgered politicians and planners to recognize this space as a community and its symbolic invisibility has been partially uncovered as can be seen in some of the new maps for local areas produced by the city which now show the Downtown Eastside as distinct neighbourhood rather than a left over space. This is one good case in point where the mobilization of activists has come close to overturning the mainstream designation of the area as a skidroad given to the Downtown Eastside by modern planners and sociologists. However, with the current hysteria and aggressive middle class colonization this recognition is fragile and it is conceivable that this area could once again be represented as a zone of discard.

For example within the CityPlan process some tentative recognition was officially given to the existence of the Downtown Eastside as the 23rd neighbourhood in some local area maps that were published by the media (Applebe 1995) and the city in 1995. More recent maps also show that the representation of the east side is still contested, as a current study now underway shows the area has been grouped into a much larger territory which included Victory Square, Gastown and parts of Strathcona(CVPD-166). How the struggle for community identification proceeds will likely show up in future maps. If the middle class are able to overpower working class claims for space this should be reflected in how the space in the Downtown Eastside is represented.

Whether the Downtown Eastside can retain its identity will also be determined by the growing struggle between middle class colonizers and low income groups over the extension of Gastown into the Downtown Eastside and how successful middle class colonizers are in having the poor moved out to the suburbs where they will be out of sight of these inner city dwellers and someone else's problem (PO-9). Although both male sub-cultures are threatened by displacement, class, and the weaker organization of these non gay males, in the East side make this community more imperilled than the gay community's hold on the West End.

In both cases what is interesting to note is how both groups challenged the modern social order and the representation of social space which had marginalized each of these predominantly males sub-cultures. While working class activists were working hard on the east

side to have their space recognized as a legitimate community, to the West another group but, in this case, mostly middle class gay activists, were also mobilizing at the same time to deconstruct and reconstruct the representation of the physical and social space of the West End.

However for gay activists the material circumstances which lead to the quest for normalization revolved more around the question of social rather economic marginality. Unlike their proletarian counterparts they had the economic clout to transform their marginal status into a niche market that granted them much more leverage than their lower class counterparts Thus with the recognition of these two previously marginalized male communities in the 1970s and 1980s (Gawthrop 1997, p.779; Ley and Hassan,1994; PI-8), not only was a new settlement geography emerging so too, was a new power block with its own unique consumer and political demands (The Economist 1997a; 1997c).

Nevertheless, for this group as well as for working class males, the drive against stigmatization and marginalization produced a double edged sword, creating negative and positive consequences with regard to their ability to stake out space for themselves in core. Like the marginalized working class males, on the east side, these gay males used their occupation of space and the struggle to have this space represented in terms of community to gain legitimacy and civic recognition to challenge the marginalized place given to them in the social order. Both groups were able to ride the progressive communitarian wave that defined the politics of the new middle class in the 1970s in the era of the livable city.

Unlike the East side, in the case of the West End, what was involved in the struggles that took place, was not only the designation of the area as a concrete jungle but also the recognition of new consumer markets, a market that was not geared to the organization of consumption around the traditional family unit. This, of course, did not apply to the working class males, on the East side, poverty prevented anything but a distinctly marginal consumer culture from forming (Appelbe 1995). In either case both mobilizations did loosen the connection that was automatically made between the existence of predominantly male neighbourhood and social pathology, creating postmodern rather than modern representations of each array, while also further adding to the attributes which made the social spaces of the Core a Collage City.

For gay men, in particular, what is interesting to note about the normalization is that it has also provided an opening for the market to penetrate these space because of the rising social status brought about through normalization. With the Core now more attractive to other middle class groups these two formerly outcast groups are both being challenged for control of the spaces they now inhabit.

Although displacement is a growing concern for gay men, in the West End, this problem is far more acute for working class males in the downtown. Especially in the Downtown South and the Downtown Eastside the reconfiguration of the social ecology of the Core has lead to increasingly bitter turf wars between long established working class social formations and various fractions of the new middle class who are now vigorously colonizing areas in the Core that had traditionally been left to the urban proletariat. This was not a problem in the modern period when land extensive settlement patterns predominated. Rather than colonizing space in the inner city the middle class was doing the exact opposite: abandoning the inner city for the suburbs. This helped to create a zone of discard which planners who worked for the City of Vancouver described as the collar of blight. With falling property values and very little investment, this area became a prime resettlement area for new immigrants and the region's largest reservoir for the most disenfranchised elements of the city.

57: Not surprisingly, in addition to statra title units, there were also more single detached dwelling units in the second zone. In the core, for instance, there are only about 145 single detached units. They make up only point three percent of the entire housing stock; however, in the second zone there were 11,700 single detached dwelling units in 1991, which make up 17 percent of all dwelling units. In part this explains why there are proportionately three times more children in the second zone than in the first.

Finally, in the third zone, a low rather than medium-rise landscape appears. Almost entirely composed of single detached dwelling units, tenure is mostly Fee Simple. With 74 percent of all the housing units made up of single detached dwelling units this correlates with the highest proportion of children in the city. While the Core only had 1,315 children in 1991, there were 10,822 children under the age of fifteen in the second settlement ring, while there were 73,710 children in the third settlement ring (Table 4).

62: So with the notion of the Collage City and the appearance of micro utopias social imperative can over-rule utilitarian economic ones to a certain extent, with less space consumed or other consumption substituted for rent. That is why the West End continues to function as an immigration portal, albeit on a very much reduced scale, a destination point for not so well off gays, a popular locality for seniors and a home for Vancouver's most recent Slav population. For with the existence of micro utopias the occupation of urban space goes beyond the simple calculus of the relative economic power of each group competing for space it touches upon the capacity of the willingness of various groups to make extra sacrifices to occupy space which has emotional, social and symbolic significance to them. In these miniature utopias almost heroic effort may be undertaken to remain in a favoured locality despite the rent and vacancy crunch now present in the West End.

What this shows is that social imperatives and not only economic ones can influence the pattern of settlement. Although economics set the final limits to the occupation of space the presence of micro utopias indicates that the settlement of space can not be reduced to economic expediency. For as Fischer (1975,1982) has shown, once a sub-group reaches a certain size and a certain level of spatial concentration is achieved a critical mass of people appears which allows for the development of a dense array of social networks and institutions which create homeland for a certain sub-culture altering the dominant matrix that defines centrality and what is the periphery for these groups. When this happens, for instance, even for the middle class, with regard to the gentrification of derelict spaces, non descript space may begin to function as a magnet, becoming a destination points for a particular sub groups who will make special sacrifices to live or to travel to this space because it is, indeed, viewed as a promised land.

As already mentioned, this produced very finely weaved social spaces in a relatively small area. At the same time it can intensify competition and generate hostility as zero sum scenarios become more prevalent and as space becomes scarcer while the demand by various groups increases. This can be seen in one of the most recent sub groups to make the Core its homeland the gay HIV community and the other HIV population anchored around intravenous drug injection. In the report that was released by Ministry of Health for the Government of British Columbia (1995), the level of HIV infection in the West End that was shown to be over 20 times the provincial norm and since then, on the Eastside another node as developed, which may be the most concentrated in North America (G/M 1997bu; 1997bwa). Even though it may at first appear strange to apply this description to deadly disease, nonetheless, in this instance as well another micro utopia has emerged. For with the concentration of volunteer and institutional infrastructure (Brown 1995) for HIV patients anchored around St. Paul's Hospital and other outreach services concentrated on the East and West sides of the Core, yet another sub group has found a home in the West End. Unfortunately this has further increased the competition for scarce residential space in the West End (Something the makeover of the now empty Heather Pavilion, located by the Vancouver General Hospital would go a long way to alleviating).

Another interesting thing to note about the recent formation of both HIV sub-cultures is how they came into existence and are products of the age of the urban spectacle. In numerous ways their evolution mirrors and reflects many of the broader currents that are shaping and defining the the second phase in the evolution of the postmodern social ecology of the city - where social polarization and the fight against bureaucratization and displacement as well as the increased competition for resources (Brown 1995) what can be seen in the broader middle

class population. For example, with the HIV community, at least the middle class gay segment of this population, no where else can the type of populism that inspired the suspicion of professionalism and the rule of the bureaucracy be so clearly seen here. With regard to the non middle class segment anchored in the drug culture, once again, nowhere else can the irrelevance of bureaucratic regulation and control of a pathological situation be so clearly illustrated as in the inability of mainstream professionals, institutions and codes for law enforcement appear at such extreme odds with what needs to be done to address the situation.

The way that the spread of HIV is polarizing around middle class and proletarian populations is a fitting metaphor for the dark side of postmodernism and the shadow that has accompanied a culture oriented to the satisfaction of desire. As diseases, homelessness, poverty and hunger, scourges largely banished by the modern regulation of the city re-emerge once again, to not only threaten the marginalized populations of the city, but as was the case the laissez faire city pose a threat to the middle class and, more specifically, in the case of Vancouver, its lucrative tourist industry. With the fraying of the social safety net, which was one of the great accomplishments of the modern era and one of the most positive outcomes of the alliance between the progressive middle class and the working class during the modern period, menacing douds have appeared, in the form of urban pathologies, such as TB that have reappeared (Brett 1996; Wallace 1991) with the emergence of an urban underclass as one of the main vectors of this dark side, on one side of the social spectrum, while, on the other side of the social spectrum a powerful and urban middle class, with a strong sense of entitlement, has also arisen, which is moving into the Core in greater numbers. With this fast evolving dichotomized class becoming one of the most salient features of the evolution of the Core in the postmodern city a major fault line has appeared which imperils the well being of the city..

For in Collage City the HIV population is no longer just one homogeneous group but is increasingly made up of two quite distinct and diverging populations, who also occupy two different social and physical spaces in the core of the city that represent the two extremes of the postmodern consumer culture that has arisen in the city. Originally the disease was largely confined to the West End and became an affliction which received special attention from artists and information workers, which made it the perfect disease of the era of the era of the urban spectacle, where images of death, long the norn outside Eurocentric countries, was turned into high drama and what was common place within whole continent, such as Africa, became the subject for discussion about the approaching apocalypse. With the arts community over-represented in this HIV population the full command of the ideological resources of the community were marshalled. What will now be interesting to see is how this changes as the socio-economic profile moves down the social ladder. With this fast developing will HIV be represented in the heroic terms that it has so far been constructed as. Will memorials be constructed for intravenous drug users like they have been for gay males or quilt's be put together to honour their death agony?

Not surprisingly, therefore, up to this point in time, HIV has become the medical signature for the era of the urban spectacle as artists and other information workers have mobilize around this disease, generating a tremendous amount of publicity and community mobilization. But there is the other side the disease which where the disease is represented in terms of panic rather than compassion, containment rather than counseling

For as the disease has evolved and progressed it has becomes less a disease of the new middle class and has increasingly become an affliction of the urban underclass, which in Vancouver, is located on the East side of the downtown rather than the West End. Recent statistics show this trend quite clearly. For example in the mid 1980s the level of infection in the Downtown was very low compared to other neighbourhoods in the city. However, by the early 1990s the level on the East side was second only the West End and twice the level of the neighbourhood with the next highest level of infection (Government of British Columbia 1995) and it may now even be the highest in 1997.

With a high percentage of this second generation HIV population made up of natives, and drug users the epidemiology of the spread of HIV in the inner city is now following what can be seen among the Black and Latino underclass in the American city (Wallace 1991). For

example, since the late 1980s, the level of infections among Natives has tripled (VS-144). Not only is a different class being affected this new population is also physically and socially separated from much of the support infrastructure which arose in the West End to serve the burgeoning middle class HIV clientele. Thus, in addition to the appearance of these micro communities and miniature utopias, within many of these relatively small sub groups, evidence of the larger cleavages that are shaping the postmodern city can be observed.

How this will unfold in terms of the occupation of space will therefore be become quite significant, as already the first panic responses have appeared. Even on an institutional front how organizations are restructure to take into account the changing population profile of the HIV community will reveal a great deal about class and status in the postmodern city. Finally, how the spatial dilemma of more patients and institutional support structures for people infected with HIV is handled as they become steadily more concentrated in the core and jostle with other groups will be another process that deserves closer scrutiny. For according to BCPWA NEWS directory (BCPWA News 1996), a publication of the B.C. Persons With Aids Society, 20 of 65 organizations that deal primarily with HIV are located in the core. When regional bodies serving client groups outside the Greater Vancouver region are excluded this rises to about 60 percent: where of the 34 agencies listed in the HIV directory for Greater Vancouver are located in the Core.

66: The largest component of the Core's housing stock is made up of rental units located in West End, where 23,000 units, consisting largely of studio and one bedroom units, exist. Because of downzoning, some rent control and the large cushion that this size of rental stock provides, displacement is proceeding more gradually in the West End. Consequently the West End has not yet become Vancouver's version of New York's Park Avenue although this is happening along the periphery by the waterside, where the mega-projects are being constructed (Gray 1976).

This is not so easy to say when the status of Single Room Occupancy units are examined. Predominately located in the Downtown, these units cater to a working class rather than a lower middle class clientele. In 1991 there were about 7,400. This was down from about 13,000 in the early 1970s (CVCO-45). Because of this decline, the most vulnerable people and the most vulnerable housing stock have suffered the most from the current residential boom (CV-24,p.76)

Not only is this housing stock becoming the target of redevelopment, with the rise of the economy of the urban spectacle a new threat has appeared, as these units are increasingly being converted to tourist uses. Making the situation worse, with the expansion of education institutions this stock may become increasingly targeted by the influx of middle class students looking for inexpensive accommodation in the Core.

For example the SFU downtown campus, which was opened in 1990, now draws 50,000 students and visitors annually. A $24 million BCIT facility opened in 1996, which will register about 12,000 students in 1997, is another case of point. Still more with the founding of the Vancouver Film School in 1995, on Hastings Street, more SRO units are becoming potentially vulnerable to conversion. Now, with the UBC school of Architecture moving part of its operation downtown this potential problem may become even larger in its dimensions. Adding to this is the opening of dozens of language, business and computer schools. Furthermore, SFU is now considering moving its centre for contemporary arts downtown and soon a conference centre run by the university downtown will add yet additional pressure to this threatened housing stock (See Frances Bula, Downtown a class act where campuses are thriving: Along Seymour and Hastings new life is springing up beside student district," in the Vancouver Sun, April 7 1997).

Then there is third component to the core's rental stock. This segment is made up of a cluster of 2,226 non-profit housing units. These units provide a small cushion for low income people living in the core. They also provide additional diversity since space for children and women have been consciously provided for them in these spaces, but recent cut backs in federal

and provincial housing programs mean that this component of the rental stock will diminish significantly in the future evolution of the core.

Lastly there is a fourth component that is minuscule compared to the others but may expand greatly as bohemian lifestyles become more popular and as the non domestic fraction of the middle class looks for more inexpensive accommodation in the Downtown Eastside and this is the appearance of artist live and work studios or lofts.

74: For instance the removal of the indigent or marginalized population out of their former habitats in Vancouver now threatens the development of Surrey's regional town centre. Despite hiring consultants to change the image of the place the concentration of recovery homes may end up producing a satellite of the some of the more unsavory and marginalized areas of the downtown Eastside rather than a gleaming new downtown. That is why the problem of the contractions of the Downtown Eastside, which has always provided a refugee or hiding place for urban outcasts is very much a regional problem, And it is one which will not be readily solved now that open and vicious class warfare has erupted between the advocates of the disenfranchised and the middle class residents and businesses that are flocking to the area. This has put advocacy organizations on the defensive since they lack the financial resources and organization capability to counter the increased aggressive of the new middle class. In this regard Neil Smith's comment that organization is the most important and key elements in preserving space for the poor (PO-9) is critical and here the Downtown Eastside has been stymied by damaging infighting and very naive and irresponsible leadership for much of the 1990s when important counter measures could have been taken against the open hostility of the middle class who have the economic means and the cultural capital to self organize spontaneously for the control of space, a situation that applies far less to the working class. That is why the weakening of the organizational network of the working class became so damaging and why the 1990s has been a bleak time for the Downtown Eastside. With its organization capacity seriously compromised just when broad based advocacy and community mobilization were most necessary to fight off the inroads of the new middle class. Weak and fractured leadership since the early 1990s has allowed the middle class to gain a foothold in the area that might have been prevented if this infighting had not been present. Hence, for the Downtown Eastside the question will not be whether or not the neighbourhood disappears but how much remains and how habitable it will be for the segments of the lumpen proletariat as the middle class attempts to enforce codes of behaviour in areas where it cannot force this population out of. Now a great deal mutual hostility exists which is now personal as well as political, that is not likely to soon disappear but intensify instead. This may be one reason by Brad Holmes the developer general who lead the battle for gentrification of the Downtown Eastside has left for Toronto - the battle for space was simply becoming too hot on the East side.

For the a fuller overview of the increasingly acrimonious class warfare that has broke out over the control of space refer to the following references :VS-155m VS 164; Vs-166; VS-167; VS-169; VS-188, Shutz 1995; Sguleewski 1995; Delling 1996; P0-9; Taylor June 1st, 1996; McPhee 1989).

75: In line with a more aggressive stance that was taken by the new middle class during the 1980s the mobilization against prostitutes in the West End during the early part of the 1980s becomes quite instructive (i.e.. Hookers On Davie 1984; Lowman 1984). Although very real and legitimate grievances underlined this middle class agitation against prostitution in the West End what is important to recognize in this struggle over space was how the issue involved much more than the simple question of nuisance. Legitimate grievances no doubt acted as a trigger, but reflected a shift to a more space-exclusive orientation of the new middle class. Contained in the mobilization against prostitution were many broader and more wide ranging assumptions about the tolerance for low status service workers and the presumption of a new middle class that was now beginning to flex its muscles enough to expect that it had the right to exclude low status populations from the space it once shared with them.

By the mid 80s this attitude would lead to the expulsion of prostitutes from the West End and set off a round of displacements that continues into the present that strongly foreshadows what is happening to the other elements of the lumpen urban proletariat. This attitude of exclusivity and intolerance has not just been confined to prostitution, it has surfaced in the opposition to a shelter for homeless youth in the West End - a problem which the middle class is partially responsible for but refuses to take some responsibility for ameliorating the consequences of because of the homelessness caused by the gentrification which it has engendered and been one of the most active agents in promoting.

The struggle to expel the poor also has its origins in the corporate sector as well. With the expansion of the infrastructure of the economy of the urban spectacle, leisure oriented spaces have intruded into derelict residential spaces once left to the most marginalized populations in the city. However, it is not just the consumption of this space which has created problems. The problem has become more serious than this because the simple presence of these people is now perceived as a problem for the middle class. For in a city that depends upon image, style: the perception of a place becomes more like that of a theme park - where the presence of discordant elements can disrupt if not threaten the economy built around spectacle - as the business panic over panhandlers in Gastown during the Summer of 1997 so amply illustrates.

Finally, how the community of Strathcona responded to the problem posed by prostitution also stands out as a litmus test for the survival of the values which informed the first livable city program. Unlike the West End where, as we have seen, the assumption which guided the middle class mobilization against prostitution was that these individuals had no right to occupy space, quite a different tact was taken in Strathcona during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Instead of working on the assumption that prostitutes had no right to be in the community a more tolerant attitude was taken and a process of negotiation rather than outright exclusion was begun. No doubt part of the reason for this tolerance has to do with the residual working class culture that still retains some influence on the margins of this zone. Although the neighbourhood is being gradually gentrified it will never be completely transformed since nearly 50 percent of the housing stock in made up of social housing (CVC0-19).

75a: The circulation of books like Fixing Broken Windows not only portrays the growth of a new form of corporatism but also the further privatization of public functions like policing. Again this harks back the subject of a private police force (VS-118) which Mike Davis has described as one sign of the creation of the cacercal city that Mike Davis when he looked at the regime of the urban spectacle in his account of the regulation of space in downtown L.A. What he described in L.A. is now moving up to Vancouver, making its belated first appearance in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver (Davis 1990). As the middle class takes a more exclusive view to the use of space in the second phase of the postmodern transformation of the city evidence of convergence between Vancouver and other American cities is easier to see.

However not all fractions of the new middle class have moved in this direction. Especially on the east side of the Zone there is still a powerful cohort of middle class activists who still strongly adhere to the program of the livable city and the six key attributes of which social equity and inclusiveness are major components. In this regard not only can different geographies be observed that separate the first and second zones; as has already been shown even within the second settlement ring there is an east and west division, where in the east the program of the livable city remains an active force in the reconfiguration of the landscape while on the western side of this zone, practices more aligned with the urban spectacle are in greater evidence.

But even with the division between the east and west sides (going partly into West Point Grey) of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement it is clear that two different material postmodern material cultures have crystallized into allegiance to two different postmodern spatial orders which makes it possible to contrast the entire second zone with the Core and the third settlement ring which follows it. This difference has been preserved so well that in

crossing from one Zone to the other in a sense one also moves forwards or backwards in time with regard to the postmodern evolution of the city just by traversing space. That may be why going through some parts of the second zone project can feel like going a time warp, particularly if comparisons are made with what is now happening in the Core.

77: What develops in Vancouver remain to be seen. Already there are worries that this population will begin to flow into the West End (Zillich 1997), something that is ironic in light of the fact that many of the condos now being constructed for the middle class on the east side have been targeted a gay and straight couples living in the West End. Here we see a return of the repressed, so to speak.

This dispersion is far unique. For example in suburban and exurban parts of Long Island in New York, " there is an unspoken contract between communities and their homeless residents: Shopkeepers, town officials and the police will usually tolerate and even help homeless people as long as they stay away from the central business district and sleep in areas where they are invisible to the casual observer, allowing affluent or heavily traveled areas to maintain their image," (Hennegerger 1993). In Toronto park ravines have also serve this function, as the homeless have move into the more affluent suburban areas from the core. Potentially the situation is worse in Vancouver. With higher rents and more of the core taken over by the middle class, except for a small enclave around the Downtown Eastside and an even smaller area in Mount Pleasant, the entire City of Vancouver is rapidly turning into a varied but consistently middle class habitat. What is happening in Toronto may even become more amplified in Vancouver as a result, as the homeless have now begun to disperse out to the suburbs. For example, they have now become a presence in the ravines of Rosedale, one of Toronto's most exclusive areas.

79: Blighted space was largely regarded as inert and passive space which could be treated as a blank slate and as something that was malleable, which could be molded to the functional specifications of the planner. In typical Cartesian fashion, the expert planner was the only active agent and form giver.With such a conception of space the functional categories of planners could aggressively be used as instruments to enforcing a technocratic vision of the city on the populace, compressing external reality into functional molds that were set out in the comprehensive redevelopment scheme that was established for the transitional zone of the city in the 1957 redevelopment plan.

As with the downtown plan, generating higher assessment values for the city was one of the major reasons for engaging in urban renewal, reflecting the productivist bias that was present in all three component of Sutton Brown's 20-year development. If corporations produced commodities that generated profits, in like fashion, one of the chief goals for planning was to increase the assessment value of the city. While this did not produce profits for the city this would enhance the revenue generating capacity of the city.

Because this transitional zone had become a zone of discard, where property values were falling rather than rising it, along with the downtown, became prime candidates for urban renewal. As with a development corporation this thinking gave planners more reason to pay more attention to the exchange value rather than the use value of land, amplifying the tendency to further abstract urban space, since the commodification of land also became intertwined with transformation of this blighted space into pristine mono functional space that not only reflected the technocratic values of the day but the concern with money making. Here the anti urban bias' of modern sociology and economic calculation merged. For this was also an area of higher density, mixed land uses where deviant urban sub-cultures subsisted, which planners viewed as a moral blight on the city.

Costing around 75 million dollars, in 1958 dollars, the public expenditures required to implement this plan was twice those listed in the downtown plan released a year earlier (CVTP-1; CVTB-2). In the 1960's this plan would be touted as the most ambitious urban renewal scheme in Canada (VS-29). Once completed a virtuous and more productive spatial order was

expected to result. Deviant social spaces would be normalized and, more importantly, perhaps, in terms of assessment values, this zone of discard would be transformed from an under performing area of revenue generation to one which produced adequate revenues. Urban renewal was therefore expected to act as an antidote to both the moral and economic decay of the city.

In the Vancouver Redevelopment Study the order seeking and utilitarian perspective of the engineer are also present in this productivist conceptualization of space. As the study noted: "The Development Plan is concerned with the best and most appropriate use of the City's most valuable asset-its land.When the development on part of that land becomes blighted the asset is being wasted. Redevelopment, as it is conceived in this report, is aimed a preventing this waste and is therefore just as much a part of the City's development strategy as the location of highways, of the designation of zoning districts. It is important therefore that the period considered for redevelopment should be the same as for the rest of the Development plan."

To achieve this goal the study indicated that it was a matter of small consequence that 25,000 people would have to be displaced and over 900 acres ultimately cleared in order to eliminate the "collar of blight" that surrounded the core (CVTPB-2). In keeping with the productivist orientation of modern planning and the narrow sociological imagination that guided modern planning, mixed residential spaces were to be removed. Generally residential land used were to be sacrificed to industry with industrial land uses expected to expand while residential land used were expected to contract

This would directly contrast with the postmodern strategy for the redevelopment of these lands. By the 1970s, this strategy would be completely reversed. Instead of industrial land expanding and residential land uses receding, the opposite would occur. As a result, between the late 1960s and 1990, about 700 acres of industrial, or 25 percent of the city's industrial land (although not all of it was located in this zone) was converted mostly into residential land uses (CVPD-92).

82: Currently plans are underway for the development of the last remaining industrial land that touches False Creek. With the city owning 43 acres of this land only a small amount of additional land would have to be bought or expropriated to completely redevelop this site. If this happens the total redevelopment site will cover 46 acres. In keeping with the requirements and expectations of the age of the urban spectacle high amenity standards and higher densities are expected. In the proposal for sustainable development put forward by Kwok Associates for the city, West End Densities rather than South False Creek densities have been proposed. Thus FSR above 3.0 have been advocated, which are even above the 2.8 FSR approved for North False Creek but less than 3.76 FSR that was approved for Citygate. While the provision of amenities is equal to or superior to South False Creek, there will be significantly less affordable housing. Thus 6,000 people are projected to live in 3,750 housing units that will be made up of 44 medium and high rise structures. Estimates prepared by Kwok shows that it will cost the city about $125 million dollars to redevelop the site so trade offs between amenity levels and the return, if any, to the city can be expected. With only a $8 million dollar return on $125 million invested by the city in one projection prepared by the Kwok study this shows that there would only be return of 6.5% on a fairly risky venture if a market rationale were used. So this will be an important consideration that will likely to shape the policies that the city adopts for this area in light of the absence of any federal programs which were once used in the False Creek South development. (See Policy Report: Urban Design - Standing Committee on Planning and Environment, April 2,1997 Dept. file No. 3103 and Creekside Landing: Southeast False Creek, CVPD-167).

86: Unlike Vancouver or Calgary, these middle class neighbourhoods only flank one side of the downtown (South of Broadway Avenue - i.e., Wolseley). While Wolseley is the most well known neighbourhood there are a few others that serve as islands of middle class settlement Winnipeg : for instance Norwood, and Riverview, McMillan and the area South of Corydon Avenue.

There is a high rise district called Fort Rouge, and the Downtown as well as old exclusive areas such as Crescentwood and Armstrong Point (Maunder 1997), but these are not part of a middle class resettlement zone but remnants of old elite areas or high rise areas that have developed. As a consequence they are more like Shaunessey in Vancouver, West Point Grey, the West End or Mount Royal in Calgary (See Winnipeg Real Estate News May 26,1995).

In Edmonton the equivalent area would be the river valley communities and Strathcona. Like Winnipeg and Vancouver, this middle class settlement zone became the focal point for a resurgence in co-operatives (Edmonton Journal 1997b) and community economic development (Shute 1992; Mckeen 1992; 1997). At the same time, but in a more diluted fashion, as shown in the new plan for Whyte Avenue (Edmonton Journal 1997da), Edmonton's answer to Robson Street and Commercial Drive reveal that the urban spectacle has spread to these places as well and with it the social exclusivity that can be seen in Vancouver.

In smaller cities like Saskatoon and Regina the space occupied by the new middle class is even smaller still. Usually just one inner city community would fit the profile and look of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement that has appeared in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa and Calgary. In the case of Saskatoon this would be Nutana. For Regina this would be the Cathedral neighbourhood.

89: See "Homes," in the Calgary Herald January 11,1997. Except for Inglewood - the average price of a dwelling in December 1996 - was $122,000- which is the equivalent to the average in Mount Pleasant in Vancouver. However all the other communities just mentioned are above the average house price for Calgary, with even Englewood standing above the average price that is present in new working class suburbs to the North East, just across the Bow Rive. Again during the modern era the housing prices in many of these former working class would have been part of a zone of discard rather than a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Consequently housing values would have been below rather than above the city average. Now, however, in places like Hillhurst the average multiple listing price for a home in December of 1996 was $164,557. In West Hillhurst it was $158,020. In Sunnyside it was $154,583: $266,533 in Scarboro and $190.750 in Upper Scarboro.

Addendum: Much of the transformation of such a large are for middle class resettlement in the inner city is no doubt related to the movement of head offices to this city, and the resulting expansion of the new middle class.

90: Stats Can figures:1995 median incomes show just how weak the middle class is in the inner of Winnipeg. With the median for the city as a whole standing at $19,300 and the nation at $21,000- the figures for the inner city and some immigrant suburbs are as follows: Downtown- $13,200 south of Portage - R3C/ north of Portage $11,200 - R3C/ North End $13,500 - R2W/Winnipeg Centre - North of Notre Dame $10,800 - R3A/ Wolseley $16,000 - R3G/ Osborne Village $17,800 - R3L/ Weston $16,000 - R3E/ North Winnipeg - West Arlington $16,200 - R2X/ Maples $18,700 - R2P/ St. Boniface $17,800 - R2H/ West Kildonan and Garden city $20,100 - R2V / Whyte Ridge $32,000 - R3Y/ Tuxedo $30,600 -R3P/ Southdale and Island Lakes $29,500 - R3X (See Kuxhaus 1997).

By comparison, if we look at Calgary a different picture emerges. Although the ring of middle class resettlement is not as strong as it is in Vancouver it does form a concentric circle around the downtown.

Addendum: This shows up in income figures: while Winnipeg individual median income was 19th Calgary's was 10th. Standing at $21,600, the lowest income area by postal code was $13,500 -T2G- in an area just East of the Downtown. Unlike Winnipeg many parts of this area are gentrifying. As in Winnipeg, for Calgary, the Highest postal code median was in one of the new suburbs $32,400 -T3L in the far North West. The downtown median T2P was $15,400 and the Beltline area was $17,200 -T2R (higher than Wolseley - Winnipeg's most noted gentrifying neighbourhood. And in the other neighbourhoods that surrounded the core the medians were

$23,600 for the Hillhurst Sunnyside area to the North of the Downtown. For the area West of the Downtown -T3C - $19,200 and to the South -T2T $20,900 were the average medians given.

Medians for CMA's were Ottawa-Hull $24,700/Oshawa $24,300/Victoria $22,300/ Windsor $22,300/Kitchener $22,200/ Thunder Bay $22,100/ Ottawa-Hull Que $21,900/Hamilton $21,900/ London $21,700/ Calgary $21,600/ Regina $21,300/ Toronto $21,000/Sudbury $20,400/Halifax $20,400/Vancouver 20,200/ Edmonton $20,100/ St. Catharines-Niagara $19,700/ Quebec $19,500/Winnipeg $19,300/Saskatoon $19,100/ Montreal $18,100, St. John's $17,600/Saint John $17,600/ Sherbrooke $17,000/Chicoutimi-Jonquiere, $16,700/ Trois Rivieres, $16,100. Yellowknife had the highest, with over $34,000.

Median incomes for CMA's were 11.1 percent above the national average of $18,000. The median for Manitoba was $17,300. In Toronto the highest and lowest postal code areas in terms of median incomes stood side by side to the West of Bathurst at $12,700 with lower values in the suburban centre and higher values in the exurban parts of the city (Carey 1997).

91: Furthermore, in the North American context, what is interesting about Canada during this time, is that this alliance between the new middle class and the working class produced a very productive cross over in policy making and implementation of housing programs that favoured both groups. This facilitated a great deal of experimentation and even produced a non profit institutional apparatus to expedite and assist in communal projects. Unlike the United States the Canadian state rather than large corporation became the most important sponsor for innovative programs and even acted at times as an entrepreneurial agent in the task of realizing the goals of the livable city. As local area planning in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in Vancouver and elsewhere shows, there was a great deal of intermeshing and cross fertilization of local and national programs.

In terms of policy and action, only with the victory of the Progressive Conservatives, in 1984, did the formation of a powerful conservative block at the national level mark the beginning of the second phase in the postmodern transformation of the city. While provincial government's like Ontario would still move ahead for another decade and launch ambitious urban schemes in the mid 80s the end of the livable city agenda was already foreshadowed by what the federal government was doing in the 1980s.[1]

Nevertheless for over twenty years an institutional apparatus was put in place which facilitated many innovative experiments in the production of non market urban space. Even small capital benefitted, as befitting of the petite bourgeois outlook of postmodern ideology, as it was favoured in many developments such as Granville Market (Gourley 1988). However, by the 1990s most of the institutional supports that had kept the livable city agenda for the city alive would be removed or severely undermined and instead more support would be given to large corporate projects. As had always been the case in the United States, postmodernism took on a corporatist colouring. Here except for a few enclaves the political will required for the implementation of the livable city agenda simply did not exist. The exceptions to this would be mostly found in a few university towns like Boulder and Berkeley and the odd large city such as San Francisco, where the new middle class represented an unusually large proportion of the population, or smaller cities such as Santa Monica or West Hollywood that were located in Greater Los Angeles.

As a result similar but quite distinctive postmodern trajectories for the organization of urban space in the inner city developed in both countries. While the Americans touted the urban potential of the private corporation, in Canada an alliance of community groups and the state was forged to turn the inner city around. And the difference can be seen in what the Rouse Corporation was doing and what originally happened in places like Granville Island. While the Rouse corporation produced highly stylized spectacle, that was geared to the mass market, in places such as Boston and Baltimore; in Canada, middle activists and all levels of government were involved in a different venture when it came to Granville Island. Here an attempt was made to avoid the control of large corporations. In this way because of alliances between community groups, citizens created the catalyst for this and a number of other

communitarian projects, where some space for non market principles to operate was produced. However, as the current dispute in Granville Island reveals, this is even changing for the enclaves of the livable city that were created in the 1970s (VS-341).

Thus, unlike most of the United States, for at least twenty years, in Canada, a different postmodern agenda existed for the programming urban space. But this has become less the case, in the 1990s, as American models for urban renewal have come into greater vogue among policy makers. As a result, corporatist market rationales and not just market rationales, for postmodernism not necessarily oppose the operation of the market, only its bureaucratic forms, have been playing a larger part in the determination of the feasibility of projects.

In Vancouver, this is amply illustrated in the Mole Hill Struggle and in the controversy over the redevelopment of the Woodward's department store. Still there is a legacy of 20 years or progressive city building that will not easily be erased or forgotten. In places like Vancouver the institutional memory of what can and should be done remains in some pockets of the bureaucracy and could be revived if the right opportunities become available again. Regardless of what might happen in the future, the Zone of Middle class Resettlement in Vancouver and in its equivalents elsewhere in Canada are a testimony to what public investment and community involvement can accomplish.

96: Both Champlain Heights and redeveloped land along the North arm of the Fraser River are essentially more suburbanized version of South False Creek. Both generally stress medium rise and pedestrian oriented development, with mixed market and non market housing for the more domestically oriented new middle class predominating. Similarly both were oriented to the water, in this case the Fraser River. Ironically, each area is also similar, in that transit linkages are poor in both cases: something that is now being tacked in South False Creek and in the Fraser lands with discussion about more bus service for the 5,900 residents who live in 1,500 units that were mostly developed from the mid 80s being discussed (1996 census - See CVCO-52).

95: The only difference now perhaps is that this opposition has lost much of its anti-corporatist animus. Like many cultural behaviours, over time they become separated from their origins and initial triggers and develop a momentum of their own. Still, the reaction to high-rises has become ingrained into the cultural matrix of the second zone, as can be seen in the swift reaction by the middle class when it is violated even if the proposals are meritorious in this zone high-rise development is still viewed as an assault on the physical integrity of the neighbourhood. To their dismay, as developers, planners, and politicians have found out, most attempts to introduce high-rise projects into the second zone met will be met by immediate and strong resistance. The only exceptions, to this has been development in the mid town zone that acts as a satellite of the downtown: for example along Broadway Avenue and in a former industrial area between Burrard and Granville Streets. Other than these areas the only high-rise project that has gone forward in this zone in the past twenty years has been one by Broadway Avenue and Kingsway.

103: The first change in circumstances was the diffusion of the densification process to the suburbs. The second change was both ideological and material in nature and this had to do with the urban spectacle, something that started when the provincial government attempted to create a world class infrastructure for tourism. This started with BC. Place and Skytrain and continued with Expo 86 and the recent announcement, this November (1997) of a new addition to the convention centre. The other factor that lead to the era of the urban spectacle revolved around the federal government and its disentanglement with the housing programs that had provided institutional support for the realization of the livable city. Thus NIP was wound up and RRAP programs ended, with the federal government eventually abandoning the entire non profit field in the 1990s - although a small RRAP program has since been reinstated. This, of course would undercut the equity goals of the livable city agenda and much of the funding that

had gone into local area planning. This lead to a reduction in the production of non profit units, which, in the case of Vancouver, had formed a narrow necklace of non market housing within the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (Figure B).With these actions social polarization was accentuated social inclusiveness reduced as the production of space in this zone became more closely associated with market imperatives which tend to polarize space.

The second change came with the rightward shift of City Council. With the move to the right, in 1986, politicians and planners became more skeptical about many of the philosophical goals of the livable city. They also became less willing to engage in long and drawn out local area planning processes that cost both money and time (CVPD-98; CVPD-101; CVPD-141; CVCO-37). The move to the right also encouraged the Planning Department to take a more corporatist and less communitarian approach to planning processes as pressure was put on the Department to fast track development by the mayor. Also a number of planning bureaucrats developed less sympathy for local empowerment strategies that were often generated out of local area planning processes (PI-1; PI-13; PI-42). Part of this no doubt had to do with the turn to the right of the new middle class and the more reactionary attitudes that it developed with regard to sharing space with other classes. These processes even exasperated left leaning and middle of the road Councils at times so it was hardly surprising that the right wing Council that has came into in power since 1986 felt even less sympathy for the hopes for empowerment and local involvement that were always raised in this type of local area planning.

The third change had to do with the middle class itself. And here one can speculate that during the 1980s two reasons account for the turn to conservativism by the new middle class. One probably had to do with their entry into career stream and the instability of the job market, which often produces a more conservative outlook on things. The other change has probably to do with tenure changes, as many members of the new middle class became homeowners rather than renters for the first time. And this may have had a role in watering down the previous commitment to more communitarian values, which this class identified with during the livable city era, particularly as home ownership further stressed the new individualism, that was becoming even more prominent in the era of urban spectacle as the communal outlook that was more typical of the livable city era no longer acted as an antidote to the expansion of this consumer culture. Furthermore, the hyper consumerism that came about probably had something to do with the movement of this class fraction into careers and a corresponding increase in their spending power, and this no doubt, aided the growth of the economy of the urban spectacle while relegating the communitarianism of the livable city to a subordinate role in the unfolding of events in the 1990s.

These changes can be seen in the production of residential and retail space in the 1980s and 1990s. In the residential sphere this would be reflected in the decline of the production of co-op and non profit housing units and the concomitant increase in the construction of strata title units (Mills 1989; CVPD-56; CVPD-57). In the retail sphere this would become apparent in the commercial gentrification of West Fourth Avenue and Commercial Drive, as these became the favoured venues of a more affluent and time constrained middle class (Davis 1997; VS-136; VS-157; VS-188a).

Again, larger forces were also at work in this shift. One only has to look at the loss of federal money for planning and housing initiatives. The weakening of the coalition between the new middle class and working class that fueled the first endeavors in local area planning also become more one-sided and perhaps irrelevant as local area planning became more the sole domain of the middle class. In part this had to do with the simple fact that there were less working class people in most of the neighbourhoods that were being reviewed.

If a comparison is made with neighbourhood where a second local area planning process was carried the contrast becomes quite noticeable in the reduced emphasis given to affordable housing and the greater emphasis given to aesthetics. Although social equity issues were not ignored they would appear more as motherhood statements, particularly in the megaproject developments where the percentage of non market housing has dropped to 16 from 20 percent and still falling. Meanwhile the interest in image and aesthetics has increased at the same

time that the focus on social equity has diminished (Applebe 1997f). In modern argot of the Chicago School, what all this reflects is that the second zone, where most of the local area planning processes took place, no longer functions as a zone of transition or discard, but now, in the postmodern era, functions as a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (CVPD-86; CVPD-88; CVPD-90).

The publication of the Mount Pleasant Local Area Plan, in 1989, was probably the first local area document to express this new outlook in a formalized way, as the new values were imprinted into the official local area plan that was produced for the area (CVPD-84). Paraphrasing one planner involved in the process: we were able to preserve much of the historic housing in the neighbourhood but this attention to urban aesthetics also acted as a trigger for gentrification. The shift from equity to aesthetic issues becomes even more obvious if the three neighbourhoods where local area plans during the era of the livable city, in the 1970s, are compared with the second ones conducted during the 1980s and 1990s, in the era of the urban spectacle. Looking at the West End (CVPD-69; CVPD-72; CVPD-77; CVPD-77), Kitsilano (CVCO-11; CVPD-90) and Strathcona (CVPD-115) many signs of the diminished influence of the working class, - who would be more concerned with equity issues because of their experiential anchoring in the realm of necessity and utility - and the hegemony of the new middle class, with its greater concern for issues having to do with style and the imprinting of the artistic mindset and the enactment of bohemian ways of living become represented in the reconfiguration of the physical landscape that followed from these local area processes (CVPD-35; CVPD-69; CVPD-72 CVPD-87; CVPD-89).[2]

Regardless of the central role that local area planning played in the transformation of this second zone into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement; it also must be remembered that this same process also played a part in nurturing the creation of communitarian spaces and the creation of a narrow band of non profit housing within this settlement zone, something that can be seen in the thin necklace of non profit housing that runs in a narrow band around False Creek through ever local area in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement (figure seven B).

Now this division is called the Community Planning Division. And as with the nature of the changing times, wherein the densification process has begun to affect the third zone in a significant way, more concern is now being given to concerns associated with the stylization of the built environment so typical of the era of the urban spectacle. Other changes have come from City Council. For fiscal and ideological reasons the division has been pressed to abbreviate local area planning process. Internal politics and the modest re-organization of the Planning Department have affected local area planning practices as this division appears to have lost some of its autonomy to the CityPlan Division (formally known as the Overall Division).

Unlike the livable city era the Community Planning Division no longer appears to function as the work horse of the department. Nor does it seem to have the autonomy to proceed on its own, which was the case during the Spaxman years, but in most ways is now subordinate to the strategy for the redesign of the city laid out by CityPlan Division which created CityPlan that was adopted by City Council in 1995. With this plan the parameters for action of the Community Planning Division have been set. Its primary function will be to implement the strategic plan for the densification of the suburban parts of the city that was formulated by the CityPlan Division. Furthermore, it will also assist in the further retrenchment of machine space, since the further pedestrianization of the city was one of the goals accepted when CityPlan that was passed by City Council.

Addendum: With the complete take over of council by the Right of Centre NPA, independent neighbourhood associations and organizations have formed to become the unofficial opposition on city council with the demise of COPE. (Refer to PO-2; PO-3p; P0-4; P0-5; P0-6 and Barton Reid, "Greater Vancouver- Three recent community initiatives into more participatory forms of urban governance," in City Magazine, Vol. 16, No. 1, Spring 1995).

106: However just as the ideology of the livable city has been challenged by the ideal of the urban spectacle in the second phase of postmodern transformation in the downtown, federal cutbacks and the more conservative turn of the new middle class, in the 1980s, has created a different dynamic to local area planning. Like the reorganization of urban space in the downtown equity concerns have been diluted and more market directed outcomes with regard to the production of space have gained more influence. When Federal money started to dry up the scope of Local Area Planning began to shrink as well. Furthermore, with the weakening of the livable city ideal the coalition between the new middle class and working class constituencies that fueled the first endeavors in local area planning began to unravel. Because of the changing class composition of the constituencies involved in Local area planning and the more conservative ideological orientation of the population involved in these exercises during the 1980s more recent endeavors in local area planning have shown a tendency to pay less attention to social equity concerns and more attention to aesthetic issues, something that reflects middle class hegemony in areas once shared with lower classes who also once resided in these neighbourhoods (CVPD-86; CVPD-88; CVPD-90).

With the retreat of government and the rise of market forces in the production of space within this transitional zone greater emphasis was now put on aesthetics and this served to further amplify the social polarization of space that, as we have seen, was also present in the downtown, adding an ideological dimension to the social closure which was taking place because of the displacement caused by the economics of land development. Even if the influence of the land market is discounted, the play down of equity concerns and play up of aesthetic concerns indicates that the coalition between the urban middle class and other lower class constituencies that established the political momentum for the implementation of the livable City ideology had weakened considerably in the 1980s. Again, the evidence can be seen in the realignment of local area plans prepared from the 1970s compared to those produced in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., CVPD-44; CVCO-9; CVCO-11 CVCO-16).

In this regard the Mount Pleasant Local Area Plan, which was prepared in 1989, provides a good example of these new developments (CVPD-84). Here one planner who was involved in the process was reputed to have expressed satisfaction about the preservation of historic housing in the neighbourhood but disquiet about the gentrification that this attention to urban aesthetics also spawned. This focus becomes even more obvious if the three neighbourhoods where local area plans were twice prepared are compared since the time lapse between the initial plan and the second plan spans the 1970s, when the livable city ideology dominated the planning agenda, and the 1980s, when this agenda was modified to put more emphasis on aesthetic issues and less on equity issues. Thus if the local area plans prepared for the West End, Kitsilano and Strathcona in the 1970s are compared with those prepared later in the 1980s and 1990s evidence of this shift can be discerned and read as a sign of the diminished influence of the working class and the increased hegemony of the new middle class (CVPD-35; CVPD-69; CVPD-72 CVPD-87; CVPD-89).

Whatever the contribution that local area planning may have made to the gentrification process, some of the progressive accomplishments of the local area planning cannot be denied. In the early years equity concerns were given an airing in the planning process and even in the 1990s equity concerns in local area planning provided an important forum for their expression in a neighbourhood context (CVPD-115). And even into the 1990s equity concerns in local area planning have not yet been entirely extinguished by the concern with aesthetics. Local area planning still provides a forum for the consideration of these issue even though, of course, the whole process now appears to be much more weighted towards middle class and its aesthetic aspirations. For, with the exception of neighbourhoods like Mount Pleasant, it is an urban middle class who predominates in most of the neighbourhoods involved in local area planning.

Addendum - local area planning and densification - To see this relation it is only necessary to look at the role that local area planning has played in the transformation of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. By employing a new pattern of development that focussed

on medium rise rather than high rise development and by mastering a new etiquette for wielding power in the planning process, local area planning was able to undog the road blocks created by working class and middle class opposition to investment in this area, creating a channel for the densification process to proceed along.

The continuing utility of local area planning in this regard can seen in the application of a modified form of local area planning processes to the suburban areas of the city in the implementation strategy for CityPlan (CVPD-154). Here, more clearly than elsewhere, the complementary relationship between densification and postmodern regulation in the City of Vancouver becomes apparent. Moreover, by looking at the evolution of local area planning in Vancouver it is possible to see how the promotion of densification is connected to dialogical planning processes and organic representations of space. Since both attributes were advanced by local area planning because of the emphasis that was placed on contextualized development. What is also interesting to note is the process rather than end state orientation to planning conveyed in local area planning and how it has promoted incremental rather than rapid change. Thus densification was able to infiltrate areas dominated by low density single family dwelling units because its intrusiveness was reduced to a minimum in most instances.

Even if, as some critics have rightly noted, local area planning did not involve any transfer of real power to citizens (Horsman and Raynor 1978), nevertheless, the process orientation inherent to local area planning did prove exasperating to politicians who resented the cost and the time delays involved in this form of planning.

For example, in 1975, when the Kitsilano local area planning process was undertaken Mayor Phillips almost sacked the planning director for taking too much time in carrying out the local area plan for this neighbourhood (Stobie 1979). Twenty years later, things had not changed all that much, as Mayor Gordon Campbell came down hard on the Local Area Division when local area planning revisited Kitsilano in the late 1990s, only to become bogged down again (VS-84; VS-86; VS-87). With the perceived deficiencies of local area planning surfacing here more clearly than elsewhere, questions about the time and money allocated to local area planning and the devolution of decision making power were raised again. The unruly nature of middle class activism that has been present here since the counter culture, had made Kitsilano the graveyard of local area planners (PI-2). Indeed, the troublesome nature of local area planning in Kitsilano may have acted as the last straw when a review of local area planning was undertaken in the 1990s (CVPD-101), providing a pretext and excuse for downsizing the large and comprehensive local area planning projects that had become the signature and mainstay of the Local Area Planning Division in the 1970s and 1980s, as resources were re-allocated to CityPlan (PI-13; PI-14). When other less comprehensive forms of local area planning resurfaced when the Community Planning Division undertook the implementation of CityPlan both planners and politicians were much more leery in employing the comprehensive model and, no doubt, in part, because of the difficulties and deficiencies of the local area planning process that were highlighted in Kitsilano (VP-52).

Besides cost and length of time, the Kitsilano process illustrated the other problematic issue raised by local area planning and that is the question of the devolution of authority, which is always present as a latent possibility or an expectation, whenever a local area planning process is conducted, even though it may not in fact be realized. In the two reviews of local area planning that were conducted in 1977 (CVPD-49) and 1989 (CVC0-5) this issue, along with the length of time required for local area planning, surfaced as the most important issues. It even still be seen in the ambivalence shown towards the abbreviated local planning processes that have been instituted in communities such as Langara (CVPD-143). Still whatever its deficiencies the end results here, as in other local area processes, has been an increase in density - in the case of Langara, for example, over 1,800 extra housing units were added to the zoned capacity of the area, pointing out, once again, the tie that exists between densification and local area planning.

Without this therapeutic approach to land use change and the creation of appropriate feedback loops to mollify dissent that comes with dialogical approaches to the regulation of urban space, it is possible to speculate that the densification process in Vancouver would have

become much more turbulent than it did and that it may even have become hopelessly bogged down by neighbourhood resistance. For this reason alone it appears that local area planning will remain in some form as long as densification remains a major restructuring process in the production of urban space in Vancouver. Because dialogical planning has become part of the postmodern etiquette for the legitimate exercise of power by the bureaucracy, even if bureaucrats do no like local area planning, planners and politicians are likely to have little alternative but to accept this form of planning as a necessary evil and therefore always have to contend with the raised expectations about citizen's empowerment which are always potentially by this method of planning even if there is seldom a real transfer of power.

The successes and failures for local area planning over its first twenty years can therefore be laid out. The transformation of the conversion zone around the False Creek Basin into a livable medium density habitat can be deemed as one of the major successes of local area planning. Unlike the urban renewal program of Sutton Brown, which only succeeded in refurbishing around 70 acres of land in the conversion zone, local area planning was able to initiate a regulatory process which provided direction and order to the upgrading of thousands of acres mixed use residential land in this same conversion zone. Moreover, it produced far more affordable housing than the urban renewal plan of Sutton Brown despite the fact that it was also a key player in the gentrification of this settlement zone. while around 8,000 units of non-profit housing was produced in this area tens of thousands of luxury units were also produced.

Lesser success and failures can also be noted. As already mentioned, one would be the complicity of the local area planning process in the intensification of the gentrification process in neighbourhoods such as Mount Pleasant and Kitsilano, which must be seen as one of local area planning's most grievous failures. While the failure to resolve the issue of the devolution of power stands out as one of the major barriers to the further development of local area planning in Vancouver its utility in other planning exercises outside the conversion zone, such as around the rapid transit stations planned in the mid 1980s reveal (CVPD-73; CVPD-74; CVPD-75), once again, how this division acted as the all purpose work horse for the postmodern transformation of the landscape in Vancouver during the 1970s and 1980s, facilitating the extension of the densification process rather than hindering it.

Where the new status of local area planning will ultimately take this practice is a moot question. While Larry Beasely and Ann McAfee appeared to view the abbreviated format for local area planning in a positive light Ron Youngberg, the former Associate Director of Local Area Planning between 1974 and 1991 had strong reservations about where local area planning was going because of this (PI-1; PI-13; PI-27).

107: The continuing utility of local area planning with regard to the progression of the densification process is still evident. It can seen in the application of an abbreviated form of this process to the suburban areas of the city which have been set out in an implementation strategy for CityPlan (CVPD-154). Here more clearly than elsewhere the complementary relationship between densification and postmodern forms of planning regulation is revealed. Moreover, by looking at the evolution of local area planning in Vancouver it is possible to see how the promotion of densification is also directly connected to dialogical planning processes and the creation of organic representations of space because of the emphasis placed upon contextually based development, which these processes promote.

Also emphasis upon process rather than end state orientation to planning provides a method for sponsoring densification in an incremental rather than in a zero sum manner was achieved which provided a means for planners to engage in incremental densification in areas dominated by low density single family dwelling units in the suburban parts of the city. This can even be seen in areas that were highly resistant to densification. One example would be the 3 Larch Street development in Kerrisdale, which will allow over 45 dwelling units on a site where previously only 7 existed (See CVCO-50). Another example would be in the Marpole/Oakridge area where 122 dwelling units will be built on a large lot preserving a heritage house (See CVCO-48).

115: Again, this reflects the increasing exclusivity of the new middle class and its greater estrangement from the urban proletariat.

117: At the same time, the variety of postmodern tenure forms available in the second zone has also created a more diverse social landscape for the various fractions that make up the new middle class. For example the location of the largest concentration of non-profit units in the city (table 7) has made it possible for low income segments of the new middle class to remain in the inner city since a fairly large proportion of these units have been taken up by this class. While the creation of non profit and equity co-ops became the most significant public response to the crisis of affordable housing for the new middle class within this zone during the 1970s and 1980s, numerous advertisements show that it is the construction of live/ work studios that have become the privatized 90s version of affordable housing for the lower income fractions of the new middle class in the era of the urban spectacle. Of course at a higher price and with an orientation that is pointedly directed to more non domestic than domestic fractions of the new middle class.

Nevertheless, in terms of affordability, the organization and the use of space this dwelling type has emerged as the most significant housing innovation in the age of the urban spectacle. And like non profit housing these live/work units are mostly located in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. They can be viewed as the private market's response to affordable housing for the new middle class in the 1990s, (but as in keeping with the age of the urban spectacle where market forces predominate, they are privately rather than communally owned). As with non-profits and co-operatives they serve the housing needs of lower income and more non traditional fractions of the new middle class but have less capacity to serve working class or other lower class formations which co-ops and non market oriented non profits were able to do.

However, unlike non market units and strata title units,[3] these other dwelling types are something quite different and are much more concentrated within the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement than the strata title or non-profit units. For the most part they are located on industrial land that is mostly located in the Mount Pleasant Neighbourhood where land prices are not only significantly lower than elsewhere in second settlement ring but are further discounted because of their articulation as a quasi industrial/residential land use which the city has encouraged by creating IC-3 industrial districts (CVC0-55). As a result, a significant enclave of live/work studios on former and existing industrial land has arisen. More recently a second core has developed in the Core in former warehouse area of the Downtown South - especially around Yaletown,[4] (VS-158A; CVC0-33a) and the Downtown Eastside (Figure Seven A; Figure twelve C, Figure twelve D; twelve E; twelve H; VS-94).

123: The biggest down side to the proliferation of these units is that they have made it easier to gentrify areas that were previously off limits to middle class settlement. In fact loft units have been able to move right into the heart of the Downtown Eastside. According to the Community Action Project supported by the Carnegie Centre, between 1995 and 1996 465 new units, mostly consisting of lofts, have been approved or are under construction. Altogether 12 buildings have been refurbished to this end or purpose built as lofts. So far the largest development in this part of the city has been the Van Horne. With 146 units at 300 Carrall, this building has been referred to as the Christodora of Vancouver by Carnegie writer Shawn Millar who sees it as the equivalent to the hated symbol for gentrification that arose across from Thompkins Park, in New York City.

Meanwhile, across the street a second complex by the same developer was built. Called the Carrell Street Station, it will have 75 units (Community Action Project, Nov. 15,1996). Because of the middle class colonization of the area The Gastown Residents and Business Association have even suggested that all social agencies public housing in the area be moved or sold off and the poor relocated out to cheaper land in the suburbs. Again this is not

surprisingly if we look at the postmodern spatial matrix, particularly during the period of the urban spectacle. Mention is made of a report prepared by the Gastown Business Association which called social service agencies block busters (PO-8). According to one activist the community is in fragile balance. It could tip one way or the other according to what is done. In actuality what will happen if the battle over places like Woodwards is lost is that the Downtown Eastside will shrink more than it already has. This is not a battle about expanding the space occupied by the poor but a defensive struggle to simply preserve what exists in the face of a rapidly advancing middle class population that wants the lower classes removed.

125: For example, in 1991 strata title units made up twenty-seven percent of all dwelling units in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. This was twice the average for the city, which stood at eleven percent and nearly three times the percentage of strata title units located in core area where only eleven percent of all units were strata title or even the third zone, where only five percent of all dwelling units were strata title units (table 3).

And if national comparisons are made the concentration of strata title units in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement becomes even more striking. With about three percent of all dwelling units in country made up strata title units compared to nearly thirty percent in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement in 1991, this tenure form is ten times more common in this settlement ring than in the nation as a whole. Even if comparisons are made with the rest of Greater Vancouver, the contrast becomes quite apparent. Although the region has the highest proportion of condominiums in the country the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement nonetheless towers above the rest of the region, appearing as an anomaly (table 3), since strata title units are three times more common here than in the region. This concentration becomes even clearer to see if comparisons are made with individual neighbourhoods that are located within the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. For example within specific communities such as Fairview strata title units in 1991 made up about forty percent of dwelling units, nearly four times the metropolitan average and thirty per cent above an already high reading for the settlement zone as a whole. While this zone is likely to remain the centre for medium-rise strata title development in the country by 1996 (table 6) it no longer has the neighborhood with the highest percentage of housing units made up of strata units. This honor now goes to the Downtown where 48 percent of all dwellings are made up of strata title units, but in this case, mostly high rise condominiums rather than medium rise units.

125a: But even here the effects of the urban spectacle may be felt in the final outcome of the planning process. No doubt this change has been further enhanced by the retreat of government and the rise of market forces. So in addition to economic displacement, local area planning has increasingly become a vehicle for social closure along the ideological dimension because of the growing concern with the stylization of physical space. Evidence of this realignment can be seen if the local area plans prepared in the 1970s are compared to those prepared in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., CVPD-44; CVCO-9; CVCO-11 CVCO-16).

126: However, as with the distribution of strata title units there is considerable variation among the five neighbourhoods in the distribution of non profit units within the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. Whereas strata title units are more dominant on the West side of this zone, non profits predominate more on the East side, where a sizable working class and low income middle class population still remains. In Strathcona, for instance, about 50 percent of all dwelling units are made of non-profit units, compared to the average or 12 percent for the entire zone in 1991. So just as with Fairview, when looking at the concentration of strata title units, when looking at the percentage of non-profit housing units the uniqueness of specific neighbourhoods such as Strathcona is revealed (table 7).

Moreover the difference between the east and west sides of the zone reveals the existence of cleavages within the new middle class in terms of income, political orientation and perhaps even occupation. While the West side of the zone exhibits more signs of the urban

spectacle, the east side remains more firmly committed to the principles associated with the livable city. However, despite these differences, the resistance to high rise development remains on both sides of the zone, while the tradition of social inclusiveness and the communitarian ethos that took root here in the 1970s remains increasingly confined to the Eastern part of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement.

127: Privatization and exclusivity can be seen in the greater use of security guards and the ability of private interests to infringe upon public space (since in this development part of the public domain was fenced in to keep the general public out). It is also quite clear that the fraction of the middle class being catered to in the promotional literature is one that is far less domestically inclined than the groups that worked to construct and live in the inexpensive non market housing that was constructed in the 1970s and 1980. Here as well art is no longer seen as subversive, Rather than repel capital art is used to attract it instead. And it is made clear that the city is to be a place of leisure and playfulness rather than one of work and routine as shown by the wide variety of niche retail venues that are made reference to in the literature. No single reference is made to the indigenous inhabitants who are, as with most postmodern practices, rendered invisible or marginal to the occupation and use of space. What also comes out is the historicist rather than futurist orientation of the overall aesthetic. This landscape is no heroic march into the unknown future but an attempt to evoke comfort and reassurance from a past which had more to do with illusion rather than authentic history. But again, this is the age of the urban spectacle, when postmodern ideology is no longer purveyed by the new middle class but is now manipulated by development capital to reclaim land from the urban proletariat and market previously derelict pieces of land into palatable investments for the lower income fractions of the new middle class as a hybrid cultural package which embraces mass and popular culture at the same time.

127a: If comparisons are made with other settlement zones this becomes indisputable. While the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement only makes up twenty per cent of the city's land mass and houses about 120,000 people, or twenty-five percent of the city's population, it contains forty per cent of the city's stock of non profit housing units in 1996. This percentage would even be higher if a satellite local area of the Zone of Middle Class Settlement known as Killarney (figure four; figure seven) were included in this calculation. If this is done the percentage non profits located in this zone would go well past 50 percent. Leaving this aside, non profits still make up twelve percent of all the dwelling units located in the 5 contiguous neighbourhoods that make up this zone. This stands in contrast to the citywide average which was around nine per cent and the region, where the percentage of non profit units was only about six percent in 1991.

128: Again, what is interesting to take note of is the inter-relation that exists between the various domestic and non domestic fractions of the new middle class and the house type each occupies and the physical landscapes they feel comfortable in and attempt to reproduce around themselves - something that applies to fraction of the Asian middle class as well, who are creating a third zone of middle class settlement in the core of the region.

As a result there is a continuum which can be sketched in for the middle class in the core. It begins in the core, where high rises, cater to the non domestic fractions of the New Middle Class and the Asian Middle class. Then there are the medium rise condominiums that predominate in the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, where a non family centric but more domestically oriented middle class lives. Also there are the lower rise dwellings, mostly made up single detached units or their hybrids in which the attempt is being made to preserve a pastoral landscape for the more traditional Caucasian middle class.

Not surprisingly the non domestic fraction of the Caucasian and Asian middle class have more affinity with the urban spectacle, while the more domestic and traditional fractions of the new middle class have a greater affinity for the livable city program or the

pastoral vision of domestic space which dominates the modernist conception of the suburb. This can be found mostly in the third zone where the traditional Caucasian middle class and the Asian middle class are now struggling for dominance over the stylization and use of the entire suburban zone of the city. Here the clash has to do with the rate of change as well as aesthetics, which are centred in cultural rather than racial differences. While the traditional Caucasian middle class fiercely adheres to a pastoral vision of the neighbourhoods they occupy, the pervasive use of pre modern spatial practices by the Chinese middle class, known as Feng Shui, and its ultra modernist sensibility towards the demolition of pre-existing structures and different attitudes towards the natural environment have produced several fissures in this sector of the city.

So even the settlement patterns of the Caucasian middle class are just looked at, a definite correlation can be shown to exist between the distinctive physical landscapes each fraction has created in the three concentric zones that make up the City of Vancouver and the material culture each has constructed for itself. But along with this there are also the different political and social spaces that are anchored in each of these different physical spaces. For example if the first and second zones are compared it is possible to see how different middle class attitudes exist, which reflect the different political and social agendas of the first and second periods of the postmodern transformation of the city, as well as their domestic and non domestic orientations and the closer association of one fraction more closely with the livable city agenda and the other, the urban spectacle.

135: To some middle class activists a proposed plan to open a six cinema complex by the owners of Bridges Restaurant generated opposition because it was felt that this would violate original mandate given for the development of the island.

Gordon Watson, president of Creekview Housing Co-op and local artists such as Alan Clapp who has work on the island and managed programs here since 1977 have voiced this concern, noting that this will introduce a mass culture venue into the island that wasn't meant to be for this and which they do not want to see located here.

From this the struggle of two postmodern visions for the city can be seen in this small dispute. On side there are those who are struggling to preserve the livable city that emphasized smaller scale, non market and funkier venues and that of the urban spectacle, with its greater concern with images and marketing that appeal to a mass market (VS-224).

These are the real underlying arguments which have been covered over in the dispute. Proponents of the livable city agenda which still has a strong audience in the second zone argue (probably correctly) that this will increase congestion and noise and that the island is becoming too commercial. While they say that a local repertory cinema would be Okay they have rebelled against a venue showing block buster movies- something they fear the developers has in mind.

On the otherside, pro- development agents like planner Michael Seelig say that much of this opposition can be reduced to cultural snobbery as he stated:"What does it mean commercial or art? If you talk about going into the Arts Club Theatre or the Waterfront Theatre, hand having a bite to eat before, you're talking about a bill of $75 a person." He also noted that there isn't a worry about increased congestion since the number of vehicles entering the Island has not increased since 1984 and that at night study found that only 17 percent of the parking stalls were being used. Alan Clapp and Gordon Watson also suspect that this may also be just another means for CMHC, which has control over the island since 1973, to generate more revenue (VS-224).

Whether or not this development goes through, other changes on Granville Island reveal that the original vision is being altered and that the productive landscapes that were meant to be preserved may give way to the infrastructure of the urban spectacle. For example The Granville Island Brewing Companies has moved its production facilities from the island to a plant in Kelowna. Meanwhile the former plant has just become a retail outlet.

139: A more broad brush approach to showing what is happening can be carried out by looking at recent ESL (English as a second language) statistics. What they show is that for the first time ESL students in the suburbs of Vancouver now exceed those than in the city proper (VS-141).

151: The angle taken by British Columbia Report Magazine article entitled Goodbye 'British Columbia' published December 1, 1997, is flawed but does raise a number of key issues that cannot be ignored, at least from the perspective of political economy - who benefits and who gains. In the figures they use the Zone of Asian Resettlement becomes clearly visible - presumably 1996 Census data has been used to mark off the proportion of immigrants in each area. In the article they were listed as follows: City of Vancouver 44.4%/West Vancouver 36%/ District of North Vancouver 27.8%/ City of North Vancouver 32%/Port Moody 24%/ Coquitlam 31.5%/ Port Coquitlam 23%/ Burnaby 41.2%/ New Westminister 25%/ Surrey 29.5%/ Delta 24.1%/ Richmond 48.1%. If these numbers are correct Richmond has now surpassed the City of Vancouver as the most concentrated node of immigrant settlement. Issues brought range from abnormally high accident rates amongst Chinese drivers, escalating housing prices, lack of integration in Chinese work environments, with few Caucasians hired in Richmond shopping malls, cost of ESL, the rate of change, fewer jobs for immigrants are becoming a problem along with the refugee system. Mr. Stoffman, is cited as a leftist who helped write Boom Echo and Bust. His concerns are mentioned such as the possibility of class warfare fomenting. As well the fact that only a precious few people - mainly the real estate industry so far are benefitting is a concern to him. Also, displacement is mentioned. More specific figures cited in the report are: 1996 B.C. took in 37% of all immigrants - but only have 13% of the nation's population - immigrants make up one third of the urban region's population. Hence between 1991 and 1996 the increase in immigrant population was 61% in Richmond and Surrey 51%.Immigrant generally concentrate rather than disperse according to Statistics Canada figures cited in the article. For example, in t he case of Hong Kong Immigrants - the increase in Burnaby was 6,805/Coquitlam - 3,450 and Port Coquitlam - 950/Iranians in North Vancouver the increase was 940, while East Indians concentrated in - Pitt Meadows, Surrey, Delta, Abbotsford. (Pitt Meadows citation stands out as being curious although the other places mentioned in this report appear to be close to the mark).

160: This is not only a concern in Vancouver but in Burnaby and New Westminister as well. Even in places with modest development pressures such zones have appeared, For example in Edmonton this city's first heritage area was created which will put design controls on any new housing in the neighbourhood of Westmount, a neighbourhood that contains 220 homes. First turned down in 1985 this new bylaw loosens standards imposed after the area was built so that the original flavour of the area can be maintained (See Bruce Thorson June 8,1997 in the Edmonton Journal.p.B1).

161: Also look at "Banks follow Immigrants to Flushing- international finance, with a neighborly feel, in The New York Times, August 7,1991, where, as in Vancouver, the immigration of wealthier Asians has brought densification as well as dramatic changes in the social ecology of the neighbourhood. Much of this came about because of the immigration sparked by political uncertainty. Therefore by 1991 140,000, mostly Chinese and Asian immigrants have moved to Flushing over the past 10 years. Ten years ago they were practically non existent here but now increasingly dominate the area.

161: As with Toronto, large Asian malls have appeared, such as the one in Markham, which is over 200,000 square fee (See Business Section Toronto Star November 18, 1997 - Pacific Mall sells exotica in Markham, by Nicholas Keung, p.. E5 - City population is made up of 12% Chinese or about 22,000 people). The other difference, with regard to Toronto is that the third Settlement Zone now acts As the Zone of Discard, containing a great deal of derelict industrial plant and a

larger proportion of working class immigrants and refugees, something that can be seen when the unemployment rates for the first two settlement rings are compared with the third and the fourth and the fifth. (e.g., Barker October 28,1993).

In Montreal, because the Chinese and Asian population are smaller in both relative and absolute terms. Subsequently, the geographic configuration of this group is less pronounced. However a small middle class enclave of Chinese immigrants has surfaces on the South Shore in the city of Brossard, which now acts as a satellite of the struggling Chinatown that is located in downtown Montreal, that has been decimated by urban regional projects, the most recent being the creation of an international district (Montreal Gazette 1997d). While there had been a significant movement of Chinese immigrants to Montreal dialogue with members of the Chinese communities suggest that many do not stay but move on to Toronto or Vancouver after a few years ago, as seems to be the case in Winnipeg. Thus, while Montreal has produced a small enclave of middle class Asian settlement in Brossard, a larger configuration made up of a whole quadrant in the North East Section of the Region has been created. Meanwhile, in Vancouver, where the impact has been strongest a contiguous zone has been created which makes up one of three middle class layers of settlement in the core of the region. Moreover, because of the size and specialization of this zone it has probably becomes stratified into bands of settlement that are differentiated according to class and ethnicity. Although at this time, this is only a speculation, this is something that should become more apparent when more detailed statistics are released from the 1996 Census. Here a sorting out of blue-and pink -collar workers into recognizable spatial configurations may become more visible.

162: As mentioned earlier, the background and history of this remarkable unfolding of events have to do with two pieces of immigrant passed by the Federal Government. The first important act was to create a point system and free up immigration to non Caucasian groups in 1967. The second was to create an entrepreneurial and business category for new immigrants which sought to go after middle and upper middle class immigrants rather than the working class and peasant groups which had made up the bulk of immigrants during the modern period.

The effect of this can be seen in the following figures. For example Between 1946 and 1967 only about 90,000 or about 3 percent of the 2,921-million immigrants that came to Canada were from Asian, and of these, only about 47,000 were Chinese or about one-and-a-half percent of all immigrants, compared to about 2.2-million Europeans (SC-2b). Other than Europe, the United States made up the second largest category of immigrants, accounting for 244,280. Other smaller groups came from South Americans, who numbered 22,000 and West Indians, from where 22,000 arrived between 1946 and 1967. Of the Asian immigrant population that arrived at this time the Chinese represented the largest group, followed by and the Indian population, which numbered 15,148 and Pakistan, which accounted for 11,829 immigrants. Amongst the Europeans Great Britain made up the largest ethnic group, accounting for 827,567 immigrants. Then came Italy with 409,000 people. Germany was third largest with 289,000 and the Netherlands came in fourth place with 165,000 immigrants arriving in Canada between 1946 and 1967 (SC-2b).

So before 1966, in the modern era that Burgess's model applied to, like his model most immigration in Canada was European. Thus prior to 1966, they made up over 88 percent of the immigrant population while Asians only made up 4 percent (CMHC 1997,p.12) of the arrivals between 1946 and 1966. The United States came in second place after Europe with 244,280 immigrating to Canada. American therefore accounted for 8 percent of all immigrants during the modern period when immigration was Eurocentric in origin.

The contrast between modern and postmodern periods is nothing short of astounding. For example between 1986 and 1991 814,000 immigrants entered Canada (CMHC 1977c,p.11) - twice the level of the previous two five year periods. Just as significantly was the change in the composition of the immigrant population, with ethnic proportion that applied in the modern period almost completely reversed. Unlike the modern period, when Asian immigrants only accounted for 3 percent of the flow of new immigrants, between 1986 and 1991 they accounted for 50 percent of all new immigrants, with this level exceeding 70 percent in Vancouver.

Conversely, in the postmodern period Europeans only accounted for 26 percent of all new immigrants to Canada, compared to over 75 percent, in the modern immigration period. And in Vancouver this proportion had fallen from 80 percent to just 12 percent of new immigrants (CMHC 1997c, p.12) between 1986 and 1991. This varied considerably from other cities in Canada and hints at the demographic forces that were to lead to the creation of a Zone of Asian Resettlement. While Asian made up 50 percent of all immigrants to the country between 1986 and 1991, in Vancouver they made up 74 percent of all new immigration compared to 46 percent for Montreal and 51 percent for Toronto (CMHC 1997c, p.12).

174: Furthermore, comparison between the region and the city make the force of this change becomes even more evident. For example, in 1971 Chinese settlement in the West side was well under the regional and city average (Figure Ten and Table Five). By 1981 the Chinese population on the west side approached the regional average and by 1991 it was nearly double the regional average and was converging with the average for the city, reaching 80 percent of the citywide average. With this increase, between 1986 and 1991 the Zone of Asian Resettlement had become a contiguous settlement zone that surrounding the first two settlement rings.

Thus, between 1981 and 1991, the population of the west side increased by about 18,000 or around twenty-eight percent, as it moved up to about 84,000, as the effects of the second densification wave started to manifest itself in population increases, with Asian immigrants the main force behind this upward movement. In turn this triggered the massive demolition and reconstruction of single detached units and the construction of larger houses that may sometime in the future become a reservoir for the boarding units.

Addendum: Except for Oakridge, Chinese immigrants were grossly under represented in every neighbourhood on the West side in 1986. The gap ranged from 80 percent or more below the city average in places like Kerrisdale to at best 70 percent below the city average in places like Arbutus Ridge (See figure 10 A).

But with the flow of middle class Asians into the east and west sides of the suburban zone the demolition of single detached units increased dramatically, as total demolitions of housing units in the city increased from about 600 in 1982 to a peak of 2100 units a year in 1989. However, since then demolition rates have remained high, with demolitions remaining around 1500 units a year up to the year 1995, with most of these accounted for by the rebuilding of single detached units for Asian buyers (CVPD-165,p.47).

Thus former bastions of Anglo Saxon supremacy, in local areas such as Kerrisdale, the percentage of Chinese moved from (805) 5.0 percent to 12.0 (1,520). In Arbutus Ridge the percentage went from 6.8 (835) percent to 17.8 (2,205) per cent. Shaunessey, perhaps the most exclusive area: the percentage went from 8.1 (725) to 12.1 (1,065) and Dunbar went from 3.2 to 10.2 (1,815). For Oakridge, a relatively exclusive area as well, but one which spans either side of Granville Street, the percentage of the Chinese population rose from 15.2 (1,510) percent to 32.4 (3,290) in 1991. By contrast, In West point Grey which overlaps with the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement the percentage increases were not quite as high. Hence in 1981 there were only 2.9 Chinese (330) versus 6 (880) percent or in 1991. When the numbers are released from the 1996 census probably even more dramatic increases should be observable, with many local areas having 50 percent if not more of their population made up of Chinese immigrants, completely reversing the modern immigration trend described by Burgess and the empirical one which existed in Vancouver until the 1980s.

185: Having mid wived the Zone of Discard into a Zone of Middle Class Resettlement during the 1970s and 1980s the task of the local area planning or, what is now named the Community Planning Division, will be to mediate the transformation of the third settlement ring into a Zone of Asian Resettlement. Since the built environment is different and other forces are at work in the third zone different regulations will be called into existence to balance the need expressed by a receding but still very powerful and vocal Anglo-Saxon elite, which wishes to preserve and

maintain the pastoral suburban landscapes they cherish (Gibson 1972), and the changes that have come about with the large scale movement with the settlement of a parvenu Asian elite.

Not only will local area planning be made more complex by the incursions of the densification process into an area zoned predominantly for single detached dwelling this complexity had been compounded by the ethnic dimension to this change was has come about because of the growing Chinese population in this, who have different views on the densification process and how space should be re-organized.

Now, but in a different time and place the battle between modern and postmodern conceptions of the city has re-emerged with the progression of the densification process into suburban zone of the city. Unlike the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement where the new middle class were the most active agents of change in this instance it is the Asian middle class.

186: For instance this come out in a recent survey conducted by the Planning Department in November and December of 1996 (CV-32). While there may be resentment against the influx of affluent Asian immigrants and some of the densification that has resulted with the construction of monster houses, it has remained unarticulated in the working class areas of this third zone while in the middle class areas of this zone, a much more vigorous response to this social succession has surfaced. While definite racial divisions can be seen, the real divide probably has less to do with race and more to do with the clash of two different spatial sensibilities and two different middle class fractions: one which is old money and the other which is new money. With the late modernist sensibility advanced by recent Asian immigrants rubbing against the modern and postmodernist sensibilities of the remaining Caucasian population the tension therefore comes as no surprise.

The different class responses in each part of the zone are quite interesting because of this. For example in the working class areas located in the eastern quadrant of the third zone there is a clear displacement in class, with an Asian middle class immigrant population with a late modernist sentiment displacing a working class Caucasian population which also has a similar spatial sensibility. Whatever conflict arises is probably muted by the capital gains working class homeowners have made as they have sold off and moved further out into the less expensive Zone of Caucasian Resettlement. However, on the city's West side a different dynamic appears to be present. While there is no class displacement there is ethnic displacement taking place and a definite clash in spatial sensibilities that is brewing.

Not surprisingly, when the Vancouver Planning Department conducted a survey on the desirability of instituting RS-6 or RS-5 zoning in West side communities like Dunbar and West Point Greysupport for this measure ranged from 59 to 71 percent while in those communities surveyed on the East side support for these changes was much less, with only 49 % in Glen Park and 38% in Cedar Cottage supporting these changes. Lower interest on the East side was also reflected in much lower response rates to the city survey. Whereas the response rate varied from 37% to 44% (West Southlands) on the West side the range varied from 21% to 25% on the East. With a 60 percent approval required for the city to consider this zoning once again this postmodern form of regulation will be more concentrated on the west rather than the East side of the city. What is also important to consider is the fiscal implications of this regulation. For example when RS-5 was adopted for West Kerrisdale and Mackenzie Heights in October 1996, this prompted the hiring of Four staff position since 40 to 45 applications a year were generated from these two areas alone, was expected to add 40 person weeks of work a year. Similar design provisions in RT-4 and 5 areas where 23 conditional applications a year are received are expected to consume about 30 person years of work, with an average of 92 of the 8,600 properties being redeveloped an additional 84 person weeks of work above the existing work capacity of staff would be generated, consuming all the time of existing work force, raising further issues about the cost of regulation and the cost transferred to the redevelopment of RS sites: something that will further the gap between east and west in terms of development costs while also raising issues about social equity because of the massive infusion of civic resources into these privileged areas.

Thus the break down in labour costs for this new zoning in West Point Grey, Dunbar, Douglas Park and West Southlands, were divided in the following way: 52 person weeks, Development Planners or Planning Facilitators, 83 person week for Plan Checking Technicians, 9 for Development Information Officer, 3 for Landscaping Technicians, and 7 for Building inspectors this would require between 45 and 46.5 hours, to the time regard to process RS-5 applications when compared to existing RS-1 zoning, adding 1.67 person weeks to the approval of every single application (See Policy Report: Urban Structure, From Director of Community Planning, Subject - RS-Options - Douglas Park, West Southlands, and Portions of Dunbar and West Point Grey, March 27, 1997, City of Vancouver City Clerks Office CC File No. 5301-1/80818/8005).

193: This was a comment brought up several times by a Chinese Academic acquaintance from Mainland China (Dongyong Liu) who describe in generalized terms the three most powerful cultural blocks that were emerging in China. To him each was represented by its own major city. The old bureaucratic and Mandarin class was rooted in Peking, the more sophisticated and commercially oriented class were based in Shanghai and the ultra-materialist and frenzied capitalist types in Hong Kong.

These differences appear to have surface in the tension that exists between long time and recent Chinese immigrants, with many of the long time immigrants expressing concern about the empty materialism and status seeking behaviour of the Hong Kong cohort of the Chinese population (Beers 1997a). Such as sentiment was expressed in a letter to the city's most popular paper Ming Pao Daily. In a letter Connie Jia states" Some old immigrants think that new immigrants who buy new cars and big houses are showing off their wealth. Some new immigrants think that old immigrants have become "bananas" with yellow skin and white hearts and have been Canadianized. However there should be no such distinctions . . . The degree of assimilation depends on the individual.

It's a different story for new immigrants. Those who come from China area mainly students while those from Taiwan and Hong Kong are mostly business and independent immigrants" and as Fang Cao observed when comparing new and old immigrants (old being before the mid 70s) states: "Old immigrants usually are industrious and thrifty in managing a household. New Immigrants learn to spend money and belong to a high-consuming group (See VS-130).

219: The fragmentation and dispersion of prostitution in the urban region Vancouver provides a clue to what may be happening to the working poor. Being regarded as one of the most undesirable urban activities where it has been displaced to acts as a bellwether which may indicate where other marginalized populations in the urban region may be migrating to as well. For as prostitutes have been steadily pressed out of the inner city and squeezed into vacant and discarded spaces in the suburbs (Appelbe 1994; Gold, 1995;VS-87abcd; VS-89aa; Steed 1994; GBC,1996a; VS-87abb; VS-85a), the Kingsway strip in Burnaby, King George Highway in Surrey and 12th Avenue in New Westminister have become important new haunts for this stigmatized group that was mostly confined to the zone of discard during the modern era (The Globe and Mail 1995a; Howard 1996; Gerin 1996/1996a)

As with the earlier discussion about the tendency for postmodern landscapes to render working class invisible, the displacement and breakup of pre-existing working class landscapes can be seen in the post modern social ecology that has evolved in the city of Vancouver. If indeed this is what is happening then these populations are not disappearing but are only being displaced or reconfigured into more chaotic and unstable settlement patterns elsewhere in the urban region. While the new settlement geography that is being brought into existence remains uncharted: from looking at how settlement patterns have evolved so far, what seems clear is that there has been a major shift in the way that various classes control space in the city and how they do it, with the evolution of postmodern tenure forms providing new mechanism for the middle class to appropriate and reshape urban space and the rise of

secondary suites opens up new areas for the working class, the previous order is being jumbled up and groups are gravitating to different spaces, which are quite different from the modern ones they occupied as late as the middle of the 1970s.

Together, the new middle class and Asian immigrants have been able to create an entirely new concentric settlement pattern for Vancouver, as they have become the two most influential social agents in the postmodern transformation of Greater Vancouver. Conversely the diminishing role of the working class working class can be seen in their dispersion and fragmentation. The zone that once existed in the Burgess model and that actually was present in Vancouver, during the modern era, no longer exists. The Lack of a distinctive concentric zone for the working class reveals how much weaker their control over space has become in the postmodern era.

But this is just one of the new spatial configuration that define the re-organization of space that has taken place during the postmodern era. Like Miami, both internally and externally, Vancouver is moving in a unique direction no one would have anticipated thirty years ago. With the specialization of the region as a place of consumption and an entrepot for the Asian middle class Vancouver is increasingly diverging from the direction of Seattle and Portland: cities it has often been compared to.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

1: Thus after two federal/provincial and city programs called the Core Area Initiatives a third program has started which is repeating most of the mistakes of the first, with money such as the 3 million set aside for the renewal of Portage Avenue and a subsidy of a million dollars a year to allow Eatons to reduce its building to an insignificant three stories, becoming a revelation of a city facing serious capital flight (Santin 1997a; 1997c; 1997d; Redekop 1997; Redekop 1997a, Winnipeg Free Press 1997c).

5: This can be seen by looking at the percentage of single detached units produced in Ottawa from 1991 to 1996. In 1991 only about 44.5% of all new units were made up of single detached units. In 1992 this percentage was 45.6%, then 40% in 1993, 41% in 1994, 36% in 1995 and 28.8% in 1996: way below the national average that ranged between 54 and 60 percent over the same time period or the average for Canada's Census metropolitan areas, in which the percentage of single detached units ranged from 42% to 53% between 1991 and 1996. During this time approximately 24.200 dwelling units were constructed in Ottawa with 10,165 made up of single detached units. However because high-rise units were common in Vancouver and less dense row housing more common in Ottawa this has diluted the level of densification suggested in comparisons that only use single detached units. While row and semi detached housing is practically non-existent in Vancouver, in Ottawa this house form accounts for around 56,000 units or about 21 percent of the housing inventory of the housing stock on the Ottawa side of the region. By contrast there are only 48,000 such units in Vancouver or 8% of the total housing stock (SC-24; SC-22).

6: In addition to the hybrid examples of land-intensive and land-extensive development provided by Montreal and Toronto, there is a larger group of cities that occupy a middle ground between land-intensive and land-extensive development regimes where densification functions as an ascendant force in the re-organization of urban space, placing them in an intermediate position with regard to the two extremes represented by Winnipeg and Vancouver. For the most part these cities are located in Ontario and British Columbia: in places such as Hamilton and London and Victoria (McInnes 1997;VS-303) - understandably the provinces with the two highest housing prices. They also tend to be medium sized urban centres. Within this grouping there can be a fair amount of variation. For example there is London Ontario where the proportion of single detached units lies below the metropolitan or Census Metropolitan Area average. Here only 42 percent of all dwelling units constructed between 1991 and 1996 were made up of single detached units compared to the metropolitan average of 48.6 percent. In Victoria the percentage was 43.3 percent. At the other end of this grouping, there were cities like Hamilton, where the number of single detached units produced was slightly above the metropolitan average, with 49.3 percent of all the new units constructed between 1991 and 1996 made up of single detached units compared to the metropolitan average of 48.6 percent (SC-22; SC-24).

8: Greater Toronto now occupies a curious hybrid position with regard to the densification process. Within the same urban region, land-intensive and land-extensive systems of production co-exist together on a large scale that dwarfs equivalents that can be found anywhere else in the country because of the size of the region, which has 4.3 million people.

Consequently, a strongly delineated bi-polar pattern of development has surfaced. As a result two different modes of urban development can be seen in operation in just one region,

generating two quite different physical landscapes. As numerous commentators have remarked: Metropolitan Toronto is like Vienna surrounded by Houston - or some other sprawling American city.

Looking at this bimodal pattern in more detail, its takes shape in the form of a divide that now exists between a core and the periphery of the region. The core area may extend as far as the City of Mississauga but definitely takes in the new unified City of Toronto, or the now defunct Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. With the exception of Mississauga, the outer area would primarily take in the regional municipalities of Peel, York and Durham.

If the proportion of single detached units added to the housing stock each year is used as an indicator of densification, powerful signs of this process emerge in this core area of Toronto and parallel the pattern that exists across Vancouver and not in just one section of the urban region. For example within the unified city of Toronto, only fifteen per cent of the housing units that were constructed between 1991 and 1996 were accounted for by single detached units, a level of production considerably below that experienced in Vancouver. While this reveals that densification is forcefully reconfiguring the core of Toronto, the larger area shows an opposing trend when the Greater Toronto Region is looked at, particularly since the new City of Toronto accounted for less then a third of the number of units that were created in Greater Vancouver between 1991 and 1996 as well as the Greater Toronto area.

As a result quite a different picture emerges if the production of housing in the exurban parts of Greater Toronto is examined between 1991 and 1996. If the contrast between Winnipeg and Vancouver was shown to one of a tale of two cities then the what is happening between the core and the periphery of Toronto is more easily captured by the use of schizophrenia as a metaphor for what is happening.

For example, housing figures for the exurban fringe show that the intense level of densification experienced in the core area of the region dissipates completely outside the boundaries of the old Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. That is why what has happened here explains why Toronto has lost its role as the lead city in the densification process and has moved down on the densification scale. Whereas densification was once dominant in Toronto, it is now only ascendant force with regard to the larger re-organization of space in the region.

In comparison to what happened between 1986 and 1991, the land-extensive development in the exurban parts of the region have abated somewhat; however between 1991 and 1996 land-extensive development still remained solidly entrenched in part of the region.

For example, except for 1995, the proportion of single detached units added to the outer region between 1991 and 1996 has generally been 10 percent above the national metropolitan average and has often risen higher than the national rate for the production of single detached units - the only exception to this being Mississauga, where more land-intensive practices prevail. For instance, between 1991 and 1996 a total of 83,418 new dwelling units were produced in the outer region with 59.5 percent, or 49,742 of these units made up of single detached units. And if Mississauga were left out and placed in the core area of the region the proportion of single detached dwelling units would go even higher, climbing past 62 percent, almost reaching levels of land-extensive development found only in places like Winnipeg and Regina which are located at the other end of the land-extensive/land-intensive continuum.

If Toronto stands out as the city where the first significant densification in the country began and as the place that lead this process until the middle of the 1980s then Montreal represents the opposite of this. As table two indicates, during the period in which densification was proceeding at its most rapid pace, Montreal was still by far the densest city in the country, yet it was thinning out.

Using the proportion of single detached dwellings as an indicator of densification figures on housing construction show that Montreal has been moving opposite to the rest of the nation over the entire postwar period.

Thus when the first densification wave washed across the country it was largely muffled by the already high densities that existed in Montreal and the tradition of medium rise rather than high-rise construction which created denser urban space in this region.[5] Most

importantly, from a low base line, the proportion of single detached units has risen each decade and has even accelerated in the 1990s. Thus the higher densities of Montreal belie a strongly entrenched pattern of land extensive development.

Unlike Toronto, but more like Winnipeg, the dispersion from the core has a social and cultural base as well economic basis and both cities are worried about the relative decline of their inner cities areas. This can be seen in the migration and immigration patterns of both regions. Although Montreal has not become dysfunctional in the way that Winnipeg has the viability of the core area shows signs of being compromised by the dispersion of the local born population out of the core and the migration of poorer immigrant and migrant classes into the core: something further exacerbated by the fact that both cities have suffered strong net losses in migrants for a number of decades.

The situation is worse in Winnipeg because the ecological dynamic has worsened more than it has in Montreal and there is not the presence of a visible aboriginal underclass. However both cities have become more attractive to lower status working class immigrant populations than Vancouver or Toronto. In Winnipeg, more so than in Montreal, this, combined with policies encouraging land extensive development, have nearly destroyed the downtown of Winnipeg (Redekop 1996; Redekop 1996a). To a large extent, an American pattern of disinvestment in the inner city has begun to affect both cities, although Montreal has not been crippled to the same degree that Winnipeg has been and has initiated more intelligent policies to deal with this disinvestment.

Similarly, both cities have witnessed the dispersion of the local population into the exurban parts of the region. One example of this would be the large scale movement of the indigenous Franco-phone population to off island locations and their replacement by a large population of poorer immigrants. The only counter trend has been the emergence of a relatively small new middle class (SC-10). The situation is worse again, in this regard, in Winnipeg, since its middle class is much smaller and has a more fragile hold over the inner city.

Although Statistics on single detached units do not fully convey the loss of density in Montreal, Statistics Canada figures for both the core and non core areas now show Toronto is denser than Montreal. On a reduced scale, in a number of different ways, what has happened to Winnipeg is now occurring to Montreal, as both are cities are in decline along several fronts. But as with the relation that Toronto has to Vancouver, in terms of densification, a similar hybrid situation has developed here with regard to land-extensive development which make the trajectories of Montreal and Winnipeg more similar than different than if each were compared to Toronto and Vancouver.

As with Vancouver, Winnipeg stands at the apogee of land-extensive development in the country; and as with Toronto's relationship to Vancouver, in relation to densification something quite similar exists between the configuration of space in Winnipeg and Montreal, with Winnipeg the apogee and Montreal functioning as the hybrid example of land extensive development, even though single detached dwelling units have only made up 47 percent of the new housing stock constructed in greater Montreal since 1991 - a rate slightly less than that of Greater Toronto.

From this it would seem odd to place Montreal in the land-extensive category and even stranger to relate what is happening here to what has gone on in Winnipeg, but there is an explanation for this that does not come from just looking at the trend line for the production of single detached units. Rather it comes from viewing these numbers in context to the pre-existing built environment of each city and the level of capital investment in the core of each city in relation to the urban region of each city as a whole. As table two shows, although until recently Montreal had been the densest city in the country, the proportion of single detached dwellings has grown steadily since 1945. Unlike the rest of the country where almost every city experienced a dramatic decline in the proportion of single detached dwelling units in the 1960s and 1970s, the reverse was the case for Montreal. Instead of falling, the proportion of single detached units increased rather than decreased. Estimates in Table Two show that this rise slowed down in the 1980s, but that a steady upward course with the proportion of single detached units estimated to have increased by around 1 percent between 1991 and 1996 versus a

one percent rise between 1981 and 1991, something which would indicate a slight acceleration in the spread of land-extensive development patterns of development in Montreal region (table two).

At the same time densification is still significant in the core area of Montreal while its influence in Winnipeg has become minuscule. Moreover, Montreal has a rapid transit system that physically sets it apart from Winnipeg. But despite the much higher densities that still exist in Montreal the fact remains that in economic and physical terms the trajectories for both cities are converging more than they are diverging and the direction they are moving in is one defined by the further extension of land-extensive development.

Except in the case of Toronto, elsewhere in the country, between 40 and 50 percent of the annual housing stock being constructed each year was made up of single detached dwelling units. What this reveals is that the densification process had become ascendant and that an intermediate level of densification had been reached for many cities, but in a city like Montreal where the proportion of single detached units accounted for 31 percent of the housing stock in 1991 and only 32 percent in 1996, such a ratio would mean precisely the opposite. It would not indicate that densification was ascendant or that an intermediate form of densification had been achieved but precisely the opposite: that land extensive development was becoming more deeply ingrained into the production of urban space because of the gap that exists between the existing proportion of single detached units and the proportion of new units is far higher than any other city in the country. In turn, what this indicates, is that that the built environment is thinning out rather than thickening at a faster rate than any other large urban region.

Thus, since the 1945 there had been a steady increase in the proportion of single detached units within Montreal. Moreover the rate of increase appears to be accelerating rather than decelerating. As in Toronto, but not in the case of Winnipeg, there is a dichotomy between land-intensive and land-extensive patterns of development in the core and peripheral areas of the region although is much fainter than the division which can be seen in Toronto, where in the old City of Toronto the population has continued to increase while it has fallen in the City of Montreal - showing, once again, a pattern closer to Winnipeg than Toronto. Nevertheless significant new residential development in Montreal has occurred in the core, although far less than the city of Toronto, but certainly much more than in Winnipeg, where much of the inner city market is faced with collapse.

Addendum: like Toronto, the divergence between the core and the periphery can be shown be comparing the data on new housing starts for the City of Montreal and the City of Laval, the region's largest municipality outside the city in size and population. In Vancouver its nearest equivalent would be Surrey (With a population of approximately 350,000). In the case of Toronto, although to a lesser extent, it would be Mississauga. In each case the degree of land-extensive and land intensive present in these outer suburbs can be used as a gauge to assess the nature of land-extensive development in the outer suburbs compared to the core of the region since they are the largest and most urbanized suburbs. As a result they have the lowest proportion of single detached dwelling units, revealing what the more typical level of land-extensive development is in each respective region as a whole.

10: If this reduces the ability of municipalities to subsidize land-extensive development or increases the costs of this type of development, then it is quite possible that densification will become a generalized phenomenon in the region again and not just confined to the core. With the new Services Improvement Act, exurban parts of Toronto will have to begin to bear some of the costs of transit, housing and region wide social services, while education cost differentials between metro and the exurban parts of the region will disappear as the province takes up this expense. In this manner the Greater Toronto Services Board may become the defacto regional government, and play a role in the densification of exurban Toronto that metro did in the 1950s and 1960s. Hence more priority may be given to focussing development in transit oriented corridors. Again all this will depend on the priority given to the provisioning of public

infrastructure. If a new array of private and public partnerships develops, which build new expressways than the potential for densification will be reduced (See James Rusk 1997). Similarly the arrival of neo-traditional planning is another development which bears scrutiny in Toronto. If it becomes significant in the exurban part of the region this will have a significant impact on densification although it will not be registered in statistics on the proportion of single detached units, which has been the primary means for measuring densification in this study.

Addendum: The reality of the fiscal crisis will also affect Vancouver and likely aid the densification regardless of the region, regardless of any plan formulated by the regional government. However, by proposing tolls it will be assisting the densification strategy for the region that is based upon concentrating population mostly on the Burrard Peninsula which is very dependent upon bridge connections and this will provide a strong incentive for commuters to remain on the peninsula(VS-228).

11: Together Vancouver and Ottawa accounted for 20 percent of the nation's population but made up 25 percent of the dwelling units constructed. For this reason any change in the composition of the housing stock of these two cities will skew national figures. And when Montreal and Toronto are added on to this list the impact becomes even more observable. Although these cities only make up 4 of the 25 Metropolitan Census areas they constitute just over 9 million people or 30 percent of the nation's population. However, even with severe downtown that all large cities experienced together these four cities generated about 232,300 housing units or about 40 of all housing starts.

12: Having mentioned Montreal the stage has already been partially set for looking at Winnipeg. Here the most extreme form of land-extensive development present in any major city within the country can be pointed at. Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, to the present, a very powerful land-extensive regime of accumulation took firm hold over the production of space in Winnipeg. If Montreal had a historic legacy of high density development that could cushion and hide the land extensive development that has become deeply entrenched there, Winnipeg had not. Consequently the full effects of the grip of that land-extensive development has on the region are clearly visible in the sprawl that can be viewed here.

Before 1945, by far, Winnipeg was the densest city in Western Canada. However, now it is the least dense major city in the West (i.e., cities with a population of over 300,000). Situated at the extreme end of the land extensive side of the land-intensive and land-extensive Winnipeg has become a model of a specific form of prairie urban development that can be seen in smaller Prairie Census Metropolitan Areas such as Regina and Saskatoon.

For example, between 1991 and 1996 approximately 2,500 dwelling units were produced in Regina, of which of which 2,189, or 84%, were made up of single detached dwelling units. Meanwhile in Saskatoon 4095 dwelling units were constructed of which of 2,469 units were composed of single detached units or 60.2% of the housing units started between 1991 and 1996 (SC-22; SC-24).

Hence between 1991 and 1996 the proportion of single detached dwelling units were as follows in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina. Respectively the percentages were: 1996 - Winnipeg - 83%, 50%, 85%, 1995; Saskatoon - 74.7%, 70%, 85.6%; Regina - 1994 - 76,4%, 72,8%, 84.5%; 1993 - 82%, 72.8%, 84.5%; 1993 - 82%, 52%, 76.6%; 1992 - 77%, 66%, 83.4%; 1991 - 66%, 65%, 83.4% . Cumulatively, in absolute terms, for Winnipeg this meant that between 1991 and 1996 9,244 dwelling units were constructed in the urban region and that 7,168 of these units, or 77.4%, consisted of single detached units. Thus by January 1997 approximately 62 percent of the city's housing stock was made of single detached dwelling as a consequence of this regression back to land-extensive development patterns (SC-22-; SC-24).

Addendum: Institutionally, in the 1970s there was some attempt to curtail land extensive development. The best example of this was the release of Regina RSVP in 1997. Even in Winnipeg a much weaker postmodern version of Regina's RSVP was released in 1980 but this

plan was only passed many years later after being watered down and then ignored (See Gerecke and Reid 1992).

18: For Winnipeg, at least, it appears that the reassertion of a land extensive pattern of development has become very deeply entrenched and a long term return to a land intensive development pattern is unlikely because of the configuration of the housing market. For instance, using 1991 valuations for the average price of a home in Canada in 1991, according to Statistics Canada the average value of a home in Winnipeg was only 67 percent of the national average - $97,000 versus the national average of $144,000 (SC-13). Since then this gap has widened even further. Using figures obtained from the Canadian Real estate Association the Winnipeg and Economic Development Corporation, stated that in 1995 the average price of a housing unit in Winnipeg had declined to $83,000 and even as late as October of 1997, the average MLS price in Winnipeg was only around $84,000 (Winnipeg Real Estate News November 21, 1997). Since the average list price for the nation was approximately $151,000 this meant that the average price of a home had fallen to about 56 percent of the national average from 67 percent. In the inner city the fall would even be greater as vast areas experienced declines of 30 percent in the same time period compared to a citywide drop of fifteen per cent (See Winnipeg Real Estate Board Sold and Expired Book July 1997).

Addendum: Using the same figures supplied by the Canadian Real Estate Association the average price of a housing unit in Canada would have been, $151,000. Housing in Edmonton would have had an average market value of $110,000 and Calgary an average value of $132,000 - which has since moved past $145,000 (Report on Business August, in The Globe and Mail 1997, p.38).

If both sets of figures are roughly accurate then there has been nearly a 15 percent decline in the average value of a home in Winnipeg, over the past 5 years, or real loss of $15,000 dollars in market value since 1991. Although only estimates can be made until statistics Canada releases its figures this means that the densification ratio as remained stable around the benchmark figure of two and may even have fallen slightly (See table one).

Meanwhile, since 1995 Calgary has begun to boom and prices have started to skyrocket here a rising densification ratio can be expected to encourage densification as the average value of a housing unit begins to approach $150,000, thereby closing in on the national average. At the same time as prices have declined in Winnipeg they have stabilized in Vancouver - where prices averaged around $308,000, in the first part of 1997: a price nearly four times the market price of a house in Winnipeg. However this comparison actually underestimates the difference because all house types are included in the average. If we looked at the most preferred form of housing, that is, single detached units: the difference would even be more striking. Since most housing in Winnipeg is made up single detached units the average price of single detached units would approximate this $83,000 dollar figure; however, since single detached units only account for about 40 percent of all dwelling units instead of over 60 percent in Winnipeg, this average price for Vancouver greatly underestimates the price differential between both cities for comparable types of housing. But if the average price of a single detached unit in Vancouver for the Spring of 1997 (CMHC May,1997) is used the average value was listed at $538,000 or about six and a half times that of Winnipeg.

19: If we look at the postmodern city in Canada not just one social ecology appears - since the distribution of population and the struggle for space and the regulation of its use is primarily defined by the migration, immigration and the impact of the new middle class in each city, differences in any one of these factors can produce distinctive and different forms of postmodern urbanization. Up to the present five different models can be identified. And with these five different models different housing prices, levels and types of crime, and the production of different material cultures can be connected to each other. However, this task is beyond the scope of this inquiry so only a list of the various forms of the postmodern city will be registered and some supplementary remarks made in the addendums that follow.

The **first** model is the one presented by Vancouver, where migration and immigration are high and where a larger percentage of this immigration is made up of middle class Asians (G/M 1997e; 1997bx). As well the indigenous middle class is strong and growing. Similarly, amongst the middle class fractions, both foreign, local and migrant, there is a strong desire to settle in the core of the region, producing intense displacement pressure that are most acutely felt by the urban proletariat (McPhee 1989; VS-364). This, combined with other unique attributes of this city, such as the migration of drug users and the existence of rapid transit system, which acts as a vector for the movement of some marginalized populations into and out of certain area, and the specialization of certain immigrant groups in the drug economy (VS-396), have produced a rare and singular underclass formations that are not yet apparent elsewhere in the country (G/M 1997zr; 1997zw; 1997bu; 1997bwa). One result is that violent crime is so far relatively minor in Vancouver while property crime rates are extremely high in Vancouver. Being a very concentrated centre for drug users the underground economy has rapidly grown in a node that is surrounded by a prosperous node of middle class colonization, providing attractive targets for drug users seeking out valuable goods which can be stolen and then sold to support their habit at many of the pawn shops that suddenly sprouted along Hastings Street (CVPD-160; CVPD-173; VS-378; VS-391).

The **second** model is the opposite to that of Vancouver's. It is the Winnipeg model. This settlement model applies to the Eastern Prairies and to, a lesser extent Edmonton, which overlaps with the Western Prairie model, which Calgary is emblematic of - it being a hybrid and variation of the Toronto model - the main difference being the smaller scale of immigration and the absence of the movement of a large refugee and working class immigrant population, which defines the Toronto model. In the Winnipeg model, population growth is meager (Winnipeg Free Press 1997bw). Immigration is declining or is relatively insignificant compared to other large centres. The socio-economic profile of immigration is also different since more immigrants are working class rather than middle class. In this settlement configuration there is significant out migration of the new middle class but a significant in migration of an indigenous underclass formation mostly composed of Aboriginals from the hinterland of the city. Unlike Vancouver, where the middle class is ascendant in the core, in the settlement model exemplified by Winnipeg the underclass is more prominent and even dominates. Rather than receding it is an ascendant force in the settlement of the core of the region. In the social ecology of Vancouver, the underclass and remaining working class remnants are receding. While these formations are on the defensive precisely the opposite situation applies to places like Winnipeg and Regina. In these cities the new middle class is on the defensive and the underclass is on the offensive in terms of the occupation of space. This model may also apply to medium sized centres (in Prairie terms) in the Eastern Prairies such as Brandon, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Moose Jaw, The Pas, Thompson.

The **third** model is one which Calgary and Toronto are exemplars of. In terms of the flow of capital and people Toronto is the larger international version and Calgary is the smaller national version. In both cities there is a strong influx of middle class migrants, significant immigration, although much larger in both absolute and relative terms in Toronto. In terms of the Prairies Calgary exists as a symbol for the a type of urbanization taking place in the western half of the region, while Winnipeg is a model for what is happening in the Eastern Prairies, which both Saskatoon and Edmonton situated somewhere between these two cities in terms of their economic trajectories and internal settlement geography or social ecology. Although not identitical Toronto and Calgary are linked together because they are the head quarters centres for the nation. As a result they are growth poles for the new middle class.

The **fourth** model is Montreal - here slow population growth, declining and selective immigration, net migration loss and a unique spatial geography created by the linguistic and ethnic history and geography of the city have created a distinctive postmodern social ecology which stands out by itself (Montreal Gazette 1997e; 1997ee). Despite the bleeding of its middle class, because it is a cultural centre for the Francophone population of North America, it will have a stronger middle class than Winnipeg. Consequently even if an underclass formation does

grown in the core of the region it will not become ascendant or dominant, as is now the case in Winnipeg.

Finally there is a **fifth** model is presented by the Maritimes: where there is very little immigration, significant out migration and very little growth and a small new new middle class except in the case of Halifax - which does attract the new middle class from the rest of the Atlantic Canada (Montreal Gazette 1997n) and some immigrants. However, unlike the rest of Canada, most of these immigrants are Caucasian. In the province of Quebec, Quebec City would closely approximate Halifax as the most cosmopolitan and dynamic examples of this type of city.

Addendum One - urbanization patterns and underclass formations - the Winnipeg, the Vancouver, the Toronto and Calgary models: Furthermore, in Winnipeg the economics of decline and the emergence of the first large urban underclass to appear in a Canadian city with over 500,000 people has created a situation which, as one writer, Dough Whiteway (1992) noted, made him feel surprisingly at home in Detroit. In terms of social ecology, If San Francisco and Miami are the closest North American equivalents to Vancouver and not Seattle or Portland, then, in the case of Winnipeg, it is not Chicago, or Minneapolis St. Paul but Detroit that comes closest to mirroring the trajectory that Winnipeg is following.

With regard to underclass formations, in Canada it is interesting to note the difference between underclass formation in a Winnipeg that is inland and the other, which is on the coast: Where one city is on the rise and the other that is in decline, in a city where the underclass is expanding its control over space in the inner city and consolidating itself over larger pieces of territory instead of receding into a few enclaves, as is the case for Vancouver. Such is the contrast that can be seen between Winnipeg and Vancouver. This contrast even seems to be reflected in the nature of crime or underground economy, which is the often the chief economic domain in which, in addition to social assistance, is the domain where the members of the underclass participates in its own economy, which parallels and threatens the formal economy.

Thus while Vancouver may have the highest property crime rates because of the emergence of a drug economy in Winnipeg it is alcohol that is the ingredient responsible for most of the deaths and violence in the city. If Vancouver is the theft capital of Canada then Winnipeg is its Homicide capital. With a homicide rate of 4.12 per 100,000 people or 28 deaths in 1996 Winnipeg's homicide rate was twice the level of similar sized cities in the Prairies such as Calgary and Edmonton. For example in Calgary the homicide rate was only 1.41 for every 100,000 people compared to the national rate of 2.11. Similarly only 5,385 property crimes and 769 violent crimes were reported in Calgary (See Sheldon Alberts 1997; this was a Statistics Canada survey of nine cities with over 500,000 in population).

It is interesting to note that the city with highest homicide rate for a place under 500.000 but above 100,000 was Regina - a city which appears to be closely following the pattern of urbanization that can be seen in Winnipeg and one which, indeed Winnipeg may be the model for. Thus per 100,000 Regina had a homicide rate of 5.8%; Saskatoon 5.7% and Winnipeg 5.4%. All three cities are places that have the highest aboriginal populations in the country and are the ones with the highest homicide rates. If the housing profiles are related to these figures a distinctive social ecology for the Eastern part of the Prairies emerges in the comparisons.

Again, in this regard, Winnipeg emerges as the model for a unique sub-category of urban development in Canada that is echoed in three other prairie cities, with Regina coming closest to Winnipeg, and Saskatoon and Edmonton further removed from this pattern and more closely associated with an alternative model for prairies urbanization that can be seen emerging in Calgary, where the percentage of Aboriginal is smaller, housing prices in the city are higher, where there is a larger and stronger middle class enclave in the inner city and where the labour force is more While rather than Blue Collar. More particularly what links Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg is the relative decline in immigration and the rise of internal migration from each city's Aboriginal hinterland. Thus the presence of land extensive development is also tied into the emergence of these underclass formations. something that is not significant in Calgary

but is more obvious in Edmonton. Thus if Edmonton is included into the Winnipeg model a clear sub category, or distinctive urban morphology, typical of the Prairie city, outside the orbit of Calgary becomes observable (See Canada, Royal Commission of Aboriginals 1996, Volume 4).

Addendum Three: Again, as Calgary shows, this does not apply to all prairie cities. Particularly for Calgary all indicators suggest that this city is moving into a league of its own and that it is diverging significant away from the patterns that can be seen in other Prairie cities. In terms of crime, alone, the difference can be seen. Official statistics show that it is a much safer city than other large Prairie cities. As a result its crime profile, with a homicide rate of 1.41, Calgary looks more like Toronto's where the homicide rate was only 1.79 and even Montreal where it was 2.11 in 1996 (in spite of the much higher poverty rate in Montreal - however here property crimes were much higher, particularly with regard to auto theft).

Addendum Four: Looking at other miscellaneous figures related to crime: the national average of 2.11 for homicides in 1996 was lower than the peak homicide rate that occurred in 1975 when the level was 3.02 and but not as low as 1.5, which was recorded in the 1961 (Winnipeg Free Press 1997d).

Addendum Five: Because of differences in the underground economy and the different constitution of the urban underclass in Vancouver, the type and level of property crime is different in Vancouver than it is in Winnipeg or other cities. This has also lead to the creation of distinctive zones of pathology such as the emergence of an HIV precinct in the Core of Vancouver, which does not exist elsewhere in Canada, at this moment (On the otherhand, if we look at property crimes the picture changes. Here Vancouver leads Canada with 10,494 incidents per 100,000 people in 1996, a four percent rise over 1995 and a 19 percent increase in auto thefts, a rate double that of New York City where the rate was 5,365 or Boston, which had a property theft level of 7,618 and Austin at 7,301. Furthermore, Vancouver is the only major city in the country that has experienced a rise in the property crime rate over the past five years. In contrast, Toronto has recorded a 23 percent decrease over the past five years and now has a rate that is half that of Vancouver's. In Calgary there has been a 33 percent decline and 10 percent decline in the other six large cities that were surveyed. (VS-284; VS-305).

Addendum Six: Moreover there is considerable variation in the Crime rate within Greater Vancouver that can be used to show how the working class and marginalized segments of the population are being redistributed. This can be done if the level of income, incidence of poverty, price of housing and the predominance of low rent levels are correlated. From this a picture of the fragmented settlement zones occupied by the lower income and more unstable elements of the traditional working class such as the lumpen proletariat can be observed. As the data shows these attributes are clumped in certain areas. Generally, they dot the East rather than to the West or Southern parts of the region and to areas that have greater accessibility to the underground economy that is still anchored in parts of the core, hence the correlation between the location of Skytrain stations and certain types of crime, such as prostitution and drug use and the related illegal exchange of goods (See figure 10-C).

Thus according to the Ministry of the Attorney General the crime rate per 1,000 for the Vancouver region in 1996 was 148. For each of the municipalities the rates were as follows: New Westminister-226; Langley City-218; Vancouver -197;Burnaby - 174; North Vancouver City - 156; Surrey -150; Maple Ridge -131; Port Coquitlam - 121; Coquitlam -112; Abbotsford-112; Langley District-111;Richmond-102; Port Moody-98; Delta-95; Pitt Meadows-93; White Rock - 84; North Vancouver District-79 West Vancouver - 75 and the total for the Vancouver area was 148 (VS-218a). As these figures loosely indicate, wherever the Skytrain runs, there tend to be a higher level of crime.

22: For example in 1996, 660 single detached dwelling out of a total of 3,030 dwelling units were constructed in Metropolitan Toronto. This made up 18.8 percent of all new housing units, well below the regional average of 54.9 percent. In the outer areas the single detached unit accounted for about 60 percent of all new residential construction. However, if Mississauga is excluded

from the figures for the outer region the percentage of single detached units in the exurban zone rises to 70 percent. Looking at the preceding years the same trend is present.

For example, in 1995 the proportion of single detached units in the Greater Toronto area(GTA) was 38 percent. Here Mississauga occupied a middle place, with 48 percent of all new units made up single detached units. For the exurban area without Mississauga, the proportion of single detached units was 62 percent. Meanwhile, within Metro single detached units only accounted for 12.6 percent of all new units constructed (accounting for 35 percent of all units in Greater Toronto).

In 1994 the same percentages were GTA 55 per cent, Mississauga 59.5 percent, the outer ring without Mississauga 65 percent. With Mississauga, the proportion of single detached units stood at 63 percent and Metro at 31.6 percent (accounting for 19 percent of all units in Greater Toronto).

In 1993 the figures were respectively: GTA 53 percent, Mississauga 40 percent and 59 percent for the outer area without Mississauga and 55.6 percent with Mississauga. Meanwhile for Metro Toronto the proportion of single detached units that were constructed accounted for 36.2 percent of all units, In turn Metro accounted for 18.4 units of all units constructed in the GTA.

In 1992 the proportion of single detached units constructed in the GTA was 40 percent. In Mississauga this was 42 percent. Without Mississauga the percentage was 63 percent in the outer area and 62.1 percemt with Mississauga. In metro 10.6 percent of all housing was made up of single detached units. In turn Metro accounted for 38.2 percent of all units constructed in the GTA.

Finally, in 1991 the percentage of single detached units constructed in the GTA was 50 percent. For Mississauga it was 53 percent. In the outer areas without Mississauga, it was 65 percent: with Mississauga 64.1 percent. Within metro the percentage was 12 percent in Metro (which accounted for 21.6 percent of all new dwelling units in Greater Toronto, see SC-24; SC-23).

Into the first quarter of 1997 the same trend has continued with (SC-23) the percentage of single detached units constructed in the GTA standing at 50.1 percent. Mississauga has so far generated the most new housing units (1,549) followed by the City of Toronto (1,332). As with other periods, the percentage of single detached units is less in Mississauga than elsewhere on the periphery, with 56.8% (880) per cent of all units made up of single detached dwelling units versus approximately 65 percent for outer perimeter. area. Without Mississauga the percentage of single detached units outside metro rises to 66 percent well above the national and metropolitan averages for the first 5 months of 1997 that are listed below (SC-22;SC-23; SC-24).

Addendum: More recent statistics for the country show that between January and May (42,026) 63.6 percent of all new dwelling units were single detached. For the metropolitan areas of the country this was 56.8 per cent. The percentage of single detached units for individual cities was 56.5 percent for Ottawa, 80 percent for Calgary, 70.6 percent for Winnipeg, 72.2 percent For Saskatoon, 94.6 percent for Regina, 54.3 percent for Montreal (SC-23).

Going back to 1996, for the country the percentage for the entire year were (134,158) 58.9% versus (63,764) 55.7% in 1995. For the metropolitan areas (45,731) 53.3% of new dwelling units constructed in 1996 were single detached. City by city the percentages were as follows: Calgary 83.5%, Edmonton 82%, Halifax 75%, Montreal 49.8%, Ottawa 42.2%, Toronto 50.7%, Winnipeg 83.6% and Vancouver 28.9 % (SC-22).

Because Greater Vancouver accounted for 20 percent of all new residential constructed in the metropolitan areas and about 13 percent of all new units the nation percentage of single detached units would no doubt have been higher at the national and metropolitan levels if Vancouver had been excluded. The same applies to the years between 1991 and 1995 where the percentage of the new housing units accounted for by the Vancouver market varied between 9.8 per cent of all units to 14.8 percent of all new housing units between 1991 and 1996. For example it was over 12 percent in 1991 and 12.8 in 1993. Within the Census Metropolitan areas the percentage of new housing units constructed in Vancouver peaked between 1993 and 1995, when about 20 percent of new housing construction was located here.

In 1992 Vancouver accounted for 11.4 percent of the national total and 17.8 percent of the Census metropolitan area total. With a population between 6.5 and about 7.0 percent of the national population during this time Vancouver obviously played a major part in maintaining the downward turn in the percentage of the national housing stock made up of single detached dwelling units (See table two), as there was almost a one percent drop in the percentage of single detached units that were constructed nationally between 1991 and 1996, despite increased construction of single detached units elsewhere in the country.

Addendum One: While the City of Montreal has just over a million people the City of Laval had about 340,000 people in 1996. However, unlike Laval only 456 single detached units were constructed in Montreal or less than one per cent the rate of single family construction in Laval (SC 22;SC;24).

Yet, for Laval, with only a 10 percent of the region's population, between 1991 and 1996 5,240 single detached units, or over 15 percent of the region's new stock of single detached dwellings. In total, between 1991 and 1996 10,300 units, or 13 percent of all new dwelling units in the region were produced here. Hence about 47 percent of all new dwelling units in Laval were single detached units compared to approximately 53 percent of the rent of the rest outer region. In this sense Laval is situated in a similar position as Mississauga, existing as an intermediate point in the bimodal pattern of land extensive and land-intensive development that exists in both regions, if comparison with the rest of the periphery is made.

More so than Toronto, what these figures show is how entrenched land-extensive development has become in Montreal in relation to the existing stock, where, as earlier mentioned, only 32 percent of the housing is made up of single family dwelling units (table two). Thus the gap between the existing built environment and the newly constructed one is much greater in the case of Montreal than in Toronto, which suggest that land-extensive development is more intensive here - despite the production of a similar proportion of single detached units in each region.

Moreover, with less development in the core of the region a what is taking place along the periphery of the region appears to be over-riding the densification that is taking place in the core area to a much greater extent than is the case with Toronto even though the Toronto moved abruptly into reverse gear with regard to densification in the 1980s while Montreal moved steadily but inexorably towards sparser development.

Whereas the gap between the average number of single detached dwelling units in the outer areas (excluding Mississauga) and the average for the region, in Toronto, was 16 percent, in Montreal (excluding Laval) the difference was 24 percent. Hence a much more deeply rooted level of land-extensive development was in operation in Montreal.[6]

What these numbers show is the importance of context when interpreting the addition of new housing units when looking at the overall evolution of the morphology of a particular urban region. While in a place like Halifax, the overall percentages for Montreal would indicate that city was experiencing a mild form of land-intensive development, in the specific context of Montreal the number reveals the opposite, because of the huge gap between exists between the outer periphery and the core and the current composition of the housing stock with the new layers that are being added each year. Thus, in absolute terms the production of housing in Montreal suggests that densification is significant the exact opposite assessment is probably more accurate: which is, that land-extensive development has become strong and pervasive in Greater Montreal between 1991 and 1996, continuing a postwar pattern of urban thinning that has persisted since 1945.

While this comparison exaggerates the degree of land extensive development it does accurately point to the dominant trends that are shaping the entire region and not just the City of Montreal. A Similar gap exists in Toronto but the context for interpreting these numbers is different, because of the sparser development that has historically defined the evolution of this city in comparison to Montreal. Similarly, while the core area population of the Toronto region is rising modestly, the core area populationof Montreal is still falling. Although modest residential construction is still taking place in the core areas of both cities, what is taking

place in the city of Toronto far out distances what is happening in the City of Montreal when size and population are taken into consideration.[7]

That is why the Montreal pattern looks less like the bifurcated pattern in Toronto and more like the entrenched land-extensive regimes of accumulation that appears in cities like Winnipeg. While land-extensive development on the fringe might be roughly at the same level as Toronto, densification taking place in the core and inner suburbs within Montreal is far less, in both absolute and relative terms, than is the case with Toronto. So Even though the City of Montreal accounted for about a third of the region's population it only accounted for about 14 percent of the new housing stock built in the region between 1991 and 1996. By contrast in Toronto, the core accounts for about 50 of the region's population and nearly 30 percent of all new residential construction between 1991 and 1996 (i.e., Metro Toronto - leaving out Mississauga for the purpose of this comparison).

That is why, in a rather curious fashion, although certainly in a hybrid manner, Montreal more closely approximates the pattern that is now present in Winnipeg than in Toronto - only Winnipeg represents an even more extreme example of entrenched land-extensive development. Unlike Montreal, in Winnipeg there has virtually been no addition to the residential housing stock of the inner of Winnipeg between 1991 and 1996. Also lower population densities and the absence of rapid transit making it even more difficult to expect any reconcentration of capital in the core of the inner city.

Addendum Two: Between 1991 and 1996 23,339 housing units were produced in Mississauga, with 51 percent or 12,363 of these units made up of single detached units. When the housing units located in Mississauga are subtracted from the outer ring's total the number of units constructed in this ring between 1991 and 1996 amounted to 60,179 units of which 37,379 were made up of single detached units (SC-22; SC-24).

30: Furthermore, if comparisons area made with its largest and closest suburban rival Vancouver towers much more over its suburban challengers, which in this case, is Surrey, than the City of Toronto does over Mississauga or the City of Montreal does not over Laval. For example between 1990 and1995 30,1411 dwelling units were constructed in the City of Vancouver compared to only 20.591 for Surrey. Even though Vancouver is entirely built up it produced 150 per cent more dwelling units than the largest municipality in the region, which also has the most undeveloped land (Statistics from GVRD Key Facts 1996). This dominance is not recent. It has lasted since before the second wave of densification began in 1986. Thus even between 1983 and 1989 6 percent more new dwelling units were constructed in the City of Vancouver than in Surrey: 23,987 in the City of Vancouver and 22,556 in Surrey - accounting for 23 percent and 22 percent of the 104,425 units that were constructed in the region at this time (GVRD 1996).

For the City of Vancouver, its proportion of the region's new housing stock has increased from 23 to 36 percent from the period between 1983 and 1989 and 1990 and 1995 shows how much more concentrated the densification process has become within the region when comparisons are made with Montreal or Toronto and in spite of the overall pervasiveness of the densification process throughout the Vancouver region

And recent construction figures indicate that this pattern will probably carry on through the rest of the 1990s. Thus, in the first half of 1997 6,963 new dwelling units started in the region from January to June. Of this number 1884 were started in the City of Vancouver , accounting for 27 percent of all new units. However, Surrey still remained well behind, in second place, with only 1389 units constructed, or about 20 percent of the region's new housing stock. While the gap in production between Surrey and Vancouver was not as large as it has been in the recent past, nevertheless, the City of Vancouver was still able to generate 36 percent more housing units than Surrey (CMHC June 1997d).

33: For example in terms of medium income for all the CMA's Victoria had the second highest income in 1994. Ottawa was in first place with a medium income of $21,900 that was 18 percent above the nation medium of $18,500. Next came Victoria with $21,700 giving it an average

medium income 17% above the national average. This was significantly above Vancouver's, which only had a medium income of $19,900, just 7.5% above the average nation medium income but with housing prices over twice the national average (SC-17B).

Another reason for the relatively sluggish growth of denser units in Victoria may simply have to do with the lag effect - since Victoria has only obtained its status as the second most expensive city in the country over the past five years or so. Finally, that Asian immigration has largely bypassed Victoria may account for lower rates of densification. If they had settled more in Victoria more capital would have gone into residential development and prices probably would have gone up more, as can be seen in the strong link between the level of Asian middle class immigration in Vancouver (VS-303) and the inflation in housing prices on the West side. The converse, may also apply as well, as there has been a deflation that some commentators have linked to the return of middle class Asians to Asia (See McInnes 1997). For example in Vancouver Realtors are attributing the 27.3 percent drop (from $915,300 in the Summer of 1997 to $665,000 this Spring) in expensive homes on the West side of Vancouver to the departure of rich immigrants because of a new tax law change which forces all citizens to disclose foreign assets (VS-303).

34: But real estate economics are not the only force at work, the downturn in the economy of the Greater Toronto Area seems to have over-rode the more favourable conditions encouraging land extensive development in Greater Toronto. For in the 1991 valuation of homes by Census Canada the average price listed was $297,045. In the interim, between 1991 and 1997 the average price for a home in the Toronto region fell by more than a third and for a while hovered just below $199,000, although prices have now risen above $200,000 and may significantly increase in the near future. However despite this massive drop in the value of housing - hence a much lower densification ratio - the rate of land extensive development slowed down and almost came to halt, as other economic factors, not having to do with the local state or the production of space, such as the labour market, kicked in, as employment levels in Metro Toronto plummeted, counteracting the more favourable real-estate conditions that were created by the drop in price. Also during this period strong intensification pressures in the core were off setting milder land extensive development in the outer areas of the region.

34a: If both sets of figures are roughly accurate then there has been nearly a 20 percent decline in the average value of a home in Winnipeg, over the past 5 years, or a real loss of $15,000 dollars in market value since 1991 - which would have lowered the densification ratio in the city still further than what was recorded in table one by a significant degree and no doubt further amplified the economic factors Meanwhile, since 1995 Calgary has begun to boom and prices have started to skyrocket and are now probably approaching an average value of $150,000, thereby closing in on the national average. At the same time as prices have remained declined in Winnipeg they have stabilized in Vancouver around an average value of $308,000, a price nearly four times the market price of a house in Winnipeg. However this comparison actually underestimates the difference because all house types are included in the average. If we looked at the most preferred form of housing, single detached units, the difference would even be more striking since the $83,000 dollar figure would not vary too much from the average price of an average single detached unit because of the high number of these units in the city. But if we look at housing figures for Vancouver in the Spring of 1997 (CMHC May,1997) the average value of a single detached home was listed at $538,000 dollars so there is a vast difference between the average price of a housing unit in Vancouver and the average price of a single detached unit, which creates tremendous economic pressure on the housing consumer to buy into denser housing units which are not single detached.

35: Lastly, from the changes witnessed in Vancouver, it has also become evident that there can be many different permutations to the densification process. Different formats and stages of development can occur according to whether densification is emergent, ascendant or dominant.

Densification can also move along different geographic paths. As the Vancouver example has shown, while densification in the City of Vancouver diffused outwards in a concentric fashion; in Greater Vancouver, the construction of rapid transit has produced a stronger linear pattern of development. Furthermore, if recent development in Toronto and Montreal are studied closely densification can even operate codeterminously with land-extensive development.

Then there are different physical formats that affect the urban morphologies of each city that is touched by densification. For example, Vancouver was once an amorphous region made up of low-rise single detached units. But in just thirty years it has been transformed into a medium-rise metropolis that is becoming highly structured by the emergence of a spoke and wheel configuration of high and medium rise dwelling units that is being encoded into the regulation of space as the zoning bylaws in the suburban municipalities of Vancouver are being altered because of the advent of mass transit or the promise of its extension.

In cities like Toronto, the high-rise slabs will probably remain the staple format that will be the signature for the densification process in this city. Finally, Montreal will be interesting to watch, since the provincial government has indicated that it will no longer subsidize the low-density sprawl that has steadily thinned out the city since 1945. More so than in Vancouver, significant experimentation has taken place with denser and more affordable single and duplex dwelling units, thus low rise rather than medium and high-rise formats. Similarly, it also possible that the old tradition of building multiple unit dwelling at medium heights, which Montreal excelled at, might be revived, a tradition that has been lost in the suburban expansion of single detached dwelling that has taken place in the off island sectors of the region.

Finally, densification can move forward even less obtrusively with regard to the transformation of the built environment simply through the redesign and organization of single detached units or low rise condominiums. Outside the formal economy, this takes place with the generation of secondary suites or, in the formal economy, this happens when new single detached units are designed so that can easily be converted into multiple units. Another example of unobtrusive densification would be the expansion of neo-traditional communities on greenfield sites located in the periphery of the urban region. Other examples, of low key densification would bet the production of larger homes, infill structures, thin houses and secondary suites. Then, of course, there are comprehensively planned use developments, gated communities and that can also be deemed to be part of the densification process if there is a concentration in capital or an increase in population.

For example, in Calgary, if current planning strategies are realized planned unit developments and neo-traditional development may become the dominant profile that densification takes place in this city. If this does happen, using single detached units as a measure for the progression of the densification process will not be able to capture the most important developments in the progression of the densification process. Thus, as low format types of densification become more common measuring the proportion of single detached units will be less useful in determining the extent and progression of the densification process.

Addendum: In Vancouver all three physical formats - high-rise, medium-rise and low - rise formats - can be seen. Hence, while Vancouver may provide a model for what might happen in other cities, different variable that shape the evolution of the densification process show that many different configurations are possible.

In closing, it is also important to keep in mind the changes that densification has triggered in the social ecology of Greater Vancouver. As the comparison between the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement and the Zone of Asian resettlement has illustrated, different house types and different spatial rationales such as the systematic application of postmodern spatial matrix for the re-organization of second settlement ring and pre-modern methods for placement of objects in the built environment, that come about through the application of Feng Shui (Rossback 1983) in the third settlement zone, show how different forms of regulation and not just price can attract and repell different social groups.

43: For example this can be seen in the translation of the principles of the Sustainable Suburbs Study of 1991 (City of Calgary) into more precise regulations that may govern the development of all new suburban development and the lead to the creation of several new regional town centres such as the proposed Shawnessy Centre in the South (See Draft Shawnessey Centre Plan 1997), which were thought about during the oil boom days but abandoned after the oil bust. More importantly the move to translate these principles into regulatory action can be seen in the growth management plans that the city is currently preparing for the north and south ends of the city (See City of Calgary Fish Creek Growth Area Management Plan and City Vision, Fall 1996 and Spring 1997 editions).

Indeed if the city is successful in achieving its goal of doubling suburban densities by increasing the number of housing units on an acre from 3 to 4 to 7 or 8 units, using single detached units as a measure of the densification process will have to be changed since the dominant format for densification will be a low-rise suburban type that is not revealed by counting single detached units.

Addendum: (SC-41) Building Permits August - cumulative from January to August 1997 Metropolitan Census Areas 56.9% or 41,360 of 72,232. Six cities - Vancouver 39.6%, Trois Rivierers 49.3% Montreal 52.9%, Toronto 53.8%, Ottawa-Hull 54.4 % - Ottawa -57%, Victoria 56.4% in either dominant or ascendant category. Prairie Cities Winnipeg 71% 216 homes exurbia or 17.7% of total/Regina 77.6% single detached 103 homes in exurbia or 28.7%/Saskatoon - 64%- 192 homes in exurbia or 24%/Calgary - 80.7% - 832 in exurbia or 11.3%/ Edmonton- 75.3% - 1368 homes in exurbia or 36.3% Laval - 66% single detached/Missaussaga 56.4% - 2,876 or 15% of starts/ Surrey 48.3%. If demolished and replacement stock is taken out an estimate of single detached percentage for Vancouver is probably around 21.6%/ Metro 17,4% single detached- metro accounts for 26.4% of new starts, Exurban Toronto - 66.8% or 9,420 single detached versus 885 in Metro Montreal - Outside City of Montreal 61.4% single detached. City of Vancouver - 4,153 starts versus 1292 starts for the City of Montreal and 1796 for the City of Toronto and 5063 starts for the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. In the City of Vancouver building permits for 527 single detached units were issued or 12.6% of the 4153 residential permits grants. Coming in first place for single detached units in the Vancouver region was Surrey, with 942 permits for single detached units. In third place: The District of Langley - 369; Fourth, Maple Ridge - 259. In the City of Coquitlam only 182 permits for single detached units were issued or only 30.5% of the total permits granted by the city.

43a: See Leo Driedger (1996) where statistics from the 1991 census show Jews to be the most urbanized group in the country, with 98.5% living in cities. They are also the most affluent ethnic group with a mean income in 1991 of $37,142, about 32% above the nation mean, which was $28,946. Of the non-visible minorities they have the highest level of education hence (middle class status). The 1991 census recorded around 16,000 Jews in Winnipeg but the 1996 Census figures will probably show that the population has declined to around 14,000. If single origin measurements are used the decline in the Jewish population is even more dramatic. For instance, while the single origin Jewish population in Alberta rose 8.5% from 7,320 to 7,945 in Winnipeg it fell by over 30%, from 20,010 to 13,870 between 1971 and 1986. Only Montreal experienced such a large decline, as its population dropped from 115,996 to 81,190 (See Halli et El., 1995, pp. 427-431).

Of all minority groups Jews also had the highest level of white collar employment. Along with their relatively low birth rate, all these statistics are indicative of their middle class status and reveal, their usefulness as a representative sub group or proxy measure for the new middle class.

In contrast to the city's diminishing Jewish population, the poorest minority group in the country has become the fastest growing minority population in Winnipeg. Here the Native population had a mean income of $18,770, which was 36 % below the national mean (p.174).

Also Winnipeg's hinterland contains the largest reservoir for this underclass since the provinces of Manitoba has the highest Aboriginal population followed by Saskatchewan.

Winnipeg is also the natural hinterland for Northwest Ontario where an equally large Aboriginal population lives. On a national basis if this population is Broken down further: 22% of this minority is made up of Metis, 52.1% Status Indians; 21.6% Non-Status Indians and 3.8% of Inuit (Driedger 1996,p.66).

45: Attempts to preserve motel bungalows constructed in the 50s along Kingsway is also an unmistakable sign that modernism belongs to the past rather than to the present (Will 1997a). Particularly in the second phase of the postmodern transformation.This represents a significant change from the livable city era when most of the energies of preservationists went into the conservation of Victorian structures. In Canada perhaps the most notable example of twentieth-century modernism's consignment to history would be when Phylis Lambert picketed Westmount Square to protest alterations that threatened the integrity of this Misien structure.

The same thing has happened to the physical and social spaces of the suburbs, as spaces once inviolate under modern regulation are now threatened by densification. The creation of RS-5 and RS-6 zoning in suburban Vancouver is an obvious example of the same process that confronts other artifacts of the modern era (Hughes 1997; Applebe 1997A; Applebe 1997c). This effort to protect the modern landscape can also be seen in the creation of heritage areas in New Westminister (Chow 1997a; Sparkes 1997) and the creation of special zoning districts in Burnaby, West Vancouver and the District of North Vancouver.

55: In Seattle-Bellevue-Everett the densification ratio was only 2.89. With a median income of $55.100 and a median house price of $159,000. But with its exurban and suburban counties recording even lower readings the overall densification ratio for the region is probably around 2.5. For instance Tacoma's (with a median income of $44.8 and a median house price of $116) ratio is only about 2.5, Bremerton's 2.5, and Olympia 2.4 - rates that are even below the average for the nation, which is 2.7.What may develop here is a bifurcated pattern similar to Toronto's, but much milder.

Meanwhile, in Portland the median income was $46,300 and the median price of a home was $147,000. In high tech San Jose the median income was $70,000 while the median price of a home was $260,000. In Las Vegas the median income was $46,100 and the median house price was $110,000, in Greater Phoenix the median income was $47,500 and the median price of a home was $111,000. In Denver the median income was $54,900 and the median price of a home was $132,000 (Rhodes 1997).

Another interesting observation about these three cities is that while the agricultural land reserve has had a dramatic impact on densification in Vancouver the growth management practices in both Seattle and Portland has not so far had the same effect. More than anything else they seem to have tidied up and rationalized low-density development rather than promoted significantly higher densities. However, in Portland there are some indications that this may be changing.

55a: Because of these development it is likely that half of the approximately 900,000 immigrants that will probably reside in Vancouver by the year 2000, or about 55 percent, will be of Asian origin or ancestry. In addition to this, if this scenario comes to pass about 45 percent of Vancouver's population will be foreign born by the year 2000 (CMHC 1996c).

As in Miami, where the Cuban middle class form the core of the Hispanic population, that now dominated Dade County (with about a million Hispanics now living there), among the Asian population, in Vancouver, it will be immigrants from Hong Kong, then other Chinese fractions of the population, that will constitute the most powerful and largest segment of this Asian population, providing the numbers and the economic clout to further intensify and expand the boundaries of the zone of Asian Resettlement and perhaps create new satellite communities outside the two that presently exist. But as in Miami the hegemony of the Chinese middle class may also lead to strife amongst other immigrant groups.

Addendum: The 1996 Census is likely to reveal that the proportion of Asians has reached and, perhaps, gone beyond 50 percent of the population in the suburban areas of the City of Vancouver and may have gone beyond forty per cent in places like Richmond (figure ten).

To find a parallel to what is now happening in Vancouver in North America one has to look to the United States and see what has happened to Miami and Dade County. Here there are an amazing number of similarities between the changing social ecology of the Miami region and Vancouver. Only, in the case of Miami it is a Hispanic rather than Asian population that has changed the city. And each has its core group. In Miami it is the Cubans; in Vancouver it is the immigrants from Hong Kong.

Just as with Vancouver, the conflict between capitalism and state socialism became the trigger for a massive middle class migration to both cities. For Miami this eventually resulted in the near complete displacement of the pre- existing Anglo population by 1990, with 62.5 percent of the population of the city of Miami becoming Hispanic (Navarro 1997,p.12) and 49 percent of the population of Dade County, which would be the equivalent to the Greater Vancouver Regional District, also defined as being Hispanic by this time (Downs table 5-5,1994, p.84). This migration involved a qualitative change as well as a quantitative change that has also affected the economic structure of both urban areas. With this migration Miami has become the entrepot for Latin America. For Vancouver, it remains to be seen the degree this is repeated in terms of becoming an entreport for Asia.

This does not mean that this migration has made Miami or Vancouver global command centres. A local Journalist David Beers probably summed up the situation more accurately when he referred to Vancouver as the suburb of the Pacific Ring. Although Vancouver has diminished as a decision making centre it appears to have become more important as a communications node. Again, as Hutton (1997) and recent economic forecasts for British Columbia have suggested, like Miami the Metropolitan or Central Place role of Vancouver may have even declined (VS-306; Jang 1997).

Still, even if important executive decisions are no longer made in Vancouver, it appears that the city has the capacity to become an important communications node in larger global network of capital and people, becoming a staging and meeting point for economic and cultural activities happening elsewhere in Asia, attracting a broad range of people and activities which were once not present. Just as important politicians and business leaders now regularly visit Miami for Vancouver the same role may come about, as can be seen in meetings like the Association of Asian Pacific Economies that was held in Vancouver during 1997, which would be the equivalent to Trade Summit for the Western Hemisphere that was held in Miami during 1994 (VS-310).

57: What this should also mean is that many of these monster homes will be converted into boarding houses or small apartments and that inner city and exurban areas should benefit from population growth because of this. As a result there should be significant social change in the use of space in the Zone of Asian Resettlement. While the Chinese that predominate here have a long tradition of extended families, the emergence of secular formations such as satellite should have major ramifications for the area as a place of reproduction and all the things that go with spaces that are organized around these functions. As David Bond, the chief economist of the Bank of Hong Kong noted, 4 demographic trends will have a world wide impact: the rise of single parent families in the West; the aging of the Japanese population because of their reluctance to accept immigrants; the high degree of urbanization in the third world that threatens livability and social stability and the threat posed to the extended Chinese family posed by the one child policy - and some of these impacts will be registered in some way on what happens in the third settlement zone (VS-307).

As fertility declines the third zone and the fourth settlement zones should feel the impact of these trends. If this happens these areas will become far less family centric.Also homeowners will be more inticed to convert many of the large single dwelling units that have

been constructed in this area into legal or illegal housing units. In the fourth zone this will also probably lead to the continuing rise of secondary suites to accommodate the growing population of single parent families. Meanwhile these trends are likely to make the first and second settlement zones and exurbia more attractive from a demographic stand point. This can be seen in the Gulf Coast and While Rock but also farther afield, where housing is cheaper: where retirement communities have increasingly become the mainstay for the North Central part of the East side of Vancouver Island which has traditionally been dominated by the forestry industry (See BC. Government publication Economic Analysis of British Columbia July 29M 1997, Vol. 17, No. .6).

58: Straiton will be located on a 500 hectare site on Sumas Mountain and is expected to house 13,000 people, with the first phase to consist of 2,400 residential units. Construction could begin as early the Spring of 1998. However, worries have been expressed about sprawl and commuting problems which might arise from the development but local council is in favour of the development as some councillors expect the population of Abbotsford to double to 220,000 by 2020 (VS-287).

63: In Champlain Heights most housing is made up of medium rise dwelling units and 20 percent of the 6,461 people who live here are made up of children under the age of 15. The incidence of poverty rests at 13.6% - near the metropolitan average - and the percentage of the population over the age of 15 with some University training stands at 45%. What all these figures reveal is that Champlain Heights, or Census Tract 001.1 is indeed a suburban version of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement, especially when the relatively low level of Chinese settlement in the neighbourhood is taken into account. Only 1.2% of the city's Chinese population resided here, making up 16% of the local area's population versus 18.4 percent for the city. But of course the most important variable is education and here the figures speak for themselves. With 45% of the population in Champlain Heights over the age of 15 having some form of university education this stood well above the average for the city and the region (SC-10).

65: However with the colonization of low income areas this has produced a problem for the middle class seeking to use these new and enhanced public spaces since it is increasingly faced with a marginalized population which has been displace on to these same streets that it now wishes to socialize in.

Because of the drug problem in Vancouver and the elimination of vagrancy laws, enough pressure has been placed by residents and businesses in the Core to push Vancouver City Council into unanimously adopting a motion calling for the limiting of the Charter of rights to people accused of crimes (VS- 282a). In Neil Smith's words (1996) this would be an example of a return to the revanchist city, where marginalized or despised people were simply disposed. Again this may happen in the current struggle over the streetscapes of Vancouver, as the non domestic fractions of the new middle class people have to confront the unemployed or other marginalized populations who have no where to. Since the new middle class have made the street part of their communal living room the presence of these people is viewed as being particularly intrusive, especially to businesses that serve the new middle class. From out of this competition for the use of public space more dismay if not hostility towards the presence of the poor on the streets is growing in Vancouver (Also see Kelling, 1996 for American ways of dealing with the problem, since he was brought up to Vancouver to advise the police on how to restore order to the public domain - (PI-22).

This situation has been further exacerbated because of the concentration of spectacles in the Core (VS-301). Now special events can concentrate up to 1.5 million spectators into the Core, such as the annual firework's competition held every summer. This is very popular with businesses and the city because it generated $9.7M in revenue for core businesses Thus not only have conflicts between visitors and middle class residents (Hill August 7, 1997).

69: This comment has come unsolicited from professionals and not just blue collar types, which indicates that maybe the rate immigration rather than immigration per se is the real problem. If people are being made uncomfortable and are being alienated from their environment because the rate of change is too fast, as indeed, it has been in Vancouver, then this concern should not simply be dismissed as a sign of racism or parochialism, since what many people are talking about is their everyday life and not some abstraction. And this is something which Don DeVoretz, a specialist in Immigration, based at Simon Fraser University, may not have given adequate consideration to in his rosier assessments of immigration.

For the ultimate goal of any public policy should be to improve the welfare of the existing population and this seems to have been overlooked to a certain extent, although DeVoretz has mentioned the need for new middle class immigrants to engage in remedial practices to reduce the friction always produced by immigration, especially when a different race and class are involved. Older Chinese leaders, such as David Lam, the former Lieutenant Governor of BC., have made this point. Another facet of this has to do with how this Asian population has concentrated. This may further exacerbate the social friction created by immigration. Still, so far it is remarkable how civilized the process has been in light of the rapid and massive rate of immigration and its concentration in the Zone of Asian Resettlement (VS-313).

70: As a recent Quarterly Report on industrial space in Vancouver noted (BIV-1997d,p.16): "Rezoning to higher and better uses such as residential, commercial and recreational has been especially active in Vancouver and New Westminister. Over the past 14 years industrial development has largely shifted from the Burrard Peninsula to south of the Fraser River." In terms of building inventory Richmond had the most sq./ft with 26.5 M sq./ft; followed by Burnaby with 24.3 million of the region's total inventory of 143.2 million sq./ft. Surrey came in next with 16.7M; Delta,14.6M; Langley 7.1M Vancouver with 4.9M; Port Coquitlam with 4,6M; Coquitlam with 4.5M; North Vancouver with 4M; New Westminister with 3.4M. The Report also state that the absorption rate for 1996 was 1.373 million square feet. Furthermore, the report notes that land use categories are losing their pristine integrity as up to 36 percent of the industrial space in Richmond is really office space and retail stores have moved on to industrial land.

However most of this space is organized into suburban office parks. Moreover, much of this space is being used by high technology industries. Consequently it is not too far fetched to eventually see the entire Burrard Peninsula become one large zone of middle class resettlement. With the Asian middle class population rapidly expanding in Coquitlam and much of the new development in Port Coquitlam oriented to middle class buyers. With New Westminister seeking to upgrade itself (Chow 1997a), there may be only a few scattered places for people who are not middle class to live on the peninsula.

Addendum: In a recent study by Collier 1.74 million square of new industrial building is expected in 1997, with Delta having the most active market. Once again these industrial spaces now look more like business parks than industrial areas, reflecting the changes that are taking place in the economy, with many firms relocating to these newer premises (VS-316).

73: Moreover examples of densification outside North America suggest that it is also becoming more significant in Europe (Hay 1990). For example, if a recent issue of The Economist (1997c) is correct, British cities are undergoing a renaissance. Instead of capital dispersing outwards from the core of major English cities it has begun to reconcentrate. The presence of mega-projects in a number of British cities bears some similarity to what has been taking place in Vancouver since the mid 80s. Not only has there been a change in attitude about the city in relation to the suburbs in the UK.. there appears to be an aesthetic shift as well, which suggests that this densification is also being guided by a postmodern rather than modern spatial principles as

well. This subject has also been taken up for European cities in general in a book entitled the *Compact City* by edited by Jencks (1996).

The postmodern element of this shift can be seen in the demolition of modern urban renewal projects such as Birmingham's Bull Ring shopping centre and the new emphasis put on pedestrian spaces. Ironically the cordoning off of the core of London has proved to be a boon to people reducing pollution and congestion. Also the introduction of light rail systems in some cities has proved beneficial. More significantly, the Department of the Environment has already predicted that 75 percent of the 4.5 million new dwelling units needed over the next twenty years in the United Kingdom will have to be constructed on already developed sites. One consequence of this is that, the office for National Statistics has predicted that the six inner city London boroughs will be among the 11 fastest growing local authorities in the country over the next ten years - a substantial turn around in light of the depopulation of these areas which was sanctioned after 1945.

However, the postmodern that appears to animate the revival of the core of a number of British cities seems to have more to do with the urban spectacle rather than the livable city. No longer is the core perceived as just a place of work, increasingly it is being seen as both a place to live in and a place to play. Moreover, after emphasizing the automobile in the 1980s, there appears to be a shift away from the automobile. Thus, recently the Royal Automobile Club pointed out that only one fifth of all automobile journey's are absolutely necessary, adding fuel to the lower priority now given to highway transportation by the Labour government, something which should further limit the expansion of land extensive development, which became prominent in England during the 1980s.

78: For example this difference comes out if immigration figures between 1986 and 1991 are studied. Although B.C. has received the largest percentage of affluent business and entrepreneurial class immigrants, at the same time it has also received the smallest number of refugee class immigrants, giving the immigration profile of the City of Vancouver quite a different profile than either Toronto or Montreal. For example between 1986 and 1996 when the first wave of middle class Asian migration began - B.C. received a total of 140,650 new immigrants, but only 14,275 or just 10 percent of this total was made of refugees compared to almost 19 percent for the nation - when, over the same time, 197,642 of 1,050,208 immigrants that came into the country were refugees. The different effect this has had on the immigration profile of Toronto and Vancouver is one reason why Vancouver and its inner suburbs have become part of one large middle class city and why a widening working class or proletarian ring of settlement has developed in a band within the inner suburbs of Metro Toronto. For while only 14,275 refugees entered BC between 1986 and 1991, 180,260 refugees entered Ontario - more than 12 time the number that went to B.C.. Instead of accounting for just 10 percent of the total immigration population, as it does in B.C., this refugee component of the immigrant population made up 180,260 of the 560,452 immigrants that came to Ontario between 1986 and 1991, making up 32 percent of the provincial total and 78 percent if all refugees that entered the country during this period of time. As with B.C., in Ontario, most of these refugees would have made their way to either Vancouver and Toronto (SC-7a).

Since the mid and late 1980s the pace of immigration has speeded up in B.C. but more particularly to Vancouver where, between 1990 and the end of 1994 approximately 161,000, or 84 percent of the of 191,792 immigrants that came to B.C. located in Vancouver,

Immigration figures for the period between 1991 and 1996 show that the level of immigration has speeded up compared to 1986 and 1991. During that time approximately 141,000 immigrants entered B.C. versus approximately 190,000 between 1991 and 1996, with this number growing higher still as the number of immigrants in 1997 is projected to exceed the 1994 record for B.C. of 49,000 and surpass the 50,000 (VS-260) mark (SC-7a). When the numbers between 1990 and 1995 are disaggregated 71 (166,000) percent of these new immigrants were of Asian origin and of this number just over 50 (83,678) percent were Chinese (SC-7a; Lett, March 9.1997). Moreover, if the first quarter reading for 1996 were an accurate representation of the

immigrant class profile then 65 percent were in the economic category and only 35 percent were in the social and humanitarian category.

What is also interesting to note is the changing composition of the Asian and Chinese population. For example there has been a significant increase in the Filipino population, and even within the Chinese population an important shift may be taking place. For instance, during the first quarter of 1997, for the first time ever, the number of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan and Mainland China topped those from Hong Kong with 2,185 immigrants coming from Taiwan and 1,197 from Mainland China compared to only 2,793 immigrants from Hong Kong. Another interesting point about this shift is the occupation status of these immigrants, with most Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrants coming as either entrepreneurs or as investor immigrants while the immigrants from Mainland China are mostly in the skilled or professional occupational category (VS-260).

79: As the previous examples illustrate, just as in the 1970s, for this spatial matrix to take hold space will have to become politicized. And that is why many of the conflicts now breaking out in the suburbs have a certain similarity to those that took place in the City of Vancouver during the late 60s and early 70s. A generation after the incubation of a postmodern spatial matrix in the City of Vancouver the battle between the between rear guard defenders of modernism and vandquard parties associated with postmodernism surfaced in the inner suburbs during the 1987 civic election (PI-16) and in the outer suburbs in the 1996 civic elections.

Because of the spread of densification and other changes and the transformation of these inner suburbs into a Zone of Asian Resettlement this happened in the third settlement zone, now in the late 1990s, it is happening in the fourth zone. Ten years later the battle lines between modern and postmodern conceptions of t he city has moved into the outer suburbs and exurban areas where issues pertaining to rapid densification, congestion, and the transformation of part of the outer suburbs into a Zone of Caucasian Resettlement have lead to the unprecedented politicization of the regulation of space. Again the tumultous nature of civic politics since the 1996 civic elections where the most visible examples of this.

A long and drawn out struggle between two modes of regulation is already underway as political ruckus now evident in the outer suburbs reveals in places such as the District of North Vancouver (VS-151; VS-180a), Pitt Meadows (VS-327 -also see See editorial in Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows Times July 2,1997.), Surrey (VS-122; VS-143) the District of Langley (VS-181; VS-185); Maple Ridge (PI-32; PI-50) and even the town of Squamish (VS-178; VS-219): where acrimonious conflict has broken out over spatial issues in localities that were once basically inert in terms of any political mobilization around the subject of land use.

While the struggles that have already begun in these outlying suburban zones will not be identical to the great counter cultural out pouring of the late 60s in the City of Vancouver intense conflict is inevitable. What is not inevitable, however, is the ultimate outcome of these struggles. Because the adoption of postmodern constructs have been shown to be more effective in managing the densification process this does not mean that they will be adopted in localities where the material culture is still very much anchored with twentieth century modernism.

91: In North America, Detroit has become the byword for urban degeneration. According to The Economist (November 2,1991,p.28) vast areas of the inner city now vacant, with approximately 50 percent of the inner city now vacant or abandoned (Pluntz, p.55). While the population of Detroit decreased by 20 percent between 1970 and 1980 its poverty rate increase from 14.9% to 21.9%: as the black population increased from 43.6% to over 60%. In 1955 the population of the city peaked at 1.9 million people. It fell to 1.5 million in 1970 and now is around 900,000 (Suris 1996; The Economist, Inner Cities - Days of the Bulldozer,pp. 33-34) It is now beyond 8 Mile Road that most of the 2.8 million suburbanites live (The Economist March 24,1992).

92: Thus after three separate federal, provincial and civic renewal initiatives downtown Winnipeg is in the worst shape that it has ever been in. For example the assessment value of

office buildings in Winnipeg has fallen 50 percent since the late 1980s. While other centres experienced declines the market has rebounded. But this has not happened in Winnipeg (See Murray McNeil, "Vacancy rates high in downtown offices," The Winnipeg Free Press June 7,1997). Similarly the residential market is in bad shape as well. For example by October 1996 the overall vacancy rate for apartments reached 6%. Ten years ago the vacancy rate was 3%. In the inner city the rate is 8.2 versus 4.3 in the suburban areas. As well the vacancy rate for buildings constructed before 1940 was 10 percent versus under 4 percent for those constructed after 1985 according to a Rental Market Report by CMHC done in October 1996 (See Winnipeg Free Press 1997a May 27,1997).

94: See David Smith, "Polygon chief sees element of risk as a survival strategy," Vancouver Sun, June 8, 1996 and The Seattle Times March 24, 1996," Condos going Boom," where Polygon is now listed as one of the biggest players in the condominium market in Seattle.

The international specialization of Canadian development corporations in the development and engineering fields is notable: as expertise in transit, dam construction and city building have become exportable services that show up in the country's balance of accounts. Hence, since 1990 Architectural and Engineering services have grown more than any other service export sector, with revenue rising nearly 500 above the 1990 level in 1996, twice the growth of export in services in general, which have grown by 200 percent since 1990 (Little 1997h).

In an article by Bruce Constantineau the same notion out in the description of the movement of Intra-corp Developments, United Properties, Polygon and the Bentall corporation to Seattle where they can use the expertise they have acquired in Vancouver to the task of city building in Seattle. In Bellvue a $250-million, 1.3 million square foot project, on a two hectare site, across from the mall is soon to go ahead, containing a of housing, retail, hotel and entertainment component. Furthermore Bentall is interested in acquiring a presence in downtown Seattle as the vacancy rates there are even lower than they are in Vancouver (4 versus 6 percent in the Spring of 1997). What is interesting to note is that all these developers are involved in projects that will densify urban space in Seattle, using the experience and the models, perhaps, which have been developed for Vancouver. The interest in Seattle is also reflected in Polygon, which expects to double its staff in Seattle to 24 very soon as it plans to construct 167 units in Seattle in 1997 compared to 826 units in BC..

Addendum: The key magnet for developers has been the creation of a huge number of jobs that has lead to a large increase in the demand for housing. Still one developer noted that Canadian developers were burned in the early 1980s when they paid a high price for land just as the market sagged. However commentators expect job growth to remain strong in the Seattle area for the next 5 years, so a feeling that a great opportunity to take advantage of Seattle's situation is now present (VS-272).

98: With an average median income of $64,000 reported in the first quarter of 1997 for San Francisco this is almost 50 percent above the national median and is probably the highest for any urban rather than suburban urbanized region such as one of its suburbs like San Jose that has a median income of $70.200 (US.) (Rhodes 1997, PG.). Conversely of all the major cities (excluding urbanized suburbs in the country) 1990 statistics show that San Francisco has the lowest number of people living in extreme poverty of any major city, with only 1.68 percent of the population or 12,127 people falling into this category compared to the national total of 6.83 percent (Down 1994, pp.74-75). Like Vancouver this does not mean that they are invisible, because their territory or spatial niches have been appropriated. Instead they have been dispersed throughout the public spaces of the city to the great dismay of the city's citizens and politicians.

102: Because the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement borders the Core, entertainment and leisure functions do overlap and intrude into this zone. An interesting recent example is the

struggle over the proposal to create permanent Volley Ball courts at Spanish Banks and how this acted as a metaphor and pretext for Elizabeth Aird, a reporter and former social worker (VS-278) to comment on what is happening to the city at large and how, in the current period of the spectacle, organized lobbies rather than community groups seem more able to segment and appropriate space for themselves.

This has become especially apparent with regard to mindset of the Parks Department of the City of Vancouver, as can be seen in their bow to the organized, suburban oriented, sports lobby. The results can be seen in its efforts to demolish housing in the West End to construct a regional baseball facility and the construction of a huge regional playing field in the Downtown Eastside in the 1990s, which local people have no use for and do not use or in the further attempts by the Parks Department to use other park land in the inner city for regional functions serving mostly the suburbs and organized sports - something which again might be related to this being a period where the spectacle is the dominant force behind many decisions.

She also makes reference by a local writer, David Beers, and his comment that Vancouver is becoming an exclusive suburb for the Pacific Rim. Again this matches the specialization of the Core as a place for leisure rather than for work, something that might even be applied to the entire region. While job growth is slow tremendous investment is still taking place in the infrastructure of reproduction and consumption rather than production. Interestingly enough she also makes reference to Beers comments about the effect that the rising influence of the market is having on the production of urban space, something that was stated in a CBC National Documentary called Paradise Lost. Recent statistics seem to bear this contention out if comparisons are made with Seattle (VS-273). While Vancouver's inner city housing market is still booming the unemployment rate in Vancouver is 8.4% versus 3.3% in Seattle and the net addition of jobs over the past year was only 4,600 in Greater Vancouver compared to 74,000 for Seattle.

Addendum: The importance of centrality was amply illustrated in a recent article by Margaret Philip (1997c) when she looked at a study completed by Metro's Advisory Committee on Homeless and Socially Isolated Persons in Toronto that was entitled "On The Move" , which documents the plight of poor and homeless people in Toronto who could not afford transit. The study looked at the extremely difficult situations faced by such people. For example, in one instance, in order for a man to retrieve his mail he had to walk from downtown to Downsview, which took 3 and a half hours because he could not afford a transit token. In the profile of the homeless that is sketched in by the study, most homeless people were found to be between 26 and 46 years old, one -third were parents estranged from their children and that most were homeless at least one month and that most felt a "powerful sense of instability no matter where they live."

The dispersion of facilities serving this population was found to be a serious problem, leading to a break down of travel paths for this population. The study found that when homeless people go anywhere they walk 69% of the time "They spend 39 minutes a day traipsing to drop ins. Trips to visit friends and family take 44 minutes on foot. The doctor's office is a 37 minute walk, as is the usual distance to a mission or church basement for a meal. And when homeless people look to rent a room, it takes about 1 and 1/4 hours to walk there. Geographic dispersion is made even worse by the staggered and limited hours that many social service agencies operate along which is made worse by the fact that a "disproportionate number of drop-ins and hostels concentrated in downtown Toronto's east end," are a long walk from the rooming houses on the west side and the city's largest psychiatric hospital. The situation is even more serious for homeless people who have family in the suburbs.Because of budget constraints tokens are only given out in emergencies so isolation from relatives in the suburbs has grown. As a consequence foot problems are a major health problem for this population group. This study came out of the death's of three homeless men in 1996, who froze to death in the Winter. But as the reporter notes, there are estimated to be about 20,000 homeless in Toronto and the situation is getting worse with cutbacks in social housing. Thus for the first time ever, this May, every hostel bed in Metro was full.

107: Comparing recent family housing in Vancouver to the rest of the country show why this is so. Looking at the most recent market prices for single detached home within Greater Vancouver. In May of 1997 $390,000 was the average price for a single detached unit in the region. In otherwords half the single detached homes which sold in this month went for a price at least two and a half times the national average. Because of the very steep price gradient for similar homes in the region it matters where a consumer goes despite the barrier posed by the extremely high average median cost just cited: particularly from West to East and North to South. Furthest West in West Vancouver the median price in May (1997) was $800.000. More to the East, in the City of Vancouver, the median house price was $700, 000. By the Eastern fringe of the Region, in Maple Ridge the median was $276,000 and in the next census zone outside Greater Vancouver but adjacent to it, the median value of a single detached home in the City of Abbotsford was $249,000. Yet further out and over an hour in commuting time from downtown when the conditions are good there is Chilliwack where the median price for a single detached home was $183,000 (CMHC 1997C).

Addendum: From a simple economic stand point, even for those with more affluent means who are moving to Vancouver from the rest of the country the areas being resettled by the Asian middle class is usually simply too expensive if a single detached unit is desired.

Hence in the inner suburban ring where the Zone of Asian Resettlement extends outside the City of Vancouver, the median price for a single detached house in Richmond in May of 1997 was $533,500 and for Burnaby $584,000 - roughly three and a half to four times the national average.

112: This is both a political and a cultural challenge which Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver and Ottawa, Canada's four largest cities have in common. How this difference is managed locally or overridden by their respective provincial government will affect, to a large degree, how both the densification process and the postmodern spatial matrix reshape theses urban regions. Refer to Ferguson (1988); (Lemon 1996) Richard Mackie (1997); John Spears (1997); Stein (1997); Lakely (1997); Editorial (Toronto Star, August 8,1997) in the case of Toronto to see how powerful this rift is and how it can generate opposition powerful enough to constitute a threat to the province. In the Case of Montreal, see; Marsan (1981); Picard Commission (1986); Pichette Commission (1993); Frisken (1994); Aubin (1997). For Ottawa the cultural divide between the core and the periphery of the region has been documented by Leung (1992) as it has been done to a lesser degree in Toronto by Caufield (1994). As well the political rift in Ottawa has been reported by Mohammed (1996; 1997a; 1997aa). Similarly, in cities like Edmonton this rift has become an important issue for discussion. Refer to Lightbody (1997) and Penderson (1997).

118: With the preparation of the second five year capital works plan in 1958 and its adoption in 1959 (CVPD-2), the formal link between conception and execution of the twenty-year development plan was made. The move from plan formulation to execution can also be read in the shift in focus that took place in the Department, as new institutional organs were created to carry out the plan and more resources. This also required more resources, which began to pour into the Department after the mid 1960s, as development also picked up.

Again, the first significant sign of this shift was the formal link that was now made between capital expenditures and the 20-year development plan formulated by Sutton Brown. Although city council did not formally adopt these plans through the use of these five year plans elements of the plan would be taken up by a powerful bureaucracy over the next twelve years.

The implementation phase can be further sub-divided into two periods. The first period spans the years between 1960 to 1965. The second period spans the years from 1966-67 to 1972. During this first period urban development patterns were still largely defined by land-extensive development. Moreover, the era between 1960 and 1965 was a period when modern regulatory norms still held unchallenged sway over the regulation of the built environment.

After 1965, significant changes would alter this situation. First, the pattern of land development began to move away from a land-extensive mode of development to one that was more land intensive. Secondly, a new middle class emerged as an active ideological and political force. By opposing the monological system of decision making used by Sutton Brown this class became the bane of Sutton Brown and the Planning Department. Conceptualizations of urban space that planners used were challenged. Modernist representations of abstract space and the bias that modern planning had shown towards the organization of space around machine space were attacked. In turn, this class would generate new philosophic markers for the regulation of urban space. These markers would be distilled from out of a series of urban social movements that would rock the spatial order of the city and put an end to Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. So even while progress on the plan may have been slow during the first period of the implementation phase, compared to the turbulent train of events that were soon to follow, this short time span can be regarded as halcyon period for the application of modern principles of city planning.

While first phase of the implementation period begins with the departure of Sutton Brown and the assumption of the planning director's position by G.F. Fountain, as earlier mentioned, the move from plan preparation to implementation actually began at a slightly earlier date with the approval of the 1959 five year capital works plan. Here for the first time the city's five year capital plan was directed by goals that were laid out in the 20-year development plan. Changes in the organization of the Department and the allocation of resources also reveal that a shift from plan preparation to plan implementation was taking place. As the 1960s progressed this would show up in the organizational structure of the Department as new divisions concerned with the implementation of the development plan were created: beginning in 1961, with the creation of the Housing and Urban Renewal Division, which would be put in charge of implementing the 1957 Redevelopment Study (CVTPB-2). Later on, in the mid 1960s, other divisions like Current Planning and Long-Range Planning Divisions would be spun out from the General Planning and Design Division in order to focus on the implementation of the facets of the 20-year development plan during the tenure of Bill Graham, who succeeded Fountain.

For example Current Planning would gradually focus on the realization of the 1956 Downtown Plan (CVTPB-1). Similarly the Long Range Planning Division was given a wide variety tasks that had to do with the implementation of various facets of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. This ranged from transportation to zoning. But the most notable work carried out by the Long Range Planning Division had to do with the revisions that were made to the city's zoning bylaws. In line with the machine space orientation of the 20-year development plan the city's zoning codes were revised to better accommodate the automobile.

Unlike the late 1960s when open opposition to the various aspects of the 20-year development plan would pose the major problem faced by the Planning Department, in these early years of the implementation stage the slow pace of execution was what most seemed to aggravate planners and politicians. For instance, other than amendments to the zoning bylaws for the downtown and the construction of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, further progress on the other recommendations of the 1956 plan appeared to be stalled. The slowdown in office development in the downtown made matters worse. With assessment values in the downtown declining even further, in 1961 a Downtown Advisory Board was established to help expedite things (CVPD-61, p.20).

This resulted in a series of downtown studies that supplemented and modified the 1956 downtown plan (CVPD-4; CVPD-5; CVPD-6; CVPD-7). A great deal of work was put into deciding the appropriate site for a projected commercial redevelopment project. Consequently negotiations with developers who might be interested in proceeding with a joint venture with the city were undertaken and by 1968 an agreement with CEMP investments was made after a public plebiscite (VS-26). Unlike the United States, where federal funding was available to sponsor commercial urban renewal schemes, this was not the case for Canada. Because there were no such policies the city was forced to go alone on these ventures. The Planning Department was therefore forced to seek out a private developer. Later on this need to seek out

private developers would come back to haunt the Department, as urban reformers began to criticize the Planning Department for becoming too closely aligned to the development industry.

Outside of the downtown, more progress was made on executing the residential urban renewal scheme that was outlined in the 57 study. The most obvious reason for more rapid progress in residential rather commercial development had a great deal to do with the presence of Federal funds that the city could tap into. Thus as early as 1959 funds were starting to be allocated to the redevelopment of the transition zone (CVPD-2). Although implementation of residential urban renewal was proceeding faster than downtown commercial renewal or the Freeway plan even here there appears to have been some frustration about the slow pace of development (VP-2; CVPD-9). But here, at least, there was some movement that could be pointed to, as the first phase of the redevelopment of Strathcona was completed by 1963 and plans set for the initiation of the second of what were anticipated to be a three stage plan for urban renewal was advancing forward by the end of 1965 (VP-2).

Of the three segments of the 20-year development plan the Freeway proposal was to be the most elusive and troublesome part of the Sutton Brown strategy to modernize the city. Ultimately it would become the Achilles heel of the 20-year development plan: igniting a vigorous reaction against the entire modernization scheme of Sutton Brown. Whereas the approval of 1959 five year capital works plan had put some of the recommendations of the downtown and urban renewal schemes into motion, by 1960 funding for carrying out the freeway plan would have to wait until the 1963 five year capital works plan and execution of the freeway plan would be further delayed because the voters initially rejected funding for the rebuilding of the Georgia Viaduct, which was to be the first component of Sutton Brown's freeway plan. Only in 1965, after vigorous lobbying by the business community did the public approve this expenditure.

Because of these delays there was a huge gap between the projections originally put forward for the completion of the various phases of the freeway plan. For example, the 1959 plan had projected that $166 -million would have been allocated to the completion of the first phase of the freeway system by middle of the 1960s. However, as can be seen, up to 1965 the city had only managed to gain approval for the expenditure of $10 million for the construction of the Georgia Viaduct. And this very limited start on the freeway plan had to depend upon the employment of scare tactics by the business community to secure the necessary public consent for a very modest beginning on the freeway plan. Implementation of the freeway plan was therefore way behind schedule. Initially the first stage of the freeway was expected by be completed by the middle of the 1960s yet by this time construction had not even yet begun. As with commercial urban renewal in the downtown, but more so with the freeway plan, the execution of the 20-year plan foundered on the absence of public funding. The only exception to this was the program for residential urban renewal. And that is why this component of the twenty year plan was the only component to go ahead in the early 1960s.

Dependence on local resources for freeway construction not only delayed the implementation of this plan but ultimately resulted in the defeat of the freeway plan as well. For by the late 1960s, when it looked as if the city was near to securing funding from other level of government public opinion had moved irrevocably against the freeway plan. And this ultimately proved to be the downfall of the 20-year development plan. Sutton Brown had created a powerful bureaucratic engine to modernize the city but unfortunately new fuel was available to run this machine.

In current dollars (1997) the bureaucracy needed about $4.0-billion to modernize the city. Unlike Robert Moses, who had access to federal funds and a corporate mechanism, which could be used to generate funds internally, Sutton Brown had to rely almost entirely on funds allocated to him by city council. Had the funding that had been available to Robert Moses been accessible to Sutton Brown there is little doubt that much of the 20-year development plan would have been implemented before the middle class would have been able to stop it. Had this funding impediment not existed Sutton Brown would have been responsible for reshaping Vancouver as radically as Robert Moses did New York City.

Despite these annoying delays, during the early 1960s the Planning Department still remained securely fastened to the modernist agenda. This can be seen in the remarks that G.F. Fountain (1963), the department's second director of planning, made in a public address to the Board of Trade on the occasion of the Planning Department's tenth anniversary, in the last few months of his tenure in 1963. Despite the frustration with delays, Fountains remarks show that the Department still remained committed to the modernist vision of the city prepared a decade earlier by Sutton Brown. So even with the delays the Planning Department commitment to the 20-year development plan remained as strong as ever. In this halcyon moment for modernism Fountain could still speak confidently about the further modernization of urban space without fear of opposition or dissent. In the same speech Fountain he was therefore able to talk about the need for construction a freeway in an unproblematic fashion, and speak confidentially about the beginning of urban renewal in the downtown and the elimination of blighted areas of the city that surrounded the downtown.

Fountain's remarks are of interest because they shed light on the mind set of the Department with regard to development and the regulation of space in the early 1960s: a time when land extensive patterns of development still dominated the urbanization process in Vancouver, when, as a result, planners were still quite anxious about under investment in the core area of the city. What his observations indicated was that even though the connection between disinvestment in the core and the encouragement of land extensive development was recognized this was felt to be the natural spatial order around which urban renewal had to work. As Fountain's remarks made clear the Planning Department still regarded the production of single family houses to be the preferred form of residential investment.

His talk to the Chamber of Commerce also illustrated the how the other attributes of modern regulation were perceived at the time. For example Fountain makes special mention of the need to reformat urban space around the machine rather than pedestrian when he remarked that the city's gridiron system of streets was obsolete and that zoning needed to be amended to better accommodate the automobile. Here Fountain was simply reiterating and amplifying the modernist bias towards the organization of space around machine space that evolved out of the work of Bartholomew, which was further refined by Sutton Brown. Looking Back at the first 10 years of the operation the Planning Department it is clear that Fountain saw non of the storms cloud building on the horizon, clouds that would soon envelope the planning director who succeeded him later on in 1963.

As Fountain's summary of the first ten years of the Department reveal, the early 1960s were still an unproblematic period for modern planning. After the aggressive years of institution building under the direction of Sutton Brown, budget and employment figures show that the Department had now settled down to a period of slow growth. While the consensus for modernizing the city remained unchallenged, slow progress on the execution of the 20-year development between 1960 and 1965 indicates that the Department had lost some of the momentum that had been built up when Sutton Brown was head of the Department. Partially because of weaker leadership that followed the departure of Sutton Brown, the profile of the Department with in the civic bureaucracy weakened over the next ten years as its focus moved from policy formation to implementation.

This can be seen in the relative decline in funding for the Planning Department and the slow growth in employment between 1960 and 1965 if a comparison with the period between 1953 and 1960 is made. While the relative proportion of the city budget devoted to planning services had doubled between 1953 and 1960, as the budget for the Department increased from $79,000 to $285,000, from 1961 to 1965 there were only modest increases in the budget, as the budget only rose from $293,000, in 1961, to $356,000, in 1965 (CV-1a). As a consequence, the proportion of the city's budget devoted to planning actually declined by 15 percent between 1960 and 1965, as it fell from .6 percent to .5 percent of the entire civic budget.

Only in the mid 60s when the department began to move more aggressively on the implementation of the 20-year development plan and increased development activity, did the budget rise and the demand for more planning services grow. Thus, once again, the relative percentage of civic resources devoted to planning begin to rise (CV-1a). Yet, even with this

renewed growth the proportion of civic revenues devoted to planning would not return to the level achieved in 1960 until the early 1970s (CV-1a). The slow down in employment growth also points to the relative stagnation of the Planning Department during this time. For example, during the period of institution building, when Sutton Brown was in direct control of the Planning Department, the number of employees increased from 25 in 1954 - a number far above the level recommended in the Bland and Spence Sales Report - to 32 in 1960. Meanwhile, after the departure of Sutton Brown, staff levels remained largely stagnant, rising from 32 in 1960 to about 35 staff in 1966 (CVA Series 295; CVA Human Resources Department).

With the replacement of G.F. Fountain by Bill Graham, in 1963, the peaceful lull experienced by the Planning Department would soon end. By 1966 storm douds were gathering on the horizon and by 1967 the Planning Department would be engulfed by institutional turmoil and ideological flux that would buffet the Department for the next seven years until a different planning regime was put in place in 1974 under the direction of a new planning director. As pointed out earlier, this happened just as the log jams standing in the way of the Planning Department were beginning to break up and the Department was reorganized to expedite the 20 year plan (CVPD-16). In 1968, only one year after the Department was reorganized, significant opposition began to emerge that would thwart the well prepared plans of Sutton Brown. Soon the entire program of the Planning Department would be overwhelmed. Growing opposition would force another major re-organization of the Planning Department in 1971 and 1972 and still yet another one in 1973 and 1974, before things settled down again, when organizational stability was achieved within a postmodern rather than modern framework.

Economic, political and cultural sign posts can be singled out, which mark out this period of transition for the Planning Department. On the economic plane, this period of transition would show up in new land development pattern, as investment shifted from a land-extensive regime to a land-intensive one. Although it was not recognized, this change would alter the context for planning in a fundamental way. Except for an abrupt but short lived downturn in the early 1980s, the reconcentration of investment in the core area of the city has remained strong into the present, placing the need for commercial urban renewal into question. The phenomenal rise in the value of building permits taken out in the City of Vancouver shows the degree of this shift quite well. Whereas building permits hovered below $50-million in the early 1960s, between 1965 and 1970 the value of building permits for the City of Vancouver reached the $100-million mark as development shifted from land-extensive to land-intensive mode (Macdonald 1992). Furthermore, by 1975 the value of building permits had surpassed $200 million. It then rose past $400-million. Later on, in the 1980s it would spike upwards, past a-billion (Macdonald 1992). Since almost all this development involved redevelopment rather than development on greenfield sites this increase in investment had many important repercussions for a planning regime that had been programmed to control and regulate land extensive development.

This switch in investment patterns put considerable pressure on orthodox methods for planning. The institutional and conceptual adaptations which would soon be forced upon the Planning Department by these new circumstances would reveal some of the flaws inherent to modern planning regulation as well as some of the limitations of the philosophy of space that was inherent to modern forms of planning. While the simplification of space that resulted when planning represented space as abstract space was workable when low density development was carried out on greenfield sites that could be served by the automobile, which urban could tie all the lose elements of the city together by the construction of if freeways. In the case of land-extensive development, the availability of vacant land and the ability of the automobile to service dispersed development meant that space could be broken it up into its simplest functional components and dispersed over wide expanses of territory with out too much problem.

With modern regulation and zoning, in particular, in addition to promoting basic safety the preservation of land values would be the others major task modern zoning would be enlisted to perform. In both cases these two aims were thought to best be accomplished by functionally separating land uses (Moore 1979, pp.317-18).With the switch to land intensive development,

this way of ordering space would be called into question, as the limitations of organizing urban space around machine space soon became apparent as greenfield sites disappeared and land became much more expensive, creating a powerful economic incentive for more concentrated development. In turn, growing resistance to redevelopment of the Arbutus lands (CVPD-21) and the Four Seasons development (CVPD-12) at the entrance to Stanley Park showed that the conceptualization of urban land as an abstract space whose primary utility was determined by its capacity to generate new assessment values was beginning to be questioned as well. The same thing would happen with residential urban renewal as well. For just as the Planning Department was beginning to accelerate the implementation of its urban renewal scheme in Strathcona opposition began to emerge here as well. This would also happen when the Planning Department failed to secure the expansion of several apartment districts into single family areas on the West side of the city (CVTB-9; CVTP-10; VP-3). This was noteworthy, because for the first time in the Department's history strong public reaction against the actions of the Planning Department would be generated, providing a foretaste of what was to follow down the road, in one or two years. In this case it would not be the limitations of how space was represented that would be exposed but the political limitations of monological decision making processes. For as the pattern of investment shifted this form of decision making would increasingly prove itself to be inadequate to situations that involved redevelopment rather than greenfield development (VS-18; VS-19; VS-22).

As all these controversies would soon show, if land-intensive development was to proceed negotiation and compromise, features that were integral to a dialogical system of decision making, would have to be adopted and the lay public as well developers and planners involved in defining policy.

If densification was the economic engine that propelled this new regulatory order forward, the political and cultural variables that fueled this transformation were generated by the counter culture and the emergence of a new middle class out of this. As this new middle class became increasingly active new political and cultural sign posts for the regulation of space were created which planners would also have to respond and adapt to as well. Once again the middle years of the 1960s became a pivotal time. In this regard, Norbert Macdonald(1987) has cited the election of Bob Williams to city council in 1965 as a sign of the future changes that were to follow, as urban reform makes it debut for the first time. Bob Williams election marked the beginning a new political dynamic that would only be extinguished 30 years later, in 1996, when COPE, was routed, and no reformers would sit on council for the first time since Bob Williams had been elected in 1965.

The first attempt to establish a foundation for an active opposition party on city council begins when Bob Williams helped to establish a party named Citizen's for the Improvement of Vancouver in 1966 (Norbert 1987; Tennant 1980). While this organization was short lived, as Norbert Macdonald noted, it was the first systematic opposition to congeal against the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) that controlled city council, which championed the modern agenda of Sutton Brown. Although this group did not succeed in electing any members to council the relatively large number of people who voted for this slate indicated that the political complexion of the city was changing and that a long period of quiescence was now at an end, initiating a period of political and cultural transformation that would completely transform the political and cultural landscape of Vancouver over the ensuring six years.

Along with formal political parties, the political and ideological momentum for change would be helped along by emerging community groups such as SPOTA (Strathcona Property Owners and Tenants' Association), which was created in 1967 (Gutstein 1975), and more active community groups that would appear in Kitsilano and Grandview Woodlands. Together these groups would form another line of resistance against the implementation of various aspects of the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown (Jackson 1984).

While Citizens For the Improvement of Vancouver would only last a short time the baton was soon passed to a new party that was now being incubated around a group of academics who came together at UBC to discuss urban issues in 1967. This group soon coalesced into an organization called Vancouver Tomorrow which in turn became the basis for the formation of

the Citizen's Council on Civic Development. From this core a formal opposition party would be spun out from, eventually leading to the formation of The Electors Action Movement, or TEAM, in 1968. With TEAM, at last, the new middle class surfaces as a political force for the first time, creating a formal political channel for the growing cultural dissent that was being generated against the effects of Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan. In the 1968 civic election TEAM succeeded in electing its first members to council. At the same time, In 1968 TEAM was also joined by another opposition party, situated further to the left, which called itself The Committee of Progressive Electors, or COPE. Unlike Team, this opposition party had a stronger working class constituency. Nonetheless, it too, would be imbued with many of the values of the new system of regulation, and would later carry forward the torch of reform when TEAM started to dissolve in the late 1970s. Finally, with the victory of middle class reformers in the 1972 civic election, the stage was set for formal institution of a new spatial logic to govern the city (Church 1993; Tennant 1980, 1969; Miller 1975).

So not only would planners have to respond to the new economic landscape; they also had to contend with a cultural revolution and a new political culture. With the emergence of a new spatial sensibility the Department would become disoriented as things were turned inside out. As a result, the Department became embroiled in the eddies created by this larger cultural and political shift. With the decay of the social and cultural forces that had supported the bureaucratization and militarization of society modern planning began to move out of step with the times. As allegiance to modern bureaucratic rule started to crumble between 1966 and 1967 the ground was prepared for the incubation of new modes of regulation shaped by different background influences. With the anarchical side of modernism showing itself with the rise of market rule new attitude were forged by the middle class, which lead to the questioning of all forms of authority, particularly those order seeking and authoritarian expression of bureaucratic rule which became identified with the operation of the Planning Department (VP-11). With these developments a new cultural ground for the new middle class was created that politicized the regulation of space, bringing with it the demand for experimentation with dialogical methods of decision making that put more stress on local area planning and citizen participation in the planning process.

With opposition to urban renewal and freeway planning gaining momentum, not only did the Planning Department have to respond to challenges to the content of the 20-year development plan, even more vexing to planners, it would have to deal with more intangible and subjective issues that had as much to do with the process of planning rather than just its outcome. Public involvement in decision making itself as well as the task of goal formation became equally important and both of these aspects of planning were the things that had deliberately been expunged from the planning process in the framework established for planning in the City of Vancouver by the Bland and Spence Sales Report.

This was a radical development for planning, one which required that its most fundamental assumptions be rethought. With considerable difficulty, the Planning Department now had to reintegrate the public back into the planning process. Not surprisingly, it was during this time that the public image of Sutton Brown suffered irreversible harm as he became the personalized embodiment of monological rule for the new middle class. No longer viewed as a strong and competent technocrat, Sutton Brown was recast into a sinister bureaucrat, who would be portrayed as some Darth Vader like figure lurking about in the deep recesses of the bureaucracy silently pulling all the strings (Gutstein 1975). With this attitudinal change Sutton Brown would join a growing cast of real and fictionalized bureaucrats who became targets in the new discourse on authority that emerged with the postmodern turn. He, along with others would now be demonized as dangerous order freaks, people characterized as buffoon like stock characters which appeared in the representations of modern bureaucratic rule constructed by the cinema for this class during the 1960s and 1970s, with Sutton Brown joining the symbolic company of the characters that were portrayed in movies such as Doctor Strangelove or a male Nurse Ratchet, that appeared in the movies "One Flew Over The Cuckoos "Nest (Maltin 1996).

As mentioned before, the demand for more citizen participation in planning was part of larger postwar political phenomenon. In the United States, for instance, this new political

attitude was only first articulated when the Students For A Democratic Society issued the Port Huron Statement in 1962 (Anderson 1995). Symbolically, at least, this declaration can be viewed as the beginning of the anarchist moment in postmodern politics, one that would soon disseminate around the continent, finding additional resonance in Vancouver with the arrival of the opponents to the Vietnam War and draft dodgers who readily adopted the disestablishmentarian language embodied in documents such as the Port Huron Statement and applied them to planning, creating a fertile ground for the nurturing of new political culture that put more emphasis on citizen's participation in all areas of social life, including planning (Adelson 1972; Gitlin 1987).

By 1967 this attitude had become part of the language of protest and rebellion that was directed against modernism from the new middle class and this became apparent in Vancouver as the new middle class began to flex its muscles against what they perceived to be the arbitrary and inflexible bureaucratic rule of the Planning Department. With this attitudinal shift towards authority the actions of the Planning Department became a prime target for this new group of activists, particularly as the Planning Department became a lightning rod because of its attempt to accelerate the implementation of the 20-year development plan at the most inappropriate time. Not comprehending the changes that were taking place, unknowingly it set up red flags in front of this new middle class. Rubbing against the new spatial sensibilities of the middle class as it attempted to destroy the marginal working class and bohemian spaces in the zone of discard by the urban renewal and freeway plans the stage was set for a number of confrontations that were to receive national attention and turn the dry administration of the city into high drama. With the rising cachet of these bohemian spaces for the new middle class an alternative postmodern aesthetic and sociological reconceptualization of space was germinated which created yet another set of reasons for opposing Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan (Denhez;1978; VP-15).

These new sentiments would come out in the language of protest which was employed by the liberal and more radical spokesmen of this emergent new middle class. For instance there were the liberals such as Walter Hardwick - a geography professor and member of TEAM - that was later elected to city council, who developed his criticism of modern planning by associating it with technocracy or the "system," which was now cast in an evil rather than good light (VP-11). More radical perspectives were articulated by middle class activists such as Donald Gutstein, an architecture student, community activist and author, who used many of the same words as Hardwick to criticize modern planning, but employed them in a slightly different way. While Hardwick's analysis rested on a new middle class critique of the technocracy Gutstein (1975) attempted to integrate an understanding of class in to his explanation of the actions and attitudes of the Planning Department, using a conspiracy theory framework to describe what was happening to Vancouver as investment patterns shifted from a land extensive to land intensive regime. Whether the criticism of modern planning in Vancouver took a liberal or more radical slant, the language of protest and the new frame of reference provided by the middle class reappraisal of bohemian culture had a potent effect on planning. What is so astounding about these developments is how quickly these new attitudes about space and authority crystallized and spread. This was not a case of gradual change or reform, but one of sudden rupture, as maelstrom was set lose which would engulf the Planning Department and catch it completely off guard. Unprepared to cope with the huge philosophic as well as geographic distance covered by these anti-modernist doctrines the planning department would lurch from one crisis to another between 1967 and 1974.

From out of nowhere, it seemed, a new class of political actors had arisen, bearing new doctrines for urban governance new ideologies about urban space that established a framework for challenging nearly all the main precepts of the Planning Department. Unlike their middle class predecessors, in the progressivist period, who had been shaped by the opportunity structure provided by an expansion of bureaucratic rule and who, as a consequence of this, readily identified with and prospered from the imposition of order and the standardization of city life brought about with modern regulation; this new middle class fraction was shaped by an entirely different opportunity structure, one where anti-militarist attitudes and alternative

economic opportunities, which lay outside the traditional corporate sectors of their middle class forbearers, would become their point of reference.

Within the civic bureaucracy, this new sensibility first appeared with the creation of the Social Planning Department, in 1968. With the establishment of Social Planning a new attitude towards authority and decision making receive institutional recognition for the first time. And here the first experiments in dialogical systems of rule were conducted, setting off a culture clash between the Social Planning Department the Planning Department (VS-30), as dialogical and monological came into conflict with each other as both institutional cultures collided with each other in jurisdictions where they overlapped (Lauber 1975). Consequently, in Vancouver, postmodern planning, did not begin in the Planning Department. Instead its institutional origins would be the Social Planning Department and the changes that came about when a strong director, Maurice Egan, (CVSP-2; Egan 1977) was hired to run this department, who was the first department head in the bureaucracy to declare his independence of Sutton Brown (VP-20), launching the Social Planning Department in directions that were completely opposed to the goals of Sutton Brown and the spatial logic advanced for the re-organization of space by the Planning Department.

Here it is instructive to look at what lead up to the establishment of the Social Planning Department. The initial trigger for creating the Social Planning Department appears to have been set off by a study on poverty in the City's East end that was released in 1965 (CVPD-14). This prompted policy makers to rethink the co-ordination and delivery of social services. To this end a recommendation was made for the establishment of a Social Planning Department in a report that was put forward to the Technical Planning Board in 1966 (CV-4; CVSP-2). Another recommendation, which was made, was that the delivery of social services be decentralized along neighbourhood lines rather than concentrated in one central office. This idea was further buttressed in the Mayhew Study that was released in 1967. In this study, for the first time a conceptual and empirical plan for undertaking neighbourhood based servicing was set out by dividing the city up into 21 local areas. From this framework the first outlines for local area planning were set. This would first be taken up by the Social Planning Department and then taken over by the Planning Department in the mid 70s.

At a philosophic level, these developments were very significant. Contained within perspective was an approach to administering services and a new conceptualization of urban space. Rather than space being treated as abstract or functional space, an alternative conceptualization of space would surface in the Mayhew Report (1967). In the report the first seeds of a more organic conceptualization of urban space were sown, which would become central to the operation of the Planning Department in the postmodern era. Again this conceptualization was not unique to Vancouver or Mayhew but was in large measure a product of the time as can be seen in the layered conceptualization of space that Ian McHarg (1969) developed with his transparencies in *Design With Nature*, which conveyed a more organic formulation of the nature of space that corresponded to the new spatial sensibility that would surface in The Mayhew Report and, later on, eventually become expressed in local area planning.

Again, it is interesting to note that it was the conceptual experimentation of social workers rather than that of planners and initiatives undertaken by the Social Planning Department rather than the City Planning Department, which legitimized dialogical methods for making decisions and took up more organic representation of urban space in regard to the way that space was regulated. Thus two of the three philosophical reference points for postmodern planning first took root in the Social Planning Department rather than in planning. And even with regard to the third point of orientation - that is the movement away from machine space - the Social Planning Department was further ahead of the planning Department in this regard, as it was the first department to write a report that criticized the plan.

Being the point of origin for postmodern regulation in the bureaucracy it was the Social Planning Department rather than the Planning Department that was involved in the production of the first bona fide postmodern spaces in the city - Britannia Centre. Here the

three philosophic principles associated with postmodern regulation would find their first physical form, as the first physical structure to be designed using a dialogical process for decision making. The design of the centre also reflected the organic nature of space by adding to rather than wiping out the space or the previous context which governed the site. Finally Britannia Centres focus on the pedestrian rather than the machine placed it firmly within the postmodern spatial matrix when constructed on the centre was begun in the early 1970s (VS-72). Thus Britannia Centre can be seen as a culmination and first distillation of a new spatial logic that had been brewing since the middle of the 1960s which the Social Planning Department was given the responsibility to realize. The Social Planning Department's adoption of this sensibility probably explains why city council gave the responsibility for the Granville Street Mall to the Department- the next great postmodern initiative in the production of a postmodern space to take place in the City of Vancouver (Lauder 1975).

With the Social Planning Department taking a more contextualized approach to the regulation of space not only did organic boundaries, which actually referred to real places, appear for the first time. As well, for the first time the soft rather than hard spaces of the city were given some attention. Moreover, placing attention on the people who actually occupied space was also something novel as well, for this stood in direct contrast to the engineering mind set which dominated modernist thinking about space in the Planning and Engineering Departments. With more consideration now given to the subjective as well as objective makeup of space, the core of an artistic sensibility towards external reality and the regulation of space, in particular, can be discerned in what the Social Planning Department was doing. Not surprisingly, it was the first civic department to look seriously at the role of the artist in the city (CVSP-2). In the 1970s, all of this would later percolate into the work of the Planning Department, finding its most obvious literal translation into the production of a new kind of space with the promotion of artist's live and work studios in the 1980s. With the largest concentration of new artist live/work studio spaces in North America, the much higher profile given to bohemia and the importance of the artist as the archetype for the postmodern era would clearly be revealed in projects like these (O'Connor 1995 in Vancouver Magazine).

So no matter which philosophic dimension of postmodern rule is consulted the institutional place of origin for the transformation of urban regulation within the civic bureaucracy can be shown to lie in the Social Planning Department rather than in the City Planning Department. As a 1972 study on the history of the Social Planning Department noted: the purpose of social planning was to "explore the interdependence between social programming and physical development; identify, evaluate and publicize the influence of alternative physical developments and various social programs on the behaviour and attitudes of peoples" (CVSP-2). In the Planning Department this new attitude would only become institutionalized within the planning bureaucracy in 1974 when "Shaping The Future" announced a new direction for the Department. Finally, as earlier mentioned, the other innovative feature of Social Planning that was to be significant for planning was the formal integration of citizen participation into the decision making process and the delivery of services. Again, with the introduction of social planning a sociological rather than engineering slant was given to the regulation of urban space which would presage the creation of the postmodern regime that would later be established in the Planning Department itself when Ray Spaxman was made the Department's director in 1973.

Thus, under the leadership of Maurice Egan the Social Planning Department began to subvert the modern regime put in place by Sutton Brown. Soon after the Social Planning Department was established all three components of the 20-year development plan were challenged by the department. Consequently reports criticizing downtown development, urban renewal and the freeway system were initiated by the Social Planning Department (CVSP-2; Egan 1977). As said before, by doing this social planning initiated the institutional deconstruction of modernism within the civic administration, sowing the first seeds of doubt within the bureaucracy about the entire philosophic basis for modern planning. Implicitly, through its experimentation with dialogical methods for regulating urban space, the attention paid to organic representations of space, and the advocacy shown towards the organization of

space around the pedestrian rather than the automobile, social planning was to play a supporting role in the larger middle class mobilization which helped to establish an alternative paradigm for the regulation of space.

From this department the first advocacy planners in the city originated when social workers like Darlene Mazarri (in later years to become a Minister for Municipal Affairs) were hired to mobilize community groups against the 20-year development plan of Sutton Brown, laying out a new approach to local area planning which would later be transplanted from Strathcona to the West End and then to other neighbourhoods in the inner city that would later form part of the Zone of Middle Class Resettlement. With these actions the Social Planning Department operated as the institutional vanguard for postmodern planning until well into the mid 1970s. Grudgingly, planners would even acknowledge this. As one internal planning report stated social planning was now the "in" department (CVPD-34). This would also be recognized by the planning profession at large, from outside the city, when the Social Planning Department received a laudatory write up in an American planning journal in 1975 (Lauder 1975).

So Just as a significant shift in the property market was forcing the Planning Department to adapt to the new circumstances created by densification, matters were further compounded by the dramatic changes that were taking place in the political and cultural arenas. With an ascending new middle class acting as the carriers of a new spatial ideology which challenged modern rule, the Planning Department was increasingly put on the defensive. Matters were made even more difficult for the Planning Department because of the involvement of an extremely articulate constituency, based in the universities, which could easily out gun the expertise of the Planning Department. With urban reformers firmly attached to the university they also had the capacity to undermine the Planning Department's monopoly on goal formation for the city, something that would find expression in the conception of the livable city agenda for the city (Tennant 1980; Macdonald 1987). With numerous intellectuals based largely at the University of British Columbia, in the fields of planning, geography, political science and architecture, the ideological assault upon modern planning became unrelenting and unstoppable, as this middle class became engaged in a philosophic, sociological and aesthetic critique of modern planning. With sufficient intellectual resources to establish a completely different policy framework Sutton Brown's 20-year development plan and the modern order of the city was consigned to history long before urban reformers came to power in 1972. With the intellectual resources of British Columbia's largest university at their disposal the leaders of the new middle class had a policy making organ which was certainly equal to if not superior to that of the Planning Department. Again, this would find expression in the articulation of an ideology of the livable city which would become the goal of the first phase in the postmodern transformation of the city, that was initiated in the early 70s.

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[1]Signs of backtracking can even be seen earlier with the abolishment of the Ministry of State For Affairs in the late 70's and cut backs to NIP programs.

[2]Furthermore, with the more exclusionary stand taken by the middle class, the need to accomodate an aging population and the pressures generated by the densification process in general, would force a change in local area planning. And just as importantly, with the conservative turn of the middle class, one of the greater problems raised by local area planning would become that of social equity. With the righward turn of the middle class and particularly with its exclusionary turn in the 1980's local area planning began to reflect the perspectives of other classes. For those interested in making sense of dialogical modes of decision making this has become a wicked question that cannot be avoided or skirted if a truly progressive and democratic model for urban governance within a postmodern framework is to be looked at more realistically and sought after, particularly, as has been illustrated in various ways the cultural competencies of the middle class give this class more influence in such processes. While this does not mean that community participation can be dismissed out of hand,

or that the working class cannot make good use of these processes there is a middle class bias to all of this that cannot be ignored, particularly as the hegemony of this class in the city has increased, producing representations of space much more in keeping the more conservative tum of the middle class - something that is reflected in the greater concern with image and aesthetics that are associated with the urban spectacle.

[3] Interesting enough strata title units can be seen as a privatized version of non profit housing. This is expressed in thecontrol and responsibility of communal spaces. L ike non market housing, each is governed by a non profit corporation (Condo Guide,1997a).

[4]Here loft living was introduced as an experiment by a developer friendly council. Opposed by the Planning Department in 1994 many of the fears voiced about the aesthetics and use of the space have come to pass. Looking for cheap space additions have been made to numerous lofts with 50 suites cites for violations of the building code as home buyers attempted to use the loft concept to gain extra space at no additional cost because of the high ceilings allowed. This 23 storey building called the Space at 1238 Seymour was developed by Brad Holme, president of Pacific City Land Corporation, using the architectural services of the Kennedy/Kaisan firm, who have developed units elsewhere in the Downtown South and the Downtown Eastside. However, even before these problems Mr. Holme had developed a questionable reputation for the quality of work/live art studios in Mount Pleasant where shoddy workmanship, leaking roofts became major problems for the buyers of these units (See VS-158).

[5]For example the 1991 Census point out this contrast in building type quite well with Montreal having 109,000 high rises and 605,000 medium rise units and 36,000 row units and 43,374 detached duplex apartments compared to Toronto which had 386,130 high rise units and 131,175 medium rise units, 84,000 single detached and 28,000 row units. In terms of percentage the high rise stock accounted for only 9 per cent of all dwelling units in Montreal while this much denser accommodation amounted to 28 per cent of all the housing stock in Toronto. Likewise medium rise apartment accounted for over 50 per cen of all housing units in greater Montreal and only 9.5 per cent of all dwelling units in Toronto, with Semi detached making up most of the remainder of the non single detached stock of Toronto (6.1%) (See SC-10).

[6]Outside the City of Laval in the rest of the suburbs of Montreal 56,456 housing units were produced between 1991 and 1996 and 31,933 were made up of single detached units or 56.5% of all housing units constructed in the outer environs of Montreal (SC-22; Sc-24).

[7] While around 11,000 (10,895) new units were constructed in the City of Toronto between 1991 and 1996 10,868 units were constructed in Montreal. In absolute terms the number of units are equal but in relative terms there is vast difference. For Montreal has over a million people (about 31 per cent of the region's population) compared to about 660,000 for the old City of Toronto (or about 15 per cent of the region's population) and covers a land area many times larger than the old City of Toronto. However, in relative terms, what is interesting to note is how residential construction construction in Montreal and Toronto pales besides that of the City of Vancouver which has an even smaller population base of 521,000 (accounting for 29 per cent of the regions population) but generated around 22,000 net housing units over the same time period (SC-22; SC-24).

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Applebe, Alison. 1997O "City wants input on Knight plight (esp 41 Ave intersection - maybe consider buyouts or new zoning)," in The Vancouver Courier, September 14th.

Applebe, Alison. 1997p "Residents wants demolition put to vote (Mackenzie Heights - for aesthetic and ecological reasons Jon Silbernagel says locals should have more say - skilled labour and material embodied in older structures being lost - city expects 750 houses to be demolished this year - wants locals to have a role in deciding on issue of demolition - Owen says city can't afford regulation involved in this form of decision making - RS-5 in place to manage most extreme problems of demolition and reconstruction - notes new zoning allows more density - also too many immigrants)," in The Vancouver Courier, October 29th.

Applebe, Alison. 1997q "Knight St. traffic turns into debate (City engineer and planner differ over construction of left- turn bays on Knight and 41st - cost $3.2-million - Brian Riera says widening will increase capacity hence goes against transportation plan as plan only recommends expansion for waterfront and port roads - also reduces safety of residents - Engineers say not so - planners say money better spent on other transportation improvements)," in The Vancouver Courier, November 2nd.

Aubin Henry 1995-1997

Aubin, Henry. 1994 "Bourque turns 'participatory democracy' around 180 degrees," in Montreal Gazette, December 13th.

Aubin, Henry. 1995a "Bourque's appointments from minorities so much window-dressing," in the Montreal Gazette, March 14th.

Aubin, Henry. 1995b "City should move to prevent Faubourg-Quebec from being 'Tack Town', in the Montreal Gazette, August 15th.

Aubin, Henry. 1995c "Mayor Bourque lacks humility, not to mention vision for Montreal, " in Montreal Gazette, September 12th.

Aubin, Henry. 1997 "Quebec's urban-sprawl policies may lack the teeth they need," in the Montreal Gazette, February 25th.

Aubin, Henry. 1997a " Does Montreal deserve Expos as status symbol?($250M stadium south of Molson complex)," in The Montreal Gazette July 8th

Aubin Henry. 1997b "Quebec reduces Montreal to serville status," in The Montreal Gazette, July 29th.

Aubin, Henry. 1997c "Perreault's challenge: to justify his new job." in The Montreal Gazette, August 26th.

Aubin, Henry. 1997d "Riding a white elephant: Extending metro to Laval makes no sense for taxpayers (Robert Perreault - promises line to Laval - problem money and rider - cost of extension $120 to $350-million - most lavish provincial project in a decade - new riders needed to justify according to transportation consultant - 20,000 new riders a day not already using buses, - one study found out system would only attract 850 new riders - if go to CEGEP Montmorency and a terminus near Carreforu Laval shopping Centre would add 1,700 riders - but would double cost to $250-million - if use St Laurent option through Bois Franc - get 2,2500 - mayor wants and area up for grabs between liberals and PQ - attractive because visible)." in The Montreal Gazette, November 19th, p. B3.

Aubin, Henry. 1997e "Montreal's dream team Frulla and Lamarre emerge as possible coalition ticket," in The Montreal Gazette, December 10th, p. B3.

Barber John 1993-1997

Barber, John. 1993 "Urban Rot leaves Jane feeling trapped," (durg investation Lansdowne and Bloor area) in The Globe and Mail, October 28th.

Barber, John. 1996 "Shortage of sprawl funds a boon for cities," in The Globe and Mail, May 1st.

Barber, John. 1996 "Tide is turning against industrial waterfront," in The Globe and Mail, August 28th.

Barber, John. 1996a "Town-gown relations entering friendly era," in The Globe and Mail, October 16th.

Barber, John. 1997 "Where the American dream lives on," in The Globe and Mail, June 4th.

Barber, John. 1997a "Farmers shape development to meet own needs," in The Globe and Mail, June 11th.

Barber, John. 1997b "Streets crowded with social problems," in The Globe and Mail, June 25th.

Barber, John. 1997c "Landlord dramatizes Parkdale's Plight," in The Globe and Mail, July 16th.

Barber, John. 1997d "Jacobs embraced as economic guru -the woman known for her thoughts on urban planning is now a key figure in new growth theory and a prophet of globalization," in The Globe and Mail, October 15th, p.A7.

Business in Vancouver (BIV) 1997-1998

BIV. 1997 "Local homebuyers find some relief - but bad news for sellers - high end housing market is sluggish, but Vancouver office space is cheaper than expected (Vancouver between 1996 and 1997 0%/ West Vancouver - 20%/ Richmond Minus 5% and Surrey 0% - Fort McMurray 50%)," by Anna Lilly, September 29th, p. 7.

BIV. 1997 "The high techs: High success, B.C. firms have computer savy - silicon and information management growth areas (top performer - PMC-Sierra Inc Revenue - $188.3-million/ Burcon International - $149-million/ MDSI mobile phones - $45.1-million/Epic Data - $25M/ King George Development Corporation $15.1/ Vercan Inc. $8.2 - 10th place - Crystallex International Corporation $3.7-million)," October 6th p. S7.

BIV. 1997 "Downtown BIA expands to include Granville Mall (i.e. - sign of the spectacle - will go as far as Hamilton and to Pacific - excludes Yaletown but takes in most of Downtown South - in 1996 levies collected in area equalled $500,000 - expansion will add another $200,000)," by David Jordon, October 7th.

BIV. 1997 "South of the Border (Boeing hiring up to 1,500 a month in the state - now 100,000 employed in company within state versus 71,000 in December 1995 - California important market for Washington products - unemployment in Seattle area now around 3% slow down because of lack of inputs not weakening demand - rising housing costs have become a deterrent last business cycle Boeing employed up to 107,000 expects hiring to stabilize around 100,000 -

state predicts employment growth of 3.5% in 1998)," by Michael Parks (editor and publisher of of Marple's Business Newletter), October 14th, p. 6.

BIV. 1997 "Tourism Vancouver Launches campaign: Major partnership with holiday businesses could bring more vistors to Rain City (use entertainment to increase off season by 400,000 visits - currently 3.4-million between October and April - yearly estimate of visitors 8 milion spending $2.8 billion in 1997)," by Amy Tyler Mair, October 20th.

BIV. 1997 "Research & Development Supplement (Biotechnology -employs 3,000 people - in 1996 - predictions that it will become second largest sector of high tech industries - 16th largest biotech node based on revenues - in 1996 $200 in raised by companies through public and private financing - MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. 75 to 80 researchers out of 13,469 employees and revenues of $5.04 -billion)," October 27th.

BIV. 1997 "Hotel Georgia renovates to compete downtown ($10-million job - 314 rooms to be refurbished by May - and 400 room tower expected to go ahead) by Rosemary Eng, October 28th.

BIV. 1997 "UBC chooses equity over cash spinoffs (spinoff firms has grown from 16 firms in 1984 to 71 in 1997 - most in life sciences - one in five university spin offs from UBC as of May 1997 41 spinoffs - UBC ranked as one of top three universities in North America in terms of Spin offs - total UBC research funding - $134.1 in 96/97 - industry sponsored $31.2M Value of equity held in companies $6.9M - one source UBC Spinoff Report)," Myriam Beauge, November 17th.

BIV. 1997 "IC+C Survey - Woodwards go-ahead impacts local market (real estate frozen since Woodward's closed permits in 97 around 16 versus 26 in 1996 - with project now things are speeding up - Roger Bayley, president of Gastown Business Improvement Society - says main barrier now between developers and residents note 4 year ago hardly any residential now about 800 units have appeared- other barrier new regulation concerning seismic upgrading and legislation to preserve SRO - first strata title hotel appears in Vancouver in 1993 with Rosedale on Robson - price per square foot for new units range from $312 to $560 per sq. foot - 347 Water Street convert five storey warehouse into commercial and residential)," November 24th, p. 12.

BIV. 1997 "Trilogy to develop 'boutique' hotel in the heart of Yaletown district: the development firm is hoping unique location will lure customers (9,000 sq. ft. site at Davie and Hamilton - SF. management group to run)," November 24th, p. 7.

BIV. 1997 "Real Estate: price per square foot of office space sold - 850 W. Hastings - 39,000 sq. ft. $175/ 1380 Burrard - $132 sq. feet - - 1050 W Pender - $165 sq. ft. - 245,000 - $36.0 M)," November 24th, p.7.

BIV. 1997 "Downtown traffic drops three percent because of Livability, transit and planning (according to 1996 Screenline Survey - also declines in all neighbourhoods west of Main Street over the last four years - impact Skytrain profound 100,000 a day use - buses carrying nearly as much to downtown)," by Gordon Price, November 29th, p. 9.

BIV. 1997 "Southern Hospitality ($25b exports - Washington State 1996 $3.5b versus about $14b US. - Oregon $.9B California $1.6b - source Industry Canada - need U.S. address)," December 1st, p. 16.

BIV. 1997 "Settling in the suburbs: encouraged by lower overheads and room to expand, more and more companies are swapping their city locations for suburban space (Headquarter functions of MacMillan Blodel - about 100 people move to Burnaby - from downtown Vancouver - to site of research laboratory - then a second department moved to business park - rents dropped by 35

per cent - and closer to distribution centre and sawmills - another company Pacific Blue Cross - 500 employees - moved into 120,000 sq. foot six storey building in Discovery Park - to be finished in 1998 - did survey and Burnaby was found to be the most central location - less important for high tech companies to have an office downtown - i.e., Universal Dynamics move out of downtown after 30 years - moved to Richmond)," by Amy Tyler Mair, December 8th, p. 13.

BIV. 1997 "Lists- Shopping Centres (top four Park Royal 990,000/Metrotown-973,000/Pacific Centre-966,665/Guildford-900,00 - sales per sq. foot Park Royal- $500/Pacific Centre-$700/Richmond Centre-$420/Surrey Place-$300/Willowbrook-$80)," December 8th.

BIV. 1997 "RobsonStrasse Extends East (Howe and Robson rents will vary between $40 and $100 compared to $100 to $150 between Burrard and Bute)," December 8th, p.7.

BIV. 1997 "The List: Biggest hospitals in the Lower Mainland (Vancouver General - outpatients 204,241, Emergency visits 79,538, admissions 35,578 - 352,191 total patient visits - 1,601 beds, 8,500 FT staff, budget $463-million- Third St. Pauls - 176,710 visits - 412 beds - 2,211 staff (second largest in staff), budget $185-million)," December 16th, p. B10.

BIV. 1997 "Special Feature: Port of Vancouver (hope to take back import business from Tacoma and Seattle - in 1995 estimated to be 40% now 20% and hope to bring down to 10% - third birth for cruise ships to be constructed - in 1997 817,000 passengers estimated to have spent $62-million in Vancouver)," December 29th, p. 21.

BIV. 1997 "Whistler goes European as Japan market suffers (five years ago Japan market accounted for 23% of night visits and UK market insignificant - now UK market accounts for over 9% of market and Japan has fallen to 15.1% - in total European market equals 12.2% of market in 1996/97/Japan 15.1%/USA 25.9%/ Canada 43.3%/Australia 2%/ other international 18.6%)," by Amy Tyler Mair, December 29th, p. 3.

BIV. 1998 "Special Economic Outlook 1998 (Vancouver hopes to have 8-million visitors generating revenues of $2.8- billion in 1998 - worry about Japanese and German market because of currency and instability at home - High Tech - employs 50,000 in B.C. - revenues generated are $6-billion in 1997 - 20 percent growth rate - growth in areas where human rather than financial capital more significant - software - Movie and T. V. industry generate revenues of $650-million - 800,000 estimated to come by cruise boats, 16,682 hotel rooms GVRD - 3,000 new rooms by 2000 - tourists 6 percent growth 1993- 1996 then 2 percent rise 1997 - between 1992 and 1996 Japanese tourism up 60 percent but in 1997 fell by 9 percent - tourism expected to rise by 2.8 percent in 1998 - high tech - labour shortage most dynamic sectors are those that rely on human capital not financial capital - internet and related business servicing high tech products growth areas - Richmond looking into trade and convention centre - Canadian migration is slowing peaked around 40,000 net in early 1990s in 1997 around 23,000 and 1998 probably be zero - Alberta is now a net gainer from B.C. - 1997 - 157,000 sq. feet vacated in downtown by major companies West Coast Energy, Macmillan Bloedel and Fletcher, for region absorption was around 1.5-million sq. feet in 1994 now less than 900,000 and mostly in Burnaby and Surrey in office parks - REITS - $35-million in Canada 1993 up to $2-billion in 1997 - CBD - 3,400 room may be built in ten planned projects - 750,000 new supply of office in GVRD in 1990's, high rise condo - market go from 50 to 25 percent Asian)," January 5th.

BIV. 1997 Labour: Unusual influx of workers to drop if B.C. economy fails to rebound - more workers than ever leaving for Alberta, Ontario and U. S. (including attrition employment openings expected 1995-2005 - Food and Beverage Servers - 17,940 - $16,300/Cooks - 16,660 - $21,300/Light Duty Cleaners - 12,460 $22,000/ Kitchen and Food Service Helpers 11,390 $19,400/Restaurant and Food Service Managers 10,710 $27,100/Food Service and Counter Attendants 8,490 $18,600 - all occupation average $39,800 - 9th place security Guards and

related occupations 7,960 $27,600, 12th place Computer Programmers 3,450 $43,300 - 1992 - 40,000 1992 - inter-provincial 1994 - 34,000 1996- 21,000, 1997 likely under 10,000, 1998 likely be zero)," Rosemary Eng, January 5th.

BIV. 1997 "New Owners of Drubrelle Plan New Building (Drubrelle International Culinary and Hotel school - will increase student capacity three times current 85 enrolement in four month course -$18.4-million building -will include 18 hotel suites and 24 housing units)," by Rosemary Eng, January 12th, p.4.

BIV. 1998 "Population growth in Washington state has stalled with the upbeat U.S. economy (extraordinarily population growth has come to an end - as California economy picks up - end of one of most significant trends for region at end of the century - high cost of accommodation and growth elsewhere reduce in migration - same for Portland - lengthiest and most severe depression in California since depression ended - state now has net in migration to July 1st 1997 - Idaho and Washington still above national growth average but has fallen sharply from peak in early 1990s - to July 1st population of Washington State grew 1.6 percent versus national rate of .9 per cent as nation grew to 267.6-million - rate of growth down 35 percent from peak in 1992 - net migration less than 60,000 over past four years - reached almost 100,000 in two years in early 1990s - many came from California - Idaho population grew 1.9 percent - but in 1994 was 3.4 percent and Oregon's population grew 1.5 percent - Oregon experienced sharp decline in employment growth over past year - West as a whole grew 1.6 percent - Nevada largest percentage growth in population in nation over past 12 years - as population soared by 40 percent since 1990 - benefit from flight from California- California's population now 32.3-million - Texas has 19,4-million - so small movement of population from California can have a great impact on North west)," by Michael Parks, January 19th, p. 6.

Calgary Herald 1997-1998

Calgary Herald. 1997 "Calgary Housing Prices," Section H, January 11th

Calgary Herald. 1997a "Victoria Park residents facing uncertain future," p.A16, June 13th.

Calgary Herald. 1997b "Stampede pressed to look for creative land-use solutions, p.A12, July19th.

Calgary Herald. 1997c "Hotels spring up to fill demand,"P.A9, July 26th.

Calgary Herald. 1997 cc Taking Account - (i.e.. 8,700 hotel rooms -3,400 in the downtown, Foreign tourists up a third since 1990 , now about 650,000 with other countries leading the US. spent approximately 190M in 1996 or about 25% of all tourist revenues/Stampeded account for 10 per cent of all tourist revenues) by Carol Howes, in July 26th, pp. A8 +9.

Calgary Herald. 1997d "Vic Park Proposal (by Mike Giammarco $15M-36 condo and 24 apartments) promises new life," by Jeff Adams, August 6th.

Calgary Herald. 1997e "Building permits hit 1 Billion," by Anne Crawford, August 23rd.

Calgary Herald. 1997f "Base Housing wanted for rentals (800 units could be rented $400 to $600 a month until Lincoln Park and Curry Barracks sites redeveloped)," by Ron Collins, September 3rd.

Calgary Herald. 1997g "Home builders bringing new minister up to speed," by Marty Hope, September 6th, p.G3.

Calgary Herald, 1997h "Focus shifts to custom market -)survey of Canadian Home Builders Association - using latest Pulse Survey - nationally 22 will work with first-time market- a seven per cent reduction, most pronounced in Quebec and Atlantic Canada, forecast production in 1997 137,600 vs 124,713 in 1996, highest increases Ontario and Alberta, moderate increases in B.C. and Quebec, medium increase of 5% expected for 1997 or medium of about $162,000), by Marty Hope, September 6th p. G3.

Calgary Herald. 1997h "Buyers have to change housing expectations: Higher prices, less customization in the wind, says association chief (1988 expect 10% increase in prices or a price around $151,000 - average price new home now $168,000 according to CMHC -forecast 10,000 new units in 1997 -75% to be single detached- busiest since 1982 - in 1995 6,920 units in 1982 -4,900 were multiple in 1996 or 29% single detached. G11. now house type production reversed).

Calgary Herald. 1997i "Tax Bite $18M too much - City Says (result of provincial assessment up 7.43% from $42.1B to $45.2B versus a decline for Edmonton which stands at $31.8B-Calgary collects $700M, provincial bill for education $353 if $1.2B education budget),"

Calgary Herald. 1997j "Minister to push research (Alberta only spends 1% GDP on versus 1.8% Ontario and 1.9% Quebec-boost total research to 3B by 2010 goal 450,000 high tech jobs by 2020 in report: Sustaining the Alberta Advantage, by Alberta Research Authority), by Robert Walker, September 4th.

Calgary Herald. 1997h "Housing Market starting to come back in Montreal (according to study by Peter Norman, economist, Bank of Montreal, resale price up 3% and 5% in 1998 and sales up to 30,260 in 1997 while new home prices up .3% in 1997 and 1% in 1988, construction of 10,400 compared to 10,000 in Calgary expected, still below nearly 50,000 units in 1987), August 30th.

Calgary Herald. 1997i "California Realtors: House prices keep surfing upward in California,(Median price $192,814 vs 182,496 in July of 1996 up 8.5% in San Francisco area and 7.5% in Orange County but only by .9% in LA.. County), p. G6, August 30th.

Calgary Herald. 1997ii Boom: Communities near Calgary on the move (problem infrastructure -Strathmore, population growth 1996-97 - 3,8% to 5,500 - in 70s and 80s had huge influs/Okotoks - strongest growth in a decade - near 10,000 mark, expect city status by 1999, current population 9,000, more retirees moving in, telecommuting providing another group of residents, tax assessment 82% residential 18% commercial/ Chestmere population 2,000/High River approaching 8,000 3to 4% growth a year now/Cochrane, population 8,500 will be connected up with Calgary sewer - has a 10% growth rate/ Airdie, population around 16,000 attract alot of industrial land use as near major routes and aeroport and no business tax)," by Dave Pommer, September 25th, p.B9.

Calgary Herald. 1997j "Report (Victoria Park wants it to be relocated around 23rd SE near Manchester Yards) asks for red light district (planners says redevelopment will push them out)" by Mario Fornequzzi, September 17th.

Calgary Herald. 1997k "Housing Boom - Calgary Real Estate Board estimates 21,000 sales in 1997- resale homes up *% to $155,000 and new homes $170,00 or up 5% - 17,000 people expected to migrate to Calgary next year) by Marty Hope, September 22nd.

Calgary Herald. 1997l "Boom - many towns outside Calgary approach city status of 10,000 most are inhabited by commuters -one half of population of Cochrane (growth now averages 10%), Okatooks, and Airdrie commutes to Calgary," September 25th, p.B9.

Calgary Herald. 1997m "CMHC housing projections: (total starts -10,000 (1997)/ 11,800 (1998) - single detached 7,800 (1997)/ 8,800 (all time high- 1998) - 74.5% of all units, multiple units 2,200 (1997) and 3,000 (1998) - average price new single detached $177,000 (1997) to $186,00 (1998) - average price of a home $144,000 (1997) to $155,000 (1998) - 4,000 condos on multi listing and 3,000 to be produced in 1998 but shortage feared) by Marty Hope, September 27th, p.F9.

Calgary Herald. 1997n "No Vacancy (downtown could run out of Class A space by next April 4 projects with 2.35 million sq. feet set to go i.e.. 2nd tower Bankers Hall, Trans Canada Building on old Greyhound site)," by Anne Crawford, October 3rd.

Calgary Herald. 1997o "Visitors Swarm on to Prince's Island (numbers jump five fold in 3 years, most popular green space in city, now preparing master plan, survey's show people do not want more commercial development,, people who live close to part want less events while those who do not want more, big desire to make island year round destination) by Jim Cunningham, October 9th.

Calgary Herald. 1997p "Calgarians warned of tax hikes (city pop up 23,000 to 790,000 -!% increase results in $4M in revenue)," by Ron Collins, October 28th.

Calgary Herald. 1997pp "Taking Account Calgary oilpatch fuels growth (CBD mostly result of oil growth -who owns CBD = 43.4% institutional owners and pension funds/ 19.3% private investors/ 13% developers i.e., Trizec/ 5.4% private user i.e., Petro Canada) by Anne Crawford, November 1st.

Calgary Herald. 1997pa "Employment moving to suburbs (rental rates need to go about $5 for office development in suburbs to begin) by Vicki Barnett, November 1st.

Calgary Herald. 1997pb "Taking Account City Plans to reduce CBD parking Stalls (from 31,500 to 29,000 by 2020- business men unhappy about- currently 88,0000 work in CBD plan projects 115,000 may be exceeded as growth rate has increased) by Barnett and Crawford, November 1st, p. A1.

Calgary Herald. 1997pq " The Changing Face of Calgary (1986 foreign population 138,295/ 1991 -151,745/ 1996 170,880 - United Kingdom 21% to 15%/ China 7,060 -5% to 11,500% to 7%/ Viet Nam 6,970 or 5% to 10,900 or 6%/ Hong Kong - 5,050 or 4% to 10,300 or 6%/ US. 11,065 or 5% to 9,010 or 5%/Philippines 4,570 or 3% to 8,995 or 5%/India- 5,525 or 4% to 7,8360 or 5%/ Germany 8,145 or 6% t o 7,860 or 4%/ Poland 4,515 or 3% to 6,895 or 4% / Netherlands 5,490 or 4% to 4,645 or 3% - total immigrant population 33,775) by Daryl Lyn, November 8th,p.14.

Calgary Herald. 1997pqa "Expect to Fork over $13,676 for housing (for utilities, taxes, insurance and upkeep - highest cost is in Vancouver with for a $1.800 sq. foot house with three bedrooms and two bathrooms, with a household income of $60,000 - a survey by Runzheimer of Canada - here the cost per year was $19,305 and the lowest was in Saint John, where the cost was $11,678 on a house worth about $124,000 in comparison to $288,000 in Vancouver, Winnipeg was in fifth place behind Toronto, Yellowknife, and Ottawa, and Calgary was in sixth place in a 12 city survey)," by Marty Hope, November 8th.

Calgary Herald. 1997pga "Chinatown: from ghetto to haven (in late 60s about 20,000 Chinese in Calgary now there are about 80,000 - about 1,400 live in Chinatown in 8 apartment buildings and 3 seniors complexes)," by Paul Droban, November 9th.

Calgary Herald. 1997pr "Housing (End of October, 7,044 single detached versus 12,020 in Toronto, and 4,506 in Montreal, multiples in Calgary are up 104% to 1,912 or just over 20% of

total -strongest since 1982 when 5,66 multiples constructe, 3,634 resale condo market total sales so far 18,865 up 30%)," by Marty Hope, November 15th, p.G12.

Calgary Herald. 1997ps "Boom Squeeze Food Bank (job searchers and low vacancy)," November 15th, p. A1.

Calgary Herald. 1997pt "City Budget: recreation coffers need cash injection (north and south communities - might have to borrow),"November 15th, p.B1.

Calgary Herald. 1997pu "Vacancy crunch stall relocations (plans to relocate 300 employees put on hold due to office and housing shortage, apartment vacancy is now .5%,12,000 people estimated to have moved to Calgary in 1997 - 30% above 1996 - and expect further 30% increase in 1998 - Office market is now 45 million square feet top grade Vacancy almost 0 - even with addition of towers completed space would only increase by 7% - Royal LePage forecasts market demand for industrial space to be 2.5-million sq. feet but 3.3-million will be absorbed)," by Marty Hope, December 13th, p. A1.

Calgary Herald. 1997pv "City Growth:Home builders scramble: statistics Net migration - 90-11,882/91-6,315/92-minus 853/93-2,564/94-3,078/95-3,477/96-10,958/1997-16,100/98-17,000 - employment growth - 90-4,000/91-2,500/92-minus 3,500/93-2,600/94-10,000/95-20,100/96-21,100/97-17,000/98-17,000 - most new single detached under construction in the northwest - top location 572 units in Hidden Valley - Multi family housing 1997 2,510 and 1996 1,199 - average new home price 1987 $124,269/88-$136,600/89-$142,653/90-$169,922/91-$175,619/92-$175,134/93-$176,759/94-$177,569/95-$180,220/96-$175,901/97-$178,131 - with rush to build less customization)," December 13th, p. A6.

Calgary Herald. 1997pw "Land demand heats up: Dwindling supply threatens Calgary's reputation for affordability developers says (CMHC prediction 1998 - 8,400 single detached 75% - and 2,800 multiple units - however city has only budgeted for 7,000 single detached and 1,800 multiples - developers now fear lot levies and delays in approvals, community meetings are delaying, i.e., Canadian Forces Bases Redevelopment 750 participated in - big problem managing growth without anymore river crossing - Go Plan oriented around this - Deerfoot Trail will become main highway and movement channel of city - it is easy to upgrade - but expensive - there are 22 full time development companies in Calgary - todays builders are assemblers and co-ordinators says president of Alberta New Home Warranty Program - Dennis Little - with a builder 40 different people can be working on a house - poor tradesmen and have poor product - 550 builders registered with program in 1996)," by Mike Dempster, December 13th, p. A7.

Calgary Herald. 1997px "Pace pick up in Edmonton: province's capital reaps benefit from military relocation (Housing forecasts by CMHC for 1998 - Calgary resale - 23,000 versus Edmonton 11,500; Average price $155,000 versus $126,000 in Edmonton; Single Family Starts 10,000 versus 4,400 (73%); total starts 13,000 versus 6,000 single family price $186,000 versus $163,500; downsizing period over - 1996 government cuts delayed recovery - in 95/96 net loss 1,000 through migration - first nine months job creation in Edmonton greater than Calgary 19,300 versus 13,800 for Calgary)," by Marty Hope, December 13th, p. G2.

Calgary Herald. 1997py "Eau Claire developer set to create pinnacle of Luxury: residents will have panoramic views from $42-million glass and stone tower)," by Marty Hope, December 13th, p. G1.

Calgary Herald. 1998 "97 housing starts set record, CMHC year end report (11,215 units started - 8,656 were single detached (77% of total starts) and 2,559 were multiple units - double the 1,249 units constructed in 1996 - in total highest starts since 1981 and a 58% increase over 1996 - largest number of multiples since all time peak in 1982 when 6,459 units were started - the same

goes for single detached where the previous record was broken - that was set in 1981, when 6,941 single detached units were constructed - forecast for 1998 by CMHC sees 13,000 units with 10,000 single detached or about 77% of total units - fraction decline from 1977 in terms of single detached units expected - also 23,000 resales expected with a rental vacancy of .5% - (cited in Calgary Herald but not in this reference - Mackenzie towne lots start from between $120,000 to $140,000)," by Marty Hope, January 10th.

Calgary Herald. 1998 "$670M needed for City Roads by 2005 ($92.2-million for southwest transit extension and $73.8-million for northwest extension and $10-million for 35 buses make transit wish list larger than roads - province is putting $100-million one time grant into infrastructure - still city only has around $225-million)," by Ron Collins, January 21st.

Calgary Herald. 1998 "Agriculture boost water Qualtiy Costs ($76-million upgrade for Elbow river needed - also Edmonton and Red Deere are facing problems because of agricultural run-off)," by Andrew Nikoforuk, January 23rd.

Calgary Herald. 1998 "Business tax unlikely, city says (Commissioners report notes over next five year capital expenditures will experience a $500-million shortfall - city's operating budget $885.8-million - sources of revenue $372.7-property tax, business tax $121-million, grants and subsidies $279-million, Utilities and fees $146.8-million - 21,000 businesses on average taxed around $2,000 a year)," by Ron Collins, January 31st.

Calgary Economic Development Authority

Cit y of Calgary, Economic Development Authority. 1988 Calgary Facts (website January 1988 - **migration** - 1972 was 9,522, peaked in 1982 at 23,437, 1983 minus 11,205 net gain return in 1985 then up and down until 1993 when a net gain of 2,873 was recorded, then 3,477 in 1995, 10,958 in 1996, 16,100 in 1997 - as of April 1997 population up 23,339 over 1996 census with population a t 790,498, expect one million in city by 2008, 1976 65 plus age group 6.5% of the population 8.8% in 1996, 0-14 years 25.5% in 1976 to 20.9% in 1996 est. 20% in 2000, in 1983 and 1984 total population of city actually fell, in one of these fell by 2,441, births - in 1972 5,221 births, peak 1992 around 9,300 in 1997 7,339 - lowest in absolute terms since 1982 - age group 25 to 44 - significantly below national average - Calgary highest proportion, then Ottawa, Vancouver, Toronto 4th, Edmonton 6th, Montreal 7th, Quebec City below national average - **income** - 1996 per capita - from Financial Post - Toronto $22,200, Ottawa $21,800, Calgary $21,200, average family income 1991 $50,705 , Median $50,704, in Alberta Calgary under-represented in family income below $10,000 and over-represented in incomes above $70,000 - **housing** - vacancies apartments - 1987 6.53%, 1990 3.69%, 1994 7.81%, 1996 6.37% (in 1998 est. .5%) - taxes - Condos range from $500 to $800, bungalow range $1,400 to $1,00, two storey home $1,346 to $2000 and most expensive executive home - Mount Royal - $4000 - from Royal LePage Survey of Canadian Housing Spring 1997 - **immigration** - 1984 to 1993 - Hong Kong 14.76, Vietnam 11.10, Philippines 8.0, U.S. 4.85, Poland 5, China 4.48, England 4.36, Lebanon 2.3).

Cernetig, Miro 1994-1997

Cernetig, Miro. 1994 "Homeowners battle uprooted prostitutes," in The Globe and Mail, July 21st.

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Cernetig, Miro. 1997 "Orca Bay Boosterism downright un-Canadian," in The Globe and Mail, January 30 th.

Cernetig, Miro. 1997a "Spending millions on a whim no longer in," p. A3, in The Globe and Mail, August 8th.

Cernetig, Miro. 1997b "A do -it yourselfer's shot in the dark, (75 new golf courses in BC. -20% of residents now play) in The Globe and Mail, September 30th, p. A2.

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Edmonton Journal. 1997 MLS listings: August -average resale home $115,115 new home $157.1, p.E4, August 30th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997a "Editorial: Airline Service is weakening: Edmontonians must demand More(Air Canada drop last regulation international flight now only foreign destinations Minneapolis(North West Airlines), Salt Lake City and Seattle by Delta and Horizon airlines)," September 8th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997 b "Re/Max Quarterly Report : For single detached price $125,000/ Central Area $105,000/ Sherwood Park $145,000/ in City of Vancouver -West Side $665,6000 and Eastside $323,600/ Kelowna $178,000," September 17th, P.G3.

Edmonton Journal. 1997b "How hard times unearth valuable community assets," by Liane Faulder, September 18th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997c "Face lifts in older areas could see new planning rules (McKernan, Park Alley and Belgravia already have rules about monster houses (i.e. limit height to 7.5 M instead of 10) and garages and one neighbourhood Westmount has been designated an historic preservation area) new exercise will involve all pre-1970 neighbourhoods - or up to 108 neighbourhoods - planners see each neighbourhood as being unique, while builders want one set of rules for the core - as a new wave of renovation and rebuilding hits mature suburbs) by Andy Ogle, September 25th, p.BS.

Edmonton Journal. 1997d "CMHC estimates: 1,400 Condos for 1997 - July average cost new single detached over $150,000," September 27th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997da "The Great Whyte Hope: More security, cleaner streets, are part of a plan to keep Old Strathcona from going downhill (crime drop between 1990-1995 is top concern, planner Cathy Faftis, work on for three years- recommendations -Businesses stay open til 9; increased beat officers; adopt a pole program to rid place of graffiti; hire a street worker; form arts council; organize program to deal with panhandlers; building restrictions to preserve historic structures; zero tolerance anti-social behaviour)," by Brenda Bouw, October 16th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997e "Planners balk at committing funds for downtown spruce up (Phair wants 5 year $22M commitment - $6.58 in 1988,$4.82 in 1999, $4.8 in 2000 $3.42 in 2002 and $2.21 in 2002 - officials say will have to go year by year - already $450,00 set a aside in 1997 to spend on housing initiatives)," by Brenda Bouw, October 17th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997f "City reaps $75M from arts, culture: Report cites return on investment (Report by Economic Development Edmonton - survey of 78 arts groups that received grants in 1996 return $3.75 in property and business taxes on investment of $1.5M, groups entertained 2.722

million people, 548,000 from out of town, who spend $42M while in Edmonton, organizations themselves spent $32.5M), " Andy Ogle, October 17th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997g "Editorial -Lack of Commitment (4 councillors voted against any funds to downtown plan also it was passed in May)," October 10th.

Edmonton Journal. 1997h "Klein spurns mayor's proposal to subsidize Oiler' rent with lottery money," by Allyson Jeffs, October 29th, p.B1.

Edmonton Journal. 1997i "Editorial: Whyte Ave. Plan still too authoritarian," November 3rd,

Edmonton Journal. 1997j "New life for downtown: Arts District can be a key building block in revitalization of the city's centre (reference to new downtown plan)," by Dourg McConnell Chair of the Arts District Partnership, November 3rd, p.A9.

Edmonton Journal. 1997k "City moves to halt invasion of vinyl-sides: Bylaw to limit size of homes in older districts (Make street more pedestrian friendly, encourage porches, no street facing garages, height limits take down from 31 to 27 feet, if go above two stories will need to break roof line, change set backs allow houses to be closer to street)," by Mike Sadava, November 10th,p. B3.

Edmonton Journal. 1997l "98 budget ($984 M - not enough money to maintain infrastructure - 98 capital budget $199 - estimate $532 needed but no funds to raise) by Brenda Bouw, November 10th, p. B1.

Edmonton Journal. 1997m "Property tax, utility costs lowest in Capital Region (Edmonton lowest in region - says councillor Phair - on average home - $2,926, or 92 percent of regional average of $3,093 - Leduc second lowest at, so price of land may be less in exurbia but other costs are higher- when school taxes excluded fall to 88 percent or $2,190 versus regional average of $2,491 - Edmonton ranked seventh lowest among 16 cities when looking at combined taxes and utilities)," by Brenda Bouw, December 4th, p. B3.

Edmonton Journal. 1997n "Editorial: Edmonton Area must sell itself (new report calls for consolidation - in Census Metropolitan area 32 local government and 19 economic development authorities - need one regional tourist and economic development agency - cite loss of hog plant to Brandon - notes Calgary only has 8 local government in its Metropolitan Census boundaries)," December 20th, p. A18.

Edmonton Journal. 1997o "Poor benefiting from good economy (report by the Social Planning Council of Edmonton - percentage of families with children in absolute poverty peaked at eight percent in 1995 at eight percent was 6.1 in 1996 - in 1996 rate for Vancouver was 8.2 - Winnipeg 5.7 - Toronto 6.2 Montreal 8.3 Halifax 3%, Edmonton no longer child poverty capital - two parent families do better but not single parent - single parent in poverty was 17.1 percent in 1995 in 1996 rose to 24.8 in Winnipeg was 22 percent, Montreal 21 percent, Vancouver 17.7 percent, Toronto 13.6 percent, Halifax 8.5 percent - as well 10 percent of families are single parent)," by Allyson Jeffs, December 23rd, p. B3.

Edmonton Journal. 1997p "On a roll with wheels of steel (Edmonton based Railink now Canada's third largest railroad)," December 23rd, p. E1.

City of Edmonton, Transportation Department

City of Edmonton, Transportation Department. 1997 Overview Of The Transportation Master Plan (Notes from taken from website - non-city population expected to increase by 332,000 by

2020 and city population by 223,000 - by 2020 region will have a population of 1.2 million - 1994 survey carried out -found that 89% had access to a car - car households were highest in the southeast and lowest in the downtown and central areas of the city - survey on housing found people extremely attached to single detached homes - less so with older couples and non-family groups - in terms of utility - found that shifting from single detached to townhouse would be the equivalent of travelling an 58.9 minutes - transportation expenditures a year estimated to be $5.4-billion - auto accounts for 78% of this with expenditures of $4.2-billion and subsidies amounting to 17%, bus accounted for $306-million, with subsidies amounting to 24%, LRT - with high capital costs and low ridership - cost $54-million with subsidy of 46%, bicycle $50-million, subsidy 10%, pedestrian, subsidy 3% -modal split to downtown now 35% - overall modal split transit 9%, walk 12%, bike .4% - average distance traveled 7km -9.3 trips a day per capita, a fair amount of emphasis on land use, unlike Winnipeg plan, Four scenarios - transit and new freeway scenarios compared - with transit would involve significant intensification of land use and compact strategy - other scenarios land use, there is no significant change - with auto oriented strategy 51% of expenditures go to roads compared to 47% at present, in transit oriented strategy only 35% goes to roads - transit split downtown would increase from 34.3 in 1995 to 36.2 in 46.1 and in auto oriented strategy to 36 - transit strategy - see as two tier - one oriented to the downtown and the other to commuters and special needs groups and the community - last plan done in the late 70s and adopted in 1983 - changes since then - listed as: - in past 15 years CBD hasn't grown, city larger and more dispersed, less money available, increase in the use of the private auto (presently 1.5 vehicles per household), change in public perceptions)

Johnson, Pat. 1997

Johnson, Pat. 1997 " Nightlife for downtown: Carbarets and Pubs to concentrate in core," in West End Times, July 4th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997a "Hidden woes of gaming: Gambling cash a bad bet economist says (Richard Lispsey -SFU)," in West End Times. July 11th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997b "Tenants fight eviction notices-Keep cool, mayor tells hotel owners (of the Royal, Glenaire and California)," in the West End Times, July 18th.

Johnson,Pat. 1997c "Joint scheme for social housing praised (69 units hard to house - in the new Portland Hotel -Erickson architect - no federal money, city land provided, and funds from several provincial and private agencies)" in West End Times, July 25th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997d "Cars may yet drive Granville Mall: Entertainment Zone could include traffic," in the West End Times, August 8th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997e "City moves on noise task,"(Traffic, sirens, Loud parties- same problems as in West End cited in survey)," in the West End Times, September 5th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997f "Garbage hits eastside hardest : Streets 'our living room'," in West End Times, September 12th.

Johnson, Pat. 1997g "Possible streetcar routes considered," in West End Times, September 12th.

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Little, Bruce. 1995 "Examining the Poverty of nations," in The Globe and Mail, July 14th.

Little, Bruce. 1995a "Entrepreneurs now outnumber civil servants," in The Globe and Mail, November 13th.

Little, Bruce. 1996 "The Changing face of poverty in Canada," in The Globe and Mail, July 1st.

Little, Bruce. 1996a "The net effect of all those spending cuts," in The Globe and Mail, July 29th.

Little, Bruce. 1996c "How we're creating jobs for ourselves," in The Globe and Mail, November 4th.

Little, Bruce. 1997 "Unskilled lose jobs to computers," in The Globe and Mail, January 15th.

Little, Bruce. 1997a "Companies plan 5.2% increase in capital spending," in The Globe and Mail, February 27th.

Little, Bruce. 1997b "Demographics overrated as economic influence, study says- Other factors cites as far more important," in The Globe and Mail, June 20th.

Little, Bruce. 1997c "Economist suggest Ottawa run $10 - billion surpluses," in The Globe and Mail, June 24th.

Little, Bruce. 1997d " Why more globe-trotters are over 45." in The Globe and Mail, June 30th.

Little, Bruce. 1997e "Canadian work overtime-for free: one-fifith of employees put in extra hour in first quarter; about 60% are unpaid, Statscan finds," in The Globe and Mail, July 15th.

Little, Bruce. 1997f "At the back of the line for new jobs," in The Globe and Mail, July 21st.

Little, Bruce. 1997g "Why your job can go bust during a boom," in The Globe and Mail, August 4th.

Little, Bruce. 1997h "The noticeable export gain of 'invisibles'", in The Globe and Mail, August 11th.

Little, Bruce. 1997i "Consulting the Gini on incomes (1 absolute inequality 0 percent equality - since 1970 after tax rate has remained generally stable around .30-upward blip 1976-earned income to.43 approximately in 1995 -especially since 1990-1970s evened out-source Stats Can. 13-210-XPB)" in The Globe and Mail, August 18th.

Little, Bruce. 1997j "How Canada's cities are doing in the nineties- according to Janet Slasor and Tim Whitehead in report for Bank of Nova Scotia Toronto fared the worst but has recently recovered very quickly - losing 60 percent of the job loss between 1989 and 1992 in Canada, four times its share of the workforce, Toronto also has the third largest concentration of financial services in the continent behind San Francisco and New York City and its growth has only been second to that of New York," in The Globe and Mail, September 15th.

Little, Bruce. 1997K "Pinpointing the pay scale's high notes : nationally average worker receives $604 a week, with inflation taken into account equals 3.2% rise since 1990 - five top earners - mining $1,075, $817 in logging- gained 8 and 9 percent between 1990 and 1997, manufacturing 6th place $744 rise of 7.3%, Finance and Insurance ($757), up 19% business services (697) up 13% - (but with these sectors highly polarized between top and bottom); retail workers, $359 about 60% national average, gain of 1.2% versus real gain of 3.2% for

nation; hotels and restaurants, bars, $240 a week, up .5% - source 72-002-XPB via Datastream), in The Globe and Mail, September 29th, p.A8.

Little, Bruce. 1997l "Free trade 10 years later: Who won (US. -18% currency advantage/Europe 35% but imports of Canadian goods up 200% and Europe 37% - impact on some wages - productivity may be up in manufacturing but not reflected in wages because of free trade some unionists say -manufacturing productivity between 1989 and 1995 grew 2% annually but wages only .2%)," in The Globe and Mail, October, 3rd, p.B1.

Little, Bruce. 1997m "How the 90s compare with the 30s (comparison 1989 to 1977 and 1928 to 1933 -30s personal income per person after taxes fell by 30%, GDP per person fell by 32% decline lasted 5 years versus 3 years in 1990's -i.e., from 1989 to 1992 and decline in GDP was only 5% - not until 1940 was 1928 income level reached- 1990s probably fell until 1996 - after tax income per person still 9% below 12989 peak - unlike depression incomes fell for 7 years versus five in depression- in depression consumed savings while some saving still occurred in the 1990s - in 1990s Canadians save 5.7% of after tax income, by comparison between, between 1929 and 1936, each year savings were drawn down on average by 4%, might achieve 1989 incomes by 2000 if income grows by 1.3% each year, wages accounted for 63% of income in 30s and 90s, wage recovery faster in depression period, 30s transfers equal 5% of income versus 16% in 1990's, slightly more income from dividends and interest, investment income not fall by much in 30's but fell 23% form 1989 -most statistics from Statistics Canada - National Accounts), in The Globe and Mail, October 13th, p.A6.

Little, Bruce. 1997n "Self-employed earning polarized: Much more likely tan salaried workers to make less than $20,000 or more than $100,000 (between 1989 and 1996 accounted for three quarters of the new jobs created. They now account for about 17% of all workers, up from 14% in 1989 - income shift though -according to Stats Can report released last week -12% pushed into - those who hired people earned 22% more than salaried worker i.e., $41,000 versus $33,700 for salaried worker and average for self employed of $30,800, yet 45% of self employed earned less than $20,000 versus 25.5% of non self employed employees, meanwhile 4.2% self employed earned over $100,000 versus 1.1% of regular employees - high end mostly entrepreneurs and white collar fields -i.e.. social science fields such as lawyers, economists etc. ($85,100) then medical occupations (av. $73,800). Also shift in nature of self employment - in the 1990's only 10% of 458,000 hired people versus two-third's of 347,000 in 1980's - results in Autumn issue of quarterly Labour force update)," in The Globe and Mail, October 27th, P.B6.

Little, Bruce. 1997o "Why we're currently in the red ($375-billion in and $392-billion out - financial transactions with foreigners should equal $767-billion - or 93% of GDP - deficit is about 2% of output - three main strands -Trade in goods -investment flows - Transfers (are relatively small) -- in 1996 surplus $41-billion in 1997 estimates show should be $21-billion - large reason machinery - Travel portion equals about $3-billion - Investment flows shortfall equal $29-billion- of this $26-billion is interest payments -deficit subsiddiaries $4-billion but half is re-invested - deficits in business services, travel and investment change slowly - past three decades have been around 5% of GDP - will not go down much until pay off deficit -)," in The Globe and Mail December 8th,p. A11.

Little, Bruce. 1998 "How we earn cash abroad (in 1971 two-thirds of Canadian exports were resource based goods, in 1998 will be around 50 to 50 - looking at 1997 - total trade surplus $21-billion down from $41-billion record in 1996 could go to zero if current trends persist - single biggest contributor to surplus forest products at $33-billion in past two years - export a great deal and import little - second biggest surplus in energy products - i.e., oil, gas and coal - here surplus was $18-billion - export three times what we import - third spot two industries - auto industry at $9-billion, down from $12-billion in 1996 and agricultural and fish products down from $10-billion in 1996 - surplus in industrial goods and materials of $5-billion, fell to around

zero in 1997 - altogether the above amount to a surplus of $69-billion - now deficits - machinery and equipment $24-billion - versus $14-billion in 1996 - some companies import more than two-thirds of their machinery - next large deficit is in consumer goods - in 1996 was $16-billion, in 1997 was $19-billion, toss in $5-billion in sundry other trade items and surplus in trade declines to $21-billion - if companies and consumers do not curb, with current lower commodity prices - may end 22 year string of consecutive surpluses)," in The Globe and Mail, January 12, p. A6.

Little, Bruce. 1998a "Why Ottawa's silent about its surplus (1997/98 first time since fiscal year 1969/70 or 28 years since the federal government has run a surplus - should be around $600--million if not more - debt charges now $43.7-billion -$102-billion on programs - revenues$146.3-billion - expenditures $145.7-billion - peak deficit at $44.5-billion in 1993)," in The Globe and Mail, January 26th, p. A8.

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Montreal Gazette. 1997 "Centre: Canadiens' new home has benefited from existing services," March 16th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997a "City's Self Analysis is a breadth of fresh air,"

Montreal Gazette. 1997b "Ads target Community - Gays - Le Village Est a Nous," P. A8, July 31st.

Montreal Gazette. 1997c "Get Laval Moving: Candidates - Mayor's opponents slam transit system, call for bike paths (1996 system cost $14M more yet ridership down 5 million - however so far up by 2% in 1997 -fare highest in Quebec $2.60 - non of Options Laval 1993 implemented),"p.A5, September 11th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997d "Palais size to double (cost of addition $125M -renovations $35M - paracorp body hopes to turn area into an international district-from investment can hold two large conventions at once- estimate expansion will generate $55M in additional tourist revenue and 1,000 jobs plus 8M a year in new taxes), September 11th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997e "Series: Part One - The Children of Bill 101 - Bill 101 Grads Reshape Quebec, (Birth rated 2.1 in 1970 in now 1.5 Allophones in Fr, School 5,000 1976/77 to 55,000 in 1995 move from 10% to 75% -Tri-lingual speechscape developing)," by Alexander Norris, September.

Montreal Gazette. 1997ee "Series: Part Two - The Children of Bill 101 -Ancestral languages Stay Strong," by Alexander Morris, September, p.A7.

Montreal Gazette. 1997f "Biotech Hotbed (40% of Cdn. biotech Companies - which number 224 and employs 11,000 versus 1,287 in the US. employing 118,000 and Europe with 584 companies employing 17,200), October 1st,p. C1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997g "A divisive mess- Trudel reform had some good points, but Quebec has botched it (MUC tax real estate 32 percent higher than provincial average, outer municipalites 4 to 7 percent below average - spends 112 percent more than Quebec average or $1,646 versus $914 for off island municipalites except Laval or 55 percent of Montreal) by Vera Sanyluk (chariman of the executive committee of MUC), October 1st, p.B3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997ga "A Stink in the Plateau (Paris Star Textiles - smell upset middle class residentit in form shamatta trad area by Rachel) by MIchelle Lalonde, October 4th,p.A3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997h "Accidential Visionary: Rose blooms in Boston," October 5th, p.C1.

Montreal Gazzette. 1997i "Laval Mayor promises $2B in new growth (5,000 homes next for years and cntinuation of 5 year tax freeze until 2001, new downtown development), October 8th, p. A5.

Montreal Gazzette. 1997j "Gay Games get boost (15,000 participants for year 2002), October 8th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997k "Bike plan stalled (1996 city agreed to $5M -3year plan to double bikeways from 120km to 240Km, cutback by province force cancellation however 1000 bike stands will be put in place by 1999), by M. Lalonde, October 10th, p. A3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997l "The Plateau as Tourist Mecca (hopes to attract 100,000 of 4M that go to the Old Port Montreal's top tourist attraction goes from Sherbrooke to Laurier)," by Sheila McGovern, October 14th, p.C1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997m "Mayor stalling, housing groups charge -Bourgue won't commit to low-cost accommodations until bill from Quebec is here (ready to support condos for wealthy activists say but not for poor - mayor remarks has committed more money than called for in the 1994 partnership with the province and this has produced 500 new social units since that time - $5 announced for the Faubourg and $44M for Lachine project but on for social housing - housing coalition wants city to commit %5M to allow the building or renovating of about 300 units)," by Michelle Lalonde, October 15th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997n "The next shortage: people - Atlantic Canada must cope with shrinking share of population(between 1971 and 1996 percentage has fallen from about 9% to 7.5% (was 12% in 1951) and Quebec from 28% to 25% - Halifax only place that has attracted young boomers, no echo generation because boomers went elsewhere, already shortages in professionals, so it will be difficult to develop an information economy- similarly immigration was only 2% of national total or 4,938 out of 225,074 in 1996, similarly fertility rate below 2.1 replacement level and even below national rate of 1.64 -1.24 in New Foundland,1.46 in New Brunswick, 1.50 in Nova Scotia and 1.72 in PEI)," by Graeme Hamilton, October 20th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997o "A Community project gone wrong: The Strathearn Centre was conveived as a model of community involvement. Now, co-operation between local groups and the city has disintegrated, and Montreal might take over," by Linda Gyulai, October 26th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997p "Quebec wants to merge transit systems (costs about $1B a year for region, municipalities pay 40%)," by George Kalograkis, November 1st, P.A3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997pp "Laval campaign hard-fought -Opponents are critical of the mayor's support for the money losing Cosmodome space museum and a metro extension into Laval - (Vaillancourt seeking third term, says will bring $2B in development over next four years,speed development of high tech industrial park and create new one for environmental sector)," by Michelle LaLonde, November 1st, p.A10.

Montreal Gazette. 1997q "Anybody but Dore: MCM insiders are cool to the idea of former mayor making a return (Frulla who may run is a federalist unlike Dore),"Henry Aubin, November 5th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997r "Montreal Jewish Campus $22 Million Investment a vote of confidence in City's Future (like Winnipeg's - outside of inner city - past 30 year 21,000 Sepharadic Jews have come to Montreal/ 79,951 Askhenazi Jews in city for total population of 101,000/25% over 65 twice city average and 20% below the poverty level, postwar wave holocaust 8,300 now live in Montreal, 11th largest Jewish centre in North America, and second in Canada, 60% live to the west of old neighbourhoods in suburbs and 91% are bi-lingual in 18 to 34 age group and 88% bi-lingual as a whole, median age 39.9 versus 34 for Montreal, 1957 wave (5,000) Moroccan Jews)," November 5th, p.E2.

Montreal Gazette. 1997s "Haitians lead influx to city (recent immigrants equal 134,535 -top , Haiti, 9,9957.4%/Lebanon, 9610 7.1%/France 7,540 5.6%/China 6,650 4.9%/ Romania 5,225

3.9%/ Sri Lanka 4,675 3.5%/ Philippines 4,659 3.4%/ India 4,380 3.3%/ Vietnam 4,380 3.1% Morocco 3,828 2.8% - also a wave of Algerians and Zairians, Quebec received 14% of immigrants but has 25% of population -90% are in Montreal - There are 586,470 immigrants in Montreal, Italy 12.3% 72,325/ Haiti 43,075 7.3%/France 32,255 5.5%/Lebanon 26, 475 4.5%/ Greece 23,060 3.9/ Vietnam 21,910 3.7%/ Portugal 19,910 3.4%/ Britain 17,365 3.0%/ Poland 16,115 2.7%/ United States 15,935 2.7% -immigrants outside Montreal usually migrate to the city within two to five years according to demographer Ternote)," by George Kalogerakis, November 5th,p.A1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997ss Quebec Tells City to Cut ($125M shortfall - reduce labour costs by 6% -save $41M)," November 5th, p.A1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997p "MUTC Freeze transit fare for 1998 (budget $691M - 3,500 workforce, ridership stagnant, local subsidy dropped 14% since 1992 and rider share of cost up from 43 to 53 per cent-Fares elsewhere: Winnipeg 1.45/month 53/Vancouver 1.50/54 a month/Toronto 2.00/83 a month,/Ottawa 1.85/ 57 a month/Edmonton and Calgary 1.60/ 48 a month/Laval 2.60/54/ Montreal 1.85/45 a month/ South Shore -2.55 54 a month/ Atlanta 2.06/ 56 a month)," November 6th, p.A5.

Montreal Gazette. 1997q "Old Montreal Investment: Softimage chiesl Daniel Langlois buty Harbour Building (for $1M -357 de la Commune near Discreet Logic and Concept Audiovisual- which also bought an old building)," November 14th,p. E1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997r "Download will dealy 1998 MUC Budget ($103.5-million download - Montreal budget $1.8-billion and contributed $471 to MUC - MUC budget in 1997 was $1.135-billion)," by Aaron Derfel, November 19th, p. A3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997s "Budget Crisis arrest Community Police hirings (1995 MUC told 4,157 staff needed for community policing to work - plus 200 temps -said Duchesneau former chief - in the early 1980s the city had this number - maybe even 4,500 - so far 24 local office and two command centres -)," November 19th, p. A3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997t "Rosemont reflects city housing boom (in development 2,730 single detached planned - 48 of 250 first phase built - tax break up to $10,000 two year relief)," November 19th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997ta "MCM not a winner Dore says: In fighting continues as more resign from executive, including Fotopulos)," by Michele LaLonde, December 3rd, p. A5.

Montreal Gazette. 1997tb "Another party falling apart (one of founding members in 1974 - stalwarts leaving - party destined for fringe status, party structure too elaborate for city - structure designed for a party with one million members - parties in local government institutionalized in 1980 with electoral reform law which gave parties a legal status - now present in most places - but added little to democracy)," by Nick Auf Der Maur, December 3rd, p. A4.

Montreal Gazette. 1997u "Hostage to the past - The leadership necessary to revitalize Montreal is beyond one person or party. We need a business plan, by a cross section of city achievers (set five or six fundamental objectives - such as place in global economy, fiscal asphyxiation, modernize city apparatus, how to catalyze investment in the inner core, future oriented and pluralistic society, shape of regional government, redefinition of regions relation with provincial government)," Chritophe Caron, consultant, December 5th, p. B3.

Montreal Gazette. 1997v "Guillotine Cut to MUCTC: Mayors vote to accept $6-million chop from public transit budget (will be 415.7- million out of $1.114-billion dollar budget, Public security budget $403-million)," by Caron Derfel, December 9th, p. A2.

Montreal Gazette. 1997w "Laval (transit budget down 5.2% for 1998 to $62.9-million, cut 50,000 hours of service lay off 83)," by Michelle Lalonde, December 11th, p. A5.

Montreal Gazette. 1997x "New Transit Zoning System (eight zones fifth to eight zone biggest savings - Saint Jerome $213 to $141 - highest pass will now be $161 - will help 14,500 outer zone riders - zones go as far as Jolliette and Mt. St. Hilare - one zone $45 monthly pass)," by George Kakiogerakis, December 18th, p. A5.

Montreal Gazette. 1997y "Laval Budget boosts user fees ($425.5-million in 1998 - second largest city in Quebec - City of Montreal budget $1.82-million)," by Aaron Derfel, December 10th, p. A5.

Montreal Gazette. 1997z "Ste. Catherine Street is Back (between Guy and Peel vacancy down from 10 to 5 percent in one year and in 1994 it was 19 percent - East of Main the street is struggling and in Forum area - Bay being redeveloped - the street was never really dead)," by Ingrid Peritz, December 27th, p. A1.

Montreal Gazette. 1997ba "Standard and Poor's Report (average household income in Montreal estimated to be $62,400 for metro areas versus national rate of $62,000 with Montreal in 19th place at $58,600)," by Eric Beauchesne, December 29th.

Montreal Gazette. 1997bb "Saguenay Slump Seen (slowest employment growth of any metropolitan area to 2007 - unemployment to be 14.2 percent in 2003 and fall to 12.7 by 2007 because of out migration of unilingual work force to Montreal and Ottawa-Hull - but Montreal will have trouble absorbing, Sherbrooke and Trois Rivieres will also grow below national average in employment and Quebec City will be hurt by government cutbacks -Sherbrooke young Anglos will leave - this will keep unemployment down and in Trois Riveriers unemployment will hover around 14 percent)," by Terence Wells, December 30th.

New York Times 1991-1997

New York Times. 1991 "Banks follow Immigrants to Flushing," by Donatella Lorch, August 7th.

New York Times. 1996 "Queens Asian Enclave Opens a Rift," March 31st.

New York Times. 1996 "Foreigners Flock to Miami's Condos," in p,C4, February 20th.

New York Times. 1996 "As Economy Changes, Pay is Becoming More Volatile," August 18th, p.12.

New York Times. 1996 "Barely Four Walls: Part One - The All-but-Homeless: For New York's Poorest, Life 'Trapped in a Cage," October 6th, p.20.

New York Times. 1996a "Barely Four Walls: Part Two - Broken buildings, broken bureaucracy," October 7th.

New York Times. 1996b "Barely Four Walls: Part Three - The New Face of Queens," October 8th.

New York Times. 1996c "Barely Four Walls: Part Four - Life in the Tunnel Down From Poverty: How a Family Fled Mexico for a Fetid Tunnel Cell," October 9th.

New York Times. 1996d "Barely Four Walls: Part Five - Looking to the Future, October 11th.

New York Times. 1997e "The Subway to Nowhere, No Time Soon (Los Angeles)," by Todd Purdum, August 28th.

New York Times. 1997f "Diversity propels New Jersey (recovery better than New York's but can no longer count on attracting development because of being a bargain in relation to New York Median houshold income 1995 over $40,000 in New York Median price of a house approximately $178,000 -(densification ration est 2.3 - Nassau ans Suffolk Counties - damaged by end of Cold War - median house values drop from about $143,000 to $135,000) by Kurt Anderson, September 23rd.

New York Times. 1997g "A financial Capital? Yes A Model Economy? NO. - Risk and Rewards in a Revived New York (9th of 10th of big metropolitan areas in terms of job growth 1994-97, worst unemployment July 1997 and low personal income - in eight place (versus Detroit which is third, Detroit third in job gains and second lowest in unemployment, with Boston on top, yet does not even make it on to top ten list where most people wanted to live near Orlando appears and Detroit disappears while New York comes first - based on Harris Poll conducted nation wide May 1-5 of 1,034 adults/ mention as gay Mecca, spurs economy a research firm based in Chicago found gay men on average earn $51,624 - so role of city as a place of consumption, versus $42,755 for Lesbians and $32,144 national average - interview Mr. Streacker only saves 5% of income interview with Andrew Jacobs, employment started to grow in 1994, same as with retail sales, problem chronic poverty, diversity pays off gays sustains edge in tourism and arts, nourish tourism and high end consumption, ethnic markets also created niche markets, may not be competitive nationally but is globally city's foreign born 18% at nadir in 1970 28% in 1990, education seen as being crucial)" by Peter Passell, October 19th, Section Three, p.1.

New York Times. 1997h "3 Buildings Are Declared Landmarks (Robert Stern "Preservation grew as a popular movement at the time that these buildings (now being landmarked) were being built precisely because they replaced stone-clad, solid, classically inspired buildings and the public became quite alarmed" . . ."Now preservationist are being asked to love their former enemy. The war is over, and we need to love the International Style the way we loved the classic buildings around the country. It's not always an easy sell -three are Ford Foundation, CBS hdgts., and Chase Bank) by James Barron, October 22nd,p.B7.

New York Times. 1997i "Drive-Through cities (Culture and entertainment new attractions but need to have a city that serves locals and not just visitors -recent HUD report shows that of 30 largest cities in the United States only 11 have gained population since 1970 and the poverty rate has increased from 14% to 20% and the suburbia are where the jobs are at -plan - need to encourage the middle class back to the city so that they will demand the services and protection that will the city safe - use tax and mortgage programs - notes positive effect of $180M centre for the performing arts in Newark)," by Buzz Bissinger, November 8th,p.A15.

Los Angeles Times (LA.) 1998

L.A. 1988 Bates, James. 1998 "Devasting Downtum for Hollywood Unlikely (Vancouver now has the infrastructure to pose a threat to Hollywood)," by James Bates , January 20th, p. A1.

L.A. 1988 "Empowerment Zone Finally Awarded ($600 a year in tax credits possible - Detroit, New York City, Atlanta, and Baltimore have so far been chosen - $3,000 tax credit for each employee living and working in zone - for a firm employing 100 people equals $300,000 - will be

established in Central and East L.A. and one community in the San Fernando Valley)," by Jim Newton, January 22nd.

L.A. 1998 "For Moving Main Office of Lincoln to Irvine (first time head office functions move outside of Michigan - about 150 jobs to be transferred from downtown Detroit - L.A. has become a design centre for new autos - Ford wants to be abreast of new trends - currently about 100,000 people employed in non dealership auto sector in the state according to 1996 study)." by John O'Dell, January 23rd.

L.A. 1988 "Mexico's City of Promise (Tijuana population 13,000 in the 1930's now over one-million sociologist Nestor Canclini calls Mexico's postmodern city - no old class structure - only city in country where middle income people outnumber low income people, uses term compulsive cosmopolitanism - no old money - looser social arrangements)," by Anne Marie O'Connor, July 26th.

L.A. 1988 "State regains Its Magnetism For Newcomers (Between July 1996 and July 1997 net increase through migration of 27,270 within nation - compared to net loss of 200,000 in previous year - and between 1992 to 1996 there was a loss of 1.2-million locals - state still has a high birth rate - population July 1997 was 32.96 up 1.8% - in L.A. net outflow was still 73,000 but one half of previous year - overall L.A. County grew by 1.4% to 9.520 million people - Orange County recorded a net inflow of 2,000 domestic migrants - Riverdale recorded net inflow of domestic migrants throughout the 1990s population is now 1.4 million - San Diego one of the fastest growing areas, along with Northern California - its population is 2.76 million up 2.5% note also Alemeda Country in S.F. area grew over 2% population 1.4 million)," by Don Lee, January 30th.

Ottawa Citizen 1997-1998

Ottawa Citizen. 1997 "Clark won't use $250M fund to meet shortfall: transfer of services from province creates pressure to dip into reserves (shortfall estimated to be $80 to $90M), p. D1, September 4th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997a "Time to embrace new urbanism," by Alain Miguelz (Oakville and Markham have already incorporated elements into official plan), September 23rd, p. B4.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997b "Chiarellie vows to block transitway extension -regional chair candidate says," September 20th, p. C1.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997c "Sales of homes takes flight - July Single detached exceed townhouses for the first time in a long while - over 200 single detached versus 123 townhouse - single detached are expected to account for 54% of all new house sales in 1997), September 23rd, p.C2.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997d "High-tech hamlet: Nortel real estate director plans for instant community," by Hoanne Chianello, September 29th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997e "Development charges a no-brainer? Our growth areas are getting short shrift in this era of government belt-tightening (Since City of Ottawa dropped development charges loss in revenues equals $8.6M since eliminated in 1995, only municipality in region to do so- despite $175M debt and $36 debt servicing charges (13.06% of annual revenues) and poorer services for the South where most of the growth is and 50,000 live councillor from south says make builders pay for costs of growth)," by Diane Deans, September 30th, p.B4.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997f "Renovations to mark rebirth bo Byward Market Building - A business group is spending $1.5M in the hipes of creating a unique foood destination," by Michael Prentice, October 18th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997g "Tax cuts on wish list of candidates -Chiarellie pushed to replace transitway with light rail transit (Clark wants transit way extension to West to serve fast job growing high tech areas -cost $48M - says Clark) by Jake Rupert, October 27th,p.D1.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997h "Winning Senators raise self-esteem of nation's capital 9changes image)," by Raandy Boswell, October 27th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997i "Taxex, roads the urban issues (one key issue suburban commuters clogging local streets)," by John Besley, November 1st.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997j "A watershed election - Winners will reshape region for a post-restructuring future(Jim Watson on council since 1991, issues quality of life, fiscal restraint, key in restoring Alexander Pavilion, government accountability -regional government to be more powerful - 28 years of regional government likely to end this term - regional government responsible for 80% of services, note province decreed single detached and multiple units be taxed at same rate will result in $70 more for home owners)," by Mohammed Adam, November 3rd, p.B1

Ottawa Citizen. 1997k "Voter in the burbs want careful growth: residents of Nepean, Kanata and Gloucester are happy but want their leader to avoid the pitfalls of poor planning(infrastructure important want better transit, many work in high tech business parks, want efficient public transit,, Kanata need north and south links between residential and work places -pool 41% view municipal government most important and only 33% for regional government), by Nahlabh Ayed, November 4th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997l "Saving the walking wounded (anti auto track)," By Julie Oliver's, November 2nd.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997m "Immigrant influx changes face of Ontario (1991 to 1996 - 38,045 immigrants came to Ottawa - largest group 8.7% Somalis - about 3,400 / 8.4% Mainland China - for Ontario 108, 915 from Hong Kong 10.5%/ Mainland China - 87,875 -8.5%/ India - 71,335 - 6.9%/ Philipines - 71,325 6.9%/ Sri Lanka 44,235 -4.3%/ Poland - 36.965/ Taiwan -32,146/ Vietnam - 32,061 - 3.1%/ US. - 2.9%/ UK. 2.4%) by Bruce Ward, November 5th, p. A3.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997n "Chiarellie wins (moved ahead in tight battle by winning in Ottawa and Nepean -Jim Watson councillor from the Glebe Mayor of Ottawa)," November 11th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997o "Why are OC Transpo's transitways out in on man's land (too oriented to public service - go on Sunday service whenever there is a Federal holiday -stations are too far from education institutions, town centres and mall - one reason why Kanata Towne Centre may fail, is not pedestrian friendly, transitway should go into centre not alongside it)," by Hartshorn - letter to editor, November 13th,p.D5.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997p "Region must polish its image (Regional government viewed as arrogant and uncaring - not helped by Clarke's authoritarian style as head of regional government for six years - budget $1.2B yet people identify more with local government -in Nepean city's share of property tax down as low as 13% - soon will take over ambulance, public housing, highways, in addition to transit,police, welfare, public health, homecare and major planning issues and roads - 18 councillors and one director)," November 13th, p.D4.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997q "Restructuring revitalized boondocks (like Toronto rural areas most worried - note local meeting for regional election 100 turned out, in village of 800 over 150 residents turn out)," by Blair Wilson, November 13th,p.D4.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997r "Revolution: Thousands of affluent and driven young people are engineering a new culture in Ottawa (Says anthropology professor Victor Da Rosa - high tech workers doubled since 1981 and nearly 30 per cent over past three years - when new culture come into contact with old one acculturation takes place - both affect each other - change in tastes apparent - more to spend on nightlife - more risk loving group - bleeding edge of technology - common to work 20 hour days)," by Stephen Karam, December 13, p. B1.

Ottawa Citizen. 1997s "A lighter shade of green: support for environmentalism is dwindling in Canada (auto revival disturbing to environmentalist's - polling by Environics Research Group shows drop - only two per cent ranked environment as top concern in 1997 versus high of twenty-one percent in 1989 - Energy Probe has lost ten percent of its members, Greenpeace - core membership up - one time donations down - from 300,000 to 130,000 - Friends of the Earth 10,000 in early 1990s to 5,000 now)," by Carolyn Abraham, December 13th, p. B1.

Ottawa Citizen. 1998 "Budget Taxes Councillors' Resolve (Planning and Development services - cost in City of Ottawa -$12-million versus $7-million in Miss., $5-million in Hamilton and Scarborough and $3-million Etobicoke - interest charges $36-million in Ottawa versus $15-million in Hamiltion (note $60-million in Vancouver according to web site information on 1996 budget)," by Randall Denley, January 23rd.

Ottawa Citizen. 1998a "Chiarelli'e compromise an illusion (Glebe, South Ottawa, Centretown residents oppose Bronson Freeway ramp - a compromise about ramps looks to be evolving - notes five part transportation plan to go before regional council - in it support for LRT - widening Airport expressway taken out but could be put back in as the talk has always been tansity but the action has been more roads - Bronson issue is one of ramps to airport parkway)," by Randall Denley, January 29th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1998c "City haste may waste Lansdowne (city moving too quick to give over to developer)," by Randall Denley, January 30th.

Ottawa Citizen. 1998d "Record number ride information highway. By mid-year two million to be hook up to internet, study says (5.2-million Canadians use - is not a craze but a powerful trend - by 2000 44% of households expected to have versus 32% or 3.4 million compared to 28% now, B.C. highest use at 22.7 then Alberta 19.2 and then Ontario at 19% - e-mail big attraction - info - sports)," by Jim Bronskill, February 3rd.

Philip, Margaret 1997-1998

Philip, Margaret. 1997 "Ontario's poor face dismal housing hunt: a law proposed by the Progressive Conservatives would entrench the right of landlords to refuse tenants based on their incomes," in the Globe and Mail, June 26th.

Philip, Margaret. 1997a "Toronto's destitute wear out welcome: Downtown middle class residents fed up with people urinating on their lawns want to evict drop in social agencies from their neighbourhooods," in The Globe and Mail, July 18th.

Philip, Margaret. 1997b "Ottawa forecloses on the poor: Cleaning house/ for two decades the federal mortgage insurer worked hard to salvage financially trouble housing projects, No More.," in The Globe and Mail, July 22nd.

Philip, Margaret, 1997c "Homeless on weary trek to nowhere- Lack of access to public transit leaves poor trudging form soup kitchen to shelter, study finds," in The Globe and Mail, July 26th.

Philip, Margaret. 1997 "Hostel thrives by staying'damp' -The Seaton House Annex provides shelter to some of Toronto's hard-core drunks, many of whom would rather freeze to death than give up their wine," in The Globe and Mail, August 5th.

Philip, Margaret. 1997e "The resurrection of St. James Town - It's run down, over-crowded, ethnically diverse - and on the verge of renewal (with a Plan called St. James Town 200: A Community Action Plan - will see more parkks carved out, more enforcement of bylaws, and a new $15M centre - 1996 census showed that the population went up 23% to 15,358 but officials feel there are at least 20,000 people because of doubling up, covering .2 Kilometres it has a population density of 77,000 to 100,000 per square kilometre, in 18 high rise towers - large philipino population, complex was designed for affluent single not families yet school population of Rose Avenue has doubled to 735 over the past five years, cheap rents for downtown continue to attract immigrants, with a three bedroom unit still only renting for $944)," in The Globe and Mail, October 6th, p.A2.

Philip, Margaret. 1997f "Increasingly shelters are being forced to care for the mentally ill - Turning hostels into hospital (80% of the homeless women are thought to be suffering from mental illness -removed from mental insitutions they end up on the street of boarding houses - Metro's advisory Committe on Homelless and Sociall Isolated Persons estimates at least 600 people with serious mental illnesss are living in hostels, more than the bed number in the city's two mains phychiatric institutions - about 78% of the patient beds that existed in the 1960's are gone and more are slated to close - of the 1,116 beds available - 245 more are recommended to be eliminated- conditioned worsened by addition to crack)," in The Globe and Mail ,October 11th.

Philip, Margaret. 1997g "Shelters running out of space - Even before winter bites, surge in number of homeless strains emergency facilities (in Toronto 3,970 used shelters each night in 1996 now up to 5,350 and expect numbers to climb to 6,560 at Christmas, 600 homeles estimated for Vancouver- half of homeless in country estimated by one official to be in Toronto stated Mr. John Jagt, director of Metro Toronto's hostel division, in Calgary Booth Centre overflowing - with183 beds 72 are sleeping on the floor, last year only 22 on the floor) in The Globe and Mail, October 23rd.

Philip, Margaret. 1997h "Ghetto's remake builds optimism: Toronto's Regent Park hopes new public-housing project will dramatically change neighbourhood (Ontario Housing Ministry picked bidder - to gut and rebuild development that looks like an army camp - i.e., Camp Borden mentioned - turn into a village - contract given to Arcadia Group - north-east quadrant to be redeveloped -shops, bike trails, condos, old existing residents will be housed, use density to build additional units, market lower income - perhaps some who live in the project - leafy streets to be added - 163 units slated for demolition) in The Globe and Mail, November 28th,p.A6.

Philip, Margaret. 1998 "Shelter offer first step off the streets - Toronto's youth hostel system not only helps young people deal with the problems that pushed them onto the streets but helps them get the support they need to get them out of the hostel system as soon as possible (growing ranks of teen-agers is replacing traditional beggars and bums - here there is a spectrum - with some on the street by choice - others not - because of broken families - kids allowed to remain in a single shelter for three months - Toronto has nine shelters for teens - system is used to break squat life - welfare changes have made it more difficult - with the Harris government ending welfare for those under 18-years of age)," in The Globe and Mail, January 27th, p. A10.

Risdon, James. 1994-1997

Risdon, James. 1994 "Up and running in the burbs," in Business in Vancouver, December 6th.

Risdon, James. 1995 "Railway St. live/work project squeaks in as city planning committee slams door," in Business in Vancouver, June 13th.

Risdon, James. 1996 "Flagship of Flying Wedge Pizza founders on reef of $100-plus Robson street rents," Business in Vancouver, March 19th.

Risdon, James. 1996a "Net Returns," in Business in Vancouver, July 16th.

Risdon, James. 1996b "Loft Living- Brad Holme and Pacific City Land Corporation rule the fast growing live/work studio phenomenon, . . .," in Business in Vancouver, November 12th.

Risdon, James. 1997 "Special Feature - Fraser Valley- Peaks in the Valley: The Fraser Valley is growing fast that one developer is building a $100 million town to house 10,000," in Business in Vancouver, June 24th.

Risdon, James. 1997 Cargo & freight - Any way they can," in Business in Vancouver, August 5th.

Regina Leader Post (RG) 1997-1998

RG. 1996 "What to do about city's transit system," editorial, March 1st.

RG. 1997 "Casino Profitable (but well below revenue expectations)," August 1st.

RG. 1997a "CMHC Report and forecast - single detached will account for 375 of 575 starts in 1997 and 400 of 625 starts in 1998 versus Saskatoon whereas housing starts in Saskatoon will rise go from 1,140 in 1997 to 1,100 in 1998 -MLS sales in Regina 2,800 versus 3,202 in Saskatoon -25 rental units expected in Regina in 1998. As well about 33% of all new units in Saskatoon, will be outside the city while 30% of all units in Regina will be outside the city limits), September 25, p.C7.

RG. 1997b "Taking care of business -Council's tax decision raises issue of influence (some say balance of power shift - in elimination of Business Tax ($18M) and Reassessment share of property tax shift from 58% residential/42% business to 60% residential and 40% business - cost so far to 3 bedroom bungalow home between $50 to $80 - with a proposal to shift it to 63/37% - mayor states elimination business tax necessary to keep downtown Eaton's store/ Clipsham left of centre councillor supports, - all of this will be helped by new provincial grant in lieu which will give the city $18M)," by Neil Scott, October 6th.

RG. 1997c "Council approves 5-Year Tax Break (first applicant conversion former CIBC building into 72 upscale apartments - tax relief could be up t o $600,000) by Trevor Sutter, October 21st. p.A4.

RG. 1997d "Library faces losesses: Elimination of business tax may mean cuts to service," November 6th.

RG. 1997 "Study will look at City's Future Central Business District (consultant Derek Murray - will look at parking, effect of shopping malls, a Central Business District Authority, look at more theatres for downtown, pass bylaw to prevent construction in the suburbs, look at competition of retail built along Victoria Avenue, look at absent grocery store, tax burden, health care facilities in core - note new threatres opened in Southland and elsewhere)," by Neil Scott, December 12th, p. A3.

RG. 1998 "Housing prices (1997 Regina prices up 7.7% to $82,800, Saskatoon up 11.4% to 98,000 and Estevan, because of oil boom, average price up to $103,000),"January 7th, p. C5

Saskatoon Star Phoenix (SP) 1997-1988

S P. 1997 "City Cuts Transit Managers position (Transit budget $16.6M -235 employees)," by Moray Lyons, November 6th, P.A3.

SP. 1997a "Many Asian Immigrants chose Saskatoon (1991 to 1996 530 from Mainland China/ 2nd 425 from the Phillipine - many of whom are female/70 from Hong Kong/ 75- Taiwan/ Vietnam- 185 6/ US -205 5th place/270- Bosnia - 3rd place/ in total 3,500 immigrants out of 7,775 for province or 45% of provincial total - University an attraction for Chinese) by Murray Lyons, November 10th, p. A9.

SP. 1997 "Tax committee seeks fairness for apartment renters (apartment buildings assessed 3.98 percent of value - single detached homes only at 2.13% of assessed value - if difference removed would result in a seven million dollar shift or $141 for every single detached home- issue not addressed in last year's property reassessment - committee argued for a ten year phase in - noted if University fully taxed would bring in $11-million - local tax committee also states those living in condos should not be taxed lighter than those who rent - 25 percent of properties in city tax exempt - survey found 14,000 home based businesses - suggest premium of $350 if have a business)," December 15th, p. A5.

SP. 1988 "Property Tax hike likely: Erwin (2,700 workers for city - since 1987 three to four million off loading - operating budget $142-million capital budget $5.6-million)," by James Parker, January 3rd.

Seattle Times. 1996-1998

Seattle Times. 1996 "Condos going Boom", March 24th.

Seattle Times. 1996 "HUD's Indian - Housing Program - From deregulation to disgrace,"December 1st.

Seattle Times. 1997a "Orcas Island food fight," By Jack Broom, September 3rd.

Seattle Times. 1997b "Most of King County's 'newcomers? Newborns: Since 1990, births have surpassed migration (births equal 56% of 140,000 of the new people between 1990 and 1996 vs. 44% for migration)," by Eric Pryne, September 3rd.

Seattle Times. 1997c "Poll: Growth, traffic spoiling quality of life (since 1989 -influence - protecting private property 52% to 42% in 1997 -for region as a whole - 38% to 52% -35% say let market determine growth-since 1990 region grew 12% or by 300,00 people versus 466,000 in the 1980's) September 21st, p. A 17.

Seattle Times. 1997d "Smaller lots, cheaper homes: The case for changing local lawss (prewar lost 3 to 5 thousand sq. feet post war regulations changed to make 7 to 8 thousand sq. for lots the norm - need to change, also larger homes and levies have added to cost of homes - case in point Lynden's Greenfiedl Village used pattern book published one-hundred years ago) by Mark Henshaw, September 28th, P. G1.

Seattle Times. 1997e "Rental Realities: New fall survey show rents rising into levels beyond projections and vacancies at record lows (stopping people from moving to Seattle -doesn't hurt those at the top of the economy --Capital Hill V=1.4%-Studio$441 one Bed $664/CBD -2.1 V Studio $600, one be $871/Magnolia, Studio$576, one bed $$643; University1.5% V studio $483; one bed $$618; First Hill 2.4 V studio,$488, One bed $650/ North Seattle V1.8% studio $466 one bed $579; Lakewood -Pierce Country V 8.9% sutdio$442 and one bed $411Bellvue- West v 1.9% studio $689, one bed $780; Whatcom Country, V 3.4% studio $403 one bed $510/North Tacoma V 4.7% studio $350 one bed $447; Redmond V 3.1% studio $661 one bed $735; Central Everett 1.6% $405 studio, one bed$461) by Elizabeth Rhodes, October 12th, Section F1.

Seattle Times. 1997f "An election winner already: Seattle neighborhoods (common agreement on greateer density -Seattle City grew 4% between 1990-96 but Denny Regrade and neaaarby east and west shores of Lake Union grew by 25% -dowtown and this area absorbed 25% of city's population increase -professionals and empty nesters,)," by Mindy Cameron, October 12th.

Seattle Times. 1997g "A Choice in how Seattle grows (two mayor candidates anti and pro densification Schell pro densification - wants to proceed on 1994 plan for the city to absorb 72,000 people over next 20 years, versus Chong - from West Seattle - who feels 24,000 is enough - Schell ,60, UW dean of Architecture and City Planning School, also talks about affordability - thousands of people have been working in dozens of neighbourhoods to prepare for densification - population of Seattle 1996 534,700), November 2nd, p. A1.

Seattle Times. 1997h "The Race to Buy (in King County median home price up from $169,000 in January 1997 to $182,000 in November 1997 - prices pushing people into Condos - estimated 71,000 new jobs created in 1997 - when translated into housing demand - for every two jobs demand for one house created)," by Elizabeth Rhodes, December 28th, p. J1.

Seattle Times. 1997i "Building boom of Luxury homes worries residents of Methaw Valley (in western part of Okanogan County - new highway connections have made it a playground for the well to do of Puget Sound - Winthrop one major town - contain a few hundred people - worry over development as ski centre lead to restrictive zoning which has made it expensive - employment in community resource sector dried up in the 1970's - feel part time residents provide little in the way of jobs - tension however - housing boom provides construction jobs - so pragmatic aspect of of County population has rift with environmentalists and existing residents - many houses now $250,000 plus - consideration of anti-castle legislation - land has increased 10 times over past twenty years - local against suburbanization - gas stations and malls - in 1993 - 52 housing permits, in 1997 at least 79 permits)," by Carol Ostrom, December 28th, p. A1.

Seattle Times. 1998 "State Jobless rate rises in December to 4.6% (King County 2.8% - in Tacoma - 4%), January 28th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1995-1998

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1995 "Forecasting home sales," by Elizabeth Rhodes, December 31st.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1996 "Survey tracks average home price by location," by Elizabeth Rhodes, December 1st.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997 "Ballpark: court must rule on move for a public vote," March 8th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997a ""Downtown Seattle's makeover fueled by the construction of Nordsrom is changing the face of the region's shopping: A Downtown resurrected, by Carol Smith, July 15th.

Seattle Post- Intelligencer. 1997b "Malls adjust and keep on selling: A rejuvenated downtown seen as challenge," by Carol Smith, July 16th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997c "Seahawk stadium's neighbours submit a wish list ($10M pool created by mitigation fees for three neighbourhoods around new facility also note $250 office park by Union Station)," by Rebecca Boren, August 21st.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997d "County booms -The Annual Growth Report - for 1996 : Unemployment less than 4%, air quality up 324 good days versus 315 in 1995,Transit use up slightly, house recession of 90's ended-starts up 46% -6,326 to 11,200 in 1996 -breakdown - City of Seattle 2,706 units or 25%, unincorporated areas 25% especially concentrated in Soos Creek and East Sammanish. Population Seattle 536,000, suburbs 677,0000, unincorporated areas 431,000, Vancancy rate fell 5.8% to 4.25%, rents up between 5 and 10%, median income renter can only afford $87,100 home, but medium price is $174,300, medium income 1996 could only afford $157,500 while present medium is $16,800 higher. Number of Condos and apartment double from 3,370 , in 1995 to 6,400, in 1996." September 9th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997e "47,850 Students," p.B1, September.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997ee "Rising costs pinch merchants and residents (rents on businesses rising by $4 dollar a square foot per month - a two-storey house on 20th recently sold for$450,000)," by Robert Jamieson, October 18th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997 "Downtown (Median age 40.4 years- 25 percent have University education - 71 percent rent - 29 per cent own - 73 per cent White, 16 per cent Black, 5 per cent Asian, 5 percent Native - 2,500 live in Core - 1,524 homes - $857 median rent - area- Yseler to two blocks past Pine - 450 restaurants - 77 art dealers and galleries - 10 theatres and two museums - altogether CBD in Seattle has about 15,000 versus 50,000 in Vancouver - but Core of Seattle equivalent to Downtown local area in Vancouver only has about 2,407)," by John Hahn, November 22nd.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997ea "County to raise bus fares in new budget (King County Budget $2.6-billion estimated for 1998)," November 24th, p. B1.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997eb "Portland may be too neighbourly for Clark County (in metro Portland Clark County accounted for 46 per cent of housing starts - by end of the year - and only 18 per cent of new jobs - has become the bedroom of Portland - High housing prices forcing movement to Clark County - increased commuter traffic a growing problem - Clark County may have tax revenue problem)," December 8th, p. B2.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997f "Coming to Bellevue - Galleria (three storey retail 510,000 sq. feet - parking for 800 cars) December 11th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997g "Call goes out for Trade Centre (by pier)," December 11th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997h "Bellevue: Neighbourhoods (population 105,000 - average rent $800 - Median house price $355,626 - median income $55,500 - 86% White/2.2% Black/ 9.9% Asian/ 1% other - eastern area becoming multi ethnic as Eastern European and Asians move in centre of this is Crossroads Shopping Centre on east side of city - in the works or in progress housing units which will create five times more units than existed four years ago in town centre - Bellevue Mall strongest in region - town centre has reached critical mass - everything now is coming together - new pedways have been finished)," by Debra Carlton Harnel, December 13th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997i "Locke budet increases gas tax (19-billion budget - gas tax, if approved, will go from 23 cents a gallon in 1997 to around 34 cents a gallon in 2003)," December 16th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997j "City Overpaid Pine Street Developer (by as much as $20-million for parking lot - critics say intervention was not necessary- turn around- prompted by regional economic fortunes had already brought in new retailers like Nike and Planet Hollywood - who came in before Norstrom agreement - Mayor says necessary to save downtown - not last year 5.5 percent rise in sales in Seattle - mostly result of downtown (but project not completed and taxes up $3.5-million) by Serrano B. and Nelson A., December 21st, p. A1.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997h "State jobless rate plunges (at 4.5 lowest since 1966 when it was 3.7 peak unemployment was in 1982 when stood at 12.3 and 1991 was at 8 per cent) A. Gorlock, December 25th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997i "Local rise in murder bucks the trend (King County - 13 and Snohomish-20 i.e., Everett - metro area high 69 in 1994 and low of 37 in 1996 and 48 in 1997)," December 30th.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997j "We're growing by leaps and bounds - still (1990 and 1996 King Country grew 7.4%/Snohomish 17%/ Pierce 12.4%/Islands 14.9% Thurston 22% (Olympia) Seattle area 10th fastest growing in numbers - 350,000 - first L.A.. then Atlanta/ Dallas/Houston/ then Washington/ New York/ Chicago/ San Francisco/ estimate regional population of 3.3 million up from 2.97-million in 1990 - except in King County migration exceeds birth rate, migrants mostly come from California last year 32,000 from California/ and 15,500 Oregon/ Seattle grew 8 percent and Bellevue grew 42 percent- four cities account for 29 percent in 1990 in 1996 account for 27 percent - State population 5.6-million or up 14.6 percent since 1990 - Nevada grew the fastest followed by Arizona, Georgia, Utah and Colorado - Las Vegas fastest growing city grew 41 percent - Boise grew by almost 26 percent made top ten /Island 60,195 to 69,194/King 1.507 to 1.619/ Kitsap 189,731 to 231,741/Pierce 586,203 to 657,272/Snohomish 465,628 to 546,106/Thurston 161,238 to 197,109 sources of change Island 3,800 natural migration 7,600/King 78,000 birth and 60,200 migration/Kitsap 13,700 births and 25,900 migration/Pierce 37,100 births and 51,000 migration/ Snohomish 33,600 birth to 52,000 migration/Thurston 8,000 birth 28,400 migration- Puget Sound area grew about 18 percent : sources Census Bureau and Washington Office of Financial Mangement)," by Scott Sunde, December 31st, p. A1.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1997k "South Korean Woes also ours (Trade exports worth $4.6-billion of which $1.2-billion is made up of aero exports - and imports account for $2.1-billion)," by Arthur Gorloch, December 31st, p. C1.

Seattle Post - Intelligencer. 1998 "Surviving but not thriving - demographics turn against businesses in Central Area - (traditional black area becoming White as professionals seek cheaper housing - in Central Area - as a result businesses will change- area began as Jewish - Jews moved out blacks moved in, In 1980 area was 80 percent black and 11 percent white in 1990

70 percent black and 24 per cent white now estimates indicated that majority of people are white - realtors say 95 per cent of clients are white and under 45, most of black customers have moved to Rainier Valley , in 1990 apartment that rented for $250 now goes for $750 - boundaries Madision and 23rd Avenue bisects it)," by Constance Sommer, January 5th, p. C1.

Puget Sound Regional Council 1997 -1998

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1997 "Puget Sound Trends" in Regional View, January.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1997 "Vision 2020 and the Centres Strategy," Regional View, June.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1997 "Fourth TDM Focuses on Public Awareness," Regional View, July.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1997a Population & Housing Estimates 1996, April.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1997b Urban Centres in the Central Puget Sound Region: A Baseline Summary and Comparison - Winter 1996-97.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1998 "Uphill Struggle Ahead To Finance Region's Transportation Needs (gas tax not increased since 1990 - transportation revenues about $600-million a year - federal government about $80-million in 1988 was about $10-million, state revenues 1988 $10-million now about $50-million - next 25 years project spending of $500-$600-billion for transportation- currently region spends about one-quarter of its income on transportation)," in Regional View, January.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1998 "Puget Sound Trends (estimated population of region in 1997 3.1-million - King County 1.646-million - average household size 2.39 region - 2.51, Snohomish County 2.67 - total housing units 1.134-million -1990-97 net change in region 168,818 - King County 713,778 - from 1980 to 1990 household size decreased from 2.58 to 2.5- 1990 to 1997 average growth rate for population 2.4%, in 1980's household formation was more rapid than population growth now more equal)," in Regional View, January.

Puget Sound Regional Council. 1998 Website www.psrc.org (1996/97 population of the City of Seattle grew by .36% or 1,900/Bellevue grew by 1.06% or 1,100 - from 103,700 to 104,800 - fastest growing city Des Moines up by 4,010 or 17.4% to reach a population of 27,030, Everett up 2.84% up 2,320 from 81,800 to 84,130 - average number of new housing units between 1990 and 1996 was 23,000 - between 1983 to 1989 more rapid increase - peaked in 1989 at 38,000 units- most multiple units historically in King County - percentage of new units added each year has ranged from 50 to 80% of regional total since 1980 - 1996 24,000 new residential units multiple units amounted to 6,400 or 26% of total multiple units in 1995 were 2,750 - also since 1990 nine new cities have been created - 6 in King County - for example in the region Federal Way-67,449, SeaTac-22,700, Necastle - 8,500 have been created) January.

Oregonian (The Sunday) 1997-1998

The Oregonian. 1997 "The Upwardly and Downwardly Mobile (Between 1978/80 and 1994/95 in Oregon top 20 percent income up five percent poorest 20 percent down over twenty percent, next 20 poorest percent down 17 plus per cent, next 20 per cent down around 11 percent and 4th quintile down around four per cent for families with children - In 1994/5 most polarized incomes in New York State - richest $132,390 versus $6,707 for poorest 19.5 times/Louisiana richest $102,729 for the richest versus $6,430 or a difference of 15.9/ Oregon around 28th place richest $97,589 versus poorest $9,627 or 10.1/ Utah 50th place in differeniat 7.1 times - richest $110,938 versus

$15,709/ 49th - North Dakota $91,041 for richest and $12,424 for poorest/, then Vermont, and then47th Wisconsin - $103,551 versus $13,107 or 7.5 times - statistics from Centre for Budget and Policy Priorities - based on U. S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey)," December 21st, p. B2.

The Oregonian. 1997 "Intel powers Oregon Economy (accounts for 15% of corporate taxes employes 10,650 workers up from 4,500 in 1992 - Intel moved to Oregon in 1976 - in Washington county number of people earning over $100,000 has doubled between 1989 and 1995 - Chip Plant cost $2-billion average salary $45,000 equivalent to 20 percent of downtown Portland or five 50 storey buildings)," by Jim Lynch, December 28th, p. A1.

Stein, David Lewis 1996-1997

Stein, David Lewis. 1996 "How a little Annex cafe's fight shows the clash of cultures," in The Toronto Star, September 13th.

Stein, David Lewis. 1997 "Harris' hidden axe: Tories are committed to a cost-cutting policy classed' benchmarking' that, among other things, could turn older city parks into big lawns," in The Toronto Star, July 12th.

Stein, David Lewis. 1997a "Mayors should take the money and . . . demand more," in The Toronto Star, August 8th.

Stein, David Lewis. 1997 b "Barb, Mel need to flesh out arts policies (T.O. $10 per person to arts versus $20 and London $70 - with amount dropping from $100 M from all four levels in 1990 to $70 M in 1998 - funding is graduate school and R+D for entertainment sector New York Study found - result city funding increased by $128M), " in The Toronto Star, September 17th,p.A29.

Stein, David Lewis. 1997c "Column (estimated revenues new City of Toronto $2.7B - downloading cost $85M -without pooling $347M cost)," in The Toronto Star, October 1st, p.A21.

Stein, David Lewis. 1997d "Jane Jacobs thinking helped make the case for megacity (note Albany Street, privatized by one way routing, notes exclusivity and unconnection with rest of the region, implicitly rejection or lack of concern with working class environments, and subsidies to middle class)," in The Toronto Star, October 15th,p. A23.

The Globe and Mail (G/M). 1989-1998

The Globe and Mail (G /M). 1989 "Resale prices up 121% in 1980's,"December 23rd.

G/M. 1990 "Architecture: Designers of a 14-foot wide model home in Montreal say the're catering to people fed up with modern minimalism - Of 'narrow ' mind and classic heart (cost $65,000 -row housing-collaboration Rybczynski and Friedman- Ottawa already permits)," by Stephen Godfrey, June 22nd, A13.

G/M. 1995 "Reichmanns keep faith in Mexico," February 9th.

G/M. 1995a "Cities Struggle to control prostitution," July 24th.

G/M. 1995b "Demands of ethnic diversity strain day-care employees: researchers report clashes among children of varied backgrounds, December 5th, p. A7.

G/M. 1996 "The Asian Influence: Chinese Community's power grows," Sixth of Seven part series entitled The Changing West, P.A4, January 9th.

G/M. 1996A Advertisement , CIBC, p.A7, May 7th.

G/M. 1996a "Editorial," August 24th.

G/M. 1996aa "New Design offers affordable homes: McGill architects target buyers with limited budgets seeking stable, long - term housing,(New homes concept based on Grow Home philosophy of Avi Friedman- mimicks dwelling types constructed in Montreal between 1920s and 1950s on 20ft. wide lots - 5,000 built in urban area but 1992 study revealed two-thirds of buyers earned more than $40,000, buying homes that can cost as little as $50,000)," by Tu Thanh Ha , August 28th

G/M. 1996b "Niagara fruit farmers, wine growers clash," August 26th.

G/M. 1997 "Montreal's gay party attracts thousands," February 28th.

G/M. 1997a "Alberta keeps hold on purse," (p.A5), April 22nd.

G/M. 1997b "Report on The Home Office: Survey of the Canadian home business and telecommuter market," June 10th.

G/M.. 1997c "Cities urge Ottawa, provinces to quit passing costs to them," June 10th.

G/M. 1997d "No windfall for the leafs," Editorial, June 30th.

G/M. 1997e "Affordable housing Hong Kong's top priority, Tung says," (p..A7), July 3rd.

G/M. 1997 "The Top 1000: Canada's Power Book," Report on Business Magazine, July.

G/M. 1997f "Despite US. embargo Cuban tourism climbs (1990-300,000 tourist-1997 1.2M expected -Italy first (10%)/ Canada second in terms of origins of tourists),p. A11, August 9th.

G/M. 1997g "Real estate: (Average house sale in July $155.018)," (p.B4.) August 27th.

G/M. 1997 ga "Education/Across Canada, officials are stretching resources to meet student's needs in class: Schools grapple with the ups and downs of enrollment," in The Globe and Mail, September 1st.

G/M. 1997gaa "Reserve headed toward Trustship (For Albany) by Peter Moon, September 1st.

G/M. 1997h "A Global powerhouse emerges: In a single decade, the telecom industry has evolved from a sleepy business that was the preserve of monopolies into a critical engine of economic growth - ($19.5B or 70% of the information economy in Canada which accounts for about 5% of GDP)" by Lawrence Surtees, September 2nd.

G/M. 1997i "Street Scenes - Upgrades renew optimism on slumping Jasper Avenue: after a rough decade, merchants on Edmonton's once bustling main drag have reason to hope the street will reclaim some of its former glory," by Brian Laghi, September 3rd.

G/M. 1995j "Cruise ship industry leads way to global workplace: millions take these glitizy getaways every year, creating a boom for workers from Third World countries," by Robert Matas.

G/M. 1997k "Architecture 1997: All over the map: Whither the isms - We live in a transitional age without a clear cut, dominant style of its own. But as the new millennium approaches, some trends have emerged - megaprojects, environmentally friendly and 'ye olde' " by Pamela Young, September 6th,p. C7.

G/M. 1997l "Film industry has its critics:As Canada's TV shows prosper, observers question the viability of making moves (World's second largest exporter of TV programs - stats Can est. TV and Film production worth $2B in direct and indirect activity -other sources say just over $1B)," by Harvey Enchin, September 8th,p. B1.

G/M. 1997M "Cutting down on the view," by Miro Cernetig, September 8th,p. A2.

G/M. 1997N "Ottawa may find itself playing ball with the Montreal Expos," by Jeffrey Simpson, September 10th.

G/M. 1997O "Tech firms prefer skilled workers over tax breaks: Study (conference Board) : Companies cite factors in choosing location (workforce, distant 2nd place quality of environment, presence of local universities in survey 139 companies across the world - nuances between Asian and West)," by Patrick Rethour, September 11th,p. B6.

G/M. 1997P "About 12% of jobs temporary Statscan finds: numbers higher than in previous study (Av. work week 27.2 vs 36.9 for full time affects entire occupation spectrum - lowest in BC at 9% highest in Newfoundland at 26%, in total percentage up from 8 to 9% in 1989 and 1994 studies- new data to be in fall issue of Perspective on Labour and Income) by Margot Gibb-Clark September 11th.

G/M. 1997Q "Nortel to create 1,000 jobs in Montreal (St. Laurent New $110 M 400,000 sq. ft building)," by Lawrence Surtees, September 11th.

G/M. 1997R "Kettles Future: 1989 height of last boom labour force peaks at 52% of the population, was 35% in 1925,1941 to 1945 about 40%, moved down to about 35% in the early 1960s then surges upward," p.B10, September 12th.

G/M. 1997S "The Death of Cocooning: It's party time again - Canadians are finally emerging from the refuge of their electronic hearths, drawn to the bright lights of entertainment spectacles. As a result, ticket sales for movies, operas, theatre, and concerts are soaring," by Doug Saunders and Alanna Mitchell, September 13,p. C1.

G/M. 1997T "Play centres dress up downtown: urban entertainment destinations are being hailed as the salvation of crumbling districts," by Brian Milner, September 15th.

G/M. 1997U "Funeral becoming more personal," by Dorothy Lipovenko, in September 15th, p. A3

G/M. 1997V "Mirable switches to new role," September 15th.

G/M 1997W "Driving the kids to school (one in three in 1985 to one in two by 1996)," by Michael Valpy, September 16th.

G/M. 1997X "Making Trade Shows work (Ontario accounts for over 50%/Quebec 2nd place/BC - 3rd/AB-4th) by Barry Siskind, September 17th.

G/M. 1997Y "Women's evolving role confuses Canadians: Result of survey (by Stats Canada) suggests uncertainty over social norms," by Alanna Mitchell,p.A1,September 17th.

G/M. 1997YY ""Gutting of bill (136) Linked to silence of municipalities: Employers' mild response to labour law said to be last straw for Ontario," by James Rusk, September 19th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997Z "Guerrilla Activism/ People who displease the coalition find pickets outside their homes - Poverty Crusade gets personal (OCAP -Ontario Crusade Against Poverty)," by Margaret Phillip, September 20th.

G/M. 1997Zz "St. John's residents clipped by high prices (11 city study by Runzheimer, a Toronto consulting firm, cost ot operate car vehicle highest here at $9,700 and lowest in Winnipeg at $$8,043 a $1,645 difference - so St John's most expensive city South of 60 parallel.

G/M. 1997Zzz "Tories revolution undergoes evolution," in The Globe and Mail, September 29th, p. A5.

G/M. 1997Za "Tuition squeeze not stopping students (between 1975 and 1995 students numbers up 50% although 19 to 24 yr. group has fallen by 9% as numbers increase from 423,000 full time students to 651,000, yet tuition up 62% in real terms after inflation between 1990 and 1995, while unemployment and income has declined and family's ability to support a student has declined), September 30th.

G/M. 1997zb "Manufacturer warned export game changing : need to adjust to high-tech says new head of industry group (need to customize products -high-tech level of manufacturing has reached critical level move from about 35% in 1983 , 40 % in 1990 to 48% in 1997, computer hit 50% mark in business over past year, usually when important innovation penetrates 50% it is the mark of the beginning of a revolution in the way production is carried out - between 1989 and 1997 production up 34%, but exports up 95% according to the Alliance of Manufacturers and Exporters Canada)." by Patrick Brethour, October 6th, p. B1.

G/M. 1997zba "Kettle's Future: Globalization can't stop U.S. trade dominance (U.S. accounted for 75% import and export trade in 1985, rarely fall lower -19th trade U.S. and UK accounted for 90% of trade and into early years of 20th century - by beginning of the Depression trade with other countries had risen to 25% - largely as a result of contact with Commonwealth nations, 1930 U.S. take over from UK . In the 1990s trade outside U.S. and UK equaled 23% much like the 1930's - source Statistics Canada and John kettle)," October 10th, p. B12.

G/M. 1997zc "A tale of two solitude's in the heart of Rosedale: Police aren't sure what to do about the burial of a body in one of Toronto's richest neighbourhood (estimates of two dozen people living in this forested area according to police)," by Jan Wong, October 11th,p. A9.

G/M. 1997zd "Building the military-entertainment complex -odd couples/ Aerospace engineers are pairing up with show-business types to design move special effects and high tech rides (problems with work culture, secrecy, formality - drift become noticeable in L.A. where shift over from military to entertainment sector can be seen - a move can now cost as much as a high tech plane, now entertainment has replaced aerospace and electronics connected to military production as the chief employer in L.A. region as aerospace and electronics lost 133,000 jobs since 1988 while the entertainment industry has added 144,000 jobs, worry about brain drain from military - entertainment seen as more glamour - each industry now parallels the other and some cross pollinatization has begun, technology the same but use in a different way, different culture and business practices - one industry kills the other entertains and for military capability emphasized over affordability)," by Andrew Pollack (New York Times) October 14 th, p. A14.

G/M. 1997ze "Kneeling buses taking a pounding," (by the numbers 336 million rides in 1996 ,MUTC budget $697M, sources of revenue - 38.7% fare,11.4% provincial government 38.6% from municipal governments and 11.3% advertising and other - pass $45 versus $83 in Toronto) by Konrad Yakabuski, October 15th, p. A2.

G/M 1997zf "Quarter of young children in unwed families, Statscan says" Marital status - 80.2% 1986 versus 73.7% in 1996-female single parent 10.4% in 1986 versus 12,1% in 1996 Male 2.2% to 2.5% -28.7% children under six live in common law family or single parent in 1996. highest in Quebec is 45%, PEI the lowest and Ontario the second lowest, in 1971 55.5% of Canadian in the age group 20 to 24 never legally married versus 89.4% in 1996, according to Stats Can figures released October 14th), by Alanna Mitchell, October 15th, p. A10.

G/M. 1997zg "Health car unprepared for grey wave: ever growing elderly population will swamp existing institutions in next century - study by Mark Rosenberg and Eric Moore of Queen's University entitled The Health of Canada's Elderly Population: current status and future implications - report says premature to dismantle modern welfare institutions and place into community)," by Dorothy Lipovenko, October 15th, p. A3.

G/M. 1997zh "Martin's new postdeficit mantra: priorities, priorities, priorities/ Life with a surplus won't revert to tax and spent policies of earlier governments (priorities education and health -after this polls carried by the Ministry of Finance show a sharp drop off in support and more interest in tax cuts) by Edward Greenspoon, October 15th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997zi "A Sour note for housing (Harris threatens successful partnership - provided money but volunteers provided human capital to run - since mid 80s provincial government had 275 non-profits 75,000 units not managed by government - Advisory Council on Social Housing threatens this partnership, with downloading to municipalities - most significant proposal replace provincial subsidies for mortgage servicing and other large costs with a interest free municipal loan- if happens loan instead of subsidy),"by Robert Vipond, October 15th, p. A27.

G/M. 1997zj "Deficit hits 20-year low (highlights deficit fell $8.9B over last year/spending on programs declined by $7.2B/Interest on debt fell by $1.9B/spending on programs $104.8/ Debt servicing $45B? Revenues up $10.6B to $140.9B/accumulated deficit grew from $574.3B to $583.2B - released by Finance Minister in Vancouver)," by Shawn McCarthy, October 15th.

G/M. 1997zk "AMC plans to open Montreal megaplex - 30 - screen cinema to anchor Forum project (Cinemaplex will open 17 screen complex at St. Denis and Ste. Catherine Streets)," by Konrad Yakabuski, October 17, p. B8.

G/M. 1997zl "By the numbers: Housing starts in the United States as of September (annual housing production in September seasonally adjusted to 1.45 units of which 1.17 million or just over 80% are accounted for by single detached units and apartment units with five or more units rising to a seasonally adjucted rate of 291,000 units - housing production seems more evenly paced than it is in Canada), October 18th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997zm "Vancouver hits back at ills of drug use - Coalition commits cash, polic to fight problem (including $9M shelter for the homeless - sparked by rising thefts in middle class areas) by Robert Matas, October 18th.

G/M. 1997zmm "Halting the decline of campus Canada," by Bercuson, Bothwell and Granatstein, October 18th, p. D9.

G/M. 1997zn "Bureaucrat's resignation a warning (best are leaving, pay scales between private and public sectors at senior levels now huge - Mr Bouuchard, Chief of Human Resources Officer -

leaves for private sector, salaries frozen for past 6 years and workload up, Bouchard ordered study and found widespread morale problems)," by Hugh Winsor, October 20th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997zo "The power to heal an urban eyesore: Unleashed on graffiti, student painters hone their craft by changing the face of a city (in the north end reference artist Richard Manoakeesick use R.B. Russell students), October 21st, p. A2.

G/M. 1997zoo "New Brunswick to continue controversial private venture - Little public accountability, costly failures and demoralized civil servants all problems thus far, critics say (attempt to use in reform schools, highway Fredericton to Moncton, computer services etc.) by Kevin Cox, October 20th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997zp "Ottawa: The Working Capital (Average resale price based on CMHC data - 1981-$115,867/1986-$150,676/1989-$162,535/1996-$141,662/1997-$142,720 - Toronto 1981-$161,051/1986-$187,271/1989 - $323,636/1996-$198,819/1997- $208,167 - Average Household income in Ottawa -1981-$28,003-1986-$42,830-1991-$56,554 - according to Stats Canada)," October 22nd, p. C2.

G/M. 1997zq "By the numbers: 3rd Qt. 148,700 -single detached 94,100 (63%) multiple 54,600 - Starts in Ontario 54,800, Quebec, annual rate 28,000) October 25th,p. B2.

G/M. 1997zr "Vancouver HIV actually down - Health board report mixed up statistics, $3.7 million program still needed, official say (there are 6 to 8,000 additcts Vancouver and 10,000 in the Lower Mainland about 1,400 to 1,8000 addicts are positive - mention of vector - addict - sex trade - hetrosexual contact then families - Thailand model)," by Robert Matas, October 25th,p. A4.

G/M. 1997zrr "Jacobean City: Some thoughts on the matter of ideas: Now that the party is over, and urban guru Jane Jacobs has taken her bows, an out of town visitor ruminates on the minutiase and the meaning of it all," Don Cayo, October 25th,p. D2.

G/M. 1997zs "Bringing Life to an urban wasteland: Building review Bregman and Hamann's $180M expansion of convention centre (hidden but now 14th instead of 36th largest centre in North America, can now hold very large meetings, 180,000 sq, Metres, now 1,700 parking spaces, part of new zone of reconstruction with basket ball facility, and new railway development), by Pamela Young, October 25th, p. C9.

G/M. 1997zt "Ottawa pushing for investment screening right: Document shows government seeking cultural protection in new trade deal (Multilateral Agreement on Investment - Canada one of the hardest bargainers for protection of cultural sectors, financial services -some worry about this agreement setting limits on the ability of government to set policy and the power given to large multi-national corporations (See Tony Marks and Maude Barlow's new book), October 27th, p. B1.

G/M. 1997zu "Why Europe's new money matters (create three economic hemispheres, North America, Europe and Japan - conversion of currencies would be critical to Canadian as trade redominated - Eruo-dollars - would rival U.S. reserves and its liquidity, trade in currency with Canada -even without Britain would equal $32-billion - would be biggest monetary event since Bretton-Woods fixed Exchange ended in the 1970's)," by Peter Cook, October 28th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997zv "Atlantic film, TV industry booms: East Coast production grows from a paltry sum a while ago to about $150-million by 2001 (Nova Scotia and Halifax leaders, industry grew from $7M in 1993 to $65M in 1997 Multiplier estimated at one to ten, local infrastructure has developed -i.e., with shows like Codco - leading companies Salter Street Films (Codco),

Charles Bishop Productions, Citadel Production and Imagex Ltd. and Cochran Communications Inc. - generous tax cuts help, much production is local, allows local talent pool to bloom, but not expected to rival Vancouver or Toronto)," by Susan Bourette, October 28th, p. B3.

G/M. 1997zw "Drugs, HIV and the need for a new plan (Lowman states one of the driving forces for prostitution is related to the criminalization of drugs - recent report identifies - estimate 60% non drug crime related to drug use according to 1994 of BC.'s chief coroner, Vince Cain, quoted from police sources -Downtown Eastside four groups most at risk: homeless, women - through the sex trade, mentally ill, and aboriginals - Cain report recommended decriminalization (17% were tested HIV positive - yet only 4% of province's population) by Gordon Gibson, October 28th, p. A25.

G/M. 1997zx "BC. to give up road, transit control (gas and property tax levies transfered, provincial government will absorb $1B debt on transit line, pay 60% of new lines allow tolls, local government will have to raise $180M for new line)," by Ross Howard, October 30th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997zy "Boeing signs $3-billion deal with China (result for Canada 50 jetliners brings one to three million in work for each plane to Canada to three main plants so three billion deal worth $150M to Canada - employes 3,900 workers will spend $1.2B in 1997 versus $700M in 1996)," October 31st, p. B8.

G/M. 1997ba "By the numbers: New home sales -(now at an annual rate of 802,000 - the highest since the late 1970's - in 1996 was around 750,000)," p. B2.

G/M. 1997 bb "Houston's NAFTA success poses fast-track dilemma (worry about low skilled workers - but has made Houston second largest port in the US.) October 31st, p. B26.

G/M. 1997bc "Portland finds niche in bulk shipping: Trains, barges haul wheat, corn to docks (Division of labour Northwestern ports handles exports South western ports handle imports - Portland weak on container traffic -Also handles most of ship repairs on coast -furthest inland deep sea port -Port grew rapidly - Panama Canal triggered construction of L.A. port - L.A. -16M people, 2,700 ships arrived - Northwest $10 cheaper to ship wheat from Mid West than down the Mississippi -Vancouver's crowded lines make Portland competitive with Vancouver for some bulk - especially potash - also handles coal, oil refined products. Containers 1996 210,000 Portland 807,000 San Francisco - mostly Oakland - L.A. 4.21M and Seattle 1.44M) by William McCall, October 31st, p. B26.

G/M. 1997bd "Digging the graves of academe: troika paints a bleak picture: Tuition is up , government spending is down, tenure still clogs the system (originally used to keep staff from jumping) standards are in the basement, administrative costs are through the roof and political correctness is rampaging (want Universities to specialize as research places - review of Petrified Campus: The Crisis in Canadian Universities, by Random House, Toronto, 1997 - real fees as they were about 30 years ago error - Canadian Universities followed British not American model - i.e., of colleges) by Sandra Martin, November 1st, p. D13.

G/M. 1997be "Asian investors target Vancouver real estate: Hong Kong stock crisis rekindles interest (problem little supply, high taxes, and slower growth don't look as bad for investors with the instability in the Asian markets now - however some investors might be forced to sell assets in Vancouver to make up for loses in market crash) by Ann Gibson, November 3rd, p. B5.

G/M. 1997bf "Forces fight battle of thousand cuts: Bean counting becomes a survival skill as military struggles to stay mean, lean (adopting market rationales for assessment of duties, privatizing some service function and further reducing size, as five year plan to deal with budget cuts takes effect - in 1990 there were 89,000 in uniform and 36,000 civilians in DND, now

there are 60,000 in uniform and 20,000 civilians, forces now use just in time delivery rather than keep large inventories)," by Jeff Sallot, November 3rd, p. A1.

G/M. 1997bg "By the numbers: world succumbs to siren call of cities (UN figures -from the Economist- source United Nations, Population Newsletter - between 1990 and 1995 the population of the world's cities increased by 20 million - 80% of increase in developing countries, seven of the ten most populous cities in developing countries - in 1996 most populous city still Tokyo with 27 Million, Sau Paulo18M, New York, 17M, Bombay14M, Shanghai13M, Los Angeles 12M, Calcutta 11M, Paris, 9M, Moscow, 9M)," November 3rd, p. B2.

G/M. 1997bh "Why Vancouver is taking it so hard: Uproar over loose-lipped X-Files star show L.A. North still a small town at heart (industry fragile - low dollar main attraction, in 1987 local production only worth $12M now about $500M employing about 25,000 people)," by Miro Cernetig, November 3rd, p. A2.

G/M. 1997bi "Montreal: Ville Vivante (upturn predicted, sovereignty a possible Achilles hill, aerospace industry now considered fourth largest centre in the world, with 200 firms employing 30,000 according to Charles Dieude, Director of Aerospace and Defence at Department of Industry, Commerce, and biotechnology industries that did not exist 15 years ago but now rank in 10th place up from 13th in 1994, in North America, mention is made of information technology, as one of the new motors for the city's economy - still viewed as an international city - low achievement levels in education a problem, tax burden 30% more than Ontario for businesses), November 4th, Section D.

G/M. 1997bm "Face of Canada Changes: Number of European immigrants drops below 50% for first time, census reveals (only 47% are European now, immigration risen sharply since 1980's 16.1% population were immigrants in 1991 now 17.4% - Australia 22% population immigrants, 7.9% US., Britain, 3.4% France 6.3% in 1920's rose to 22% so Canada is a world magnet for immigration - TO 38% to 42% and Vancouver highest growth rate of any city with 34% now foreign born, Montreal, immigrant population grew 2x non immigrant population but only formed 18 % of population- a small increase from 1991- European immigrants only made up 19% of immigrants to Montreal in 1980's and 1990's - Ontario dismantling immigrant programs, - 80% immigration to Vancouver Asian born versus about 45% in Toronto - 441.035 in Toronto versus 189,660 in Vancouver)," by Alanna Mitchell, November 5th,p. A1.

G/M. 1997bn "Famous Players detail expansion: Several theatres in Toronto area part of $200-million project to add 247 screen, all in inner city or town centres)," by John Heinzl, November 5th,p. B9.

G/M. 1997bo "We' re Here. We' re queer. You Love it. Gays have moved way past get used to it. Straight medias's media's crush on homosexuals - just look at TV shows and moveies have made gays so mainstream they're almost ordinary (TV conservative medium so significant - same with movies)," by Johanna Schneller, November 8th, P. C1.

G/M. 1997bp "By the numberss (October annual rate of housing production in Canada -152,000 - in urban areas 127,000, with 58.2 percent made of single detached (74,000) - Ontario urban starts reach 53,300 (45.6% of all urban starts) in Quebec declined to13.8 percent - average median price existing home up 5% in US. to $126,500 US. - 124,000 new units in 1996, estimates 149,000 in 1997 and 164,000 in 1998 according to Clayton), November 11th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997bo "New Police chief making waves: Calgary's Christine Silverberg bypasses politics by reaching out to a gay community (note recent refusal to endorse a local gay choir's bid even though would have pumped millions into economy, chief will initiate steps to sensitize officers to gay issues,-chief response, "So, because I believe in individualism, when you ask me

the question am I gay-friendly, what I really am is a person that believes passionately in the rights of people to express their individualism,"- not Duerr backed down in 1991)," by Alanna Mitchell, November 12th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997br "Toronto's mayor-elect begins mending political fences (five former mayors sit on council- a left wing made up of 12 of 56 member council -Ms. Barabara Hall defeated)," by Timothy Appleby, November 12th, p. A7.

G/M. 1997bs "What happened to Albertans who went off the welfare roles? (1993 to 1997 went from 94,087 to 39,506 - 250 page study, by Canada West Foundation tracked 769 people- found about 40% went to school, 40% took job training, two-thirds found part or full time work - but average earnings $1,300 versus minimum wage average of $770, few had benefits i.e. - 44%- 15 to 20 per cent who had left rolls returned, 84% reported have trouble making ends meet, 10% all the time, one-half on welfare say used food banks once and 16% often, case load Alberta Welfare - 72% sing, one half had children, 60% women, 40% not completed high school)," by Jeffrey Simpson, November 12th, p. A24.

G/M. 1997bt "Roles shift in Chinese-Canadian families: Daughter in law playing smaller part in caring for her husband's parents, B.C., study of seniors shows (839 seniors took part in study - by SFU and U Vic/half live with adult children/ when needed help used spouse more than daughter in law/ Daughters 17.2% and sons 16.8%/ daughter in law named only 4.2%/ ranked behind friends even or neighbours and other relatives/ Ellen Gee and Nina Chappell conducted research/ carried out by the Centre of Aging/ a Chinese commentator notes (Joseph Ng, director of a Chinese outreach program) values are changing/ many seniors prefer to live alone/ and many daughter in laws work/ and Chinese men since immigrating more willing to take on domestic tasks also daughter in laws rebelling against some of the traditional expectations/ study shows extended family doesn't make them less needy) by Dorthy Lpovenko, September 13th,p. A6.

G/M. 1997bu "HIV is an express that is targets for the poor (60% addicts with HIV not receiving treatment/since 1994 rate up from just over 3,000 to past 4,500 and deaths down from 1200 to less than one hundred/15,101 Aids cases in Canada - about 73% have died or 11,406 - death toll peak in 1993 - now one fifth of peak - so far about 54,000 HIV cases in Canada -4% natives estimated to be infected versus 2% four years ago - worry rate may reach 12% in a few years -BC. and Alberta Natives account for about 26% of new cases/In BC injection HIV has risen from 9% to 38%/ also surface among young gay men/poverty speed up progression of disease/ 1995 survey showed 40% had access to private insurance plans)," November 15th. p. A6.

G/M. 1997bv "Digital Revolution: When content is King: Never mind that Canadian content requirements have always been under siege by private and cable broadcasters. In the near future, the creation of identifiable Canadian stories will be the key to success in the brave new TV world (strengths -animation/children's programs/ documentaries/ and computer graphics -- flourishing of artistic expression - past decade Canada has become a major film and TV production centre - worth $2.5B and employing 30,000 - bulk of activity owned and controlled by US. companies - worry about brain drain outside country - new market driven by niche rather than mass market) by Matthew Fraser, professor in Ryerson, in School of Radio and Television Arts, November 15th,p. D1.

G/M. 1997bw "This is Detroit: it will be, if Ken Greenberg gets his way. The Toronto urban planner is helping Michigan's largest city reclaim its abandoned, ruined downtown (9,000 houses currently abandoned/ riots 1967 destroyed 1,300 buildings/ killed 40 people/ one million left/three decades of failed urban renewal/remove fortress wall/ met Greenberg two years ago/unemployment has fallen from 17 to 8% in city/ $5.5B in investment announced since 1994

well thought of for work in St. Paul's/ create mix of elements/ ST. Paul wasteland has become a meeting place/ many call Greenberging of the waterfront/worked in Chicago, Amsterdam/ San Juan/ New York/ / good cultural and architectural assets that can take advantage of/ GM move downtown - turn Renaissance Centre into more community friendly place -Greenberg sees office residential district being created/redevelopment of tourist sector/ Campus Martius will be centre of new district/ also two universities/ reuse old loft buildings/ - one big impediment lack of residential population)," by Doug Saunders, November 15th,p. C1.

G/M. 1997bwa "Mayhem of killing field overflows: The HIV infection rate among drug users in Vancouver nears 50 percent (1990 only 2% of estimated 10,000 injection drug users were HIV positive -unique conditions, contained area, edge of continent where marginals end up, tightened welfare elsewhere in country shows up in waves of new indigent in the Downtown Eastside according to observers, also changing habits of drug users - move from heroin to cocaine makes more injections necessary, heroin one to three injections would do now for cocaine can be hourly, also stalled social housing has made situation worse, now there is concern about the pattern repeating itself in Toronto - so far Crack more popular so fewer injections, Natives account for one-quarter of new infections, indications that infection is spreading along Skytrain line, need housing to stabilize situation)," by Murray Campbell, November 17th, p. A6.

G/M. 1997bx "Two solitude's of a different kind (per capita exports to Asia Canada around $800/BC. nearly $2,500/Ak $2,100/Alberta $$1460/NB $$700/Manitoba $550/NFLD $540/Yukon/NWST $460/ Ontario $450/ Nova Scotia $430/Quebec $300 /PEI $150 approximations from Statistics Canada -13 year economic growth - role of Asians - 1986 to 1991 Chinese speaking residents increased by 72% by 1993 nearly one -third of city's residents of Asian origin compared to 25% British/ Vancouver seen as a safe harbour/ where shuttle from/ split where live and work and Vancouver example of on global scale- says John Hicke, Vancouver Analyst for Citizenship and Immigration/42% of all Canadian exports to Asia are BC products/ Nearly 60% trade Japan - mostly wood - comes from BC.- interconnection of elites an issue - most money into real estate, education and consumer needs so far -Neilsen- SGR Study 1996 found Chinese consumers slightly younger, better educated, more likely to own home, latest automobiles and visited Asia than average population- Chinese new circulation greater than English dailies -sign of two solitudes - 15% of all high-rise offices/apartments, condos and plazas Asian owned- no visible leadership yet in community - cost of ESL $75M/Asian family connections may be significant to future economic development- racial harmony quite high is a good sign -says historian David Mitchell)," by Ross Howard, November 19th, p. D3.

G/M. 1997by "Oxford Properties plans Calgary tower (office vacancy now 2.9% or 500,000 sq. feet for prime space export lease rate experience quantum leap next year)," by Leonard Zehr, November 19th, p. B1.

G/M. 1997bz "The APEC meeting: A boondoggle or bonanza? (cost to host $60 M - premier hope as impact of Expo 86 - Pattison note Expo lead to MacGyver series moving up here as producer came up to visit fair - -payback 10,000 visitors $13M direct spending and $23M indirect - note other significant meetings - AIDS conference and 1993 US-Russian Summit) by Ann Gibson, November 19th, p. B8.

G/M. 1997ca "Real Estate back on track, Royal LePage says (Net effective rents NER's jump 200% in 1997/ Toronto has about 40% of all the office space in Canada/Adelaide Centre might begin/ Royal forecasts office vacancy of 10.3% by the end of 1998, with class A space at 6.8% - now it is at 10.8%)," by Leonard Zehr, November 21st,p. B3.

G/M. 1997cb "By the Numbers (Coporate profits - third quarter up to $27.7B - upward trend began in 1993 -low point in 1992 with only about $9B in profits in corporate sector)," November 21st, p. B2.

G/M. 1997cc "Commercial Co-ops Cool (Review of The Conquest of Cool: Business culture, Counterculture and the rise of Hip Consumerism, by Thomas Frank, University of Chicago Press, 1997 - thesis marketers needed new strategy - focus on new youth group - industry embraced anti-establishment ethos - counter culture not radical break - from consumer culture - a new development in its evolution - feed by disposable income)," by Geoff Pevers, November 22nd, p. D20.

G/M. 1997ccc "What to know before you buy a condominium (Between January and October strata title construction up 20.3% to 22,386 units - people spend on average only 17 minutes on home they buy - most provinces require at least 10% reserve fund of annual operating budget - buyers should check monthly maintenance fees past and present - generally houses appreciate more than strata titles - and townhouses more than apartments - since remind people of rentals - check police records for crime in building - find out mix of renters and owners - if too many renters will affect property values)," by Susanne Craig, November 22nd, p. B24.

G/M. 1997cd "TrizecHahn buys 2 buildings in midtown Atlanta (now controls 24% of Class A space in mid-town Atlanta)," November 25, 1997, p. B4.

G/M. 1997ce "Child poverty lock gets fiscal key: Campaign 2000 has given up on eradication deadline but says finance strategy will suceed (Statistics Canada: 1.472M children in poverty since 1989 up 58% -SK - 58,00 up 7%/MB - 63,000 up 13%/ Newfoundland - 36,000 - up 20%/ Alberta - 156,00 - up 34%/ Nova Scotia - 47,000 - up 38%/ New Brunswick - 43,000 - up 39%/ Quebec - 378,00 - up 47%/ BC. - 181,000 - up 85%/ Ontario - 506,000 up 99%/ PEI - 5,000 -400,000 poor children in families where there is one parent working full time (1995 data) - information from a discussion paper -from Campaign 2000)," by Edward Greenspoon, November 28th, p. A4.

G/M. 1997cf "Pearson opens new runway: Airport boosts capacity by 40% (1,000 aircraft land or take off each day carrying about 70,000 passengers, fourth runway cost $140M, now can handle up to 70 aircraft an hour versus current load maximum of 50)," by Oliver Bertin, December 1st, p. B9.

G/M. 1997cg "Foreign tourists spend less in summer 97 (first time in two years (1995) an overseas deficit - 3rd quarter equalled $3-million)," by Carolyn Leitch, December 1st, p. B7.

G/M. 1997ch "Dollar seen drifting lower (could hit 69.1 cents (U.S.) (like Australia Canada has a commodity currency - although changing - lowest point 1986 - difference long and short term interest rates - Canadian dollar tends to fall one percent for every 10 percent drop in the price of commodities, Australian dollar has slipped from 70 cents to 68 cents - also Canadian trade balance has moved into deficit -surplus with US but sharp drop with other countries as dollar has risen relative to many other currencies, - Since 1984 has roughly been in balance now at annualized rate has dipped to $10B - *January 1998 goes down all time low of 68.70 to the dollar*)," by Marian Stinson, December 1st, p. B7.

G/M. 1997ci "French ratio reaches new low (Francophone population now 23.5%, allophones 16.6% - eventually allophones will overtake Francophone - says Prof. Ellen Gee - demographer SFU - Franco pop fall slightly in Quebec fell .5% from 82% to 81.5% because of immigration, outside Quebec Franco pop fall .6% to 970,000 even in NB, Anglos in Quebec decline to 622,000 or .7% drop -from 9.2% of pop to 8.8% - first time allophones surpass Anglos - rise to 682,000 to 9.7% from 8.8% - English still domo among allos - of immigrants still 61% shift to English and 39% to French, Francos not using French outside Quebec rose from 35% to 37% in 1996)," by Alanna Mitchell, December 3rd, p. A1.

G/M. 1997cj "Immigration overhaul urged (78% of people denied refugee status still in Canada according to Auditor-General - or about 16,000 people - $200M spent on social assistance - fewer than 1% of refugees turned away at border)," by Erin Anderssen, December 3rd, p. A6.

G/M. 1997ck "Toronto starts to share its homeless: two out of town landlords looking for tenants gave officials an idea about overcrowded hostels (one single parent moved to Sarina - no work- but housing available - so far 30 families have been moved - observation unemployed and poor flock to Toronto from these places because of the existence of a social service infrastructure to handle them which does not exist in small towns - states Mr. Jagt director of Metro Toronto's hostel division - also bus service often bad in areas - Cornwall vacancy 13.4% St. Chatharines 5.6%)," by Margaret Philip, December 4th, p. A1.

G/M. 1997cl "Ottawa urged to take lead on poverty with provinces: Finance minister accused of causing devastating chain reaction across the country with cuts to social transfers (1995 budget replaced the Canada Assistance Plan with the Canada Health and Social Transfer, cutting $7B - has had impact on charities as people contribute less - donations to food banks have declined by 25% - also according to survey by Association of Food Banks 670,000 received assistance in March 1997 versus 330,000 in March 1989)," by Graham Fraser, December 6th, p. A10.

G/M. 1997cm "Washington sports fans heading downtown - New arena for Caps and Wizards is a dazzling sports palace designed to revitalize decaying city core (area once compose of mansion- about 10 block South East of Capital - Called MCI centre - naming rights sold for 13 years - cost $200M - city donated $60M in land, located on subway, move from suburbs to city, owners expect 50% more revenues - located at 7th and F streets - museum and other activities located in complex - is open to public when games are not on - interactive sports museum -nature and sports store is also included)," Andrew Cohen, December 6th, p. A30.

G/M. 1997cn "Cut labour cost or face legislation, Bouchard warns town (want's 6% cut back)," by Rheal Sequin, December 6th, p. A7.

G/M. 1997co "Atlantic Canada pins hopes on electronic commerce: ground work involving good working relationships among industry, the universities and provincial governments give the region its edge, UNB specialist says (Dan DeMatteis - director of the Electronic Commerce Centre -each city is specializing -port of Halifax - electronic data interchange to facilitate cargo transfers - so most strength in banking and commerce -Moncton bilingual aspect helps - and a few IT focussed on software; Saint John - NBTels centre for frowth in E-commerce systems; espeically NS and NB poised to take advantage of new economy - see parallel in Scotland - depressed areas with well educated people - good pool of academic talent - Call centres spur computer technology, small size of area may assist innovation)," by Marc Dacey, December 9th, p. C18.

G/M. 1997cp "By the numbers: seasonally (adjusted 152,100 starts - BC. drop 7.1% to 26,200/Alberta rose 17% to 22,800 annualized rate - Quebec 20,000, Ontario 58,200 -single detached equaled 73,800 versus multiples 52,600 so single detached equaled 48.5% of all units at annualized rate)," December 9th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997cq "New airport a $5-billion adventure (not require a head tax - use bonds - and money from consumer spending on site - see horseshoe mega-terminal - Gunn from TTC and Louris Turpen- will run the show - Ottawa will get $100-million in rent a year - airport no longer used as milch cow to spend elsewhere -Passengers currently spend $3 each while top airports get $12 - use San Francisco as benchmark - 57% of revenues come from air operations in 1981 but only 27% in 1989 - pricing will also be competitive - new agency GTAA - Trupen also from US.)," by John Barber, December 10th, p. A1.

G/M. 1997cr "By the numbers: New housing prices slip during October (Canada 1.1+/Halifax 3-/Montreal .1-/ Ottawa-Hull .5+/Toronto 2.9+/Calgary 7.6+/Edmonton 3+/ Vancouver 3.5-Source Statistics Canada for October)," December 11th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997cs "The oil sands' $20.6-billion scorecard," by Brent James, December 11th, p. B4.

G/M. 1997ct "Near-Coperinican Shift - Is the population explosion over? - After decades of jeremiads about the imminent over population of Earth comes mounting evidence that fertility is in free fall around the globe. The implications - environmental, economic, geopolitical and personal - are both unclear and clearly monumental (UN publication - The 1996 Revision, reference book on population - 1950 to 1955 total fertility - i.e., child per women over lifespan - was five, replacement rate 2.1 - however between 1975 to 1980 fell to four now estimated to be 2.8 and sinking - 650 million short on projections - Italy now 1.2, India's fertility lower than U.S. in 1950's and Bangladesh has fallen from 6.2 to 3.4 in ten years - by 2060 Europe's population will have declined by 24 per cent - in U.S. below replacement rate for 25 years - Japan and Russia are at 1.4 - Tunisia from 7.2 to 2.9 in three decades -Mexico 80 per cent of way to replacement level - trends show baby bust rather than boom will prevail - U.S. in 1790 - 7.7 children per women - two centuries declined steadily except for bump of the baby boom - since 1972 fertility has averaged 1.9 Jews and Black women with University education lowest rates, life expectancy up - Fertility below replacement in 19 countries - Cuba, China, Thailand and soon Brazil, boom preset by war and depression which held down birth rate - urbanization is cites as one of the main reasons - more education for women, greater acceptance of homosexuality and higher unemployment - lower mortality rates for infants - in 1955 32 per cent of population in West by 2050 only 12 percent - in past 50 years U.S. population has doubled, next fifty years may grow 30 percent, with most to happen in next twenty years - demography blends into psychology- fewer children more sadness - new families not connected by biology a possibility - lonelier people - will U.S. look like Manhattan - nations largest concentration of people living alone - 48 percent - except for former leper colony in Hawaii, worry population has sunk too low too quickly in some places- Okay if well off but not so good if one is poor) by Ben Wattenberg (New York Times), a senior fellow of the American Enterprise Enterprise and author of The Birth Dearth, December 13th, p. D9.

G/M. 1997cu "New truths about AIDS and heteros (in 1995 12 times more American died of cancer (538,455) and 17 times died of heart disease (737,563) than AIDS (43,115) - yet is second only to cancer in funding $2.2-Billion for cancer versus $1.5-billion for Aids and $1.4- billion for heart disease - risk of spread through vaginal sex near zero among healthy adults - intravenous drug use and anal sex main routes - so don't waste resources on broad spectrum of population)," by Ronald Bailey, December 13th, p. D5.

G/M. 1997cw "Biblio-Beatlemaina (review of Paul McCartney by Barry Miles and Our Hearts Went Boom - by Brian Kendell - notes end of national service in United Kingdom in 1960, affluence and demographics allowed youth culture to develop, entertainment could be geared to the young for the first time - Beatles part of this shift - in a youth oriented culture - note Ed Sullivan something for everyone 10 to 70 shows birth of the culture)," by Chris Probert, December 13th, p. D21.

G/M. 1997cx "Fewer Taiwanese moving to Canada because of red tape: immigration officials rejecting, scaring away wealthiest potential Canadians, groups say (Hong Kong immigration waning - but Taiwanese up sharply to 13,000 - in 1996 -but drop 50 percent first half of 1997 - 1996 lead source Hong Kong 23,000 down 30 percent in two years - India - 22,000 - China - 17,000 up from 13,000 two years earlier - and Taiwan double level of two years ago)," by Ross Howard, December 16th, p. A10.

G/M. 1997cy "Metis fear exclusion from healing fund: Anger spotlights Ottawa's difficulty in placating all natives with responses to royal commission (first reply to Royal Commission -fund could be up to $300-million)," by Erin Anderssen and Robert Matas, December 17th, p.A8.

G/M. 1997cz "Kettle's Future - More Canadians will hit the road (most likely to travel outside country between the ages of 45 and 74, if current trends hold 15 million trips to U.S. and 4 million overseas, in 2021 there should be 21 million Canadian trips to U.S. and 5 million overseas and by 2041 22 million trips U.S. and 6 million overseas - 50 percent more than in 1995)," by John Kettle, December 19th, p. B9.

G/M. 1997da "Alberta riding high on economic surge (since 1995 consumer spending up17.5-billion retail to nearly 20- billion in 1997, business spending - bottom at at 0 percent growth in 1995 to over 4% of GDP, job increase 13.5 to 14,000 plus in1997 - Calgary and Toronto two hottest markets for single detached units)," December 20th, p. A10.

G/M. 1997db "Bentall to buy Seattle tower - $355-million deal for the 44-storey building is the largest acquisition ever for the company - (portfolio once confined to city's suburbs - amounted to $265-million - some of the lowest vacancy rates in country and lease up soon on many tenants - Bentall will begin fifth building in Vancouver soon will have 260,000 sq. feet of office space - 39 storey building will also have 500 rooms in a 23 floor hotel - but now owns U.S. Bank Centre in Seattle)," by Ann Gibbon, December 20th, p. B19.

G/M. 1997dc "On a River of Asphalt: Detroit was designed to handle the cars it built but the expressways named for industry titans such as Edsel, Ford and Walter Reuther turned out to be exist ramps for the bulk of the city's white population. Detroit was left with a rotting core surrounded by prosperous suburbs, a kind of Los Angeles with snow (Hideway Report - last month - portrayed Detroit as the world's least appealing destination - but there are treasures in the city - cultural infrastructure - football club headed back downtown- to new stadium- first time in decades property values are rising and licences have granted to new casino - destructive conflict between suburbs and inner city - city is nearly 80 percent black)," by R.W. Apple (from the New York Times), December 20th, p. A17.

G/M. 1997dd "Satellite kids live without parent: Schools must cope with extra cost (leave teen aged kids behind - Greater Victoria is charging $5,000 a year for extra language and supervision services - School Boards in Toronto - similar problem - Canadian School system based on assumption child is with guardian - James Chou, spokesman, for Taiwanese Canadian Cultural Society doubts there are very many school officials says more common with Asian couples that enrol children then leave - some suspect Korean families bring children here so that they can avoid military service - Taiwanese some suspect set children up here because education is much more expensive in own country - problem in York Region - some officials wonder whether should pay international fees which can go up to $12,000 a year - To.) school Board has identified 200 such kids - landed immigrants are entitled to free education - no intention to immigrate but go through process to get free education)," by Robert Matas and Ross Howard, December 22nd, p. A1.

G/M. 1997de "Gap grows between rich and poor - Booming Canadian Economy does little for bottom fifth of families, study says (In 1980 bottom 60 percent of Canadian families - took 37.7 percent of total income - and richest 20 percent got 38.3 percent of total income - by 1996 poorest 60 percent got 35.5 percent and richest got 40.6 percent -quintiles - 1st (lowest) - drop 3.1 percent between 1993 and 1996, 2nd - minus 0.5 percent, 3rd - +0.9 percent, 4th - +1.4 percent increase and 5th - +1.8 percent)," by Alanna Mitchell, December 23rd, p. A1.

G/M. 1997df "U.S. economic inequality grows - Despite financial boom, poverty worsens as income gap widens, nation-wide study finds ("Pulling Apart, by U.S. Centre on Budget and

Policy priorities - non partisan research Institute - poorest in D.C. has fallen by $2,000 over past twenty years - now $5,290 - the lowest in the country - richest in city are 28 times this level - their average income is $149.510 - probably biggest gap in U.S. in 44 state including 85 per cent of population - the richest fifth have gained and the poor poorer since the late 1970's - twenty years ago no state have gap of more than 10 by mid 1990's average disparity for families had grown to 13 times, poorest families - $9,250 versus $117,500 for richest - all despite economic growth - economic growth done little to turn around one co-author of report, Kathy Larin, and authors note that in study inequality is actually underestimated - as Census Data not include capital gains - study compared families with at least one child at home - now even more regressive welfare laws, if down turn occurs poor families will even be in worse shape, cites bi-modal labour structure for widening gap one end service and other end high tech), by Paul Koring, December 23rd, p. A9.

G/M. 1997dg "Drug deaths down in B.C., report shows - Significant drop counters impression given by recent spate of Vancouver fatalities (preliminary report shows there were 270 deaths, worst year from overdoses was in 1993, when 302 died from overdoses - recent hysteria based on wrong statistics - health board approved $3.7-million program to deal with)," by Robert Matas, December 24th, p. A6.

G/M. 1997dh "B.C. companies look to Alberta as new home: Cost, complexity of doing business spark migration (CP Vancouver not even in the picture when deciding move to city - taxes and high housing costs says chief executive officer William Stinson - headquarter city - Vancouver now fourth - behind Montreal - 103 now in Calgary versus 51 of major publicly traded companies - counter example recent transfer of 300 Canadian Airline jobs to Vancouver in 1995 - from Calgary)," by Ann Gibbon, December 27th, p. B1.

G/M. 1997di "By the numbers - single detached make up 85 percent of all resales November average number of sales 4,38-million -)," December 30th, p. B2.

G/M. 1997dj "Fares that have islanders crying foul - Quality of life clashes with the bottom line as B.C. Ferry's stiff prices draw heat (25,000 live in Gulf Islands - last year Ferry Corporation lost $76-million - 40 per cent increase at one go - provinces response reconsider rate increase on busiest lines)," by Craig McInnes, December 30th, p. A2.

G/M. 1997dk "Biggest U.S. cities see drop in homicides: experts cite improving economy, policing(20 year low L.A. and 30 year low in New York - down in Chicago, New Orleans, Newark, San Francisco, Dallas, Baltimore L.A. homocides 566 and New York - 756 peak of 2,262 in 1992, Chicago 749 homocides as of Dec. 29th, 65 in S.F., Dallas 209 - peak of 500 1991)," December 30th, p. A2.

G/M. 1998 "Lastman takes on province at inauguration: New Toronto Mayor demands tax relief; squatters crash ceremony as council is swom in (notes city lost 70,000 jobs between 1986 and 1996 while exurban parts gained 60,000 with taxation differences amounting to 40 percent)," by Kim Honey, January 3rd, p. A4.

G/M. 1998a "Amalgamations: When municipal affairs become shotgun weddings (first of the year 167 municipalities disappeared - significant cases in point Chatham and Kingston area - where happened - in 1996 there were 815 municipalities government hopes to bring down to 500 or even 400 - in Kingston new structure and organizational culture for new city of 110,000 - new mayor - also problem insufficient tax base - city 58 percent of tax base actually exempt - and industrial land outside boundaries - Garner Church acted as chief administrative officer of change - an arm of government here will be concerned with strategic planning - Gary Bennett new mayor of city - disliked old structure - called for amalgamation - went to Queen's - did Masters thesis on amalgamation - in area four main municipalities - new bureaucracy will

have performance standards - Chatham - Kent - 23 municipalities involved - transition team lead by Dr. Peter Meyboom - unlike Toronto both have transition teams which put new machinery in place- in Toronto Tonks did equivalent work - but constrained - no new officials or team put in place -)," by Harvey Shachter, January 3rd, p. D1.

G/M. 1998b "Held aloft by four baths, slate tiles and a concierge: The loft is back, but there's no room for struggling artists: Today's soft lofts' are for stressed professionals and restless fifty somethings trying to stay one step ahead of mid-life crisis (Toronto and Vancouver centre for in Canada - discovering the romance of lofts - come into the market in the past three years - says Willard Dunning, vice-president of research at N. Barry Lyons Consultants (in real estate) - lofts now account for 20 percent new units in Toronto's condominium market - cost per sq. foot can be 24 percent below average - soft loft can spend half a million on - buyers two well defined demographic types - young childless couple - urban professionals who have never bought before - other fifty something who wants to be downtown - like male-menopause sports car - notes movie the Ghost - 1990 hit movie - yet desire for comfort - use industrial legacy as selling feature - concentration around industrial and railway lands - one million sq. foot merchandise building being converted - good if shows its age - developers try and keep signs of industrial origins - artists pioneered concept - problem with use of open space - one solution use of dividers - cites Edge in Vancouver - for keeping some real artist's spaces - Ken Greenberg is moving into one - he notes cycle back and forth between commercial and residential of buildings along the boulevards of Paris)," by Robert Everett-Green, January 3rd, p. C1.

G/M. 1998c "Manitoba's largest hospital to get long-awaited facelift ($113-million renovation)," January 5th, p. A4A.

G/M. 1998d "The shooting that has a city in shock: In Winnipeg the holidays were deadly - but one killing left local residents appalled (Winnipeg -1997 - 28 homicides or rate of 4.12 versus Edmonton 20 or 2.25- Calgary - 12 or 1.41 - Ottawa-Hull 17 or 1.64 - Toronto 79 - 1.79- Montreal 71 - 2.11- Vancouver 56 or 2.79 -mostly in the the core of the city at least half involved alcohol)," by David Roberts, January 6th, p. A2.

G/M. 1998e "Megacity gets grant, loans in million: Ontario ups ante, mayor apologizes (province is giving city a $250-million loan and grant), by Kim Honey and Richard Mackie, January 6th, p. A7.

G/M. 1998f "Office space tightens (Royal LePage - national office vacancy rate is 10.6 percent at year end, down from 13.2 percent last year and industrial space is fell to 6.8 from 7.3 percent - Toronto lead country in office absorption - 4.1-million sq. feet almost half of the net leasing done in the country - as a result vacancy rate fell 23 per cent and net rent rise to $25 sq. foot from $10 - in suburbs five or six projects with between 100,000 and 150,000 sq. ft. in negotiation stage)," by Leonard Zehr, January 6th, p. B7.

G/M. 1998g "By the numbers: U.S. Construction activity (seasonally adjusted in November stood at annual rate of $609-billion U.S. - housing equalled $268.6-billion)," January 6th, p. B2.

G/M. 1998h "By the numbers: Lower rates fuel new home sales (higest rate in 11 years - seasonally adjusted to annual rate of 830,000 - Department of Commerce)," January 8th, p. B2.

G/M. 1998i "Editorial - Preserve tradition in immigration (1997, according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada - 192,400 admitted - 130,000 skilled workers/22,300-business/spouses and children - 39,500/parents and grandparent - 21,200 live in care givers - 6,400 - sources: East Asia and Pacific - 39% and Europe 17.7%/ South Asia 16%/U.S. 2.6/ Latin America and Caribbean 8.2% - studies show 10 years after - 15% of family class immigrants on social assistance)," January 10th, p. D6.

G/M. 1998j "Housing starts rise 19 percent: Recent boom in condominiums, apartments help to fuel increase (reached 147,974 versus 124,713 in 1996 - in urban centres multiple starts reached annual rate of 55,600 in December and single detached 71,100 - Clayton expects 164,000 starts in 1998 - Ontario rose 4.8 percent to 50,500 as big push for condominium's in Toronto - starts in Toronto in December annualized at 26,300 - also single family rate declined in Toronto - highest level since 1989 - in Calgary single family hit record of 8,656 surpassing previous high of 6,948 in 1981 - urban areas 126,700 and single detached 56.1)," by Leonard Zehr, January 10th, p. B4.

G/M. 1998k "Alberta film makers blame Klein for exodus: urge financial incentives to resuscitate province's fast slipping entertainment industry (feature film industry fell to $50-million in 1997 from $150-million in 1996 and in 1998 may be only $20-million - result chop of $10-million fund for films, people move mostly to Vancouver or Toronto, one just behind these two centres the province is now in seventh or eighth place, slightly ahead of Newfoundland, industry once employed 3,000 people - now a huge exodus out of province- call for incentives that other provinces have)," By Gayle MacDonald, January 12th, p.B3.

G/M. 1998l "By the numbers (Building permits at higest since 1990 - seven year high - in November seasonally adjusted $2.92-billion dollars worth - housing sector permits worth more than $1.5-billion issued - highest since April 1990)," January 13th, p. B13.

G/M. 1998m "Population bomb ticking on reserves: schools, housing, jobs inadequate; family structures frayed, census figures suggest - expect native population grow by 41 percent by 2006 and 2016 be 62 percent larger than current population of 800,000- suicide rate four times national rate - in SK predict half of population be native within 50 years - average age native population 25.5 years versus national average of 35.4 - in Wpg, Sk. and Regina one half of native children live in single families - fertility rate 70 per cent above national average - 491 children under five per 1,000 versus national average of 290 - per women 2.7 in 1996 versus - 1.6 national - was six in 1968 - national rate in 1968 was two - 1972 about 100 native businesses now between 10 and 14,000, 3.5 percent native population over 65 versus 11.5 for nation - population profile opposite of nation as a whole - years 0 to 4 years 12.4 percent of population versus national average of 6.7 percent)," by Alanna Mitchell, January 14th, p. A1.

G/M. 1998n "Roads, schools get $200-million: Alberta loosens purse strings to beef up decaying infrastructure after years of cutbacks (Price of oil a year ago $25 a barrel now hovering between $16 and $17 - for every dollar drop provincial government loses about $200-million a year)," by Brian Laghi, January 14th, p. A3.

G/M. 1998o "Free pass through the legal Labyrinth - How Calgarians cope when they're not poor enough for aid but still need assistance - (Calgary's Legal Guidance Board - work of idealist in 1970s Calgary Legal Guidance established in 1971 as a summer clinic - now budget $550,000 - 200 volunteer staff - 65% of people served incomes of less than $1,000 a month - $1-million worth of advice and 4,000 a year served)," by Alanna Mitchell, January 16th, p. A2.

G/M. 1998p "Reform's taxing idea replaced by deficit - Manning bending to popular view - ($575-billion debt - if slash to $250-billion by 2015 save $19-billion a year on debt-servicing charges - presently this accounts for 30 percent of the feds operating budget-people wary of tax cuts)," by Scott Fischuk, January 16th, p. A4.

G/M. 1998q "Teen-age pregnancy on the rise again (at 53.7 per every 1,000 women aged between 15 and 19 in 1974 - the rate had been dropping since about 1959 - low point in 1987 - at 41.1 results published in quarterly magazine called Health Reports - in 1994 was 48.8 highest since 1978 fell slightly to 47.4 in 1995 - despite Aids and public education - lowered rate was considered a public health victory - in 1974 61,000 teen got pregnant versus fewer than 46,000 in

1995 - in 1995 20,498 ended in abortions rate of abortion has risen among teens from 13.9 for every 1,000 women in 1974 to 21.2 in 1995 in 1975 teens account for one third of abortions now only one fifth and for younger teens majority of pregnancies now end in abortion)," by Alanna Mitchell, January 17th, p. A1.

G/M. 1998r "By the numbers (tourism U.S. visits versus Canadian - U.S. visits up to highest level since early 1980s and Canadian visits to U.S. way down - border casinos especially attractive -)," January 17th, p. B2.

G/M. 1998s "Home, sweet airport hotel - The hospitality industry's ugly ducklings have been transformed into swans. Rooms beside runways are new convenient, efficient and, some say - enjoyable (case in point 858 O'Hara Hilton - first 11 months of 1997 airport hotels had occupancy of 71.8 downtown location had 71.6 average rate at airport $77.82 U.S. versus downtown of $115.22 U.S. - in Canada similar pattern - Pannell Kerr Forster survey first tens months of 1977 occupancy at airport hotels in Toronto was 76% versus 75.5% hotel rate $85.13 versus downtown rate of $123.87 - in Vancouver - airport hotels 80.8 occupancy versus 79.5 in downtown - rates $102.87 in airport hotels versus $143.68),"by Edwin McDowell, January 21st, p. A19.

G/M. 1998t "Nortel rings up another good year (Canada's largest high-tech company - in 1997 revenues of $15.4-billion (U.S.) - over $20-billion in Canadian dollars and profits of $829-million (U.S.) about $1.2-billion in Canadian dollars- sales up from $12.8-billion in 1996 - 37% of sales in North America)," by Lawrence Surtees, January 28th, p. B7.

G.M. 1998u "Foreign threat seen as overblown - Observers unsure that Royal Bank, B of M merger needed to deal with global competition (since they were allowed oligopoly has kept them out - start up costs too high - best way to enter therefore by buying up an existing bank - one reason some have cited for merger - the bank that was created would be too big to buy up - Big six banks so far have $1.1-trillion in assets versus $92-billion by foreign banks -largest foreign bank and only one with extensive branch office is the Bank of Hong Kong with $24-billion in assets and 117 branches- second largest foreign bank Deutsche Bank $8-billion then Citibank $7-billion - only other foreign bank with numerous branches is Banca Commerciale Italiana with 15 branches in Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal - since f in 1994 these banks had 11% of debt financing now 7.3% of market - merger would create a bank with assets of around $500-billion)," by Eric Reguly and Karen Howlett, January 28th, p. B8.

G/M. 1998v "Is MacBlo clear-cutting innovation? As the forestry giant prepares to shut its 25-year- old technology centre, critics fear the move will stunt product development (best example of benefits is the development of Parallan - now accounts for sales of $577-million, a building material to rival steel and concrete - is leading integrated forest product research centre in the country)," by Ijeoma Ross, January 28th, p. B29.

G/M. 1998w "Ontario offers a hand to the digital media industry (goal create a cluster of high paying jobs - internet services, multi-media content - software developers)," by Patrick Brethour, January 28th, p. B 29.

G/M. 1998x "TD, CIBC shed payroll services (for CIBC it is Comcheq Payroll services with revenues of $78-million and head office in Winnipeg that serves 20,000 customers -bought up by Ceridian of Minneapolis)," by Robert Sheppard, January 28th, p. B9.

G/M. 1998y "Car theft booming across Canada (according to Stats Canada - in 1996 178,580 reported stolen - cost to insurers $600-million up $100-million since 1995- half from parking lots and 20% from driveways in B.C. 35,747, MB 10,231, AB 14,321. SK 6,494, ON 58,419, NS 2,409 - MB/QUE/ON above national average of 1,043 per 100,000 vehicles - property crimes down

nationally but auto theft way up - between 1991-1996 auto theft rate up 234% in Winnipeg, 155% in Regina, 141% in Hamilton, down 40% in St. John's, 32% in Edmonton, 31% in Saint John nationally thefts have gone up - in Vancouver ease of shipment because of port is one reason why there is a higher rate here say police in Winnipeg gang and joy riding are more significant - in Manitoba since 1992 vehicle thefts have tripled - 1,518 thefts per 100,000 vehicles - in 1986 national rate was about 600 per 100,000 now over 1,000 - thieves 45% youths between 15 and 19 years of age - nationally since 1991 rate has gone up by around 30% - cars up 18% and minivans etc. up 59%)," by Isabel Vincent, January 28th, p. A1.

G/M. 1998z "Making a star of Matheiu Da Costa (reputedly first black man in Canada - was not a slave but a freeman - Montrealer with roots in Nova Scotia makes film about - Black population in Canada in 1991 out of population of 26.9 million 504,290 blacks - Halifax population 310,00 10,560 or 2.1% of total - Montreal 3 million 101,110 blacks or 20.1% - Toronto - 3.86 million 240,940 or 47.8%, Ottawa-Hull 912,000 with black population of 21,855 or 4.3% of national total - Winnipeg - 9,805 out of 645,000 or 1.9% of national total in 1991 - Edmonton 11,745 of 832,000 or 2.3% of national total - Calgary 10,210 of 748,215 or 2% of national total - Vancouver 15,385 of 1.585 or 3.1% of national total - according to Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning, at McGill University based on 1991 census)," by Andre Picard, January 29th, p. A2.

G.M. 1998ba "Canadian dollar hits bottom again: Analysts see need for bank rate action as buck at 68.57 cents) by Marian Stinson, January 29th, p. B5.

G/M. 1998bb "To Market, To Market (reivew of Commanding Heights: The Battle Between Government and the Marketplace That Is Remaking the Modern World, began in the late 1970s when formal bureuacratic rule peaked - Thatcher in 1979, Reagan, debt crisis in Latin America in 1982, dis-integration of the Soviet Union, rise of Southeast Asia - inflation and debt chief triggers for action in most places - Thather came to power when inflation was 16% and programmed to rise to 20% because of public sector wage increases - Falklands war secured her reign - 1990 inflation of 3,000% brought Fujimori into power in Peru - India also reach wall in terms of regulation - Canada not mentioned or countries which have not followed free-market agenda - does predict how long the free market acendency will endure)," by Ann Walmsley in T Report on Business, February, p. 21.

G/M. 1998bc "Dollar sinks to lowest ever (62.10 cents for awhile then end the day at 62.25), " by Marian Stinson and Susan Bourette, January 30th, p. A1.

G/M. 1998bd "Mountain Equipment blazes new trail - Expansion/ The co-operative hopes to secure its hold on the outdoor gear market with a $10-million superstore in Toronto and a new location in Edmonton (Sales $115-million a year - a million members - May $3.4-million store to open in Edmonton - stores in Ottawa and Calgary - founded by students at UBC - new space on King Street West to be twice as large as old one 45,000 sq. feet - founded in 1971 - in Toronto its power draws other outdoor retailers co-op structural advantage as not pay taxes as profits go back to members - contributes to environmental causes and environmentally friendly policy such as grass on new roof to reduce run-off - has cachet in Vancouver - typical surplus one to two percent- employs 800 membership growing at 100,000 a year)," Ann Gibson, January 30th, p. B27.

G/M. 1998be "Help by soldiers during ice storm a plug for the military (past fours years budget has been cut by 23% yet it is still one of the largest programs, accounting for about $10-billion dollars a year in federal expenditures)," by Jeff Sallot, January 31st, p. A3.

G/M. 1998bf "Cambridge, Mills plan mega-mall: Proposed $250-million retail centre north of Toronto would rank as 2nd-biggest in Canada (1.4-million sq. feet, to be in Vaughan, 500,000 sq.

ft. of entertainment and restaurants - partnership with Mills Corporation in U.S. that specialized in this kind of development - operated seven in the U.S. and attract 15 to 20-million a year within a 150 kilometre radius - also part power centre) by Leonard Zehr, January 31st, p. B1.

G/M. 1998bg "Great-West sees takeover savings: Expects to generate more than $150-million a year from London Insurance Group deal (revenues increase to $7.47-billion from $6.08-billion in 1996)," by Dennis Slocum, January 31st, p. B6.

G/M. 1998bh "Clinton offers balanced budget president kicks off debate on how to spend surplus with pitch for social support (surplus - first time since 1969 - additional $106-billion to be raised through taxes a year in taxes and fees - for fiscal year that begins October 1st expect $9.5-billion surplus on total spending of $1.73-trillion - defense will take in 290-billion - deficit peaked in 1992 - at $290-billion - 1997 deficit $22-billion - basics - president wants to allocate $1-billion on biomed research and $100-million for AIDS research - $1.8-billion in funding for homeless and programs - transportation -$ for airport construction to go up by 10% and funds for highways to go up by $47-million)," By Barrie McKenna, February 3rd, p. A11.

G/M. 1998bi "Huge merger will hit Canadian drug firms (Glaxo Wellcome PLC and SmithKline Beecham would result in $5-billion to research a year - in Canada both companies are based in Toronto - one has 276 in research - $40-billion merger would make it the third largest company in the world in terms of sales - behind GM and Royal Dutch Shell Group - would have 110,000 employees - annual sales would be around $28.6-billion - stock market value of $275-billion -$3.5-billion in savings expected - Merck and company would be second in field with about 5% of sales)," by Eric Reguly, January 3rd, p. A1.

Aubin, Benoit

Aubin, Benoit (Director of news and information Global Quebec). 1997 "Inside Quebec: Quebeckers turn deaf ear to unity talk - (mayors major supporters of nationalist cause upset with cutbacks, Quite Revolution won, nationalist gained controlled of state, now ruling class snarling heme park from sickly skyscrapers has caused an uproar among city revivalitsts ((100 pre-depression-especially art deco structures) : Tribute to ruin angers Detroiters," in The Globe and Mail, Decembeat government which feeds it, Pequiste revolution success, won everything accept although fall short of ultimate political goal and now other in province resent this unionized middle class, the new new business class and immigrants), in The Globe and Mail, September 27th,p. D3.

Aubin Benoit. 1997a (Inside Quebec: Quebec has its first modern hero (Villeneuve-race care csompolitie not local shows orientation of new generation and weakening of localism - was raised in Switzerland new type of stardom - projhect Quebecers outside not inside not recntre people in Quebec- cross roads village and global village may spell end dominant trend gen du pays sovereignists may not be ideologically as well as demographically out of step with the times) in The Globe and Mail, November 1st, p.D3.

The Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News 1996-1997

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1996 "Growth Pace Measured," September 4th.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997 "The future is Thursday for Pitt Polder, (Swan-e-set Bay Resort-resort to CD designation-allowing 750 units)," by Erik Rolfsen, June 22nd.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997a "Civic Centre expected to spark change," by Sandy Macdougall, June 25th.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997b "Swan-e-set pros and cons: Letters to the editor, June 25th.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997c "Heritage status urged: Designation would help ensure the Alouette River is a priority in planning," by Karin Mark, July 2nd.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997d "Do a farming plan first," letters to the editor, Bill Hartley and Mayor Duncan." July2nd.

Maple Ridge . Pitt Meadows Times. 1997 "Message at Polder public hearing was loud and clear," Editor, July 2nd.

Maple Ridge/Pitt Meadows News. 1997e "Project in the Polder stirs up big argument: 'This is not about nature versus jobs. 'It's about farmers and residents being able to live together'," (p.4) July 6th.

Maple Ridge/ Pitt Meadows News. 1997f "Core eyed for revamp," by Karin Mark, August 17th.

The (Richmond) Review (RR) 1997

RR. 1997 GVRD Nudges two-million mark (July 1st, 1997 according to estimates calculated by using hydro hookups and pension statistics - GVRD population up 36,000 to 1.934-million - Richmond up 2.3% to 157,537/ Tri cities up by 4,000/ City of Vancouver 9,000/ Surrey - 8,000 - areas outside of high growth areas i.e., Richmond, Maple Ridge, Tounship of Langley grew by 7,500 - region's population increased by 1.9% - lowest rate in the 1990s)," by David Marsh, December 3rd, p. A8.

The Surrey/North Delta News (SND) 1997

SND. 1997 "Delta slaps $468 Fee on suites (estimated number 1,500 - tax yield expected to be $700,000)," by David Marsh, November 29th, p. A3.

SND. 1997 "Aids on the move (councillor fears in ten years North Whalley could have problems of Downtown Eastside - according to David Hunter an outreach worker)," by Kevin Diakiw, p. A10.

SND. 1997 "Another 3,900 homeowners get suite bills (estimated 1,200 in Delta) (11,460 units suspected in Surrey will net the city $3.6-million) by Kevin Diakiw, December 6th.

SND. 1997 "Council adopts Plan for city with a heart (five guideposts to be used - vibrant city centre/sustainable tourism/people friendly transportation/ agile and responsive administration/clean and safe city)," by Ted Colley, December 17th, p. A11.

Tri-City News (TC) 1996-1998

TC. 1996 "Record-setting numbers as tourism swarm to region," September15th.

TC. 1997 "Editorial - Population explosion is a myth - (according to U.S. Census Bureau and Wall Street article Feb.10,1997 the world wide fertility rate has dropped from 4.2 children per female to 2.9 in 1996 and in 27 developing countries it has fallen to 2.2 and in 15 developing countries it has fallen below the replacement level, for instance in Europe the fertility rate is 1.5), September 4th.

TC. 1997a "Car use still on rise: Daily vehicle trips; (Surrey/Delta 226,024(85) 369,650 (96) plus 64%; Downtown, 360,767 (85) to 418,506 (96) plus 16%; North Shore, 154,907 985) to 186,694 (96); Richmond, 222,647 (85) to 339,064 (96) plus 52%; Tri-cities, 226,161 (85) to 393,177 (96) plus 30%;Burnaby/New Westminister 324,048 (85) to 403,354 plus 24% total increase 1.51M (85) to 2.01 (96) for Greater Vancouver or plus 33% -source GVRD) by David Marsh, September 14th.

TC. 1997 "1988Budget (Average home assessment $250.000 taxes $1,030 Utilities -$483 Total - $1,513 - Port Moody/Coquitlam - Average Home $242,250 - Taxes - $848 - Utilities $1,398 - Port Coquitlam - $206,600 - Taxes $976 Utilities $570 Total - $1,546)," December.

TC. 1997 "Sekora shuts door to media - Coquitlam City Hall: Mayor says only city manager can speak to press; consultant calls strategy counter-productive - by Kate Poole, November 23rd.

TC. 1997 "Mayors no fans of regional policing (province promoting idea but Coquiltam mayor does not like)," December 7th, p. A-8.

TC. 1998 "New Landmark for North Road ($26-million hotel and apartment development - gateway project - first to result from transit way planning and roadway - more development on site expected)," by Lisa Morry, January 6th, p. 3.

Toronto Star. 1995-1997

Toronto Star. 1995 "Average house prices across Canada," July 16th.

Toronto Star Editorial. 1995 "What's alternative to co-op housing?" July 31st.

Toronto Star. 1996 "Whites in Metro not racist: Study (York University Institute of Social Research)," January 10th.

Toronto Star. 1997a "GTA's inner suburbs are employment danger zone," April 5th, p.B1/B4.

Toronto Star, 1997b "Crumbling Social Net put Metro at Risk Report United Way,", July 17th.

Toronto Star, 1997c "A housing crisis by policy design," editorial, July 19th.

Toronto Star Editorial. 1997 "Case against pooling just doesn't add up," August 8th.

Toronto Star. 1997d "Sale of existing homes dip 1 percent in August: Resale prices also down slightly in GTA, real estate board reports," by Tony Wong, September 4th.

Toronto Star. 1997e "Incentives pushed for new rentals,"by Gail Swainson, September 4th.

Toronto Star. 1997f "Metro urged to buy unused rail tracks for Transit," by Gail Swainson, September 4th.

Toronto Star. 1997g "Taste of the World in the West End (Ossington and College- artists and professionals with families moving in , becoming tourist area because of Italian and Portuguese restaurants) by Debra Black, September 8th.

Toronto Star, 1997h "New Subway station to be named Princess ($875M, first link Sheppard to be opened in 2002) by Gail Swainson, September 10th

Toronto Star 1997i "Transit bosses say further cuts would be brutal: TTC chair say to megacity transition team request for 15% cutback (already 80% of revenues from fares highest in the developed world according to Gunn)," by Gail Swainson, September 10th.

Toronto Star. 1997j "Lastman overestimate subway fees, (metro) report says (lastman predicted $73M in levies on assumption of growth like the late 1980's on Yonge Street Line, Metro more conservative, predicts only $11M be raised by 2006 and only $50M in total over much longer stretch of time)," by Gail Swainson,p.A6 August 11th.

Toronto Star. 1997k "Voters willing to share taxes for the neediest (unlike Wpg or Montreal) in Shaping Your City Series - Pooling funds means welfare money would flow into metro from outside suburbs -according to Star Survey indicated consensus on homelessness and social services - 43% om 905 area support pooling versus 57% in Metro while 29% in 905 area oppose in constrast to 14% in metro).

Toronto Star. 19971 "Vibrant downtown benefits everyone GTA residents say (89% of 1,200 surveyed say - 87% from outside metro say so versus 91% from metro according to Ekos Research), September 17th.

Toronto Star. 1997m "Shaping Your City Series: Schooling called the key to region's future (people worried but don't much about what is going on but high support for education-Ekos poll -

29% somewhat agree with changes 53% aware, 18% unaware -motherhood issue), by Peter Small, September 23rd, p.B1.

Toronto Star. 1997n "Shaping Your City: The Citizen's Prescription For Their Community - Wake up call urged on environment - Pay more heed to green issues voters tell survey - (swing back to environment 38% say add user fees to protect environment, 25% say raise taxes - third place in this category behind social services, policing and education according to Ekos poll of 1,200 residents)," by Brian McAndrew, September 24th, p.B1.

Toronto Star. 1997o "New homes for Railway Tracks ($1B plan for 5,030 units by Vancouver based firm)," by Paul Moloney, October 1st, p. A3.

Toronto Star. 1997p "Editorial - Approve the project on railway lands (get over 70s dislike of high rises -why some angst in some quarters about development include Christopher Hume - (Vancouver model) -notes even Jack Layton likes)," October 6th, p.A2.

Toronto Star. 1997Q "Planning power to be urged for local councils (i.e., zoning)," by John Spears, October 10th, p.B8.

Toronto Star. 1997R "Building to beat the clock (Markham's Galleria, Iranian developers, will have Go Station, West fro Leslie to Bayview, $500M development, commercial part popular with Chinese, 53 Hectare project, will have 1,000 homes - first housing phase Saddle Creek) by Pat Brennan, October 11th,p.M1.

Toronto Star. 1997S "MTHA strikes 'private ' deal - Tenants fear more evictions as firms asked to manage more homes (Corporation wants one half of 29,404 units to be managed by private companies, one result of provincial cutback of $5,3M subsidy - new move expected to save $4.9M a year result in axing of 2000 authority employees, by next April 12,675 units to be managed by private sector)," by Laurie Monserbraaten, October 12th, p.A2.

Toronto Star. 1997T " Municipal Vote 97" by Jack Lacey and Mike Funston, October 13th.

Toronto Star. 1997U "Motorists desert costly 407: Gridlock returns to highway 401 as tolls begin (more drop off than expected, 100,000 switch back, upward of 300,000 journeys were taken when free, on $929M project, one driver notes would cost $60 to $70 extra a month to use - promoter expected downturn but anticipate number to go up) by Bob Mitchell, October 15th.

Toronto Star. 1997V "Jacobs praised as city saviour: Author once viewed as dangerious heretic conference told," by Christopher Hume, October 16th.

Toronto Star. 1997w "High Tech companies transforming Montreal (per capita has largest number of high tech workers according to Price Waterhouse Study - of 23 largest metropolitan areas in North America studied, Toronto came in third and Dallas third. However, unemployment 11% - 2% above national average -high tech sector only dynamic segment of the economy - in 1996 poverty rate 27.2% up from 24.8% in 1994 - Winnipeg came in second at 21.5% and Toronto's was 19% - big difference between Hochelaga-Maisonneuve and Outremont - 10 difference in life expectancy - 69% of aircraft and telecommunications exported from Montreal - waver for high tech employees who come to Montreal and they are allowed to work in English- Ericsson notes would not have likely chosen Montreal if it would have known about referendum troubles when moved here in 1985, slow down saved Plateau Montreal from high-rise towers) by Sandra Cantenta, October 20th.

Toronto Star. 1997z "7% tax hike predicted (non school proportion of property tax will rise - estimate $192.5M off loading latest $68M for refugees), by John Spears, October 24th.

Toronto Star. 1997za "York Region (worry province is showing no way of paying for needed $1B expansion of Go system also worry that will have to pay too much as others will be using but not paying full cost) by Brian Dexter, October 24th.

Toronto Star. 1997zb "The Beaches West (4 story retail and residential along Queen St. West)," October 25th. p.M1.

Toronto Star. 1997zc "Markham (many weary about growth-price too high - congestion has increased- 40% ethnic population -12% Chinese -planner say much congestion from commuters elsewhere, not enough money for infrastructure i.e., roads and schools) by Nicholas Keung, October 25th. ,p.A4 .

Toronto Star. 1997zd "Vaughan (made up of middle class villages like Kleinburg -worried about suburbanization note difference with Richmond Hill -land east of Bathurst developed, land west of Bathurst still green, other issues pooling and garbage dump)," Joseph Hall, October 26th.

Toronto Star. 1997ze "Rural Residents fear encroaching city (Uxbridge, Brock, Scugog, Clarington -want controlled growth, farm land preserved, note people come with suburban mindset to rural area says one mayoralty candidate June Davies - Durham worried provincial offloading stuck with $38.5M bill)," by T. Boyle, October 29th.

Toronto Star. 1997zf "Transfer Costs row arrives in Metro ($63M for refugees, province take up half school cost leave other half to property tax)," by John Spears, October 29th, P. C3.

Toronto Star. 1997zg "Hall's style just what the new Toronto needs (consensus building although feel warmth with Lastman, notes need coalition builder for embryonic new government -Greater Toronto Services Board - notes Hall attended GTA organization established by Hazel McCallion of Mississauga while Lastman only attended 6 meetings), by David Lewis Stein, October 29th, p.A. 17.

Toronto Star. 1997zh "Condo Boom Prompts Star to Launch new section (Condo sale after ten years in the doldrums, Condo sales up 50% over 1996, now account for 35% of the new market - in recent past has been 25 to 29%, and in October was 43% with signs of the rate even going higher in November)," by Pat Brennan, November 1st, p.K1.

Toronto Star. 1997zi "Signposts (1991 to 1996 population - GTA up 9.3% to about 4.5M; Exurban section up 14.5% to 2.2M and Metro (new city of Toronto) up 4.8% to 2.3M), November 4th,p.B2.

Toronto Star. 1997zj "Markham campaign re-opens racial wounds: Jeffrey Tam joined mayorality race over remarks of deputy mayor in 1995 (when complaint about too many Chinese malls made), by Nicholas Keung, November 4th, p.B4.

Toronto Star. 1997zh "6% drop in home resales in GTA surprises analysts (5,077 single detached sold, price $211,791 in October), " by Tony Wong, November 4th, p.S3.

Toronto Star. 1997zi "Forget expansion, TTC Told (report by prof. Soberman says concentrate on maintaining current ridership still best transit system in North America - will have to prepare for downloading of $186M - report entitled Tract Ahead), " November 5th, p.C1.

Toronto Star. 1997zj "Condominium business booming in Metro (two hot areas inner city - for example 5,000 units on former rail lands and North York - 2,000 units planned by Yonge and Highway 401,3,000 units in former motel strip of Etobicoke, -Tridel largest condo builder in

metro -market singles and empty nesters- CMHC predicts 9,000 units to be sold in 1997 and 9,500 in 1998 - downtown market condo share went up from traditional 30% share to 43% of new home sales according to Toronto Home Builders Association - late 80s condos sold for $300 to $400 sq. ft. now going for $200 - average price condo in 89 boom was $199,848 now $141,784 up 8% from 1996) by Tony Wong, November 8th, p.A26.

Toronto Star. 1997k "Moving Downtown (1980's up to 12,000 condos a year constructed - market fell in 1991 - now supply is tight - Survey by PMA Brehour Group found 60.4% want condo apartments/20.8% want lofts/ 7.5% want Bungalows/ 7.5% want two storey units / 3.8% want a single detached condo - when market fell condo prices fell from $199,848 on average to $120,000 now up to $141,000 -Max price - 32.7% under $150,000/ 32.7% $150 to $175,000/ 13.5% $175 to $200,000/ 11.5% $200 to $225,000/ 1.9% $250,000 plus), by Tony Wong, November 9th, p. D7.

Toronto Star. 1997ka "Municipal vote 97: Birth of a City (Mississauga lured lion's share of region's industrial and commercial growth - because of airport - City of Toronto turn out 1994 - 37 per cent expected to be around 50 percent in 1997)," November 11th, Section B.

Toronto Star. 1997l "Homeless Lastman's Priority (in issue 14 NDP win and 12 right wing win in 57 person council - budget new city $6.5B - GTA reject gambling -City of York one half immigrant and working class -turn out in North York about 50% versus usual 30% in old City of Toronto may have been around 60%)," November 12th, p.A1.

Toronto Star. 1997m "Statistics (1981-86/86-91/91-96: Toronto -2%.4%, 3%; Scarborough - 9.5%, 8.0%, 6.5%; North York -minus 1%,1.5%, 5%; Etobicoke - 5%,2%, 6%; East York - minus 1%, 1.5%, 5%; in 1996 population 2,385 or 52% of GTA - figures from Urban Development Services)," November 13th, p. C2.

Toronto Star. 1997n "Pacific Mall sells exotica in Markham," by Nicholas Keung, November 17th p. E5.

Toronto Star. 1997o "Building boom hits Mississauga (so far $1-billion, may reach $1.2-billion, issued close to 5,500 residential permits, last year $775 - first time city has reached a billion since 1989 -SC-47 53% single detached and 3,452 units end of September)," November 18th p. E2.

Toronto Star. 1997p "Downtown rail link to airport examined: plan could ease traffic problems (Federal government minister strongly supports - Collenette - IBI doing $250,000 study - things getting too congested -Pearson plannning has left room for a transit link - big question - who will pay -maybe partnership - perhaps use CN line and also use rail line to connect York county areas such as Markham)," David Vienneau, November 18th, p. E1.

Toronto Star. 1997q "Editorial:Ask tough question about Leafs' plan for EX (19,000 seat arena - get five year option to develop land p five hectares aroundo and 50 year lease -compensation modest $175,000 during construct and $1.6M a year in last 12 years -Exhibition Board may be too over eager -Metro council should not rush to approve deal - questions - how are taxpayers being protected, are they getting market value, why give them a free option to used land, why taxpayers not getting a cut on concessions on parking lot and concessions)," December 4th, p. E2.

Toronto Star. 1997r "Gardner support pillars seen as art (eastern end of freeway to be torn down - created instant archaelogy accordng to Robert Jerkkryl, on the the Metro Public Art Advisory Council)," December 4th, p. C3.

Toronto Star. 1997ra "Strong council a must transition team says: Limits sought on community groups (Toronto needs strong council says team final report - Alan Tonks on Team - also urges

Greater Toronto Authority - province is stalling on creation of Board - suggests array of taskforces on homelessness, equity - concerning immigrants, gays, women, disabled - environmental task force - one on community safety - recommends powerful strategic policies and priorities committee)," by John Spears, December 10th, p. B1.

Toronto Star. 1997rb "Mississauga food bank serves the suburban 'working poor': Of of the 4,500 people it helps each month, half are children (here it's commuter poverty - arrive in rickety cars, arrange rides with friends or spend an hour or more on transit to get food - average monthly rent two-bedroom $900 a month - working at minimum wage only need minor emergency to tip scale - operating budget $148,614)," by Frank Calleja, December 10th, p. B9.

Toronto Star. 1997s "Leafsrink for EX Okayed (19,000 seats and cost of $205-million)," December 11th, p. B1.

Toronto Star. 1997t "Half billion price tag for switch in services (province demands local government take one half billion out of their budgets - cost to new City of Toronto $163 million - or 3.2% of budget - Peel and York will experience no cuts - while Halton will have $8-million cut, London $13.9-million, Waterloo $9.6-million, Hamilton $6.8-million - York angry about Go as region accounts for 4% of users but will have 12% of the cost -Toronto assessed at $53-million, York at $12-million for operating costs)," Daniel Girard, December 13th, p. A1.

Toronto Star. 1997u "How to keep Golden (Standard and Poor analysis of Canadian Cities - sees Kitchener and Waterloo as success storey, employment and economic growth will even be faster than Toronto area - Golden Horseshoe has over 6 million people of which Toronto the centre of - Ste. Catharines and Niagara a surprise - in the underachieving part of the region - Hamilton expected to double employment growth over next ten years versus previous ten years - to meet this growth need to invest in human and capital infrastructure - and will need proper planning to prevent wasteful sprawl)," by David Crane, December 20th, p. C2.

Toronto Star. 1997v "Downsview local want a say: Fear prime land will be frittered away (cite Harbourfront - where development used to pay for development of park and programming - citizens say real input perfunctory - 259 hectare site - Feds could earn $1.4-billion from leasing and selling of land - already $750-million recreational complex in the works, Feds sold some adjacent land to Costco - worry about traffic spill overs into neighbourhood - also plan for research park touted)," by Leslie Fernenc, December 23rd, p. E1.

Wong, Terry

Wong, Terry 1997 "House Sales Surge: Strongest since 1988," in TheToronto Star July 17th.

Wong, Tony. 1997 "$2 B Plan Will Transform Railway Lands," in The Toronto Star, March 26th.

Wong, Tony. 1997a "Metro prepares for a flood of big-spending tourists," in The Toronto Star, May 21st.

Wong, Tony. 1997b It's party on the Docks: Industrial waterfront springs to nightlife -complex (The Docks) draws attention to potential, " in The Toronto Star, August 23rd.

Wong, Tony. 1997c "Home Sales are hot, hot, hot - Bank of Montreal forecasts record year for resales (Housing starts will go up from 19,000 in 1996 to 35,130 in 1998 and Average MLS will go from $197,900 in 1996 to $224,800 by 1998)," in The Toronto Star, August 26th.

Vancouver Province (VP-1 to VP-53). 1951-1996

VP-1. 1951 "City Hires Expert Planners, February 3rd.

VP-2. 1965 "Phase 2 of slum plan to start," by Elsie Bud, January 8th.

VP-3. 1965 "Zoning changes planned," February 13th.

VP-4. 1965 "Urban renewal scene confused," by Peter Wilson, May 13th.

VP-5. 1965 "Hopes voiced for Block 42," June 3rd.

VP-6 1965 "Planners will get private," September 8th.

VP-7. 1966 "Reawakening for downtown area? by Bud Elsie, May 31st.

VP-8. 1967 "Planning program will be reviewed," September 8th.

VP-9. 1967 "Planners tired of heckling," December 15th.

VP-10. 1968 "Centres fast replacing Main St., say planners, May 16th.

VP-11. 1968 "Do Bureaucrats Rule Council," by Walter Hardwick, July 9th.

VP-12 1968 "City in search of answers: Council studies planning report," by Al Arnason, September 28th.

VP-13. 1969 "Pacific Centre plans Queried, February 5th.

VP-14. 1969 "Dreams of wonder city face old reality," by Alan Jessup, April 26th.

VP-15. 1969 "Gastown preservationists target of architects blast, May 14th.

VP-16. 1970 "Let's try for action, not polls and pamphlets, August 14th.

VP-16a. 1970 "Another West End Not wanted,".

VP-17. 1971 "Planning department restructured," January 20th

VP-18. 1971 "Who's a swinger? CPR has to know," by Arthur McKenzie, January 29th.

VP-19. 1971 "City planning changes ready for unveiling," January

VP-.20 1971 "City Planning department shows tougher approach," by Gary Bannerman, October 9th.

VP-21. 1972 "Planner quits over lack of leadership," March 2nd.

VP-.22 1973 "Show European slides-Phillips pictures his ideal city," February 23rd.

VP-23. 1973 "Graham firing inevitable," February 28th.

VP-24. 1973 "Hardwick takes on the role of Jeremiah," by Alex Coffin, March 10th.

VP-25. 1972 "Planning Department" letter to the editor by H. W. Pickstone, March 24th.

VP-26. 1973 "Area planning concept proposed by Pickstone," April 19th.

VP-27. 1973 "Council delays Granville Plan," by Alex Coffin, May 16th.

VP-28 1973 "New Planning director rolls up sleeves," September 6th.

VP-29. 1974 "a love him or leave him official," by Alex Coffin, February 6th.

VP-30. 1974 "Beauteous blondes dancing through city planner's dream," February 28th.

VP-31. 1974 "Council restricts parking," April 5th.

VP-32. 1974 "Spaxman is warned he's too ambitious," by Alex Coffin, April 19th.

VP-33. 1974 Planned Obsolescence?, May 15th.

VP-34. 1974 "City Planner moves up (Youngberg, age 42)," June 15th.

VP-35. 1974 "Spaxman, Council bury ax- almost," by Alex Coffin, August 2nd.

VP-36. 1974 "Mayor's surprising conversion," August 7th,

VP-37. 1974 "Broadway improvement planned," October 11th.

VP-38. 1975 "Unsettled city hall feud hinders planning," February 27th.

VP-39. 1975 "Planner Spaxman won't quit despite non-confidence move," by Randy Glover, March 21st.

VP-40. 1975 "Spaxman facing war," March 24th.

VP-41. 1975 "What Lies behind mayor's bombshell?", by Nate Smith, March 24th.

VP-42. 1976 "Rankin raps 'executive city,' December 27th.

VP-43. 1976 "Phillips looks back on 'more livable city'," by Nate Smith, December 27th.

VP-44. 1977 "Public gets say. . .," March 23rd.

VP-45. 1980 "Downtown eastside from skid road decay," May 27th.

VP-46. 1983 "Draft plan proposes to shake up city," by Jan O'Brian, March 31st.

VP-47. 1988 "Spaxman resignation" December 11.

VP-48. 1990 "City has no vision: Vancouver aimless says new planner," by Ian Austin, February, 18th.

VP-49. 1990 "Too busy to plan," February 25th.

VP-50. 1990 "On Larry Beasely'" May 30th.

VP-.51 1990 "Battle Pits Residents, Developers," July 22nd.

VP-52. 1992 "600 vow to fight kits plan," by John Colebourn

VP-53. 1996 "House that Jack and Gord built", Ann Rees, July 7th.

Vancouver Sun (VS-1 to VS-465). 1951- 1998

VS-1. 1951 "New Start Urged In Town Planning," July 21st.

VS-2. 1953 "Five-Year Plan Okayed by Council, December 9th.

VS-3. 1953 "Scramble for Building Lots: Vancouver's Acres Getting All Used Up," by Roy Brown, March 14th.

VS-4. 1955 "Beauty or Burg? City Must decide," March 7th.

VS-5. 1956 "New Zoning by-law Adopted by City: Regulations for New Plants, Homes Took Two Years to Complie, May 18th.

VS-.6 1956 "City Hall Gets Rash of Queries on Suites Ruling," October 1st.

VS-7. 1956 "Top Officials want Decision on Suites" December 14th.

VS-8. 1957 "Experts to unveil Dramatic City Plan," by Chris Crombie, February 9th.

VS-9 1957 "Report Urges Drastic Changes: 20 - Year Downtown Plan Doesn't Go Far Enough, August 7th.

VS-10. 1959 "Freeways Urged to feed Downtown, April 21st.

VS-11. 1963 "Vancouver in the 70's-as seen by planner," September 21st.

VS-12. 1963 "Rather Out to Clip Powers Of Technical Plan Board," December 4th.

VS-13. 1964 "Planners Shift City Core Site," by Cliff Mackay, March 10th.

VS-14 1964 "Blight or Blessing? Face Changes Quickly, August 8th.

VS-.15 1964 "Sun Story Prompts Plea by Planners," August 18th.

VS-16. 1964 "Five-year blueprint Most Vital Proposal: Capital works expenditures important to city planning," December 8th.

VS-17. 1965 "City Hall Comment: Propaganda Triumphs Over Planning," by Cliff Mackay, February 20th.

VS-18. 1965 "Battle Lines Drawn Up In Apartment Zone Fight," March 10th.

VS-18a. 1965 "Urban Renewal Scene Confused," by Peter Wilson, March 13.

VS-18b. 1965 "We Shout, Feud and Fight, But Town Planning Goes On," July 28th.

VS-19. 1965 "Apartment Rezoning urged," April 2nd.

VS-20. 1965 "Civic Body Gets $8 million Plan," May 27th.

VS-20a. 1965 "Renewal Planner Seeks Private Cash," October 2nd.

VS-21. 1966 "Aldermen Take Bold Step $4 Million for Urban Plan," March 25th.

VS-22. 1966 "Dunbar Apartment Plan Homeowners Own idea," Phil Holcroft, April 24th.

VS-23. 1967 "Too many leaving, says Campbell-Mayor Call for Probe of Planners, July 27th.

VS-24. 1967 "Planning Director Blames Unknown," September 7th.

VS-25. 1968 "Citizen's Advisers Hailed, February 9th.

VS-26. 1968 "Superblock Get . . .," May 23rd.

VS-27. 1968 "Planner Disputes Picture of Slums," October 10th.

VS-28. 1969 "City Planner Quits in Frustration, July 1st.

VS-29. 1969 "Costly Urban Redevelopment Projects Are Shelved," by Neale Adams, August 30th.

VS-30. 1969 "The Planners," by Neale Adams, October 14th.

VS-31. 1970 "Pacific Centre- start of 'world city,', October 20th.

VS-32. 1970 "Citizens to have big voice in Britannia complex plans," November 17th.

VS-33. 1970 "Another West End Not wanted," November 25th.

VS-34. 1971 "Planning Department reorganized," January 21st.

VS-34a. 1971 "Townhouses favoured over area high rises," April 20th.

VS-35. 1971 "Fairview slates meet," May 17th.

VS-36. 1971 "Dark Tower designers spring to its defense," August 13th.

VS-37. 1971 "Students uncover 'rebellion' in City," August 31st.

VS-37a. 1971 "Mayor suggests building freeze," by Hall Leiren, September 2nd.

VS-38. 1972 "Development Planning: Civic leadership attacked," February 3rd.

VS-39. 1972 " Distressed City Planner resigns," by Deiren Hall, March 1st.

VS-40. 1972 "Allan Fotheringham,", March 14th.

VS-41. 1972 "Senior staff voices no beefs- Planners tell all but obvious," by Hall Leiren, March 23rd.

VS-42. 1972 "Planners told to discard Ivory Tower, meet public," March 24th.

VS-43. 1972 "Fourth planner quits city hall job," by Hall Leiren, May 12th.

VS-44. 1972 "Fourth Planner quits city post," May 13th.

VS-45. 1972 "Developers win protests get nowhere," Hall Leiren, September 12th.

VS-46. 1972 "City density a political issue," October 5th.

VS-47. 1972 "Canyons of darkness deplored by planner," October 20th.

VS-48. 1973 "Bid to fire planner fails: move to dismiss Graham founders on lack of vote," Hall Leiren, February 7th.

VS-49. 1973 "Resignation Arranged-Council chops planning chief, February 21st.

VS-50. 1973 "West End Versus Smart Drivers," by John Swatsky, March 15th.

VS-51. 1973 "Where's all that action," May 8th.

VS-52. 1973 "Storefront scheme puts planners on the street," by Nordahl Flakstad, May 24th.

VS-53. 1973 "Vancouver's new planning director look on city as unique challenge," June 13th.

VS-54. 1973 "In West End Planning Scheme, Market, outdoor cafes," July 19.

VS-55. 1973 "City moves to cut core area densities," Hall Leiren, September 7th.

VS-56. 1973 "Guideline for West End presented for council study," by Harvey Oberfeld, December 11th.

VS-57. 1974 "West End street-widening plan rejected," Harvey Oberfeld, January 16th.

VS-58. 1974 "Kitsilano high-rises banned," by Wing Chow, February 11th.

VS-59. 1974 "3 more city planners quit following job reorganization," February 28th.

VS-60. 1974 "Mayor putdown of Planning chief," March 24th.

VS-61. 1974 "Evidence city hall staff is being bullied," March 28th.

VS-62. 1975 "West End blockades cancelled by council," Nate Smith, May 14th.

VS-63. 1975 "Council drastically cuts Broadway development," May 26th.

VS-64. 1976 "Kits planning committee chairman quits in protest," February 28th.

VS-65. 1976 "Council plotting to curb planner," Hall Leirin, April 10th.

VS-66. 1977 "Buy Back Kitsilano program adds another apartment block," by Peter Comparelli, March 24th.

VS-67. 1979 "Pity the lonely city planner," by Linda Hossie, July 23rd.

VS- 68 1983 "Shut up and eat your carrots," by Linda Hossie, June 17th.

VS-69 1983 "Planning perplexity," September 7th.

VS-70. 1983 "GVRD pushes 'downtowns' by Karen Krangle, October 19th.

VS-71. 1984 "West Enders serve beef about eatery to city hall," by Shelley Banks, May 26th.

VS-72. 1984 "Young emerge as the majority," October 6th.

VS-73. 1985 "Vanishing skyline worries city," Karen Krangle, March 8th.

VS-74. 1985 "Rejection of McDonald's drive in cheered by Grandview residents," Miguel Moya, July 25th.

VS-75. 1986 "More West End mini-parks Ok's, by Judy Lindsay, June

VS-76. 1987 "City's planning director has an uncertain future," by Pete McMartin, May 7th.

VS-77. 1988 "Wait to see election result," December 9th.

VS-77a. 1988 "Alderman fearful next planner will be city pawn," by Jeff Lee, December 10th.

VS-78. 1989 "City Planner steps Down with Neighborly Advice," By Elizabeth. Godley, January 14th.

VS-.79 1989 "Grandview-Woodlands residents cheer ban on apartment towers," by Jeff Buttle, September 15th.

VS-80. 1989 "High - density SEGS is taking on False Creek identity of its own, Elizabeth Godley, September 16th.

VS-81. 1989 "Urban Landscape: Station Plan: two points of view," by Elizabeth Godley, September 30th.

VS-.82 1990 "Dept's weakness muse about," February 20th.

VS-83 1990 "So long suburbs-high density living is taking over," by Katherine Monk, June 8th.

VS-84. 1990 "Kitsilano rezoning decision postponed," Jeff Buttle, June 20th.

VS-85. 1991 "Whalley set to shed scrawny city image," by Harold Munro, February 25th.

VS-85aa. 1992 "Chinatowns: the myths and the racist realities," by Nelson Tsui, April 18th.

VS-85a 1991 "Vancouver hookers commute to Surrey," by Harold Munro, April 4th.

VS-85a 1991 "Sassy Strathcona thumbs nose at straitlaced Edmonton," by Stephen Hume, May 6th.

VS-86. 1991 "Progress or profits?" by Mark Battersby, August 13th.

VS-86a 1992 "Arbutus lands: yes in my backyard- but not like this," by Sean McEwen, January 27th.

VS-87. 1992 "Vancouver council under fire from Kits homeowners," by Jeff Lee, January 29th.

VS-87a. 1992 "Neighbors beat out kits housing," Jeff Lee, March 11th.

VS-87ab. 1992 "North Vancouver - Monster home rises, swallows panoramic view," by Stewart Bell, November 17th.

VS-87b. 1994 "Will General Motors be engine that drives new name for arena." by Larry Pynn, March 24th.

VS-87abb. 1993 "Burnaby-New Westminister - Police crackdowns keep prostitutes on the move," April, 28th.

VS-87abc. 1993 "North Vancouver- District aims to trim height of monster houses," by Stewart Bell, June 1st.

VS-87 abcd. 1993 "Elderly, upset Granville residents seek ways to co-exist with sex trade," May 25th.

VS-87. abcde. 1993 "Tale of city planners using feng shui expert called just a lot of wind," by Pamela Fayerman, November 24th.

VS-88. 1994 "Waterfront Casino Scheme-Dislocation of poor downtown residents feared," by Jeff Lee, April 23rd.

VS-89. 1994 "Molson Site-Kitsilano residents a little too obsessed with density issue," by Elizabeth Aird, February 24th.

VS-89a. 1994 "Yesterday Robson my street of dreams," by Barbara Nielsen, September 16th.

VS-89aa. 1994 "Yuppie Rage - My home, my children, our sex trade," by Alcia Priest," July 19th.

VS-89aaa. 1994 "Hong Kongers work hard for the money they blow: Colony's conspicuous consumption," by Jonathan Manthorpe, September 15th.

VS-89b. 1994 "Revitalization: City aims to clean up Granville's X-rating," Frances Bula, October 20th.

VS-89bb. 1994 "Culture Zone," by John Mackie, December 10th.

VS-89bbb. 1994 "Planner, union hope to save Vancouver's industrial Land," by Frances Bula, December 14th.

VS-89c. 1994 "Controversial developer sets sights on high-crime location," by Elizabeth Aird, December 17th.

VS-89d. 1995 "Nothing about this condo project seems to make sense," Elizabeth Aird, February 18th.

VS-90. 1995 "Lowest-income area caught in condo vise," by Robert Sarti, February 14th.

VS-91. 1995 "Downtown Eastside: Dreaming of an urban utopia amid darkening shadows of Fort Cordova," by Elizabeth Aird, March 2nd.

VS-92. 1995 "National Study: 500,000 joined the ranks of poor as slump ended," April 6th.

VS-93. 1995 "Vancouver -Area detached homes will sell best, agency predicts," by Wyng Chow, April 9th.

VS-93a. 1995 "Province to take reins of new convention facility, Clark Says," by Alan Daniels, April 15th.

VS-94. 1995 "Downtown Eastside-Mr Condo excluded only from neighbors poverty," by Elizabeth Aird, May 20th.

VS-95. 1995 "Neighborliness: A dispatch from the gentrification wars," by Michael McCoy, June 19th.

VS-96. 1995 "Yuppies in the Hood: Proposed gentrification of poorer areas of the city sparks clash of value and cultures," by Francis Bula, June 24th.

VS-97a. 1995 Strathcona garden 10 year old, and growing-Food and flowers thrive in old dump," by Gudrun Will, July 10th.

VS-97. 1995 "Urban Migration: Thirsting for new worlds to conquer-The gentrification of the east side is on as yuppies flood into traditional watering holes," by J.D. Fleming, July 22nd.

VS-97aa. 1995 "US tourism officials selling us short in Seattle," by Barbara Yaffe, August 8th.

VS-97ab. 1995 "Race and Language: 'Fairy tale' melting pot has vanished," by Elizabeth Aird, August 22nd.

VS-97 abb. 1995 "Immigration Impact: All of us need to rethink - openly - what we mean by racism," by Elizabeth Aird, September 23rd.

VS-97abc. 1995 Chinese Canadian: Can't draw line on racial issues when people keep reading between them," by Elizabeth Aird, October 3rd.

VS-97a. 1995 "Moving Into The Future," by Francis Bula, October 3rd.

VS-98. 1995 "Planner: Director urged," November 1st.

VS-99. 1995 "Vancouver house prices in for dip, realtors predict," by Bruce Constantineau, November 3rd.

VS-99a. 1995 'Asian -oriented malls form group", by Wyng Chow, November 28th.

VS-100. 1995 "Brave new world at city hall to cost taxpayers at least $5 million, by Elizabeth Aird, December 12th.

VS-101. 1995 "Retail tug-of-war erupts," by Frances Bula, December 12th.

VS-102. 1996 "Rush for waterfront threatens jobs that bank on Fraser- a host of industries depends on affordable accessible land on B.C.'s major waterway," by Scott Simpson, January 2nd.

VS-102a. 1996 "Joint effort cools street prostitution," by Mike Bocking, January 3rd.

VS-102b. 1996 "Sun, Province newspapers to head for new home on waterfront," by Wyng Chow, January 8th.

VS-192c. 1996 "Brain drain to B.C. firm jolts technology industry," by Robert Williamson, January 1st.

VS-192d. 1996 "Architects fight new rules on house design: City council to hear views on zoning regulations aimed at controlling the look of new homes in Kerrisdale," by Frances Bula, January 18th.

VS-103. 1996 "Asians buying most Vancouver $1-million homes," by Wyng Chow, February 7th.

VS-104. 1996 "Surrey's feisty mayor aiming for a record," by Harold Munroe, February 21st.

VS-105. 1996 "Billionaire Li Ka-Shing blazes path for Chinese high-rollers," by Wyng Chow, February 22nd.

VS-105a. 1996 "Getting a piece of the Rock," by David Smith, March 9th.

VS-106. 1996 "Electronics pioneer Packard dies, 83," March 28th.

VS-106a. 1996 "A Fair To Remember: The Legacy of Expo," by Pete McMartin, April 27th.

VS-106b 1996 "Schools, new crossing on North Shore minds," by Brian Morton, May 6th.

VS-107. 1996 "Vancouver's new drinking plan won't help downtown, critics say," by Francis Bula, May 10th.

VS-108. 1996 "Report suggest residents have option to rezone neighborhood," by Frances Bula, May 11th.

VS-109. 1996 "Nike offers to build playground with or without corporate logo," May 11th.

VS-110. 1996 "Nike put its mark on B.C. basketball," by Elizabeth Aird, May 11th.

VS-110a 1996 " Election: East versus West," by Neal Hall and Frances Bula, May 14th.

VS-111. 1996 "Vancouver to preserve False Creek industrial area," by Frances Bula, May 29th.

VS-112. 1996 "Why do we let engineers," by Elizabeth Aird, June 15th.

VS-112A. 1996 'Vancouver's un-urban district," by Elizabeth Aird, June 22nd.

VS-112aa. 1996 "Vancouver takes Lady Byng of dragon boat circuit," by Lori Thorlakson, June 24,1994.

VS-112a. 1996 "Most residents want stronger efforts to preserve greenery, survey finds," by Frances Bula, July 5th.

VS-112aa. 1966 "Real Estate marketers aim at Asian Community," by Wyng Chow, July 6th.

VS-112b. 1996 "Focus on New Westminister - Residents tired of congestion on roads," by Petti Fong, July 12th.

VS-112c. 1997 "South Korean developers top coast's Asian investor wave: Megaproject drawing interest from newly wealth, international real estate firm reports at annual meeting, " by Wyn Chow, June 15th.

VS-113. 1996 "Cost of 23 neighborhood plans questioned," by Frances Bula, July 25th.

VS-114. 1996 "Vancouver hopes to avoid gridlock as 400,000 to flood into downtown," by Lorie Thorlakson, July 27th.

VS-115. 1996 "Chinese-Canadian opponents of tree-cutting law deny it's a racial issue," by Elizabeth Aird, July 27th.

VS-116. 1996 "City art program draws fire over funding," by Frances Bula, July 27th.

VS-117. 1996 "350,00 expected at fireworks show," July 31st.

VS-118. 1996 "Why we should worry about the rise of the rent-a-cops," by Elizabeth Aird, August 10th.

VS-119. 1996 "City looking at higher skyline," by Brenda Bouw, August 12th.

VS-120. 1996 "Bid for highest building takes step upward," by Charles Montgomery, August 13th.

VS-121. 1996 "Big Apple-Style policing method considered," by Petti Fong, August 14th.

VS-122. 1996 "Surrey councillor quits party 'ruled by developers,' by Harold Munro, August 15th.

VS-123. 1996 "Substituting polls for planning leads to the worst of both worlds," by Michael Seelig, August 24th.

VS-124. 1996 "West-end residents will live in Wall Centre Shadows," by Elyn and Jim Dobbs, August 21st.

VS-124a. 1996 "Molson Indy Vancouver Special Notice," August 27th.

VS-125. 1996 "$8-million, 6-year study probes reasons immigrants choose their Canadian home," by Dave Hogben, August 28th

VS-126. 1996 "And now for the next workplace revolution," by Tim Podmore, August, 29th.

VS-127. 1996 "Full houses reflect tourism's royal flush," by Alan Daniels, September 6th.

VS-128. 1996 "Calgary is eclipsing Vancouver's success," by Giles Gherson, September 7th.

VS-129. 1996 "New Mayoralty candidate vows to end turmoil in Port Moody," By Scott Simpson, September 14th.

VS-130. 1996 "Port Moody Plan for high-density growth in downtown core 'too much, too soon'," By Scott Simpson, September 14th.

VS-130. 1996 "Old and new immigrants can live in harmony," September 16th.

VS-131. 1996 "The view from Mary Hill, where once only eagles and developers dared," by Pete McMartin, September 16th.

VS-131a. 1996 "B.C. on the short end of immigration money from Ottawa," (Quebec receiving 35% of the $256 M language and settlement money from Ottawa's while it takes in more than 20% of all immigrants while Quebec takes in less than 20%), by Barbara Yaffe, September 18th.

VS-132. 1996 "Independent firm takes aim at booming Asian Market," by Wyng Chow, September 21st.

VS-133. 1996 "Our City, their asylum," by Paul Baylis, September 25th.

VS-133a. 1996 "Crime rate rises near Sky Train: An SFU study finds crooks are drawn to the route, which goes through high density areas of the city," by Glenn Bohn, October 1st.

VS-134. 1996 "Sewage treatment Levy approved," by Harold Munro, October 5th.

VS-135. 1996 "Steveston to see major changes: Development of old B.C. Packers' site considered crucial," by Gerry Bellett, October 7th.

VS-136. 1996 "Robson St. - A North American Retailing success," by Bruce Constantineau, October 12th.

VS-137. 1996 "Alberta housing plan to preserve wetlands," October 12th.

VS-138. 1996 "New Westin book into Vancouver," by Alan Daniels, October 22nd.

VS-139. 1996 "ESL demand big challenge for suburbs: the dramatic growth of immigrant communities in areas like Richmond and Surrey poses problems," by Stewart Bell, October 22nd.

VS-140. 1996 "Orca Bay owns entertainment dollar," by Mike Beamish, October 23rd.

VS-141. 1996 "ESL," by Dianne Rinehart, November 2nd.

VS-142. 1996 "New GVRD boss (Johnny Carline) hired for his push," by Harold Munroe, November, 4th.

VS-143. 1996 "Land, vision key components in Surrey vote," by Harold Munroe, November 4th.

VS-143a. 1996 "Vancouver has two solitude's of its own when it come to trees - To a west sider, especially to those who see trees as objects of veneration, a tree is an eight story-tall Douglas fir, or an oak as big as a cumulus cloud," by Pete McMartin, November 11th.

VS-144. 1996 "Aboriginal Aids crisis ignored," by Graeme Hamilton, November 12th.

VS-145 1996 "Hong Kong still sees Vancouver as red-hot market for real estate," by Wyng Chow, November 14th.

VS-145a. 1996 "Chinese proved major players in NPA Victory," by Frances Bula, November 19th.

VS-146. 1997 "Farsi-only signs raise cry for English in North Vancouver," by Brian Morton, January 16th.

VS-147. 1997 "Pupils driven to auto-dependency," by Harold Munro, January 16th.

VS-148. 1997 "City-states really just senior governments' dumping ground," by Giles Gherson, January 20th.

VS-149. 1997 "Langley mayor's actions unite his opponents," By Harold Munroe, January 22nd.

VS-150. 1997 "Vancouver urged to raise building-related fees - Developers are incensed by city administration's suggestion to council that they pay the price to ease budget problems," by Frances Bula, January 27th.

VS-151. 1997 "House-height limit extended in North Vancouver: District council cracks down on new homes east of Lynn Creek," by Brian Morton, January 29th.

VS-152. 1997 "With the changing face of Aids victims, gays face a fresh test," by Pete McMartin, January 29th.

VS-153. 1997 "Soaring fees target home buyers," letter to the editor, Peter Simpson, Chief Operating Officer Greater Vancouver Home Builders Association, January 30th.

VS-154. 1997 "Tax hike proposed to ease service woes," by Frances Bula, February 1st.

VS-154a. 1997 "Surrey boom in housing outstrips water supply: The city's eagerness to approve new construction is to blame not GVRD, a resident says," by Scott Simpson, February 15, 1997.

VS-155. 1997 "Drunks irk residents of spreading condos," by Doug Ward, February 17th.

VS-156. 1997 "West Coast Express loses nearly $16 a rider," by Glenn Bohn, February 20th.

VS-156a. 1997 "Municipalities shift burden from taxes to user fees," by Frances Bula and Harold Munroe, February 20th.

VS-157. 1997 "The New Sophistication: couples finds that living above a shop gives them instant access to city life," by Susan Balcom, February 22nd.

VS-158. 1997 "Computer generated magic," by Alex Strachan, February 24th.

VS-158.A 1997 "Loft builders get 60 days to eliminate fire risks: Vancouver council agreed to the delay after residents who built the illegal additions said they were facing financial ruin," by Robert Sarti, February 28th.

VS-158a. 1997 "Real estate boom looms for Hastings Street," by Frances Bula, March 5th.

VS-159. 1997 "Traditional homes on way out: Changing mix of households will create a demand for compact flexible and efficient housing," by Wyng Chow, March 11th.

VS-160. 1997 "Getting there - down the road: Transit's share of daily trips rose in decade and Broadway light rail seen out to Coquitlam," by Glenn Bohn, March 12th.

VS-161. 1997 "Coquitlam may hike building fees to fund parks and roads," by Scott Simpson, March 17th.

VS-162. 1997 "North Van to charge for building in developed areas," by Brian Morton, March 21st.

VS-163. 1997 "Valley gets housing price index," by Wyng Chow, March 22nd.

VS-163a. 1997 "Barnet highway traffic climbs, but moves faster: New $105-million upgrade with more lanes has drawn more single-occupant cars as well as more carpoolers," by Glenn Bohn, March 31st.

VS-164. 1997 "Street protest planned over rents: spreading gentrification brings higher cost of living downtown," by Robert Sarti, April 1st.

VS-165. 1997 "Plan for left-turn bays on Burrard sparks row," by Frances Bula, April 3rd.

VS-165a. 1997 "The Bamboo Network: The Chinese have an expectation of reciprocity and there is no time dimension on that prof, says," by Daphne Bramham, April 12th.

VS-166. 1997 "City seeks to end loss of low - cost housing: At least six hotels have already converted their rooms to daily rental accommodation," by Robert Sarti, April 4th.

VS-167. 1997 "Downtown a class act where campuses are thriving: Along Seymour and Hastings, new life is springing up beside student district," by Frances Bula, April 7th.

VS-168. 1997 "Transit talks will help shape growth of the Lower Mainland," by Harold Munro, April 7th.

VS-169. 1997 "Eastside groups vow to ensure Woodward's has social housing," by Frances Bula, April 7th.

VS-170. 1997 "Welcome to Kerrisdale where life if good and nothing ever changes," by Pete McMartin, April 9th.

VS-171. 1997 "Plan to permit higher buildings in downtown core draws criticism: Opponents accuse Vancouver council and staff of selling out to developers," by Frances Bula, April 9th.

VS-172. 1997 "Lifestyle lures Asian to Canada," by Wyng Chow, April 10th.

VS-173. 1997 "Plans to cut costs, red tape at city hall run into snags," by Frances Bula, April 10th.

VS-173A. 1997 "Immigrant investor program pits the Western provinces against Quebec," by Barbara Yaffe, April

VS-173AA. 1997 "Kerrisdale welcomes development with a few covenants," letter to the editor, April 14th.

VS-173a. 1997 "It become the Granville Island of the 90s: Everything old look new again in Yaletown - What was a run-down warehouse district a few year ago has become one of the trendiest areas in town," by Doug Ward, April 16th.

VS-174. 1997 "Royal City making big comeback - New Westminister finds itself in centre of a new development boom," by Gerry Bellett, April 21.

VS-175. 1997 "Last Urban Frontier", editorial, April 24th.

VS-176. 1997 "False Creek's 21st-Century,"by Mark Roseland, April 24th.

VS-177. 1997 "False Creek high-density blueprint triggers outrage," by Frances Bula, April 26th.

VS-178. 1997 "Bye-bye mill town, hello to super Squamish," by Barbara McQuade, April 26th.

VS-179. 1997 "Gay thrive in Yaletown," letter to the editor, by Guy Soulliere April 25th.

VS-180. 1997 "Coquitlam's plan for downtown expected to keep workers at home," by Scott Simpson, April 28th.

VS-180a 1997 "Indian Arm residents fight road extension," by Brian Morton, April 29th.

VS-181. 1997 "Langley scraps growth controls: District council has voted to rescind support of a growth management strategy that called for development of one subdivision at a time," by Carey Gillete, April 30th.

VS-182. 1997 "Hong Kong and Us: A Special Report," by Daphne Bramham, May 3rd.

VS-182a. 1997 "Victoria back on track," by Steve Whysall, May 10th

VS-183. 1997 "Development of Surrey city centre fizzles," by Harold Munro, May 12th.

VS-184. 1997 "Plan for homes on 2 mini - lots riles residents in Queens Park," by Gerry Bellet, May 12th.

VS-185. 1997 "Langley councillor says she is being victimized," by Harold Munro, May 23rd.

VS-186. 1997 "Tourists contribute $10 billion," by Eric Beauchesne, May 28th.

VS-187. 1997 "House-design vote angers architects: Vancouver council has approved rezoning parts of Southlands with new design restrictions," by Frances Bula, June 5th.

VS-188. 1997 "Hotel owners to fight bylaw to preserve low-cost housing," by Frances Bula, June 5th.

VS-188 (a). 1997 "Urban Trails: Streets Seen," by Bob Sarti, June 6th.

VS-188a. 1997 "Neighborhoods seek charm zoning," by Frances Bula, June 9th.

VS-189. 1997 "Think big and export the high tech keys," P.D6, June 11th.

VS-190. 1997 "San Diego transit a model for BC.," by Glenn Bohn, June 11th.

VS-191. 1997 "Schools fear impact of change in Hong Kong," by Kim Bolan, June 12th.

VS-192. 1997 "Ministry effort irks high-tech industry chair," by William Boei, June 13th.

VS-193. 1997 "Letters to the Editor: Gastown's other side" by Stephen Gray and Roger Bayley, June 14th.

VS-194. 1997 "Governments block home buyers: Levies, fees and taxes add more than 20 per cent to the price of typical house, study indicates,' Michael Kane, June 17th.

VS-195. 1997 "Granville entertainment district okayed: Council lifts its ban on new liquor licenses to lure new cabarets, nightclubs and restaurants to the street," by Glenn Bohn, June 20th.

VS-196. 1997 "B.C. asks Langley to help pay for road: Officials in Victoria say the 200th street interchange is also a municipal responsibility," by Carey Gillette, June 20th.

VS-197. 1997 "Massive casino planned for Robson," by Jeff Lee, June 20th.

VS-198. 1997 "Enchanted Island: Clean air, fewer hassles and affordability enhance Vancouver Island's desirability," by Barbara McQuade, June 21st.

VS-199. 1997 "Gays, Lesbians get business' attention," by Jenny Lee, June 23rd.

VS-200. 1997 "Relocation to Vancouver benefits shippers," by Alan Daniels, June 24th.

VS-201. 1997 "Deltaport unveiling for planet," by Alan Daniels, June 25th.

VS-202. 1997 "Vancouver's new chief to run the police like a business," by Kim Pemberton, June 25th.

VS-203. 1997 "Gen-Xers poised for success, survey shows," by Eric Beauchesne, June 25th.

VS-203a. 1997 "Richmond residents invited to help plan community's growth over next 20 years-the city's population of 150,000 is expected to grow by almost 50 percent," by Gerry Bellet, June 27th.

VS-204. 1997 "History inspires arena plan:Thermoplae Place -Ken Dextras has a dream and design for a junior hockey facility that needs a team," by Mike Beamish, June 28th.

VS-204a. 1997 " Tourism massive boost to economy, report says," Eric Beauchesne.

VS-204b. 1997 "H.K. condomania runs wild," Wyng Chow, June 28th.

VS-205. 1997 "Challenge on for tourism as Japanese visits decline," Jenny Lee, June 30th.

VS-206. 1997 "Preserving nature is key in North Van district Plan: Forest and stream protection along with ways to reduce use of automobiles," by Brian Morton, July 2nd.

VS-207. 1997 "Burnaby residential-business strata title a first for Canada," (p.D3), July 2nd.

VS-208. 1997 "Blink into the future: Interactive games grow up and move to Yaletown," by Peter Wilson, July 2nd.

VS-209. 1997 "Landowners see windfall in Cypress sewer," by Brian Morton, July 3rd.

VS-210. 1997 "Cars don't drive Safdie's dream city," by Eric Siblin, July 4th.

VS-211. 1997 "New standards for taxis here to stay, drivers told," Dawn Brett, July 4th.

VS-212. 1997 "Automobile is subsidized just as mass transit is," by David Bond, July 4th(P.D2).

VS-213. 1997 "Housing/gold project clear Langley hurdle: The massive development has won a preliminary nod despite opposition for township planners and many residents," by Harold Munro, July 5th.

VS-214. 1997 "Abbotsford commuters promised help to catch rail express: options include a bus service to Mission or a dial-a-ride system to make it easier to the West Coast Express on time," by Kathleen Goldhar, July 5th.

VS-215. 1997 "Stability the byword for local markets," by Susan Balcom, July 5th.

VS-216. 1997 "At Home in Europa: From movies to an international market, Village people have a neighbourhood convenience on their doorstep," Barbara McGuade, July 5th.

VS-217. 1997 "Calgary home sales boom," by Marty Hope, July 5th.

VS-218. 1997 "Landmark system transforms waste for urban gardens: Health Officials approve a recycling project using sawdust and water lilies of operation in a public building (in co-pavilion Strathcona Community Gardens," by Robert Sarti, July 7th.

VS-219. 1997 "Death Threat prompts councilor's concern over Squamish Protest: Both Environmentalists and forest workers deny their groups would make such a call," by Dawn Brett, July 7th.

VS-220. 1997 "Vancouver industrial real estate market on top: newest trend has been the emergence of shared office-industrial projects, especially in Richmond, Burnaby," by Bruce Constanatineau," July 8th.

VS-221. 1997 "Abbotsford waits for Johns to be named: 43 men have been arrested in a prostitution sting, and police will name them," by Lindsay Kines, July 8th.

VS-222. 1997 "Conversion to hotel worries owner," (p.B6), July 8th.

VS-223. 1997 "Delta to make tower focus of BC. plan (446 room hotel in the CBD)," Alan Daniels, July 9th.

VS-223a. 1997 "Fast-Learner Tung douses red-hot property market: Hong Kong's chief executive show some dexterity in starting to tackle housing problem in super charged economy," by Jonathan Manthorpe, July 9th.

VS-224. 1997 "Granville Island cinema plan sparks controversy, by Doug Ward, April 11th.

VS-255. 1997 "Burcon takes new shape with Concord," Bruce Constantineau, July 12th.

VS-256. 1977 "Anniversary of district region reopens old wounds: GVRD still a sensitive subject after 30 years," by Jeff Lee, July 12th.

VS-257. 1997 "Development debate keeps Langley up all night: Hearing over golf course project finally expires at 6:30 a.m., after one women faints and a man speaks for 21/2 hours," by Scott Simpson, July 16th.

VS-258. 1997 "Richmond Split over charges to developers," by Gerry Bellett, July 16th.

VS-259 1997 "Home Affordability threatened, Surrey Mayor says: Proposed changes to the labor code will hike labor costs, Doug McCallum Says," by Glenn Gohn, July 16th.

VS-260 "Fight against drug overdose deaths still at mile zero." Kim Pemberton, July17th.

VS-261. 1997 "Immigration to B.C. keeps record pace: six out of ten now feel that the numbers are getting too big, Burnaby group reports,: by Daphne Bramham, July 18th.

VS-262. 1997 "CMHC, North Van tee off in land row: The federal housing agency has told the district to vacate part of the Northlands golf course," by Jeremy Torobin and Harold Munro, July 18th.

VS-263. 1997 "New Converts-Stately house were visible signs of wealth in a young Vancouver-now some that survived have a new lease on life," John Mackie, July 19th.

VS-264. 1997 "CMHC assault on North Shore fairway angers golfers," by Brian Morton, July 19th.

VS-265. 1997 "What a great country- our poor are rich (relatively), Robin Ward, July 19th.

VS-266. 1997 "Privates in public: it was all in The Family" (p.C4), July 19th.

VS-267. 1977 "City officials against proposed expansion of sidewalk pubs," by Frances Bula , July 19th.

VS-268. 1997 "Holiday hideaways: Recreation property can be a dream when you want to get out of town. But there's many pitfalls for the unwary city dweller, Check it out first," by Gillian Shaw, July 19th.

VS-269. 1997 "The new Kids in the Hall: A new breed of young social activists is storming Vancouver's staid civic politics scene armed with eclectic ideas and in your face methods. But they say the barricades are proving resistant (key leaders-Ga Ching Kong; Janey Lew and Karun Koering)," by Frances Bula, July 21st.

VS-270. 1997 Controversial golf course, housing development approval for Langley," by Scott Simpson, July 22nd.

VS-271. 1997 " A Retail of two cities" figures supplied by Downtown Seattle Association and Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association", (p,D1) July 24th.

VS-272. 1997 "B.C. developers cotton to Seattle," by Bruce Constantineau, July 25th.

VS-273. 1997 "Jet- assisted job market," sources Puget Sound Regional Council, Statistics Canada and Colliers Macaulay Nicolis, (p.E10), July 25th.

VS-274. 1997 "Developer provides new facility for group's outdoor theatrical shows (200 units-developer Leny Moy)," by Frances Bula, July 25th.

VS-275. 1997 "Red Hot Video threatens suit after Port Moody refuses license (does not fit in with vision city has of area along St. John) by Scott Simpson, July 25th.

VS–276. 1997 "B.C. Housing starts triple national figure," by Wyng Chow, July 25th.

VS-277. 1997 "Condo builder out to create suite dreams," by Jeremy Torobin, July 26th.

VS-278. 1997 "Return the Lobbyists' volley: elected representatives should spike a proposal for permanent courts at Spanish Banks, " by Elizabeth Aird, July 26th.

VS-279. 1997 "Dera on the brink of supporting mini-room project: New development would house as many as 250 low-income people in self contained suites," by Dawn Brett, July 28th.

VS-280. 1997 "Mole Hill group in new battle over old houses: Vancouver council's plan to turn heritage homes over to developers denounced, " by Frances Bula, July 29th.

VS-281. 1997 "Municipalities launch offensive over Vancouver's domination of region: Surrey mayor Doug McCallum say the Greater Vancouver Region District is an over staffed, outdated bureaucracy," by Scott Simpson, July 30.1997.

VS-282. 1997 "It's a place of hope and refuge for street kids: Community centre's director tries to stay positive despite reports of an embezzlement," by Gerry Bellett, July 30th.

VS-282a 1997 "Vancouver votes to support a limit on Charter of Rights to fight crime," Frances Bula, July 30th.

VS-283. 1997 "Surrey has inferiority complex, chair of region says: The GVRD chief say s the regional district has bent over backwards to assist Surrey," by Scott Simpson, July 31st.

VS-284. 1997 "Property, violent crimes still on rise in Greater Vancouver," by Lindsay Kines, July 31st.

VS-285. 1997 "Mega-project trade, convention centre expansion is a mega-problem: The current process through which the city and the province are working towards an expanded Vancouver Trade and Convention Centre will cost the city, probably big time, Vancouver doesn't do mega-project well. And the expansion proposals to date all bear mega-project attributes. They are very large and, consequently, over-powering neighbours," their financial viability is questionable; and, accordingly, cost over runs are a possibility," by William Mc Creery (Vancouver Architect) , August 1st.

VS-286. 1997 "GVRD supporter warns revolt by suburbs could produce crippled American -style city," Frances Bula, August 1st.

VS-287. 1997 "Abbotsford plans new mountain Village," by Jeremy Thorobin, August 1st.

VS-288. 1997 "City Mayor, police chief to participate in gay parade - it will mark the first time the head of a Canadian force has marched in a Pride parade," by Kathleen Goldhar, August 1st.

VS-289 1997 "Developer to quit future projects in city (he built 750 units), blaming over-regulation-Brad Holme's high rise lofts have created concerns among city staff and downtown residents," by Frances Bula, August 1st.

VS-290. 1997 Shelter stays, film-makers cheer: The so-called production service tax, which was scheduled to expire Thursday has been extended to Oct. 31 (Values of sector could be over $600M in 1997)," by Gary Lamphier, August 1st.

VS-291. 1997 New West trendiness extends to streets around classy Quay:Development offers condos within walking distance of the Sky Train at prices that attract first timers," by Susan Balcom.

VS-293. 1997 "Okanagan's human sprawl competes with rare dryland life," by Mark Hume, August 2nd.

VS-294. 1997 "Letters: Volleyball court have no place at Spanish Banks, August 2nd.

VS-295. 1997 "Before there were cappuccinos (Coal Habour)," by Alan Haig-Brown, August 2nd.

VS-296. 1997 "Surrey shelves commitment to regional plan," by Scott Simpson, August 2nd.

VS-297. 1997 "Chips are down for Musqueam as Richmond rebuffs casino," Jeff Lee, August 2nd.

VS-298. 1997 "Park site by Science World eyed for volleyball courts" Frances Bula, August 2nd.

VS-299. 1997 "Big-ticket houses continue plunging in price," by Wyng Chow, August 6th.

VS-300. 1997 "Mounties baffled over alleged Triad boss: The RCMP says that immigration officials haven't asked them about a Macau man's entry into Canada," by Dianne Rinehart, August 7th.

VS-301. 1997 "Record-breaking fireworks a big buck bang for city: The expected 1.5 million spectator count for the series means a big commercial spin off," by Rich Ouston, August 7th.

VS-302. 1997 Seniors' incomes improved most in 95: The gains could be short lived due to lower interest rates, few company pensions and less job security, experts say," by April Lindgren, August 7th.

VS-303. 1997 "Big - ticket houses continue plunging in price," by Wyng Chow, August 6th.

VS-304. 1997 "Clinton say U.S. will have smallest deficit since 1974 ($37B vs. $290B in 1993) by Andrew Glass, August 7th.

VS-305. 1997 "Upbringing in large American cities didn't aid Texas tourist against Vancouver Car plunderers," by Lindsay Kines.

VS-306. 1997 "BC. growth rate still sluggish," by Bruce Constantineau, August 7th.

VS-307. 1997 "Four demographic trends of worldwide impact," by David Bond (Chief Economist of the Hong Kong Bank of Canada), August 8,1997.

VS-308. 1997 "Controversy over advertising threatens future of Vancouver Dance Centre: Vancouver city council refuses to allow an electronic advertising sign to appear atop the planned building," by Michael Scott, August 9th.

VS-309. 1997 "Young job seekers feel pinch more than average (BC. UI-18.4 vs. low of 11.6% in SK.)", by Marina Jimenez, August 9th.

VS-310. 1997 "APEC delegations jockey for swankeist hotel space: organizers hard-pressed to accommodate requests for views, suites, prestige," by Daphne Bramham, August 9th.

VS-311 1997 "Surrey mayor cites garbage issue as example of Big Brother GVRD," by Scott Simpson, August, 11th.

VS-312. 1997 "Surrey risks inferior policing, official claim -The city has refused to take part in a regional emergency communications network because of costs," by Scott Simpson, August 14th.

VS-313. 1997 "The Solution to immigration pressures are simple," by Don DeVoretz, August 15th.

VS-314. 1997 "Condo Market stays hot," by Wyng Chow, August 15th.

VS-315. 1997 "At Panorama Village (South Surrey) the setting and ambiance promotes the virtues of a traditional family,neighbourly lifestyle: Family Values First," by Barbara McQuade, August 16th.

VS-316 1997 "Happy workplace productive: The new building was designed with high tech industry in mind Dees Communications says," by Wyng Chow, August 16th.

VS-317 1997 "The Titanic Struggle of an Industry: Showdown at Hollywood North -The NDP wants a billion dollar film Industry. Labor peace is Hollywood's price, but BC. actors say they're tired of a bit role. Has the province been seduced by Hollywood's handouts?," by Kim Bolan and Edward Alden. August 16th.

VS-318 1997 "Cascadia is sometimes a great notion, but it falters on practical grounds," by Barbara Yaffe, August 16th.

VS-319 1997 "Victoria opts for Lions Gate tolls: The province will launch a search for a private firm to create a four land bridge," by Lori Culbert, August 16th.

VS-320. 1997 "The well- being of our watersheds," by Collen McCrory -Chair Valhalla Wilderness Society, August 16th.

VS-321. 1997 "Report (Immigration to Canada: Youth Tonic for an aging population - by Vancouver based Urban Futures Group, pay for by reducing foreign aid): supporting an aging population requires a 30 percent jump in admissions (Reform party wants reduction to 150,000 and knowledge of English). Augutst 18th.

VS-322. 1997 "70 - passenger cruise ship to set sail,"(BC. now third behind Caribbean and Mediterranean in popularity of cruise 770,000 visitors expected in 1997) by Alan Daniels, August 19th.

VS-323. 1997 "Office space in Vancouver tight, expensive (4.9%), first half of year net absorption 363,000 sq./ft -most demand attribute to small companies and high tech firms-Class A space up form $11 to $14 in a year.

VS-324. 1997 "Strong economy sparks 24% rise in VPC traffic: winning back cargo that had been shipped through Seattle also cited in volume resurgence (taking 50% cargo shipped from Asian to Canada)," by Alan Daniels, August 19th.

VS-325. 1997 "An SOS from owners of Titanic condos (Greater Vancouver est. ($100M bill for rehab in Vancouver over next 10 years), August 20th.

VS-326. 1997 Chief puts more police on the meanest streets: Vancouver's new top officer Bruce Chamber as assigned 16 extra staff to the Downtown Eastside to tackle drug related crime," by Lindsay Kines, August 21st.

VS-327. 1997"Pitt Polder resort project threatens farmland, planner warns: Pitt meadows approval is premature as the scheme could trigger more project he says (Bruce Gunn on $150M project -council vote 4 to 2 in favour)," by Scott Simpson, August 21st.

VS-328. 1997 "New Gas taxes the only way to pay for roads, bridges - The province can't afford the extra public debt during a time of deficit-cutting, minister says," by Jim Beatty, August 22nd.

VS-328a. 1997 "Room to Dream: High land costs are putting the squeeze on Vancouver homes, but spaciousness is still available farther out - at Cedar Grove Estates in Surrey , for example," Susan Balcom, September 6th p.E1.

VS-329. 1997 "Commuters stick with cars, resist transit use: A new GVRD report concludes that in the Lower Mainland it is now rush hour all day long." Harold Munroe, September 8th.

VS-330. 1997 "Bus shortage to mean more car traffic, experts say -Better transit is identified as the key to getting people out of cars, but forecasts are grim," by Harold Munroe, September 10th.

VS-331. 1997 "Cathay chair keen on Vancouver (est. hdgts in Van 1983) - Carrier's executive warns that there is turbulence in the long - range forecast for the airline industry," by Alan Daniels, September 10th.

VS-332 1997 "Mayor of Harrison Hot Springs bets on a casino: The resort is working on a proposal to open a facility says the hotel's piano player," by Jeff Less, September 10th.

VS-333. 1997 "Coquitlam mayor hints talks on light-rail line in trouble (issues cost sharing and land use)," by Harold Munroe, September 11th.

VS-334. 1997 "TD closing 45-year-old Burrard Branch: Bank blames declining customer base. The 4,300 sq. foot site is reported to be worth more than $8.5M base on rents of $150 sq. ft - San Francisco some retail rents top $375)," by Bruce Constantineau, September 11th.

VS-335. 1997 "Canadian industry running at 85% capacity (new house prices up 1.1% over July 1996 for the nation but in Calgary rose 6.9% and 5% in some Southern Ontario cities, while the price fell in Montreal, Halifax and Vancouver, according to CMHC report)," by Eric Beachesne, September 11th.

VS-336. 1997 "Sea to Sky townhouses project moves step closer to final okay: foes of plan fear it would set the stage for higher density development on scenic road (Squamish Highway)," By Brian Morton, September 12th.

VS-337. 1997 "Giustra plans big BC. movie studio," (owns biggest film and TV. Studio in Canada and focus on films costing $15 to $50M U.S. -maybe 15 to 30 movies a year, equal to $450 to $900 M equal to all film production in BC. this year) by Gary Lamphier, September 12th.

VS-338. 1997 "Langley councillor wants police protection at meetings: Threat came following votes rejecting grants to 3 groups, councillor says (two new citizens groups form against ruling

block on council Citizens For Organized Planning and Langley Citizens Coalition)," by Harold Munroe, September 12th.

VS-339. 1997 "Boom spurs mall development (782,000 sq. feet added to market in 1997-streetfront and mixed use formats in Vancouver and Burnaby represent largest addition) by Bruce Constantineau, September 12th.

VS-340. 1997 "High cost and inconvenience have potential to kill our car culture," by Pete McMartin, September 13th.

VS-341. 1997 "Urban Scrawl: More anguish for a city's troubled soul - Granville island isn't an island, but it acts like one. Everyone know or wants to know, everyone's business. There is controversy, always: about parking, about promoting the island, about who should be allowed to conduct what business where. Rivalries going back 20 years are so bitter that one business owner said of another this week's wouldn't care if he died tomorrow (Seelig proposal multiplex and use of warehouse for cars two current points of conflict)," by Elizabeth Aird, p.C3 September 13th.

VS-342. 1997 'Developer of Style (Harold Clarance Kalke)," by Karen Gram, p.B10, September 13th.

VS-343 "Marine Drive Residents' expert (from Portland hired by community) goes to war on traffic: An engineer hired by residents describes the road's increase in vehicles as phenomenal," by Frances Bula,p. B4, September 15th.

VS-344. 1997 "Letters to the editor: Give us better transit, and we'll take it," September 15th.

VS-345. 1997 "Italian motorists face gates (electronic) limiting access to city centres," by Bruce Johnson, September 15th.

VS-346. 1997 "Old Hotel was like a family home, youth says (666 Seymour)," p.B5, September 15th.

VS-347. 1997 "Ottawa accused of restricting immigrants on basis of origin: The federal government uses a quota system a Chinese society official says (for independent immigrants, assigning 4,000 places to Peijing, 180 Havana, 1,000 Australia, 10,500 New Delhi, 3,000 Colombo, 1,450 Moscow, 6,500 London, 9,500 Hong Kong, 400 Mexico) by Tom Barrett, September 16th.

VS-348. 1997 "Canada alone in decline in standard of living (Between 1989-1986 according to The Centre for the Study of Living Standards of 13 OECD countries, per capita GDP fell .4%, 0 for Sweden,6.2% USA)," by Eric Beauchesne,p.D4 September 16th.

VS-349. 1997 "Tobin seeks more aid for collapsed fishery: Conference Board figures: between 1989 and 1996 employment up 10% GDP up 5%; BC GDP up around 19%, employment 19%; Albert aGDP up 17% employment up about 23%, SK, GDP up around 2%, employment up 16%; MB, GDP up 3%, employment (%, Ontario,, GDP 2%, employment up 7%, Quebec, GDP 3% employment up 8%; NB, GDP up 7%, employment 15%, NS GDP 1% and employment &%; PEI GDP 19% and employment 23%, NFLD, GDP minus 8% and O employment growth- National GDP up 9.7% - percentage changes) by Graeme Hamilton,p.A6, September 17th.

VS-350 1997 "Real Estate shares lure investors: concept of REIT units has gained a foothold in Canada over the past year, analysts say "(high returns, lower risk, tax advantages -171

currently in US worth $120B and 8 or 9 in Canada worth $2.5B not catch on here until 1993) by Wyng Chow,p. D1 September 17th.

VS-351 1997 "Condo sales predominate downtown, on west side - detached houses drop both in price and units sold, study finds (60% sales in CBD and west side according to RE/Max national study-looks at 50 markets in Canada - now hottest market central TO, Edmonton, For McMurray, Calgary), p.D3, September 17th.

VS-352. 1997 "Housing projects get local approval despite regional plan violations: GVRD board members are reluctant to interfere in other's land use decisions (Surrey mayor sees GVRD as simply provider of infrastructure - GVRD committee could have blocked development by refusing to extend sewer for 157 estate homes but Sewage committee could have blocked - Strategic planning department wrote report against mayor of Surrey complained to Carline - Planning worries about cummulative effect of these decisions, also concerned about development in Pitt Meadows)," by Harold Munroe, September 20th, p. B3.

VS-352a. 1997 "Residents lose referenda Clout in Pitt Meadows: Critics of controversial development accuse mayor of trying to subvert a successful opposition drive," by Harold Munroe, September 22nd.

VS-353. 1997 "Coquitlam school population growing fast (fastest in region - was 22,000 in 1990 30,000 in 1997-provincial student population up 130,000 to 629,000) by Ken Bolan and Doug Ward, September 22nd.

VS-354. 1997 "Hong Kong Tourism drops 25% after take over - industry is largest in the economy and is worth $15B , employing 12% of labour force-compared to last August 400,000 fewer visitors," September 23rd, p. D4.

VS-355. 1997 ""$60M for 16K HOV lanes for Trans-Canada - widen from 4 to 6 lanes for $60M part of $400 commitment to HOV concept by Harcourt administration," September 24, p.B 1.

VS-356. 1997 "Cities examining ruling banning family only suites," by Frances Bula, September, 24th, p.B2.

VS-357. 1997 ""40 to 50 thieves commit most of property crime (organize gangs - says report on property crime)", September 26th,p. A18.

VS-358. 1997 "Incomes recovered faster in the Dirty 30s than in the 90s (according to Centre for the Study of Living based in Ottawa - 1929-1933 -25.9% drop in income, nearly reached 1929 income level in 1939 and well exceeded level by 1940 -yet incomes dropped for 7 years in the 1990s - in 1996 real per capita income was 5.1% less than 1989 and 1989 level not likely to reached before end of century) by Eric Beauchesne, September 26, p. E7.

VS-359. 1997 "Huge parking hikes crucial to Transport Plan," by Scott Simpson, September 26th, p. B11.

VS-360. 1997 "GVRD want a lower limit on carpool lanes (reduce from 3 to 2 for Trans Canada Highway, planners warn against, vote by GVRD board 19 for 11 against - a reversal in policy - note about $2B Seattle HOV lanes and reduction to 2 people taken by provincial minister on the advise of engineers)," by Harold Munroe, September 27th.

VS-361. 1997 "B.C. attracts foreigners, but fewer Canadians (From July 1,1995 to June 1996 : 20,000 migrants (down 10,000) and 40,124 immigrants - net new arrivals first place Toronto - 63,000, Vancouver 40,000, Calgary 11,000 -largest decline - Winnipeg 4,600- in total 216,000

immigrants 53% went to Ontario, 22% to BC. and 13% to Quebec (22619 emigrants)," September 27th, p.A16.

VS-362. 1997 "Guards chided for playing 'tough guy' with downtown poor," by David Hogben, September 27th, p.A16.

VS-363. 1997 "Coquitlam plan to introduce parking meters hits roadblock: residents and host of city workers protest scheme to make them pay (high water table won't allow underground parking, people avoiding commercial lots already putting pressure on nearby residential streets, pollution and congestion are already much worse - Vancouver and New Westminister only places so far with extensive metering systems), October 1st, p.B1.

VS-364. 1997 "Downtown Eastside: A tale of two cities (Blomley study) by Frances Bula, October 6th, p.B3.

VS-365. 1997 "Faster population growth forecast for region (up 240,000 over earlier projection expect population of 3.3 million by 2021, densities on Burrard Peninsula increased from 81 to 86 people per hectare between 1979 and 1996 or by 6 percent and South of the Fraser densities increased from 19 to 36 or double over the same period - transit grows but percentage of users remains static, next line expected to be completed by 2008 - need more funding for transit projections for ground oriented dwelling in compact are below projections - between 91 and 96 - 56% instead of expected 68% - expect $70B in development up to 2021, according to new report by GVRD) by Harold Munroe, October 6th, p.B1.

VS-366. 1997 "Immigrants tolerated for their wealth Fry says, (response to Environics survey on scale of 1 to 5 with 5 more non white immigrants - survey December 1996 - findings - Canada 4.47/Toronto-4.09/Montreal 4.42/ Vancouver 4.67 - Ley comments of 50,000 immigrants in 1996 only 20 percent well to do - 10,000 - Toronto attracts more poorer immigrants - less tolerance is her speculation)," October 7th.

VS-367. 1997 "Diversification proposed for City Waterfront (Report chaired by councillor Sam Sullivan, some recommendations allow for natural shorelines, not just formalized seawalk format, restaurants and retail along Fraser shore, some marine related businesses along False Creek) by Frances Bula, October 8th.

VS-368. 1997 "Pitt rive Bottleneck unplugged today as corks fly on project - The $13.5M counterflow project will save motorists about 10 to 15 minutes highway officials estimate (for a while, note bridge twinned in 1978-HOV lanes and Queue jump lanes and traffic signals will help transit - Hartley claims reason for becoming involved in politics- young families come looking for cheap housing)," by Scott Simpson, October 9th,p,B2.

VS-369. 1997 "Angry riders spur Transit to lease U.S. buses (transit use up 3.5% unexpected surge in September leave buses short, currently GVRD pays 69% of operating costs and the province 31% - big increases in North Van./Burnaby/ Surrey/ Richmond)," by Harold Munroe, October 9th.

VS-370. 1997 "City officials, police want controls over use squatter books in False Creek (between 40 to 80 boats often load, dangerous, dump garbage - one of problems identified in draft Blueway plan)," October 10th,p.B1.

VS-371. 1997 Needle Exchange workers figure losing war (70% addicts that use are male/70% Caucasian-25% native - 2.3M needles exchanged)," by Marina Jimenez, October 10th.

VS-372. 1997 "Redekop buys Middlegate with intent to redevelop site (cost $20.75M for $150M development that will contain 131,000 sq. ft. commercial space and 901,000 residential space, to include 4 high rise towers (600 units) and 250 low rise units or 850 in total- market empty nesters and entry market people) By Bruce Constantineau, October 11th.

VS-373. 1997 "Court ruling spurs N. Van to OK suites: Council vote makes thousands of rented basement dwellings legal after a recent BC. Supreme Court decision regarding Delta (estimate 2,200 illegal suites by 1991 Census material ourt of 25,000 dwellings, - new bylaw replace 1987 one which only allowed relatives to live in dwelling) by Glenn Bohn. October 16th.

VS-374. 1997 "More help for addicts urged in Report (Something to Eat, a place to sleep and someone who give a damn, by Penny Parry, for Ministry of Health - $3M program)." my Marina Jimenez, October 20th.

VS-375. 1997 "Cities seek more ways to raise cash flow (triggered by unilateral provincial cut back of $113 from $402M that province had granted to municipalities in 1996)," by Frances Bula, Ocotber 20th.

VS-376. 1997 "Credit Unions knocking on VanCity Door for mergers (with merger with Teacher cooperative assets now $5.4B - VanCity has gone through about 50 mergers -)," by Bruce Constantineau, October 21thp.B1.

VS-377. 1997 "Port Moody - Landscape Plan more natural," October 21st, p. B. 3.

VS-378. 1997 "Skid Road meets Adam Smith" by (worry about gentrification and movement of drug users- not part of neighbourhood) Constables Walter McKay and Toby Hinton, October 24th, p.A21.

VS-379. 1997 "Clover Valley's little lots big success (half normal size residents like critics say will turn into slum- popular because can have single detached for about $200,000 -started in 1995 - since then has become a model for small lot development in suburban areas -copycat developments in New West and Mission although Mayor of Mission is trying to stop - now 212 homes on 2,000sq, ft. homes, now garages in front, drawing young families, another 200 planned in phase two at Clower Valey Station, problem if there isn't proper design and scale, i.e. -roads too wide -says Frank Schliewinsky of Strategics firm, problem now lack of amenities within walking distance) by Harold Munroe, October 27th.

VS-380. 1997 "Strathcona (greenway along Atlantic $57,000 allocated - problem withdrug addicts and prostitutes on empty field - staff recommend project)," October 27th.

VS-381. 1997 "Cyclist protest angers Drivers (90 move down Lions Gate Bridge -one spokesperson software employee), October 27th, p.A1.

VS-382. 1997 "Maple Ridge (enrolement up 3% to 14,328)," October 27th.

VS-383. 1997 "Port Moody (bylaw for full service gas stations)," October 27th.

VS-384. 1997 "SuperBoard would take wheel From transit in Lower Mainland (one Board in charge of roads and transit and to be given power to charge levies on users), October 27th,P.A1.

VS-384a. 1997 "Surrey Councillor urges city get out of GVRD (Pam Lewin with support of Mayor wants administration to look into -doesn't want to pay for new transit agency -thinking of alliance with Langley and Surrey to create new district - would need provincial approval - upset about sewer and water arrangement as well), "October 28th,p. A4.

VS-385. 1997 "Port Moody Sidelines Hot Development (strips away zoning for 160 hectare site - only one councillor opposed), October 28th, p.B4.

VS-386. 1997 "Mole Hill housing battle end with city concession (only 9 of 28 houses to be leased instead of 13 - Price claims should have mix also two homes to be destroyed claim rennovation cost of $2.5M too high- currently 100 people live in community- only Chivario- showed concern about demolition) by Frances Bula, October 29th, p.B1

VS-387. 1997 "Scrap bus route (Town Centre Bus Service mainly to serve students- residents say creates congestion and takes away parking spaces - 500 names on petition)," October 29th,p.B5.

VS-378a. 1997 "Abbotsfford (Survey - secondary suites are acceptable if homeowners live in dwellings, 130 accept and 82 opposed to suites, survey information used in drafting new bylaw on secondary suites in city)," October 30th,p.B5.

VS-388. 1997 "Shuttle buses sought for Express passengers: The absence of supporting bus service along the route is a sore point with a lot of people including West Coast's president (development sparked by line so far concentrated in Port Moody - has lead to rapid expansion of high rise and condo development, realtors say express line give a real boost to sales, community is no longer isolated as once was, now 25 minute ride to downtown versus 45 to 60 by automobile, Coquitlam, uses less, as large part of population to the South of station, in Maple Ridge, may have slowed down departure of people leaving to be closer to work, while it has not encouraged developed according to realtors opinions, Mission little movement so far, Maple Ridge 3,5% work in Vancouver, 5.5% in Coquitlam, in Coquitlam some cases of people moving closer to stations not yet translate into higher prices - estimates of public costs: direct cost per 28/Km in peak hour - Skytrain $3; Bus $3; West Coast $4; Automobile $22.63/ environmental costs 52 cents/ Diesal 52 cents per kilometre, West Coast 80 Cents; Automobile $1.05), November 3rd, p.B3.

VS-389. 1997 "The Immigration Story: **Part One** of five part series ing Changing Faces, Facing Change (38,5% feel there should be a decrease, 43.35 feel current level fine, family versus economic categories expected to be 66-34 in favour of economic category in 1998, each year 300,000 applications for about 220,000 positions, biggest worry refugees, older than 65% 61% feel accepting too many refugees, not enough refugees only goes up to highest level of 6 or 7%, 26,000 refugees make claim in 1996 about 44 % accepted, 94% felt screening of refugees not rigorous enough, according to a Vancouver Sun and CBC poll, jobs biggest reason cites for reducing immigrant levels/ Immigrant budget $615 in 1996; $554 in 1997/$543 in 1998 - since 1992 - 23 immigration offices close and 78 remain open/ first nine months of 1997 refugee claimants 2,154, acceptance rate drop from 48 to 28 percent)," by Kim , Vancouver Sun, November 3rd, p. B4.

VS-390. 1997 Ethnic groups feel racial tolerance rising, **Part Two** of five part series Changing Faces, Facing Change (Survey - random , by telephone, 501, over 18 years of age, what ethnic groups are least tolerant 18% Asians; 18% East Indians, 18% Caucasians; Europeans 4%; don't know, 33%, Survey groups most discriminated against, 48% Asian 45% East Indians; Natives 7%; Caucasian 4% (underestimated) Hispanics 3% don't know 13%, none in particular 20%/ 48% feel Vancouver has become more tolerant, 37% feel less tolerant, racism complaints in Human Rights Commission up from 16% in 1995/6 to 1996/7 account for 34%)," by Kim Bolan, November 4th, p.A4.

VS-391. 1997 "Cash Infusion into skid road fails to halt the bleeding ($60M a year - just used for survival of the 10,000 that live here - Riverview ten year ago 5,000 patients now 659, many drift into Downtown Eastside because not accepted elsewhere and infrastructure not available

to service them in the suburbs, Frank Gilbert, social worker, notes significant decline in past five years, the city gives Carnegie $2M, Strathcona centre, $550,000 Ray Cam $505,000 Evelny Saller $1.4M, city has committed $4.1 million in land for social housing, controls 531 units in lodges, $1.4M for Gathering Place, housing units lost since 1990 and 300 are in jeopardy, city has less bargaining power with developers as seen by Woodwards development, 3 welfare office-distribute $36M a year about $3M a month, United Way spends $28 M in area)," by Ian Mulgrew, November 4th, p.B1.

VS-392. 1997 "New Housing scenario grim (West Side single family - $598,00 median; East Van - $288,000; Richmond $358,000; Burnaby $386,000 on the North and $380,000 on the South/ Langley $237,000; Maple Ridge, $224,100)," by Wyng Chow, November 4th, P.p.D1.

VS-393. 1997 "Migration breeds diversity of view - Changing Faces, Facing Change, Turn of the century Asians accounted for 20% of population - note Pacific Islanders clustered around Kensington Park - labour unions once against now for, once anti-British reaction after war, 1923 to 1947 Chinese Immigration Act, only 44 immigrants admitted into Canada) by Stephen Hume, November 1st, P.A1.

VS-394. 1997 "Mixed development debated for former Woodlands school: While some want to see businesses and residences on the site, others advocate protecting the green space, buildings and collection of unusual trees (Minimum worth 25M, largest undeveloped site New Westminister, established in 1878, early version of Riverview in the 1960s housed 1,500 patients, closed several years ago- a great deal of consultation unlike B.C., where there was none)." by Robert Sarti, Novmber 4th.

VS-395. 1997 "Changing Faces Facing Change **Third Part**, Economy gets a boost from Entrepreneurs (B.C. accounts for 34.5% of entrepreneurial immigrants/35.1% of self employed immigrants/ and 53.9% of investor immigrants/province received twice as many economic as social or humanitarian immigrants (33,707 versus 16,661 in 1996)/ average age 27/ 1996 43,000 immigrants and 20,665 migrants/yet 54% investor immigrants move here only about 6% of investors funds invested in B.C . - about 33.9M versus 339.5 in Quebec/ while Quebec took in only 22% of investor category/ESL a problem most people feel immigrants should pay for and 65% feel should have to speak one official language before coming here/79.2% should have to pay for ESL/68.5% few immigration in a positive light/ births and net migration have added 180,819 to population of B.C. since 1990 immigrants 287,147 to Lower Mainland since 1990/ESL costs province $70M a year/ chief determinant in integrating/ investor immigrants least proficient in English and highest number of children, professor Don Devoretz claims immigrants pay $30 to $40,000 more in taxes than they receive/ spend 50% of disposable income on housing and furniture/ only 3% to 4% of immigrants from 1989 to 1992 on welfare yet form 25% of population but in Toronto it is 16% - losers people seeking homes and jobs and those not having command of Asian language) by Dianne Rinehart, November 5th, p.B4.

VS-395a. 1997 "Vast Majority of immigrants to City in 1996 were Asian (50% from Hong Kong, China, Taiwan Asians now equal 44% of immigrants, overtake Europeans since 1991/according to BC. Stats in 1996 BC. took 34.5% of entrepreneurial immigrants/35.1% of self employed immigrants and 53.9% of investor immigrants)," by Marina Jimnnez, November 5th, p.B4.

VS-396. 1997 "Changing Faces Facing Change **Fourth Part :** Immigrant -Crime Link Over blown - Expert (Latinos mentioned - as problem - language barrier no jobs turn to drug dealing - new criminal element not part of our culture - arrive in mid 90s affect stability of neighbourhoods on east side - immigrants over represented in one area of crime - narcotics - note more use of guns by Asian and Latino gangs)," by Doug Ward, November 6th, p.B4.

VS-397. 1997 "Changing Faces Facing Change : Adapting to a new Cultural Diversity **Fifth Part** (two solitudes -i.e., Kerrisdale - restaurants few Chinese - yet high population of- now about 250,000 ethnic Chinese, concern about displacement caused by wealth, and integration - David Baxter notes less problems on East side because more used to diversity, also interview with European immigrant who notes how increasingly Chinese East Vancouver has become)," by Doug Ward, November 7th, p.B4.

VS-398. 1997 "Pitt Polder resort plan put on hold ($140M development by Japanese Company - until citizen's process completed - critics say in response to a referendum planned on Dec. 5th)," by Scott Simpson, November 7th.

VS-399. 1997 "Intermarriages rates show that multiculturalism works, Fry says (budget for multi-culturalism dept. $18M - established in 1968 - notes in 1968 only 42% approved of inter-racial marriages now 81% - rising rates of inter-marriage among new immigrants)," by Doug Ward, November 10th, p.A1.

VS-400. 1997 "Coquitlam Faces new suite rules (estimated 4,000 unauthorized suites, new measures to go before council in December and January -utility charges, parking restrictions, building code enforcements - note biggest problem parking -especially as Coquitlam has many cul de sacs - two approached to issue POCO- deal with by taxing not bylaws- Surrey and Vancouver by complex regulations) by Scott Simpson, November 12th, p.B2.

VS-401. 1997 "Alaska flies 1,000 out of Vancouver in one day - carrier now has nine daily departures from the city; adds Palm Springs, Phoenix to list (Alaska Airlines - Seattle based - service began 18 months ago - 10th largest US. Carrier- open skies policies 1995 credited with traffic - invisible until then -says president Bill Ayer)," by Alan Daniels, November 13th, p. E1.

VS-402. 1997 "Public works that work - are community driven, not engineer dominated a Skytrain Survivor argues. The Transit experience in Portland and Calgary are worthy signs on the route to public acceptance of the new transportation agreement (Klein came in implemented public review of transit - clash of values - community, politicians and engineers - council reacted to community activism - engineers wanted to bury - bury - community satisfied with landscaping and berms and still is - at a great cost savings)," April Hurmuses, November 15th.

VS-403. 1997 "With land growing scarcer, this North Van builder turned to recycling (transform postwar bungalow -50 by 132 foot lot - bought for $340,000 - applied for a second level - aesthetics much improved) by Susan Balcom, November 15th, Housing Section.

VS-404. 1997 "Back to the Streets: Shoppers across North America are leaving the small malls for the funky atmosphere of street shopping (alternative shopping evolved here - now catching on in West Coast cities according to Urbanics Consulting - shopping centre formula approach, according to consultant -Ian Thomas of Thomas consultants - people tired of homogenization - trends more time in streets and less in smaller malls -mall problems compounded by big box retailing - and trouble department stores - saw turn around turn of decade - also many European shops came to North America - and used to Street format Boname - many reject cocooning are seen on streets -Thomas notes socializing aspect – coffee shops only a ten year old phenomenon - according to Thomas Robson Street rents now highest in country - late 1980s probably around $30 now range between $120 to $150 a square foot - much related to tourism -revival Fourth Avenue related to right stores -Capers, Duthies, Mountain Sports - synergy developed - right mix crucial - Main Street a trail and error approach - here success is guaranteed -Granville has good potential because of explosive residential growth - also mega-plexs 80 to 100,000 square feet can be a street draw - can bring in two-million patrons a year)," by John Mackie, November 15th, p.B6.

VS-404a. 1997 "Expanded city convention centre to create 2,500 jobs, premier says - Calling the expansion 'the biggest single economic driver' he's seen, Glen Clark promises mammoth $250-million project, which will be leased by the provincial government for 30 years, will to totally user-pay (potential 11,000 direct and indirect jobs in addition to 4,000 person years of employment - will open 2002 - managed by BC. Pavilion Corporation - with 1,000 room hotel - project to be called Portside - more than double size of existing facility Greystone will lease back facility - Will enhance competitive position - will include 23,225 square metres of exhibition space, 1,000 room Marriott hotel, third cruise berth, integrated transportation hub and new public accesss to water)," by Alan Daniels, November 20th, p. A1.

VS-404aa. 1997 "Editorial - Has the city got a deal for you! Vancouver must be cautious before it starts seeking sponsors for civic services in an effort to raise money. It can't become dependent on the money and it must avoid conflict of interest (six to five vote council votes to seek sponsors - to supplement library and park functions - Parks expects net revenue

VS-404b. 1997 "Filling a demand for homes - Japanese market for new housing is the largest in the world and likely to stay that way for years - The success of Canadian Companies in Japan is an example of our changing trade relationship with that country (Residential land in Tokyo costs $6,500 a sq. metre - meaning an average standard house would cost $3.75-million - why many commute two hours - to lower costs - two way trade with Japan now $25-billion - $44-billion of Japanese investment in Canada - is Canada's second largest trading partner)," by Satya Das, November 21st.

VS-404c. 1997 "Store to be Heritage focal point (Pitt Meadows, 1920s wooden house vacant for three years, with zoning change revive old general store - and make focal point for Heritage on Harris Road -money will come from development service charges)," November 21st.

VS-405. 1997 "City planners aim for public-friendly design (job training agencies in Downtown Eastside will be used - cost $211-million - in 1996 176,000 delegates brought in 345 convention - in infrastructure of the spectacle $3-billion approximately invested in Indianapolis - Greystone will do development - current subsidy for existing centre $5-million - year first opened to $600,000 in 1996 - Indianapolis never recovered $3B - problem with deign of facilities - usually not attractive public spaces - expected to open 2002 - worry being cut off from water and unfriendly plazas - design will be a challenge to planners - conventions centre logic two core assumptions desire for facilities will grow and new form of inter city global competition say Mike Douglas, Chair of Urban Planning of Hawaii State University)," November 22nd, p. A8.

VS-406 1997 "Asians seek Canadian culture in Surrey, Delta: The People who assist with the settlement of immigrants say more Asians are looking for English immersion in eastern suburbs (for example William Lao - lived in Richmond for a year found poor place to learn English because of too many Chinese people - tend to be children of professionals who want to learn English quickly- still is a trickle in Surrey still more are going directly to outer suburbs, especially Chinese unlike East Indians lack support structures in the suburbs, in Surrey Chinese population could have moved from 8.5% to 12% of non English speaking population)," by Harold Munro, November 25th, p. B1.

VS-406a. 1997 "Return traffic to Granville mall Downtown business group urges ($40,000 report by Hotson, planners not like, cost several million and don't see mall as reason for decline especially north of Georgia, Theatre Row owners are happy with current arrangement -Larry Beasley leery of proposal, first ped mall Kalamazoo - now opened to traffic - first transit mall - Nicollet mall, revitalized in 1991 - 500 and 600 block number of jay walkers 1,100 -planners say street was in bad shape before 1974 (of course because of Pacific centre - some business owners like jugglers, musicians and odd assortment of youth around), November 27th, p. A1.

VS-406b. 1997 "Difficulties loom for proposed LRT Line: A Government Report calls a Port Moody Ravine and the Broadway Corridor major potential trouble sports (Broadway - loss of lanes and parking, noise and vibration, blockage of north and south routes - especially Cambie - affect speed of cars because of autos - could use underground ways at key intersections or shift parts over to 8th or 10th avenues - projected ridership 100,000 a day - 1999 construction expected to start - Burnaby most trouble free - city wants ten stations - less of problem because land is mostly commercial - Port Moody - problem with grade - need to reduce from 12% to 6% - New West has two alignments - Coquitlam has six possible ones - plan for ravine route first set 20 years ago)," by Scott Simpson, November 28th, p.B1.

VS-406c. 1997 "The Urban Communities that Skytrain built (A Skytrain station -real estate - and all along the line, developers have been meeting the needs of buyers (key selling features for condos -i.e., Collingwood Village 3,200 units projected - metro town area 12,488 units last count of multiples served between Patterson and Royal Oak - population 18,400 -by 2006 -expect 14,500 units and 21,400 units - 450 retailers in mall - 21 highrises built last 11 years - many more low rises - Edmonds (more residential - Erickson designed high-rises - when completed 900 condo units, Sperling and Kingway 193 homes, Ridgemont Bosa 106 condos a second tower 106 units planned -Adera 10.5 acres now occupied by Weiser Lock Co. 450 townhomes planned - and rezoning just initiated in Middlegate -for up to 600 condos - and another 250 low rise -Surrey Central 1,000 units slated -low and high rise -recreation and library planned by site -King George Station up to 1,000 units planned)," by Barbara McGuade, November 29th, p.I1.

VS-407. 1997 "Richmond's Asian malls to attract all races (six malls - Aberdeen built 1989 - the first - then Fairchild, Parker, President's Plaza, Yaohan, Central - many stores few Caucasians- only a few where more than 50% are non Asian - problem with signs, language, sizes - managers of mall hope to change - starting with signs, Caucasians found unfriendly place and still view as an oriental mall - so hope to change image)," by Larry Pynn, December 6th, P. B1.

VS-408. 1997 "Clark Condemns School Racism (in relation ton Reena Virk death in Sannich)," December 1st, p. B5.

VS-409. 1997 "Granville pub project supported -would be bar and cabaret operators are relieved to get official's recommendation (approve 130 seat cabaret - end of 1992 moratorium - so far seven of thirteen proposals - staff recommend permits only four months at a time to see how they control noise)," by Frances Bula, December 6th, p.B1.

VS-410. 1997 "Richmond - Census list population as 148,155 with 30 percent having Chinese as their home language or about 44,000 Chinese)," December 6th.

VS-411. 1997 "Modern monuments reflect society's pluralism: Memorials often promote narrow, social-political issues but the single-issue approach is not necessarily bad says a philosopher, since it means that people are fomenting ideas around a cause (Fox memorial a hybrid of old and new styles - seen as icon of courage - note women's and Aids monument - Liberty statue UBC)," December 6th, p. A10.

VS-412. 1997 "Less than 3% of B.C. fuel tax revenue spent on aviation: Levies are as much as 300% higher in Canada than they are in the U.S. put Canadian carriers at a disadvantage, report says (brings in $65-million a year - report worries about impairment of gateway function, citing Seattle, Anchorage, San Francisco and Los Angeles as competitors - in BC. 295% above highest American tax - fuel equals 15% of operating cost - prepared by the Van Horne Institute in Calgary for the Air Tranportation Association of Canada)," by Alan Daniels, December 13th, p. E5.

VS-412a. 1997 "Ottawa turns overs properties: Federal government makes $174-million deal with Brookfield Le Page to take over the management of 300 buildings, while saving 600 civil service jobs," by Kaythryn May, December 13, p. E9.

VS-412b. 1997 "North Vancouver District set to hike taxes - with no more high revenues from land sales, property owners face the prospect of tax increases during the next three years (2.5% hike in 1998 or a $30 increase on a home valued at $332,000 and a seven percent increase in 1999 and seven percent in 2000 - pressure for conservation stopped land sales key issue in 1996 election)," by Glenn Bohn, December 13th, p. B1.

VS-412c. 1997 "Mayors allege fast-tracking of transit plan (suburban mayors accuse puil of stifling debate)," by Jeff Lee, December 13th, p. A3c.

VS-412d. 1997 "GVRD budget will mean small increase for most taxpayers ($427.8-million budget up 5.4% from 1997 - average homeowner with assessment value of $262,000 paid $311 last year for regional services) by Jeff Lee, December 13th, p. B4.

VS-412e. 1997 "Tourists rules - there goes the waterfront (will require 11 acres of fill - semi trailers will be travelling into core, favours Bing Thom scheme - homogenize downtown)," by Elizabeth Aird, December 13th, p. K11.

VS-412f. 1997 "Vancouver and Richmond will stay young as the rest of Canada ages: Shrinking numbers of seniors will affect heal services and transportation (number of seniors in both places will shrink marginally over next five years then grow by less than two percent over the coming 10 years in Study for Vancouver/ Richmond health Board - source Review of Acute and Rehabilitation Services Vancouver / Richmond Health Board November 1997 - so more emphasis needs to be put on youth, children, and adults - study estimates seniors population in both cities will fall from 82,884 to 81,755 by 2003 and in ten years seniors population will increase by just 1.76 percent to 84,342 - number of seniors in BC now 479,880 - will swell by 15 percent to 554,479 in next five years and by 28 percent to 614,715 in next ten years - reasons for anomaly trend for newer and younger immigrants to enter this area while seniors trend to leave and retire less expensive places to the East and on the Island)," by Marina Jimenez, December 15th, p. A1.

VS-412b 1997 "Shopping centres welcomes all groups: a mall being built in Coquitlam will appeal to Asians and non Asians (Henderson Centre - group built international place - difficulty convincing planners mixed used concept of this scale would work in suburbs - common in Hong Kong - $130-million project - stress put on signs and English Language skills, - Kirkor Architects - main office in Hong Kong was also unsure the suburbs were ready for concept - vacancy rate town centre now only 4% - will have three high rise towers, 265,000 sq. ft. mall)," by Scott Simpson, December 15th, p.B1.

VS-413. 1997 "Fewer Japanese visit BC; continuing decline feared: Their overseas travel is still increasing but they are not coming to Canada, Tourism Research Institute says BC. has 40% of the market and it's going to be hurt most (12% in 1997 for Canada - half came via the United States - new competitors - Japan biggest overseas market - are more price sensitive - according to Statistics Canada up to end of September 524,858 visitors to Canada - Hong Kong was 125,912, China 61,630, Taiwan was up 3.3% to 125,666 - overall Asian visitors declined 6.6% to 1.28-million - BC. leads Western Canada in US market growth - 1.455-million American came into BC. by car, up 2.1%, versus minus 3.7% in Alberta, minus 6.6% in Saskatchewan)," Alan Daniels, December 17th, p. D1.

VS-414. 1997 "Police plan to decentralize in Surrey (Whalley then Guildford/Fleetwood highest crime rates - B and E 1800 calls in Whalley and about 1700 calls in Guildford - Vehicle theft - Whalley 1800 Car thefts 1250 in Guildford)," by Harold Munro, December 17th, p. A3.

VS-415. 1997 "Low-income housing to cost $32 million: the city and the province strike a deal to construct nearly 300 units in downtown Vancouver, but taxpayers will have to foot the bill (88 unit family housing False Creek, Pender and Seymour sites for 200 low income - will give up 10 social housing it wants Concord Pacific to build to give room for more market housing - Concord will write off value of land and underwrite construction cost of complex estimated at $4.6-million - response to desire to keep low-income housing production in Core despite cuts - The Vancouver Native Society will operate a 100 unit building at 27 West Pender - will serve SRO population - 100 unit at 1205 Seymour will by run by the Affordable Housing Society some units will be available to HIV patients)," by Jeff Lee, December 19th, p. A6.

VS-416. 1997 "Paying For The Privilege Of Driving In The Region (comments on the GVTA or Greater Vancouver Transportation Authority - power to borrow money, establish tolls, expropriate land so it can raise revenue from land sales, would be a 15 member board)," by Karen Krangle, December 19th, p. A22.

VS-417. 1997 "Vancouver housing prices decline (in 26 neighbourhoods - average 3rd quarter 1997 versus 1996 all of Vancouver minus 11% - hence decline to $337,000 versus $381,000 in 1996 but up from second quarter of $326,000: West End up 15%, Downtown up 6%, Fraserview up 8%, Killarney minus 2%, Collingwood minus 15%, Renfrew Heights 0 percent, Renfrew minus 4%, Hastings East up 5 percent, Knight minus 2%, Marine Drive minus 7%, South Vancouver minus 2%, Main/Fraser minus 6%, Kitsilano minus 12%, Point Grey minus 10% Dunbar minus 1%, Kerrisdale minus 8%, Southlands minus 16%, Cambie minus 19%, South Granville minus 16%, Mount Pleasant 7 percent up, Cedar Cottage minus 8%,Shaughnessy minus 26%, Fairview minus 3%, Grandview 0% source Strategic Investors Guide to Residential Real Estate Prices - this study shows that ethnic Chinese account for nearly two-thirds of new single detached, particularly on the west side - and Chinese buyers accounted for 45% of all detached resales, figures down marginally from last year, Chinese interest in Condos has waned significantly, drop to 26% of volume from 44% twelve months ago - events in Asia affecting market, big worry dumping of high-rise condos by investors,West End resale was $259,000 versus $242,000, Downtown price up to $257,000 compare to $242,000, Shaughnessy prices tumble from $1.235-million to $858,000, resale in Marpole up nine percent - to average of $388,000 versus $344,000)," Wyng Chow, December 19th, p. E1.

VS-418. 1997 "Coquitlam: Harmony amid diversity: The Vancouver Sun examines your local governments, beginning with Coquitlam, where seldom an angry word (Councillors - of six only one is an ally of the right of centre mayor - after 1996 election - mayor pragmatist and populist, not shun left but appoint to key positions to keep council workable - Bill Melville most academic - high school principle and has an MBA - only loyalist to mayor Jim Stangier owner of travel agency - Becker is Banker - endorsed local NDP - Louella Hollington - house manager and artist along with Dian Thorne - educator all NDP endorsed - Jon Kingsbury - called wild card - appointed GVRD seat - Melville most independent member of council - mayor allows full public debate - developers get minor favours - holds up well compared to other council's - top issues 1997 - parking plans, skyline and infrastructure expenditure in town centre, Ditches to be eliminated, other issues - illegal suites becoming a more significant concern: bureaucrats - Norm Cook - manager $127,408 salary - one of leanest operations in city/ Deb Day - Planner $91,925 - ambitious review of neighbourhood plans, new vision of city and planning for LRT - Neil Nyberg - engineer - $102,592 $35-million spent over past 15 years on ditch elimination - now 3 million a year rebuilding local and collector roads says engineer)," by Scott Simpson, December 22nd, p. B1.

VS-419. 1997 "25 years on, Farmland Policy Seen as vital to B.C. (case in point farmer David Taylor - initially opposed now he sits on the board - a farmer with an orchard - legislation passed Dec. 21, 1972 - home builders adamantly oppose - was passed by order in council - BC. pop. predicted to be 5.78 -million in 2020, creating a demand for 980,000 homes - however new units plunged to 28,000 in 1997 compared to 42,800 in 1993 - legislation meant to protect $2.2-billion farming industry - Lower Mainland still has 22,000 hectares in urban reserve about twice the size of the City of Vancouver and 18,000 hectares of rural land that could be converted - recent poll 87% oppose converting agricultural land to commercial land use versus 83% opposition for residential land use)," by Larry Pynn, December 22nd, p. A1.

VS-420. 1997 "Surrey council unites against new foes (got through labour negotiations, reputation of internal strife directed outwards - especially to GVRD - mayor slammed province over slot machines - City Manager Salary $157,106 - challenges 1998 - garbage and transportation - also safe city campaign - Lehman Walker - $120,126 - $300 - million worth of development - challenge growth management - Engineer - $120,126 - challenge transportation - SET - five of eight seats - party mayor belongs to - one independent and two SCE (NDP affiliate) - Villeneuve and Robinson - mayor's salary $75,933 - challenge - shift to smaller government- says Doug McCallum)," by Harold Munro, December 23rd, p. B1.

VS-421. 1997 "B.C. house sales dip 35% in November: Real estate association attributes the decline to lack of income growth and to negative news about the provincial economy (Average BC price - $217,000 - prices low and middle range have held only high end has fallen dramatically)," by Bruce Constantineau, December 23rd, p. C2.

VS-421a. 1997 "Widening Gap Between Rich and Poor New For Canada (From 1972 to 1992 Canada did not experience widening of gulf between rich and poor - as in United States - Charles Beach, a Queen's University Economist, wrote in Study for C.D. Howe Institute report in 1996 - have to go back to 1920s and 1930s to find anything comparable - Statistics Canada Study released December 22nd, found that between 1995 and 1996 the poorest fifth of the Canadian population - lost 3.1 per cent of income or $500 and richest fifth saw income grow by 1.8 percent or an average of $2,000 - poorest fifth declined from $17,882 to $17,334 and richest fifth rose from $112,822 to 114,874 - poorest fifth equals 15 percent of richest or ratio of 7 - what is striking is that this is occurring during a time of growth - also benefits no longer pulling as many families out of poverty - poorest fifth draw 60 percent of income from government says Beach - payments have declined in each of the past three years - in 1996 decline was three per cent - Beach expects gap to widen in next few years and effects will be hard to ignore, Statistics Canada Study called - Income Distribution by Size in Canada, examined 35,000 households last April poorest fifth lowest percentage of income than at any time in the 1980's and 1990's)," by Petti Fong, December 24th, p. A1.

VS-421b. 1997 "Satisfied citizens of Burnaby ruled by council that ignores party lines (nine member council - including mayor belong to NDP affiliated BCA (Burnaby Citizen's Association) and only one BVA (opposition member on council - Burnaby Voters Association only member former executive director B.C. Liberals - Doreen Lawson) - Top issues - parks - Burnaby Lake, Burrard Inlet, Brunette River, Burnaby Mountain, Casino - council split on - Transit - want to expedite - finances - have to absorb $4-million cutback - growth pressures - protect single family areas and ensure growth includes affordable housing - pop is currently 180,000 - add another 40,000 by 2021 - mostly in high density nodes and along transit corridor - 121 community activists appointed to consultative committees to advise council on planning issues - non elected network - Mayor Doug Drummond - teacher longest serving council member - Mayor earns $73,300 and councillors earn $25,000 - Bob Moncur - City Manager $137,000 - Don Stenson, Planning Director - past three years held position - $114,000 - main issue dealing with growth - town centres and LRT - open up some single family areas where more than one family households welcomed - Kate Friars - Parks Director - $90,000 - Rankin member since 1983 -

Nephew of Harry Rankin - Derek Corrigan first elected in 1987 - pressure for densification is one of his major concerns)," Bob Sarti, December 24th, p. B1.

VS-421c. 1997 "Housing projects face opposition - Despite the hectic holiday, an overflow crowd of about 200 residents turned out at a public hearing to protest plan to build more than 500 new homes in Walnut Grove - (School is against - recreation infrastructure and traffic cites as problems)," December 24th, p. B3.

VS-422. 1997 "In Langley township, council bickering has left many residents red in the face (viewed by most as most dysfunctional council in region - (Mayor John Schotens $50,064 - goal attract jobs to township - Mark Balden - administrator $112,670/ Terry Lyster - Planner $95,940/Engineer Jamie Umpleby $95,940 - three independents, new political party formed to defeat current party called the Langley Leadership Team - ruling party accused of paying off developer friends - seven member council with Mayor 4 to 7 balance)," by Harold Munro, December 27th, p. B1.

VS-423. 1997 "North Van district's love of nature to prove costly - (new plan for sustainable future means less land sell offs and higher taxes - 1996 bellwether debate over district owned forests - one activist group - GUARD - or Group United Around Responsible Development - Stanley Park sized area to be preserved - profits from land sales plummeted to about $700,000 from $12-million in 1997 compared to 1996 - director of corporate services - $99,912 - municipal manager $116,000 - seven member council - at least two eco candidates few real estate connected people on council - top issues in 1997 - drop in land sales - industrial land - what type of industries to attract - waterfront access - now blocked by docks and industries - saving suburban forest - gridlock on roads - explosion of minivans)," by Glen Bohn, December 29th, p. B1.

VS-424. 1997 "Delta - merging of planning and permits into new community planning and development department," December 29th, p. B3.

VS-425. 1997 "Montreal's decline is a boost to Vancouver: The steady erosion of Montreal's status - thanks to the threat of separation - is proving a boon to Vancouver, as well as to Ottawa-Hull, days a new report that assesses the outlook for various metropolitan areas in Canada (157 report by DRI/McGraw Hill a division of Standard and Poor's - by 2007 Vancouver will grow by 330,000, Toronto by 720,0000 and Montreal by 172,000 and Otawa-Hull by 125,000 - notes Vancouver has become a gateway to the east and major recreation destination, Chicoutimi-Jonquire will have lowest employment growth in ten years have highest unemployment rate of metropolitan areas)," by Eric Beauchesne, December 29th, p. A4.

VS-426. 1997 "Vancouver councillors burnish image by acting as champions of the city (Mayor Owen $92,987, Ken Dobell, City Manager $160,000, Dave Rudberg, Engineer $126,000, Larry Beasley, Planner, $91,300 - mentions less advantaged in inner city - eleven on council - council salary $44,373 - for Price and $42,668 regular councillor - focus on pedestrians)," Frances Bula, December 30th, p. B1.

VS-427. 1997 "Taking the city to the country - Ad agency makes tracks for booming Surrey locate (Foster Mead Advertising - one of city's oldest firms - moved to Surrey - three person staff - new info technologies and services in Surrey help - rents 40 percent cheaper much of business in suburbs - did a great deal of travelling out to Surrey prior to move - revenues about $1.2-million)," Bruce Constantineau, December 30th, p. C1.

VS-428. 1997 "Realtor predicts growing markets (forecast of Colliers international - researcher for Vancouver, Michele Lee - office leasing forecasted to slow significantly - only a fraction of recent past - leased office space grew by 872,000 in 1997, industrial space grew by 4.25-million square feet - $12.2-billion changed hands in 1997)," Wyng Chow, December 31st, p. D2c.

VS-429. 1997 "Another year of ups & downs in Vancouver (report - Vancouver Trends - adjusted for inflation taxes lower than 1977 - in 1996 100,000 vandalism incidents compared to 50,000 in 1980m, continuing rise in tourism, Aids cases drop in half between 1991 and 1996 - from 230 to 140 - damage by traffic accidents - $14-million in 1977 to $47-million in 1996 - number of poor people rising - 1993 - 16 percent of children on welfare in 1995 rose to 18 percent)," by Doug Ward, December 31st, p. A1.

VS-430. 1997 "Compact-sized Royal City had it all: good and bad, outdated and new (Mayor - $58,000, City Administrator, Ken Winslade $118,000, Planner, Mary Pyneburg $93,775 - former designer Chateau Whistler, commitment to GVRD vision, Engineer - Pat Connolly $99,100, seven person council - top issues - core/ city syndrome, downtown revitalization, casino, transit, i.e., 350,000 vehicles a day go through city with population of only 50,000 - in downtown social dislocation and drug use needs to be addressed - outdated industrially zoned land - strong union bastion - NDP town - councillors earn $20,000 a year - young council - many active in local neighbourhoods - strong extra parliamentry presence)," by Robert Sarti, December 31st, p. B1.

VS-431. 1998 "B.C.'s south Asians ready market (West Vancouver Consultant - Bob Macklin - South Asian Lifestyles - non Chinese Asian - work ethic, high consumerism - like lottos - says president of Ethnicmark, marketing and research - estimated 200,000 in Vancouver area - defined as people from India, Pakistan, Fiji, Sri Lanka - survey of 3,500 - 330 interviews - Findings - typical South Asian - affluent and educated - 80 percent own home versus 67 percent for mation - average household size 5.2 versus 2.6 , in B.C., according to Statistics Canada, 55 percent own computers 70 percent buy lotto tickets, 38 percent have high-school, 30 percent have gone to college or vocational school and 23 percent have a university education, prefer watching T.V. and radio in own language but like reading English Language Newspapers for international and national business news - 37,000 south Asians read The Vancouver Sun at least once a week - versus 45,000 who read Indo- Canadian Voice, prefer to drive a GM car, invest in mutual funds, frequently travel - destinations - India, U. S., Fiji, England- 57 percent had annual household income of $50,000 or more 4 percent surpass $90,000 and further 4 percent past $100,000)," Wyn Chow, January 2nd, D1.

VS-432. 1998 "Birds moving in to Terra Nova parkland: Richmond has acquired about half the target properties needed to create a new park on what was once land headed for development and, for area's bird life, the project is already a success (dispute over lead to defeat of pro-development council in 1990 election - Terra Nova first settled by families from NewFoundland - where developed some of the most expensive single detached homes - 4,600 people live in - homes start at $450,000 - some rise to more than a million - $28M to be spent on park - purchase 20 hectares)," by Larry Pynn, January 2nd, p. B1.

VS-433. 1998 "Dealing with three separate areas difficult for members of Delta Council (Seven person Council - six belong to IDEA - middle of the road Independent Delta Electors Association - farmers and environmentalists two powerful lobbies - Mayor Beth Johnson - IDEA mayor $60,903, Tom Fletcher Chief Administrative Officer $136,000, Rick Elligot $96,948 - Corporate Services - Peter Steblin, engineer $96,948 -councillors $20,000, Mayor originally from L.A. - Fletcher cites one issue secondary suites - land fill - the bog - Elligott budget of $108.7-million a challenge - three communities unified by green belt and farming - concentration of dairy and vegetable operations - population about 100,000 - 450 sq. miles - North Delta has half of population and rest split former working class town of Ladner and middle class Tsawwassen - distinctly Caucasian)," by Larry Pynn, January 2nd, p. B1.

VS-434. 1998 "As readers languish, the Library motors along - The Vancouver Public Library's increasing reliance on corporate funding sometimes gets in the way of the real business: reading -

($500,000 donation Concord Logo put on library cards/cut backs in public funding for library, use library as a movie set and close down early)," by Elizabeth Aird, January 3rd, p. C3.

VS-435. 1998 "Richmond Council short ethnic members - Seven of nine council seats are dominated by right of centre NPA, but the lone socialist councillor agrees it's working (issues - casino - Musqueam Indian Band - Heritage - demolition in Steveston - Budgets - Airport - Mayor $66,245 former NDP now Independent - Administrator - George Duncan $128,881, Public works administrator (engineer) $111,650)," Larry Pynn, January 3rd, p. B1.

VS-436. 1998 "Homes Sales down but selling prices rise in Fraser Valley (December average purchase price of single detached $250,190 still a 12.7% increase over five years - drop in domestic immigration a factor - typical house defined as being on a 60 foot lot three bedroom, nine years old - Mission Median price $169,000 - White Rock - median $295,000), January 3rd, p. E1.

VS-437. 1998 "Booming growth in Windsor leaves its night life out in cold," (total personal income - $6.9-billion-1998 rise to - $7.3-billion- and top $10.8-billion in 2007 -metro population is 282,499 expected to be 300,000 in 2003 -S&P study indicates that low government employment now a plus in expansion - city generate between three and four thousand jobs a year - uemployment expected to be 5.5% in 2007 - manufacturing and recreation service sector will propell economy)," by Chris Vander Doelen, January 5th, p. A7.

VS-438. 1998 "Property assessments show drop in expensive-home values (Vancouver's assessment increased slightly to $79.5-billion from $78.6-billion, values cheap homes have risen and expensive ones have fallen, heritage homes hold value, and homes with basement suites, office buildings strong market,Yaletown, Robson Street and West End, highest assessed commercial areas, Chinatown holding or falling, 800 and 900 block Granville increase in value, condos under $150,000 and townhouses in $200,000 range do well and went up slightly, West Van and North Vancouver remained most stable,Whistler biggest assessment increase, houses in town centre rose 10 to 40 percent, outside perimeter up 20 to 30 percent, rest of B.C. remain stable)," by Petti Fong, January 6th, p. B1.

VS-439. 1998 "Office space to open up by in the middle of year, realtors' report says (5.9 vacancy Vancouver office rate slip to second place and Calgary become city with lowest rate - year end report Royal LePage - where it is 5.0 percent - Calgary also has lowest industrial vacancy rate of 3.3 percent Vancouver has 4.4, 1998 vacancy rate in downtown soften with departure of some companies and downsizing, Montreal 15.5 per cent year end - Edmonton 14.7/Halifax 12.1/Regina 10.8/Toronto 10.1/ Ottawa 9.9/Winnipeg 8.9/Vancouver 5.9/ Calgary 5.0 - largest block of space available downtown 65,000 sq. feet vacated by MB in Cathedral Place)," byWyng Chow, January 6th, p. C1.

VS-440. 1998 "Curbs urged on immigrants who can't speak English, French: a report calling for overhaul of the system also recommends tougher rules governing eligibility, including residency requirement (go after investor and business class who speak language of the land, three- year residency requirement,172 recommendations, fear that this will be a bar to Asians, also fee for education if do not have language, report noted that in 1996 six percent of skilled workerss, 50 percent of entrepreneurs and 66 percent of investors arrived with no knowledge of French or English, allow same sex couples)," by Peter O'Neil and Ken MacQueen, January 7th, p. A1.

VS-441. 1998 "Rapid Switch to transit authority brings fears of strikes, taxes, fees: Coquitlam Mayor Lou Sekora says he sees no reason why Greater Vancouver should inherit labour problems from the province," by Scott Simpson, January 7th, p. B1.

VS-442. 1998 "Council leaves name-calling to others (top issues in West Vancouver - Big Box store on Squamish Band Lands/old municipal buildings and arts centre/cars - Lions Gate Bridge/Clearcuts on the Mountain/municipal taxes if province eliminates grants - Director of Planning - Steve Nicholis - $95,000 - notes strong sense of community/quality of neighbourhoods/connections to nature - Doug Allan - municipal mananger $115,000 - problem transportation/ Kevin Pike - Director of Parks and Recreation - $87,000 - seven member council - Mayor Pat Boname -$51,000 - worries about provincial cut of $900,000 - civil - two cabinet ministers on council - more fractious than in past - all members do not vote as a block - wants to keep village like atmosphere - in best way a conservative council)," by Glen Bohn, January 8th, p. B1.

VS-443. 1998 "Hepatitis-A outbreak surges among gays: a free vaccination program fails to halt the rise in cases, most of which have occurred in the West End (within gay and bi-sexual population - 75 cases since October - eight cases already in January - estimated gay population 20,000 to date 1,000 vaccinated)," by Catherine Porter, January 8th, p. B1.

VS-444. 1998 "Residents facing an extra $1-billion in fees to upgrade region's transportation system: New levies including tolls, higher parking rates and more would be on top of current taxes and surcharges, an audit estimates (in next 10 years, that's above $123.4-million now paid annually through non rise taxes and levies, tenth year operation authority would be charging $80 per resident for improved services or $320 per family - audit released by GVRD - conducted by Eva Hage, rift inner and outer suburbs - Carline wants to move ahead with authority, with improvement use expected to rise from - 123.5-million rides in 1996/97 to 184.8-million by the year 2009) by Scott Simpson, January 8th, p. B4.

VS-445. 1998 "Vancouver's poor face squeeze in downtown area housing: with fewer low-cost rooms there are fears many will be forced on to the street unless the units are protected or replaced (lowest concentration of low income housing in province - Charles Gauthier, general manager of the 5,000 member Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association, worries Vancouver may become like San Francisco or New York where SRO units were lost - homelessness is bad for business - units reviled but serve purpose and house a stable population of mostly retired males - from Richards to Clarke house about 10,000 - on average 85 units a year being lost - city wants to double condos in area from 2,300 to 4,600 in next 10 years - critics say will inflate land values and make provision of SRO too expensive - 25 to 60 percent of users estimated to have some mental problems - city is considering an anti-conversion bylaw), " by Robert Sarti, January 9th, p. B1.

VS-446. 1998 "Squamish Lures Disgruntled City Dwellers (case in point slain Robert McIntosh - 'A steady flow of young professionals consider Squamish, and other villages within a two hour drive of Vancouver, a mecca for both leisure and work,' - McIntosh's move from Kitsilano to Garibaldi Heights in Squamish 12 years ago - Squamish population up 25 per cent between 1991 and 1997 from 12,049 to 14,949 - Pemberton 516 to 1,173 - Whistler - 4,589 to 8,403 - Chilliwack 50,972 to 63,080 - Harrison Hot Springs - 674 to 1,056 - Sechelt - 6,301 - 8,007 - Gibsons 3,230 tp 3,881 - Squamish population expected to double over next ten years - influx young couples with children - home-based business have multiplied and more than 2,000 commute to Greater Vancouver from Squamish says Chamber of Commerce Manager Wendy Magee)," by Lori Culbert, January 9th, p. A1.

VS-447. 1998 "Convention hotel's height more than Vancouver typically allows (proposal 450 feet high 15 stories beyond limit for waterfront - Council prepared to allow 350 rather than 3000 which is current limit but not 450 feet - will block Seymour Street view - so far planners like concept - slim hotel, and convention centre hidden - problematic housing on east side - 4,000 units secure in social housing located there but there are 6,000 SRO's that are vulnerable - hotels might be redeveloped for service workers)," by Frances Bula, January 10th, p. B1.

VS-448. 1998 "Vibrant Revival - a six block area of North Vancouver is in line for a major facelift with 5,000 new condos to rise amid walkways, green spaces and, to cap it all, an elegant plaza (4-12 storey building and one eighteen storey building one marketer says area like kitsilano 15 years ago)," by Barbara McQuade, January 10th, p. F1.

VS-449. 1998 "New 12-screen complex planned for Richmond (five complexes in Greater Vancouver - Silver City - Riverport - 3,356 opened at Christmas - Silver City 20 screens at Coquitlam - 4,500 seats, open December 1998- International Village - 12 screens 2,500 seats - spring 1999 open, Metrotown - 10 screens 3,200 seats open November 1998 and Guildford - 12 screens - 3,700 seats, spring 1999)," by Wyng Chow, January 13th, p. D2.

VS-450. 1998 "Waiting List doubles for social housing (October 1977 - 10,200 on waiting list versus 5,900 in 1993 - B.C. maintain same funding but only allows about 600 units a year with $60-million for building costs - as well $5-million in subsidies for each batch of 600 units - with federal government was able to build 2,500 units with funding - now look at other partnerships - presently about 65,000 social housing units in province)," by Frances Bula, January 13th, p. B1.

VS-451. 1998 "$500-million them park proposed to house PNE," by Scott Simpson, January 14th, p. A1.

VS-452. 1998 "Urban natives needs growing (according to 1996 census account for one third of B.C. Native population - second largest in number - second only to Ontario - but only 3.8 per cent of population - of 3.6-million - 139,655 - City of Vancouver - 10,965 and 18,000 in suburbs - plus 19,000 in Fraser Valley outside of GVRD in urban centres in the rest of the province, with 2,000 in Victoria - 128,000 in Manitoba - 141.525 Ontario - 71,415 Quebec, Sask 111,245, AB - 122,840 NB - 10,250, NS - 12,380, NFLD - 14,205 554,290 Native, 210,000 Metis, 41,000 Inuit birth rate declining but not as fast as expected - one children third single parent - Winnipeg - 46,000 highest in nation - and 20 of all natives live in seven cities, SK., Ed., Cal., Reg, T.O., Wpg., Vanc., population ten years younger than average -)," by Marina Jimenez, January 14th, p. A1.

VS-453. 1998 "Interest dropping in Coal Harbour (Marathon is asking $300-million for 33 hectare site - some now estimate only worth about $150-million - so far offers have ranged between $120 and $140-million - Kwoks have built two high-rises at $400 a square foot and they have moved slowly in Yaletown units currently selling for $300 a square foot," by Wyng Chow, January 15th, p. D1.

VS-454. 1998 "$125 Million to get mentally ill off the Street (once Riverview had 5,000 patients now only 800 - aim in seven year initiative is to build 2,600 units across the province)," by Ken McQueen, January 21st.

VS-455. 1998 "Vancouver lead hemisphere in conventions (states Amsterdam based Association of International Conventions - out of total trade Vancouver held 16 international conventions in 1997 compared to second place San Francisco with 12 - in total Vancouver accounted for 4.7% of all international conventions, then San Francisco with 4.1%, third place went to Washington D.C., Montreal (12), Atlanta, New York City, Toronto (8) Chicago in 18th place at 1.8% - Canada hel 18% of all international conventions versus 54% for the United States)," by Alan Daniels, January 22nd.

VS-456. 1998 "High costs force MacBlo out of research (largest in Canada - 80 researchers in Burnaby to be let go - cost to company each year $20 to $30-million - Canada's largest forest Company)," by Gordon Hamilton, January 22nd.

VS-457. 1998 "Hotel deals worth nearly $2-billion; 22 percent of the action in Vancouver (according to Royal LePage - Vancouver has highest room sales $132,000 compared to $79,000 in Alberta and $66,400 in Ontario)," by Wyn Chow, January 27th.

VS-458. 1998 "Business Park Plan Okayed for waterfront (26-hectare site - unused - worries by coucillor Jo Dean about access to by public to waterfront but oficials say will be assured and a significant amenity area established - developer Greystone - auto-mall is planned and possible hotel and retail and office development in business park)," by Glenn Bohn, January 28th.

VS-459. 1998 "Housing boom over, survey says: Alberta and Ontario are taking over from B.C. as the hottest residential powerhouse, the Royal Bank believes, (annual homeownership survey released today - Average cost in B.C. $212,500, Ontario $161,200, Alberta $121,200 - Vancouver $185,500, Toronto $221,400, Calgary $152,0000 - predictions for 1998 175,000 units predicted versus 154,000 in 1997 and 124,000 in 1996 - for B.C. 28,000 in 1997, 30,000 in 1998 and 31,700 in 1999 predicted - in B.C. 41% stated in survey conducted in December that they would buy a less expensive home and 18% stated that they would buy a condo, by far the highest percentage in Canada and 52% stated they would buy a resale home)," by Wyng Chow, January 29th.

VS-460. 1998 "Citizens Bank effort lowers VanCity profit (assest of bank around $850-million - assets of credit union $5.596-billion)," by Bruce Constantineau, January 30th.

VS-461. 1998 "Destination Vancouver: Vegas North? Since 1995 Vancouver has been going through an entertainment boom, with the addition of a massive new theme park, this will only get hotter ($250-million component of $500 million theme park to open by 2000 - will be the first in the Pacific North West and service Western Canada and U.S. northwest - only large market without one - dollar help in decision to locate in Vancouver, also because it has become an international tourist hub, author cites opening of Ford Centre - conceived as a regional draw, real estate specialist Phil Boname of Urbanics Consultants states that everything recently in the core has been connected to entertainment in one way or another - sidewalks, sports, shopping, cafes. In 1985 tourism revenue $245-million in 1996 was $949-million - visitors went from 3.8-million to 7.6-million in 1996 - in 1986 was only 5.8-million - Whistler - 69% of overnight visits from outside B.C. with 26% from the U.S. and 15% from Japan and 10% from the United Kingdom - in 1997 B.C. Place and Convention Centre generated revenues of $230-million)," by John Mackie, January 31st.

VS-462. 1998 "Theme Parks: Big ideas, and B.C., (first one opened at a cost of $17-million in 1955 by Disney - now it is a $11-billion a year industry in North America - B.C. and Pacific Northwest will have first - estimated of draw - from 1.5 to 3 million visitors a year - Visitors - Disney Florida 17 million, Disney California 14.2 million, Epcot Centre 11.2 million MGM Studio in Florida over 10 million, Universal Studios Florida 8.9 million Universal Studios in California 5.4 million, Canada's Wonderland 2.86 million - source Amusement Business Magazaine),"by Ken MacQueen, January 31st.

VS-463. 1998 "Groups seeks downtown answer: Vancouver Business Association expands, doubles its jurisdiction to included Entertainment District (17 cents per $1,000 assessment will therefore increase revenues that can be used from $500,000 to $700,000 - This BID is one of 30 in Vancouver and 1,100 in North America according to retail consultant Phil Boname, of Urbanics Consultants- say as shopping centres have grown from 5% to 60% of the retail market in the past 35 years downtowns have to compete more effectively - with expansion will cover 54 blocks - some in the entertainment field wonder how a group dominated by office users will be able manage the promotion of entertainment)," by Jenny Lee, February 2nd.

VS-464. 1998 "The Number of Taiwanese "passport babies," is rising, Ming Pao reports, HK numbers are declining (cheaper than buying a house or immigrating - costs of birth can range from $6 to $8,000 for months of medical attention, which usually cost $2,500 a month without medicare)," February 2nd.

VS.-465. 1998 "House sales Plunge in Region, fewer people are buying homes and prices are declining in most areas, apparently because of B.C. sagging economy (compared to January last year MLS sales dropped by 41.9% in the Fraser Valley and by 21.8% in Greater Vancouver - sales off by 26% in Maple Ridge - 19% in Delta - median price of single detached home sold on the west side of Vancouver down $93,500 or 14.5% to $511,500 and in Port Coquitlam down 8.4% - from $237,000 to $217,000, in Mission homes fell by 2.4%, in Abbotsford fell 2%, but in Mission condos up 9.7% and down 8.8% in Surrey - realtors feel reduced inter-provincial migration and less immigration the reason for decline)," by Wyng Chow, February 3rd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1992-1997

Winnipeg Free Press. 1992 "Editorial -Unsubsidized arena," February 2nd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1994 "Housing Prices beat inflation," December 20th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 "Visitors drop $9.6 billion . . .", May 28th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997a "Vacancy rates reverse trend," May 27th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997aa "Taxman eyes Transcona, Tuxedo homes: House prices stalled in most parts of the city; commercial, industrial values falling, -(house values: West End- minus 2.77, inner city North End(includes Maples-minus 1.77%, inner city River Heights, Wolseley and Fort Rouge plus 2.06, Transcona plus 3.18%, Tuxedo plus 3.35% while the average value for the city rose 1.5% - all assessed properties only rose by .33% $22.75B to $22.83B; commercial and industrial properties fell by 4% and downtown commercial by 18,6% according to city assessment department which has used market value assessment since 1994 based on 1991, revision is now based 1995 values)," by Aldo Santin, June 9th,p.A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997b "Housing Starts,"(p.B8), July 10th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997c "Province to fold Crystal Casino, July 23rd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997d "Homicide Capital," p,A1, July 29th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997e "Chart: average home repairs in Canada $1,799, most involved are 35 to 55, 50% households plan to engage in some renovation next year and renovation accounts for 26% of disposable income, according to Home and Garden TV.," in The Winnipeg Free Press. p.a., June 5th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997f "Blood Centre Delay ($24M) across HSC," by Kim Gottormson, August 10th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997g "Leadership void tied to managers dissatisfaction (according to survey by Winnipeg 2000), August 10th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 h "Forks seeks balance in development." by Kent Smith (Chief Executive Office The Forks North Portage Partnership," August 22nd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997i "Can core survive without Eaton's," by Kim Guttormson, August 23rd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997j "Upscale Transcona condo (1466 condo units sold past 18 months sales up 213% from 1990) by Michele Le Tourneau, August 24th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 k "City May extend new home tax break," by Andrew Maxwell, August 25th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 l "Suburbs bloom as core decays critics lament: construction boom avoids inner city," by Andrew Maxwell, August 25th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997m "Inner City neighhourhoods treasure community: Andrews Streetscreates wealth of another kind," (Director Dilly Knol- Andrews Street), by Mike Maunder and Virginia Maracle, August 27th,p.A9.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997n "The Forks City's top attraction -Angus Reid Poll(1,000 surveyed, 97% been to forks within year -73% past three months, Assinaboia Park second place, third place 50% Museum of Man and Nature) by Andrew Maxwell, August 31st.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997O "Old Fashioned Neighbourhood (i.e. 830 Macmillan $94,900 - boom in area a decade long) by M Le Tourneau, August 31st.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997P "Giving The Met a new lease on life: Volunteers hope to create showcase for city's pre-war heyday in landmark theatre," by Manfred Jager, September 2nd.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997Q "Optimism Building in Manitoba (CMHC forecast 2,575 starts in 97 up 11% versus 20 for the nation (148,100), 1998 predicts 2,700 starts, up 5% versus 7% (158,800) for the nation - and average price will go from $157,100 to $161,300)," by M. McNeil, September 5th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997R "Mall turns 10, tries for turnaround -Portage Place throws bash for customers (63,000M project) by Andrew Maxwell, September 14th, p.A7.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997Rr " Downtown hurries up: Business community wants plans in place for spring construction - use $4M from Winnipeg Development Agreement," by Aldo Smith, September 14th, p.B1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997S "Portage plans win approval of EPC ($835,000)," September 18th, p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997SS "Commercial developers prefer city sites (worry industrial decentralization and commercial will now follow residential- province state municipalities have to work out - $40 to buy retail space versus $64 to build states Ken Krotch, broker for Stevenson and Company between June 1996 and 1997 city added 1.3 M sq. ft. in industrial space and between Jan and June industrial construction was worth, $58M- Mayor proposes green belt to act as buffer and create perhaps no zoning code for entire urban region)," by Andrew Maxwell, September 21st, p.A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997SSS "Inner-city youths develop work ethic, responsible: Program instils pride, keeps kids out of trouble (socialization)" by Mike Maunder and Virginai Maracle, September 21st, p. A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997T ""1997 annual Vehicle Insurance Premiums : Toronto $1,794; Montreal $1,759;; St. John's $1,677; Calgary $1,482; Edmonton $1,482; Vancouver $1,434; Ottawa $1,236; Halifax $1,209; Monction $1,126; Winnipeg $875; Charlottetown $ 786; Regina $774), September 22nd, p.B4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997U "Urbanism: The Next Generation -Eco-village at The Forks - (limited parking for 50 vehicles 130 unit complex housing 300 $60,000 to $150,000 a unit - one possible project in second phase commission of proposal for The Forks) by Aldo Santin, September 22nd, p.A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 V "Official sees upside of the downtown: Big developments bypassing the city centre but BIZ chief (Martin Hak) is confident in area's potential (anchors offices and government) need to attract people after 5 AM (focus on urban spectacle), by Andrew Maxwell, September 22nd, p.A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997W "Editorial: Why at The Forks" (questions commercialization views 2,800 seat movie complex as lopsided), September 23, P. A14.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997WW "Calgary, Toronto lead housing boom (Scotia bank economists predicts Calgary and Toronto will account for 25% of total starts projected to be 152,000 in 1997 or about 38,000 units- for Manitoba 2,000 starts predicted for 1997 and 3,000 in 1998)." September 25, p.B16.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997Y "Winnipeg Losing residents to smaller communities (According to stats Canada between July 1, 1995 and June 30,1996 Winnipeg recorded a net loss of 4,600 residents compared to net loss for province of 2,152, while Manitoba's population grew by 21,956 between 1991 and 1996 Winnipeg only grew by 6,759 or about 1% compared to 2% for the province- most move outside to exurban areas such as Stonewall which has grown to 3,698 or 23% since 1991, or to Vancouver- the second most popular destination.," by Bud Robertson, September 27, p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997Z "Washington approves trade corridor; cost of upgrade tagged at $3.8B (most for I-35 that goes to Duluth of which I-25 is only an offshoot - but Winnipeg joins up - Winnipeg Mayor one of 100 Mayors that met from three countries)," September 27th, p. B22.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 Zz "Food processing firms bids to buy city-owned land (city selling land at $52,000 an acre versus about $100,000 in St. James which in near airport - also St. Boniface - problem with odors from rendering plants - to improve image city is spending money on landscaping - park contains 243 hectares but only land to 40 private developers sold so far), September 30th, p.A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997za "Homebuyers keen despite rate hikes (CMHC- WPG.-should have 325 multiple units -278 multi starts by end of August versus 202 in previous year and 1,100 (71% of all) units - mostly life lease - agency expect 1,200 SD (71% of all) units in 1988 and Multiple units to rise to 350)," by Murray McNeil, October 3rd, p.B9.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zb "Council looking for new core fix: Plans involve city hall district ($12 to $16 M campus project) by Aldo Santin, October 4th, p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zc "Membership levelling off policy say - Street Gangs loosen Grip (200 members have become inactive police report - gangs the result of an influx and concentration of unemployed native males, there were once five main gangs with a known membership of 1,375 (222 known female members) have expanded into Sask. and North Western Ontario, in 1995/1996 gangs were growing rapidly, in the early 1990's auto thefts went

up 200%, up to one an hour, now there are only two main gangs (Indian Posse and Manitoba Warriors), moving into other crimes and becoming aligned with bikers and so more involved with drugs and prostitution), October 6th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zd "Rural battle royale over pig stench: citybred country dwellers want to smell fresh air, not 10,000 piglet, in new homes (10,000 people live near proposed pig farm, near boundary of two rural municipalities Tache which has zoning for rural residential and Ste Anne, which does not - urban sprawl in now affecting farm operations one of the most dynamic sectors in the province as hog production is expected to increase from 2 million to 5 million by the year 2000). October 6th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ze "Resale housing market booming (hurtring low end market - as a result sales are going up for up more expensive homes rather than lower priced ones a under $60,000 , which are sitting on the market longer. Also companies moving executives have been taking over homes and selling them at a discount. Thus average price in Linden Woods has fallen from more than $200,000 to $175,000 - also the St. James market most active because of growth in the aerospace industries. MLS volumes are up 5% for September and the average selling price was $85,041, up 1%), by Bud Robertson, October 7th, p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zf "Clean up grim out goes crime - Tag- team of city official take on Murder's half Acres (area bounded by Portage, Notre Dame Sherbrooke and Isabel Streets - June inspection Vacant houses boarded up 16 - in August 6 boarded up) by Doug Naime, October 10th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zg "Today's salaries might make jets unaffordable - What if we built the new arena (average salary now more than one million up 34% and 15% predicted for next season - arena proposal stated in first two years salaries would only go up 20% in nine - according to city report if projection off 6% feasibility of arena would be marginal, beyond that it would be non viable) by Paul Wiecak, October, 10th, p.A4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zh "Shakeup urged for city Hall - Cuff Report (Edmonton consultant - recommends stronger mayor - eliminate 40 senior administrators -Save $5M-create a city manager instead of 4 member board of commissioners - system only Calgary has, eliminate residential advisory groups and community committees, reduce 49 department to 19 all who report to chief administrator- maintain four standing committees, four year terms instead of three would be biggest change in 25 years) by Aldo Santin and Dan lett, October 11th, pp. A1 and A8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zi "Lifestyle choice: condos now make up 14% of the city's new-home market (mostly low rise bungalow and in the suburbs, unfamiliar to most in the city but most familiar to people living in upper middle class areas that have condos in the South and in exurban areas - market young professional who value recreation time and mature adults and seniors- Greentree a big player, 20% of Qualico product is condo - one project -Country Villas - in Bird's Hill -166 single detached units - model - developments in Phoenix and Kelowna- may be some redevelopment in Historic Exchange district with heritage building renovation tax refund program, says Guy Hobman, president of Greentree Homes)," by Treena Khan, October 12th, p.C9.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zj "Big builder pulling out of Winnipeg: Cairns sells land; analysts see consolidation (big developers down to 4 from 5 and some see 3 the number able to live in market as production has fallen from around 3,000 units in the 1980s to about 1,500 units in the 1990's - there are 5 to 10 smaller developers -4 big developers now - in terms of size and assets: Genstar, Ladco, Qualico, Novamet)," by Murray McNeil, October 16th, p.B11.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zh "Cuff listing positions to abolish (views community committees unproductive - save $5M by eliminating executives) by Aldo Santin, October 19th, p.A4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zi "Province, city ignore Charleswood Bridge problem- Two years of traffic woes (Haney Street increase 2,000 vehicles from 1,650 a day to 3,645/Shaftesbury BLVD. 7,070 to 9,292 an increase of 2,233- children now find streets unsafe/ pedestrian harassed by automobiles- expensive remedial action or expressway extension- Charleswood Golf Course rezoned to parkland so needs 2/3's majority to change) by Brain McLeod, October 21st, P.A11.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zj "City administrators in limbo; panic sets in (board of commissioners will be dismissed Oct. 29th/ so far no support for Cuff's model/council may ask province to eliminate community committees), By Also Santin, October 21st, p.A9.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zk "Expanded cancer centre to cut waiting lists in half ($42M)," by David Kuxhaus, October 23rd,p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zkk "Editorial (claim city lost hundred's of thousands of dollars by discouting land for Royal Bank Call centre for no purpose, despite locating away from transit and inner city, response by Shindleman Oct. 28th - letters to the editor - p.A13 -says there is transit service and fair market price given -claims paid twice per sq. foot of adjacent lands - Shindico launch lawsuite against citizens who tried to block Superstor on Portage Avenue a t School Road)," October 25th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zl "Winnipeg: Growing From Within (insert)," October 25th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zm "City Hydro too valuable to privatize (Cuff Report -Hydro earned city $144M over best 10 years and returns will probably increase- seven departments earn praise - especially fire - considered to be one of best in country - Social Services, Hydro, Streets and Transportation, Audit, Ambulance, City Clerks)," by Aldo Santin, October 27th, P. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zn "Art patrons are not the elite (response to Ternette criticism - Harold Buchwald Chairman of Cultural Polity Review Panel hopes to see arts funding go to $5 per capita versus $3.03 over the next four years,would oly equal.189% of operating budget, claim3.2M attended an event), by Harold Buckwald, October 28th, p.A13.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zo "Firing usher in council's new era - Commissioners dismised new administrationOk'd (12-4 in favour -dissenters -Murray, Golden, Lubosch, Lillian Thomas - can now have in camera meetings, allow council to determine fate of committee committees, more power EPC, not accept 14 departments recommended by Cuff go with 19 - council just picked out what it liked from Cuff Report - province must now approve - Chamber of Commerce likes) by Aldo Santin, October 30th,p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zp "Council divided on closed-door meeting issue -in camera huddles don't look good in eyes of public says lazarenko," by Aldo Santin, November 1st, p.A8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zq "Low-Maintenance houses attractive and functional (but cost start from $100 to 120 a square foot), by Edward Lipinski (from New York Times), November 2nd, p.C10.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zr "Co-ops do their own processing (e.g., 30 member Ostrich Co-op represents new age cooperatives - are popular in North Dakota - permits members to won manufacturing plant rather than sell production members also pay for the processing and packaging and then share profits for whole venture, lease a facility for processing or construct own plant -new generation characterized by value added processing, two way contracts - buy

and process the production - co-op shares sold in the market place in the United States, not allowed in Canadian legislation at present)," by Gloria Taylor, November 3rd, p.B4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zs "Chief bent on change: Cassels struggles against tide to turn police service in a new direction (change in institutional culture attempted - community orientation and community policing more interaction with the public pushed by chief - senior police officers have resisted, don't want to see resources diverted from more traditional police tasks to community policing) by Doug Nairne, November 3rd, p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zt "Immigration policy fails provinces: expert -new arrival flock to Ontario, BC.; most avoid Manitoba (12% of province and 16.9% of city foreign born -Philipines largest source immigration - 4,235 came to Winnipeg between 1991 and 1996 or 21% of total immigrants arriving in Manitoba so about 20,000 immigrants came to Manitoba - there are 17,980 in province second to United Kingdom with 18,130 -1991-96 province experience serious decline in immigration - meanwhile 217,000 immigrants went to BC) by Dan Lett, November 5th, p.B3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zu "Cities' proposal gives big boost to public transit; needs feds' OK (make transit passes tax deductable- for companies- pitched by Jae Eadie on behalf of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities- Broland head of transit notes free business parking is tax deductible - benefit would be $570-Finance Dept. not keen on idea-Transport 2000 estimates would eliminate 300 million kilometres annually in urban travel) by Paul Samyn, November 5th, P.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zv "Province to spend $96 million fixing city," Alice Krueger, November 6th,p.A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zw "Construction booms: surging retail sales dend businesses on $100-million building boom (St. Vital biggest, $40M - all in the suburbs - including big cinema expansion by famous players -expansions placed in the inner city's of other large centres)," by John Douglas, November 7th,p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997zy "Political buck finds place to stop - Councillors (some bright, others dim) gain power (changes really about power -taking it away from administration and giving it to politicians now that they are more full time - problem quality of many councillors - council very poor at policy (result administration control) councillors dominated by real estate, councillors may be good at getting sidewalks repaired but have been incompentent in terms of policy making - conflict politicians want to control taxes and costs administration wants best possible service- new system will also encourage day to day meddling)," John Neville, November 7th, p.A13.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ba "One Grand shopping Centre ($40M makeover increase size by 20% to 850,000 sq. ft. second to 1.2M of Polo Park included $4.7 famous players cinemas -10 screens)," Murray VcNeill, November 7th, p.B8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bb "Agencies told to reveal officials' pay -province opts for broader view of recent disclosure legislation (Groups from city Winnipeg Convention Centre $2.2M in 1997;Winnipeg Enterprises Corporation $1.5; Tourism Winnipeg $570,500; The Forks-North Portage Partnership -$763,000; Winnipeg 2000 $720,000)," by Aldo Santin, November 8th, p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bc "Charleswood Bridge turns two and even its critics are cheering (realtors see house values rising in West Charleswook, but declining around Moray Avenue other impacted streets, affected where people go to school, more restaurants open along Portage

stretch, note Moray daily traffic 4,090 in 1992, now 12,340 to to industrial park and elsewhere) by Glen Mackenzie, November 9th,p.A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bd "Demand for spud space sends farmland prices up, soft, sandy soil is now fetching top dollar in province (Carberry $1,300 to $1,500 an acrece/ Winkler $2,000 farms South of Portage heavy soils, $500 to $600 North $1,100 to $1,200, even marginal soil around Shilo now being used, province highest rise in farm land prices, however far below OKanagan Valley or Lower Mainland where an acre can fetch $30,000, in Manitoba prices ragne $250 to $2,500, after MB BC prices rise most then Ontario 7.9%, New Brunswick, 5.9, Quebec same, Alberta 5.2% Saskatchewan 2nd last place up 3,9% versus 8.9% in Manitoba)," by Bud Robertson, November 9th,p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997be "City's trees face crisis budget cuts, neglect have left time bomb, 1(1990 province abandon souther buffer) by Gordon Sinclair, November 9th, p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bf "By the numbers," November 10th, p.B8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bg "Central bank closing office in Winnipeg (Seven staff lose work, centres consolidated in Calgary, Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax) by Bud Robertson, November 13, p.A4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bh "Come out of hiding and meet us, they say: Critics take on 'Deep Blue' - inner-city workers back Cassels, urge end to anonymity -meeting Turtle Island Community Centre - CEDA has established residents associations in several neighbourhoods/Elmwood/ Lord Selkirk/ Ellice-Spence - coalition representing six inner city groups want these critics to come out and see positive affect community policing has had)," by Mike Maunder, September 15th,p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bi "Lions block project will help renters buy in community (202 Langside will go for $35 to $45,000 - uses students to renovate - plan to redevelop a cluster of up to seven homes on same block next five years 60 homes to be renovated - there is also a rental unit inspection and certification process with plaque to put on structure - Lions stake has two seniors facilities in area)," by Maunder and Maracle, November 18th, p.A9.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bj " City urged to do Portage Streetscaping: Property owners seek public funding so project can begin in Spring ($6M project -widen sidewalks and plant trees - allow outdoor cafes - want before commit own funds - put in free parking)," by Aldo Santin, November 18th, p. A7.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bk "Assessors push war agaisnst River Heights (eg. Judy Peeler on Ash Street - no identification shown, demands entrybureaucrats demand entrance to homes at their conviennce - 400 homeowners sents letters - complaints assessors showing up unannounced - example of technocratic bureaucracy and weakness of middle class)," by Aldo Santin, November 19th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bl "Renovating History (too many commercial heritage buildings- Arch Honigman (owner of Dorchester Developments) has specialized in renovating apartment buildings - city has array of incentives -but needs more - developers ambivalent about heritage - costs and benefits - Murray says selling point for city - Developer Tom Dickinson, heritage activists have managed to get some developers on side - Dickinson has renovated two buildings 115 Bannatyne in 1971 - was first in heritage area to be turned into offices - Murray says city had done bad job in protecting heritage buildings, is the biggest landlord of vacant heritage buildings, Bernie Wolfe, president of Heritage Winnipeg , agrees, says developers have shown no leadership or vision the same with counillors, Wolfe says need new tax credits i.e., to write

off 50% of cost, Murray mentions having Warehouse Area declared national historic site)," by Keith Mc Arthur, November 23rd, p.B1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bm "Toronto drew best, brightest: Rock n roll Mecca (**Bohemia and new middle class** - book review of Before the Goldrush by Nicholas Jenning, Viking, 1997; Rock and Roll Toronto, by John Goddard and Richard Crouse, Doubleday 1997 -Yorkville Village Centre - even Dylan went up there to check things out) by John Einarson, November 23,1997,p.B5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bn "City mulls buying spree - Civic campus building carry $28.5 million tab (maybe should rent - five projects - inculded Commerce Bank and Bank of Hamilton)," Aldo Santin, November 25th, p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bo "Province gives city police $2 million to keep 40 offers on the street," November 27th, p. A7.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bp "City's campus plan will change South Main Street permanently: Three visions of downtown seek approval (9,000 employees - three main contenders Marwest, Shelter and Pace Greentree - Five developers offered proposals - Shelter the cheapest $13.5M - councillors not like vision - favour plaza vision)," Aldo Santin, November 27th,p.A12.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bq "Province plans to change rules for city government," by Kim Guttormson, November 27th,p.A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997br "Miserly tone to throne speech (one program - new initiatives commercial revitalization of Main Street and housing for high risk groups - urban aboriginal diversion program)," by Alice Krueger, November 28th, p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bs "Cargo link set with China: Air pacts big lift for Winnport," by Martin Cash, November 29th,p.A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bsa "City has Canada's sixth busiest airport (23.1% increase in passengers - move from 8th to 6th place - since 1995 in 1996 - 2.8 million passengers - Edmonton's up 63% and Calgary 25.9% and Pearson 8.5% - reflection of better economy - reflect marketing by new airport authority one observer claims, - Cargo business up 15% - courier business up 23.1% - 20% of landing fees for cargo and courier - also more north-south shipments)," by Stevens Wild, November 29th, p.B1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bt "Aboriginal council gets economic agreement: Job - training high on organization's priority list," by Glen MaacKenzie, November 29th, p. A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bu "Winkler best at sharing: StatsCan describes generous province lead by Mennonite heartland (Charitable median donations based on tax returns - Winkler $1,030; Morris $1,000; Steinback $980; Morden $600; Winnipeg $170; Brandon $140; Thompson $50; Manitoba $190; Canada $150 - small town, faith, community cited as factors - total contributions - in 1996 donations reported equalled $4 billion up 11.5%)," by Steven Wilds, November 30th, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bv "Principal says violent area scaring away students (R.B. Russell School - students are bused because of worries -enrollment has dropped by 100 students or 15% because of concern - reservations less willing to send students to school - present enrollment 611 students - school loses younger students)," by Nick Martin, November 30th, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bw "Great Things to Come (Klaus Thiessen - Head Winnipeg 2000 - sees Winnipeg as an urban centre for aboriginal culture - predicts population will be 100,000 very soon - need to integrate into labour force -some native run firms - hope to start an Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce - 90 native businesses - hope to better integrate into business community -key to survival downtown and dispersion to suburbs -sees Aboriginal Centre in old CP. station as a Beach head- success so far - beverages and health insurance - notes prediction by Manitoba Bureau of Statistics in 2016 only predicts a population of 717,000 or 8% growth and 733,000 by 2022 - Manitoba as a whole only grow 100,000 to 1.257M - no increase in births until 2010), " by Steve Pona, November 30th, p.B5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997bz "President will feel at home: Thriving, growing Filipino community one reason for head of state stops here (1968 Free Press announce Filipino population had passed the 500 mark - with arrival of 150 women to work in garment industry - since then community has grown to over 40,000 - first families doctors and nurses -in late 50s and 60s - late 60s surge in working class workers - peak 1968 - 200 women brought in - now many are run by Filipino - many have moved to Maples where street is named after Manila)," by Melanie Verhaeghe, November 30th, p.A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ca "Brandon boom begins - $112 -million hog plant expected to employ 1,150 when it opens in 1999 (Maple Leaf Foods - Netherlands farmers interested in migrating here to farm hogs - benefits to Brandon - expect population to reach 50,000 or up 25% - peak staffing at plant could go to 2,200 - government will spend over $8M on infrastructure to service)," by Bill Redekop, December 3rd, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cb "Main St. proposal celebrates natives: Task force envisions seedy strip as tourist mecca, residential area (Co-Chair Mary Richard, president of Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg, and Joe Buva, double city allotment to Main Street - over $12.5M instead of $6, but expecting some Fed help - demolish several hotels, Centre piece to be called Neeginan or Our Place - youth centre and residents for students and people travelling from up North to use medical facilities, redevelop river bank, i.e., Brew pub at St. James Steam Plant, out of town bands might be interested in investment if create urban reserve from treaty land entitlement fund, new building and demolish Patricia Hotel push out as many of 80 of 130 permanent residents, city could be compensated for tax loss if land becomes part of reserve - beautify Main Street, close Austin and Henry, develop Ukrainian and Scottish Cultural Centre - link to Warehouse District - redevelop overpass over Disraeli - shame hotel in good condition, city wants to get rid of other hotels - from WPG Sun - list P. 4 December 3rd, $100,000 relocation; $400.000 upgrade Museum of Man and Nature; $500,000 redevelop Victoria Park; $2.4M streetscaping; $1.6M student housing; $1M UK cultural centre; $5000,000 up grade buildings)," Kim Guttormson, December 3rd, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cc "Investor bets on downtown future ($25,000 - for 315 Portage Mitchell-Copp Building)," by Aldo Santin, December 3rd, p.A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cd "Manitoba buck trend grows less multilingual than it used to be (75% in Manitoba speak English as home language versus 67% in 1971, nationally 17% non official language - versus 15% in 1991 and 13% in 1971 -French down - much to do with lower birth rate - language with church connection more likely to survive i.e., Mennonite)," by Glen MacKenzie, December 3rd, p. A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ce "Resale home sales drop (November 604 sales - average price single detached $91,185)," December 3rd, p.B11.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cd "Upscale downtown-warehouse condominium combines luxury and history (two artist share - look gay - commercial artists - Ashdown Warehouse -1,711 square feet -$144,900- two have to relocate)," by MIchele LeTourneau, December 7th, p.C1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997 ce "Have your dreams custom-built (exurban 4,900 square foot home on Highland Park Drive in East St. Paul, can do in Winnipeg because there are plenty of large lots) by Treena Khan, December 7th, p. C7.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cd "Uof M biosystems engineering best in Canada, US. Report says (4th on continent - industrial engineering was also ranked 4th in country and 11th in continent)," by Treena Khan, December 7th, p. A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ce "Agencies called money makers: Fiscal issues chairman says SOA concept has benefits for the city (allowing city departments to act as businesses to make money within function and guidelines established council policy - called Special Operating Agencies or (SOAs) - candidates animal services estimate as SOA between 1998 and 2000 expenditures would increase by $300,000 and revenues by $1.2-million - groups would be given autonomy within policies established by council, also look at primary materials, sand , gravel, concrete and asphalt - net income could increase by four times - Dec. 17th council will decide upon whether two departments should prepare business plans)," by Kim Guttormson, December 10th, p. A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cf "Library plans moving forward (senior politicians added $3M to capital works budget for - 10 to 15 million needs to be raised)," December 10th, p. A6.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cg "Stats say Thompson thrives despite Inco scaling back (population 15,000 -$10-million in building permits so far -15 new businesses - since 1991 governments have invested $1.7-million in downtown -low taxes and land prices hoped to used as a lure - unemployment a problem yet some the highest median incomes in the country here)," by Greg Harder, December 10th, p. A8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ch "Forks explores new vistas: Butterfly conservatory, brew pub seek place at historic junction (possible Eco-Village $14.5-million headed by local lawyer - Alan Scarth courtyard village with transit connection in the centre - 300 residents, with limited parking, Marina/brew-pub - $2.6-million, Butterfly facility $400,000 German investor - all under consideration for phase two plans)," by Aldo Santin, December 14th.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997ci "North Main Welcomes clean up (John Rodgers, executive director of Main Street Project - must resist trying to eliminate - most people are older Caucasian - plan$12.5-million - average income $12,074 half of city - population 13,935 53% a visible minority 69% low income, social assistance three times urban average - 28 percent homeowners - 37% aboriginal and 33% of the population employed half urban average, population has dropped 10 percent since 1991 , according to report of The North Main Street Task Force)," by Kim Guttormorson, December 21st, p. A5.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1997cj "We will do O'Kay, but not as well as the rest of the country, study says (study done for Standard and Poor by Strategic Projections of Markham, president Tom McCormack states - Population expected to increase by 25,000 in ten years to almost 700,000, employment growth only expected to be .5 percent a year versus national average of 1.8 percent for 25 largest cities - result of economic base and relative decline of government, utilities, communications, storage and transportation functions - minister says 17,500 jobs created in 1997 so projections may be off - in terms of income average wage of $29,000 - so Winnipeg stands in 21st out of 25th, 67 percent of population in labour force - average manufacturing wage of $13 an

hour - little immigration - growth will come from births over deaths and migration from rural Manitoba), by Alen Mackenzie, December 31st, p. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998 "The outsiders: It's not a baby boom - it's First World meeting Third World right here in Manitoba (high birth rate but also high death rate past 30 years of age - classic Third World distribution)," by Mike Maunder and Virginia Maracie, January 18th, p. B1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998a "City slammed for judging firms' morals - pawn shop, massage parlour lawyers cry foul (city employee turned down massage parlour at Main and Alexander - city report questioned desirability in light of $12-million refurbishing that is planned)," by Kim Guttormson, January 18th, p. A4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998b "Strawboard's big in Elie (expect $60-million in sales revenue in $142-million straw plant which will employ about 100 people and expect expansion soon and perhaps second plant for Manitoba and three plants worth over $400-million-70 to 80 percent of production already presold to U.S. furniture concerns -plant will consume about 1,000 bales of straw waste to make for strawboard production)," by Geoff Kirbyson, January 21st, p. B4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998c "Cops prostituting themselves with cell phone scheme: Lazarenko (for 86 phones- a great deal of free advertising - Cantel logo to go on 86 police cars - payroll insert - and on informational brochures)," by Kim Guttmorson, January 24th, p. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998d "Rates could rise to meet U.S. market rules - Hydro divident in question (with U.S. rule change Manitoba can see power wholesale and retail - Bill 55 by provincial government changes Hydro mandate to allow - could lead to rise in Hydro rates - also could go into non-hydro ventures, Manitoba Hydro Act created in 1951)," by George Churchman, economist University of Manitoba, January 24th, p. A15.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998e "Water deal a drain on City? Tentative pact cold undermine province's economy too: critics (240,000 gallons annually for Headingly, St. Francois Xavier, and Portage - also sewage capacity - to earn revenues of $200,000 a year taxes in headingly already a third of the city's aid residential expansion - Klassen estimates city lose up to one million a year in tax revenue because of dispersion - hurt potential for industrial development) Aldo Santin, January 26th, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998f "Water project bad break for city: critics - Winnipeg pays in several ways they contend - Deal means dollars for Headingley's absentee owners (cost of project $30-million - Headingley will need to allow new development to fund $4-million contribution - Urban Affairs Minister, Jack Reimer - seem to reflect shift from earlier declaration of urban policy announced by the province in 1996 that it wanted to limit growth and make people pay for their service - critics maintain if Headingley had to pay full costs of project taxes would be higher than Winnipeg - currently they are only a third - chief critic Ken Classen a River Heights resident - Headingley Plan projects population might double or triple in next twenty years - currently it is about 1,600 - much of the land along Portage Avenue slated for commercial development and land between Portage Avenue and the river to be residential although it is currently zoned for agriculture - high proportion of land owners in municipality are absentee - about 25 percent - which suggest speculation - Ladco big owner 450 hectares along north side of Portage - has tried several times to get approval for development - also contributes 6 percent of conservative party contributions over $250 - originally province had planned a highway bypass, which would have turned Portage into a city boulevard - but it has now been officially dropped - so there is an inconsistency here as well)," by Aldo Santin, January 27th, p. A4.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998g "Editorial - Kill the deal (mentions highway bypass for Trans-Canada highway dropped)," January 27th, p. A10.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998h "Water plan OK expected - City wants capital-region talks with province before turning on tap (only let water flow if Headingley and three other communities discuss a comprenhensive development strategy - cover economic development -land use - water and sewer, transportation - emergency and recreational services - Coun. Lillian Thompson - deal doesn't make sense -criticizes mayor for knucking under)," by Aldo Santin, Janaury 21st, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998i "Sale of Comcheq disgust its founder - anti-free trader Loewen bitter as CIBC sell company to U.S. giant (states sold to bank for less because it was Canadian - claims bank refused to sell the company back or allow employees to buy - company was sold to bank in 1993 - 230 Winnipeg head office staff and 760 plus employees - bought by Cerdian once Control Data - present company $1.07-billion in revenues and $472-million in earnings (U.S.)," by Martin Cash, January 28th, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998j "MCI sets up shop - call centre giant finds Manitoba most attractive (higher end call centre - first in Canada - and expects to hire about 200 people - company revenues of $20-billion and employs 55,000 world wide - might locate downtown - old Free Press building a possibility as company states will plan to renovate an old building - province become a leader in call centres - SR&J will hire 210 workers in $4-million call centre on Academy Road)," by Geoff Kirbyson, January 28th, p. B7.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998k "Construction industry booming; hunt on for qualified workers (in 1997 $870-million in non-residential construction - up from low of $600-million in 1992 - best since 1989 when value was $910-million - in 1997 building permits were worth $353-million up from $297-million in 1996 - biggest growth area St. Vital and St. Boniface - no land in St. James states Greasley executive vice-president of Winnipeg Construction Association)," by Keith McArthur, January 28th, p. B8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998l "Money Key in transport panel report - city spending, vehicle-related fees urged (Five person Transplan appointed by province and city in 1994 - cost $780,000 - outline directions for city until 2010 - focus on highways and completion of inner ring road - recommendations: 2 cent a litre tax hike in Winnipeg region to earn $30-million a year - should go into a dedicated transportation account - allocate 1 cent of current tax to fund to raise another $15-million - and add $35 to annual registration fees earn $20-million - in total could raise $65-million a year- annual budget for highway upkeep should be kept - $25-million should be spent up road upkeep $15-million more than at present - this is arterial and not residential streets - Provencher should not be a major arterial - with Norwood bridge redirect traffic - no mention LRT - not enough transit users to justify report states - highly regarded 1993 Winnipeg Bicycle Facilities Study be implemented -city put bike land on new Norwood bridge but stops and starts on bridge)," by Kim Guttmorson, January 28th, p. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998m "Just say No - (water plan) editorial", January 29th, p. A12.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998n "Bold new street plan potholed (new plan calls for about $274-million more for road infrastructure and $200-million for maintenance in next decade, wanted to widen Portage - cost equals $100 per capita - 88,000 in region get $80 benefit while and 620,000 in the city get $32 in benefits - so problem with a regional funding arrangement - region consists of 13 surrounding municipalities - notes province refers to the region but not really interest so far in providing and example or discipline as water project in Headingley reveals)," by Gerald Flood, January 28th, p. A12.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998o "Portage plant to run again (firm hiring 200 - will make chassis - revenues of $20-million a year expecded - HOTECH for cars and trucks - joins transportation manufacturers - motor vehicle and parts exports more than$1-billion in 1997- largest export industry equals 12% of all exports)," by Bud Robertson, January 29th, p. A1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998p "Water plan stalls before council debate - mayor rethinks bid to link deal to capital region development - (strong oppositon from public and council - required 2/3's majority to put on agenda not present)," by Aldo Santin, January 29th, p. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998q "$300 million sports windfall projected over 18 months (because of the brier, Grey Cup, World Junior Hockey Games and Pan Am Games - it is claimed that the 1991 Grey Cup generated $37.9-million in activity and work for 625 - Pan Am games projection is for $267-million 2,474 person years of work and attract 115,000 tourists as well as 5,000 athletes, 1,500 coaches and 1,500 officials and 2,000 media representatives)," by Murray McNeil, January 30th, p. B8.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998r "Public fears put planned lagoon on hold - Environment Department wants answers before decision made on Headingley project (Mayor Susan Thompson claims that she had no choice province would go ahead with its own lagoon - initially agreed to venture because she felt could use as leverage to gain planning control over areas in question - Len Derach minister for rural affairs controls area not urban affairs minister and proponent of rural development)," by Aldo Santin, January 30th, p. A3.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998s "Condos for less: first-class builder offers ultra-affordable high quality suites (price $82,900 - unlike other new ones in the $120,000 to $130,000 range by A&S Homes- most condo projects ask between $100 to $105 a square foot without GST - this development selling $15 to $20,000 below appraised value - prior had focused on renovating older apartment buildings - has built 400 homes in Linden Woods)," by Aileen Goos, February 1st, p. C1.

Winnipeg Free Press. 1998t "European influences - architect draws ideas form past masters, time spent in France (Stephen Cohlmeyer -one of 165 practicing architects in province - states city as a wholesale mentality - average house costs $85 to $150 sq. foot while one designed by an architect can be around $110 - design takes three to four months - construction six to eight months so a year long process)," by Michele Le Tourneau, February 1st, p. C9.

Santin, Aldo

Santin, Aldo. 1996 "Rapid transit idea braked," in Winnipeg Free Press, February 28th.

Santin, Aldo. 1997 "Taxman eyes Transcona, Tuxedo Homes," in The Winnipeg Free Press, June 9th.

Santin, Aldo. 1997a "$3 million- 2 year plan for Portage Ave," in The Winnipeg Free Press, June 27.

Santin, Aldo. 1997b "Famous corner's barriers popular (54% oppose removal)," in The Winnipeg Free Press, June 30th.

Santin, Aldo. 1997c "Plans for Forks in at Risk," in The Winnipeg Free Press, July 16th.

Santin, Aldo. 1997d. 1997 "City approves lease agreement but deal is still not finalized -Katz given green light for ballpark," in The Winnipeg Free Press, July 24th.

Santin, Aldo. 1997e "A new heart to pump city? Troubled downtown area awaits entertainment plan," in The Winnipeg Free Press, August 3rd.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997-1998

Winnipeg Real Estate Board. 1997 "News Release : Condos Gaining Market Share - Sales increasing in the 1990's -4.9% (285 units) of residential detached sales in 1990 to 12.6% (891) in 1996, June.

Winnipeg Real Estate Board. 1997 Sold and Expired Book, July.

Winnipeg Real Estate News, May 26, 1995.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Editorial: City States (education Levy - 47% of property taxes while having 56% of provincial students and 59% of education assessment- it pays 71% of entire provincial levy)," May 30th,p.2.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Home of Italian culture (1055 Wilkes -$4M project)." August 15th.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Editorial Comment: Divisions at city Hall : (speech by councillorAmaro Silva, "Council does not run the City of Winnipeg. . . there is no direct accountability . . . from us to the administration. The administration runs the show. It's difficult to comprehend, but it's a fact,)." September 5th, p. 2.

Winnipeg Real Estate News, 1997 "Editorial: Juggling Statistics" (In the Capital region between 1991 and 1996 8,268 homes were built but only 5,554 were built in Winnipeg and that only only about 12,000 of the 60,000 population increase was in Winnipeg. In 1991 there were 13,065 fringe residents working in Winnipeg compared to 6,605 in 1981, with places like St Franciois Xavier composed 60.4% of commuters, between 1991 and 1992 urban population fell from 72.1% to 71,8% while the total provincial population rose by around 23,000 - key reason taxes - Runzheimer Study 162M home highest taxes in country for suburban home $3,594 or 2.44% of market value. Regina came in second place with $3,215 or 3.39% of home value, in Edmonton was 1.42% or $2,257, Calgary 1.33 or $2,303 - to correct one mayoralty candidate Terry Duguid suggested 25% Capital Region Levy for 14 municipalities which make up the capital region, one report cited Institute of Urban Studies entitled "Exurban Development in the Winnipeg Region: The issue of Service, by Aaron James)," September 19th,p. 2.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Rates at Record Low (5yr. mortgage now 6.85 $80,00 home amortized over 25 years will cost $553 per month a drop of $40 from April of 199& -3bedroom apartment $675 but monthly interest on 3 bedroom home $380 -August MlS selling price was $83,248 in Winnipeg, $78,799 in Regina, Saskatoon, $97,864, Edmonton, $111,475; Calgary, $144,108; Vancouver, $285,871; Victoria,$216,860; Toronto $211,785; Ottawa, -Carleton $146,393; Montreal,$ 113,532; Halifac,$110,620; Hamiltion, $150.988,; Kitchner-Waterloo, $138,700; London+St. Thomas, $133,700, Durham Region $158,705; Quebec City, $90.915; Saquencay-lac St Jean, $79.125; Sudbury,$108,908; St. John's $93,168; Saint John, $79,125, with 18,405 homes trades in 25 largest cities)," September 26th.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Renovation sector booming (recap of Clayton Housing Report, survey - finding are: renovations expected to total $21.5B in 1998 up from about $20.5B in 1997. In 1995 and 1996 renovation expenditures exceeded the value of new residential construction or amounted to about 52% of all expenditures on housing. In 1996 renovation and maintenance expenditures equaled $19b - 7% over the approximately $18B spent in 1995. Most

of the expenditures are for major alterations and improvements and just one quarter is for maintenance and repairs. In Manitoba renovations equal 2/3's the value of new construction. Lower mortgage rates help as people buy resale homes and renovate. Contract work represented 63% of all renovation work. Under 35 only half of homeowners use contractor, increased to over 80% to those over 60 between 1991-5. If borrow for renovation average loan is for $8,500 versus average renovation spending per home of $2,500, as reported by StatCan. in 1995)," October 17th.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Life Lease discussion paper (becoming popular in Manitoba -usually geared to those over 55 - pay large down payment - then rent - when leave downpayment is returned - dozens have been built in Manitoba over past 10 years - way to build affordable housing, with amenties desired by an older population) October 31st.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Sprucing up West Broadway (artist involved , remove boarding and abandoned houses turn into single family units, program buy up repair and sell, for examples 12 room house bought for $25,000 turned into boarding housed $250 charged each room, generated profit $2,600 a month after $350 a month spent on servicing, Lions Club involved as seniors fearful,, artist Wanda Koop involved, West Broadway Alliance formed, 70 different organizations, Lions purchased 202 Langside, was boarded up and will renovate 1,000 sq., ft, home; Assiniboine Credit Union put up $650,000 line of credit for alliance to buy up and refurbish, when house sold money used to buy another, school of architecture involved, Ron Basarab lives near Koop, involved, also considering Habitat for Humanity)," by Kip Park, November 7th.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "The Troops come home (benefits given to veterans because of fear of hard times Speech from the Throne, January 27, 1944 "Post-war object of our domestic policy is social security and human welfare. The establishment of a national minimum standard of social security and human welfare should be advanced as rapidly as possible," - Dept. of Veterans Affairs created in 1944, vocational training for 80,000, funds to get business loans and home loans -value building permits $4.4 in 1944 to $11.9M in 1946, to $18.6 in 1948, in 1954 3,118 single -family starts up to time 20,000 homes had been constructed)," by Bruce Cherney, November 7th,p.3.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Commercial market is rebounding (statistics by Colliers International - absorption first 6 months 183,000 could surpass 360,000 by end of the year 2M sq. ft. in suburbs/ Office vacancy first half of 1997 - 11.8% Class A 6.4% Class B 17,6% Class C around 20%/Class Vacancy equals 620,000 (Royal Bank on Portage Class B/ Suburban market V=7.6%/ Sub market CBD/ Portage and Main 10.5%-exclude Class C equals 9%/ South Main Street - small market V=15% - note Red River Community College move in 1997/ Portage West -North of Portage - only Class A Building Investors -V=14.1%/St. Mary Corridor -primarily Class B V=15.4%/ Broadway large Corridor V=13.4%/Exchange District - went from 8.2% to 11%/ Downtown periphery V=25.9% small spaces and dispersed - included 491 Portage/ best office leasing since 1990, November 7th, p.7.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Housing market avoids trend (MLS avearge $84,498 same as last year -end year sales will eclipse 10,000 and may approach 11,000 and dollar volume will be over $900M -first since 1987)," November 14th,p.1.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "MLS Listings Prices," November 21st,p. 1.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "First Time buyers fuel sales (estimate 37,000 renters under the age of 45 could buy a home, or 67% of all renters in the city, according to recent Clayton Report: First time buyers accounted for one half of new home sales and 60% of resale homes - Between 1991-1996 an average of 5,000 first time buyers have entered the market in Winnipeg -

MLS listings in Winnipeg may reach 11,000 and dollar volume over $900M - first time since 1987 - according to Clayton each sale translates into $16,200 in extra economic activity -$880 general household purchases, $1,830 - furniture, $385 on moving, $2,575 renovations, $9,765 on services that is real estate etc., and $765 on taxes) November 28th, p.1.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1997 "Poor sales lately, but gook 97 (in November average MLS listing price was $91,185 for a single detached unit and $86,118 for all units in Winnipeg), December 5th, p.1.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1998 "Poised for industrial growth (vacancy at 15 year low - - older spaces in inner city experiencing transition as turned more into retail - over one million square feet of new industrial space in 1997 compared to 500,000 in 1996 - Fort Gary and St. James the most favoured areas places where best facilities are being constructed -trade with U.S. up by 120% since 1991 and trade with Mexico up five fold since 1990 - demand highest for spaces with ceilings that are 20 feet high)," January 23rd, p. 1.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1998 Listings (lots in Linden Wood's in mid 40s - West Broadway Apartments - 36 suites- gross income a year $126,800 expenses $75,000 -55 Naussau - 1000 square feet - 2bed -$64,000 one place in St. James $30,000 for a condo - one foreclosure in North End $9,900 - 2bed bungalow renting for $270 a month - ten room - three suites - over 2.000 sq. feet a t $12,995 260 Magnus - Wellington Cresc condos - 600sq. feet going as low as mid 60s - a ten year old apartment on same Cresc - one bedroom $47,700 at 18 Wellington Crescent in Wellington Towers - Crescentwood character hoom 2,800 sq. ft. - $125,000 - Osborne Village 1000 sq. ft. condo $65,000 - on East side West side townhouse condo over 1800 sq. feet $99,800.

Winnipeg Real Estate News. 1998 "Brighter days ahead (prediction for 1998 sales surpass 10,500 and dollar range will be $900-million - last high 1987 when 11,000 units were sold and value hit $900-million Average MLS listing went up by .06 percent to $84347 - with interest rates a $80,000 mortgage amortized over 25 years would cost $553 a month - a decline of $40 from last April - taxes significant factor in move up market - in 1997 36% of market over $100,000 in 1991 only 27% in market - found in West Winnipeg - 85% increase here since 1995 - even with tax rebate proportion of new homes in city only went from 46% in 1996 to 57% in 1997 - River Heights do well sales up 25% - new homes 45 built in White Ridge and 22 in Lindin Woods new home MLS drop from 268 in 1996 to 208 in 1997- average selling price of a condo remain static at around $70,000), January 30th, p. 1

West End Times and The WestEnder 1996-1998

West End Times. 1996 City Earns praise, August 9th.

West End Times. 1997 "King George prepares for returning students having 515 of 56,527 children enrolled in K to 12, it ranks 17th out of 18th in size for secondary schools -sign groups Russian, Yugoslavian, and Chinese)." by Cam Cathcart, August 22nd, p.3.

West End Times. 1997 "Letter to the editor (subsidies 93 Peat Marwick $867 per resident per year - need to raise gas price $1.24 to $2,50 to make up for)," by Ian Fisher, President Transport 2000 B.C., September 5th,p.5.

WestEnder. 1997 "Aids: Residents protest 'Killing field": (more than 1,200 people have did due to drug overdoses in B.C.- mostly in the Downtown Eastside) July 17th, p.3.

WestEnder. 1997a "Trends," July 17th,p. 3.

WestEnder. 1997b "Record-breaking Pride (crowd 100,000 vs. 30,000 in previous year- first time Canadian Police Chief takes part) , August 7th,p.9.

WestEnder. 1997c "Granville Street: 35% decrease in SRO's," September 4th, p.3.

WestEnder. 1997ca "From Condos to Communities: This week, the first of the West End's newest residents move into luxury condominiums in Coal Harbour's waterfront lands. But it'll take years before scenic views and lives of privilege translate into a comfortable neighbourhood (much depends on levies that are expected to come with commercial development but this has been softer than residential development according to planners - new condos worth on average $400,000 - penthouse $5-million - city planners want mix of incomes developers see as a problem)," by Mary Frances Hill, November 20th, p. 4.

WestEnder. 1997d "Gaining Ground (Barclay Street B.C. Housing for mentally ill - in the Hooper Apartments - re-opening ceremonies - 31 residents - $3- million from province for construction - $200,000 subsidy a year to the Coast Foundation - organizes seven apartment blocks in Vancouver - foundation started first project in 1974 - waiting list 1,200, many live in SRO)," by Mary Frances Hill, November 30th.

WestEnder. 1997e "Region's leaky condos may cost $1-billion to repair (most are less than ten years old -found in many other countries as well - there may be 1,000 troubled condo complexes - commonly being asked to pay between $8,000 and $30,000 for repairs - especially in designs suitable for dry climates - one consultant primarily blames architects - developers interested in profits - architects interested in aesthetics, according to William Lotz a consulting engineer - more joints more places for water to seep into)," by Martin van den Hemel, December 6th.

WestEnder. 1997f "Davie Stree publ plan includes patio seats (1025 Davie - former CIBC - for 65 patrons - to have drag acts - to be called the Fountainhead Pub - by Doll and Pennies operaters)," January 9th, p. 3.

Smith, Janet

Smith, Janet. 1995 "Critics fear Victory Square plan will sell out residents," in The West Ender, June 15th.

Smith, Janet. 1996 "Separate Paths: New seawall plan would allow bladers and cyclists," in The West Ender, July 4th.

Smith, Janet. 1997 "Sraight businesses jump to join gay group: Gay and Lesbian Association boast membership list 400 names long,: in the West Ender, August 21st.

Smith, Janet. 1997a "Revived hotel joins fast-changing streetscape (The Dakota) Tourist rooms will feed the emerging entertainment row," in the West Ender, August 21st.

Zehr, Leonard. 1996-1998

Zehr, Leonard. 1996 "Boom in planned hotels in Vancouver," in The Globe and Mail, May 22nd.

Zehr, Leonard. 1996 "Builder unveils plans to develop urban village," in The Globe and Mail, August, 29th.

Zehr, Leonard. 1996a "12 firms vie to revamp Toronto Railway lands," in The Globe and Mail, September 13th.

Zehr, Leonard. 1996b "New Town valued at $2 billion," in The Globe and Mail, October 11th.

Zehr, Leonard. 1997 "Revved-up house market put agents in overdrive," in The Globe and Mail, March 19th.

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Zehr, Leonard. 1997g "Builders bet on industrial land (In Toronto 1.8-million sq. ft. in 23 building under construction under speck , 450,000 sq. ft. alone by Orlando, is based in Mississauga and controls 20 m sq. ft.; -this in Canada's largest industrial market containing 600M sq. ft.; Montreal no speculative building since vacancy rate is 16.5% versus 2.3% in Toronto; most being built in Mississauge and Vaughn; Calgary is in second place with 15 building built under spec, equalling 637,000 sq. ft. and Vancouver is in third place, with 24 buildings amounting to 291,000 being built on spec.) in The Globe and Mail, September 30th. p, B13.

Zehr, Leonard. 1998 "Home sales in Toronto fall 30% (resale house market in 1997: Victoria - unit resale sales - 5,645 (from 96 -6.2%), average price $218,398 up 3.2% from 1996 (Victoria accounted for about 2% of all sales in 1997) - Vancouver -26,946 sales down 5.6%, average sale $287,094 down point four (in 1997 between 11 and 12% of all resales) - Calgary - 21,559 up 21.3%, average price $143,305 up 6.4% or 9% of national sales in 1997 - Edmonton 13,017 units up 12.5% average price $111,587 up 2.3% - Regina 2,926 down 5.6% average price $82,643 up 7.6% - Winnipeg - 10,042 up 1.4% price $86,040 down .1% - Windsor Ontario 4,807 down 1.9% price $125,714 - Hamilton - 9,431 down 2.5% price $151,538 up 6.5% or about 4% national sales in 1997- Toronto (GTA) 58,014 up 4% price $211,307 up 6.6% (25% of all sales in 1997 - *(about 40% of mark affected by densification ratios above 4 - intermediate - 17% almost 50 percent of the market the market is configured to support densification that is dominant or ascendant in 1997 if the housing prices of six cities are looked at)* - Ottawa - 9,431 up 9.1% $143,866 up 2.4% or about four percent of national resale sales in 1997 - Montreal - 27,814 sales up 12.6% $112,362 up 4% or 12 percent of national sales -Quebec - 6,175 up 13% average price $84,776 down .3% -Saint John -1,274 down 5.3% price $86,171 - up 5% - Saint John's 2,080 up 8.7% price $92,797 down 1.4% Canada total 229,147 up 3.7% average price $164,619 up 2.4% - according to The Canadian Real Estate Association)," in The Globe and Mail, January 20th, p. B7.

Zillich, Tom. 1997

Zillich, Tom. 1997 "Live-in hotel closures "shades of Expo 86': More homeless people could find their way to the West End," in WestEnder, June 26th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997a "Four Mole Hill homes eyed for demolition: City staff balk at huge repair costs for some houses," WestEnder, July 10th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997b "Homelessness expected to rise with Granville evictions," in WestEnder, July 10th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997c "Pleasure and Pain: Inside the Sex Trade -Blind eye turned to prostitution indoor, says legal advocate," in the WestEnder, July 31th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997c "Huge new movie complex set for International Village, Stadium style theatres part of full-block project-"it will revolutionize the movie experience for Vancouverites-Allen Lai, Henderson Development Ltd.," in the WestEnder, July 17th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997d "Council defers decision on Mole Hill: Luxton optimistic all heritage homes will be saved," in the WestEnder, August 7th.

Zillich, Tom. 1997e "Club Conflict - As more towers rise downtown, so do the stress levels of residents who live near the nightclubs (For example McCoy and Partner Alvin Thompson moved from West End to Gastown - to newest residential building 0- 'It was absolute cultural shock to move here and see and hear the lawlessness . . . You can't get used to the open drug dealing and stupid drunks - you'll never get used to it.' - one third of city's 30,000 liquor seats in the Downtown South, Yaletown, Gastown, Downtown Eastside - efforts now being made to inform prospective residents that they will be living near an entertainment area - Edleson says buyers or renters should visit area at night to see what it is like before making a decision to live in the area - McCoy says noise last until 4 in the morning - quote class privilege - ' But what I don't expect is drunken people screaming and yelling in a public area - its public. And why should anybody with a liquor license be allowed to pollute the public area. I'm under the assumption that the city is responsible for the comfort of all citizens. I should be allowed to move to an part of this city and the quality of my life should be consistent.' - city may try and work around burp effect - that is having people spill out all at once - at around 2.30 - if spread out less rush for

taxis and this might reduce noise - position Gastown different from rest of Downtown because residential uses are not expected to displace most commercial uses states Edleson - planner responsible for this area)," in the WestEnder, November 27th, p. 4

Two: Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). 1972-1997

Greater Vancouver Regional District, Planning Department. 1972 Preliminary Plan: Immediate Improvements To Public Transportation In Greater Vancouver, (Kelly Report) Vancouver: Greater Vancouver Regional District.

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GVRD. 1996b Greater Vancouver Regional Transportation Demand Management Project: Final Report, September.

GVRD. 1996c "Farming is a Growing Industry in the GVRD But It's Under Pressure from Urban Development," in GVRD News, July, August, September.

GVRD. 1996d Creating Our Future: Achievements 1993/1996 Steps to a More Livable Region.

GVRD. 1996e Livable Region Strategic Plan, April.

GVRD. 1997f "Greater Vancouver - the fastest growing metro area in Canada," GVRD NEWS, April/May/June.

GVRD. 1997g Greater Vancouver Key Facts: A statistical profile of Greater Vancouver, Burnaby: GVRD, October. (net immigration low point of 3,964 in 1984/5 - peak 37,163 in 1993/4 - inter-provincial migration low point 1985/6 1,572 to high point 1991/92 of 18,075 in 1994/5 declined to 14,265 while immigration only declined to 33,451 out of net increase of 33,869 - intra-provincial - last time positive for Vancouver 1986/87 when net increase of 1,948 peak out flow in 1992/93 - 18,982 down to 13,847 in 1994/95 in 1990's unprecedented outflow averages over 15,000 - population increase estimates 1990 to 1997 Abottsford 20.3/ GVRD 24.7/Mission 22.3/ Chilliwack 28.8 - CMA 20.1 - **Mother Tongue** - Asian population for region about 18 and 20% - Chinese 13% 238,790 - Indo-Canadian 5% (about 83,000) - Punjabi 3.7 (68,315) - Tagalog 23,425 - 1.2% - Persian .7% (12,090) & Chinese - Chinese as Mother Tongue (615) in *Maple Ridge* or 1% - Punjabi (465) or around .5% Tagalog (160) or .25%/ NWST - Chinese (1,160) - Punjabi 4% (1,875) - Tagalog .35% (695) - *North Vancouver City* - Chinese 2% (1,000) - Punjabi .6% (610) - Tagalog .5% (510) - Persian 4.1% (1,745) - *North Vancouver District* - Chinese 3.4% (2,770) - Tagalog .8% (710) - Persian - 2.5% (2,065) - *Richmond* - 8 percent of region's population with Chinese 29% (43,335) - Punjabi 3.2% (4,800) - Tagalog - .75% (1,045) - *Surrey* - (304,425 out 1.831-million or 16.6% of regional population) Chinese 3% (10,165) - Punjabi - 11.5% (35,500 -51% of regional total) - Tagalog - (3,620) 1% - *City of Vancouver* - 54% of region's Chinese population - within city 28.1% of region's population but with Chinese - 24% of city's population (121,840) - Asian estimated 33% - Punjabi - 2.5 (12,885 or 19% of regional total while city has about 28% of region's population) - Tagalog 1.8% (9,665 or 41% of regional total) - Farsi- .25% (1,035) - *White Rock* - .8% (140) - Chinese - Punjabi 0 - Tagalog 3.6% (625 - 2.6% of regional total in City with just less than one percent of regions population also White Rock has over 31% of its population over the age of 65) - *Burnaby* - Chinese 18.5% (33,210) - Punjabi 2.2% (3,950) - Tagalog - (1,955) 1.1% -Korean (3,495) 1.6% - Persian (1,300) .8% - *Coquitlam* 12.7% Chinese (12.210) - Punjabi (3,950) 2.2% - (2,015) Korean 1.9% - English - 63.6% (1.160) Vancouver 50% - Burnaby 54.1% - Coquitlam - 66.6% - Delta 78% - City of Langley 86% - District of Langley 87% - Richmond - City of Vancouver - 49.8%- Richmond 50.6% - Surrey 67.4% -Port Coquitlam - 80.4% - Pitt Meadows 84.6% -New West Minister 73% - City of North Vancouver 73.1% - White Rock 82.3% - West Vancouver 2.5% Persian (1,035) -39.8% of Persians are on the North Shore yet population only 6.5% of the region - ZCRS - estimates show that it contain about 6% of regions Chinese population or about 14,000 versus 13 pecent regional average. **Economy** - 191 major head offices with revenues ranging from $11-million to MacBlo - $5-billion - revenues worth $79-billion employing $281,000, 65% are in Vancouver - 11 in forestry sector, 10% mining 3% financial services. **Population forecasts** from B.C. Stats - City of Vancouver 1981 about 33% of regions population 417,955 out of 1.268-million by 2006 predict 611 out of 2.271-million or 26.9% of regional population, then in 2021 - 680,269 out of 2.875-million or 23.6% of regions population - Surrey around 610,000, Burnaby -311,844, Richmond - 190, 530, Coquitlam - 376,324 .**Taxes** per assessed value residential - 5.84 in City of Vancouver, 9.40 - White Rock - 10.67 in Chilliwack - 9.92 in Mission - Maple Ridge 8.2 - Coquitlam 6.92. Visitors overnight 1996 - 117,504 Oregon - 466,875 Washington - 621,554 Alberta - Ontario 825,082 - California - 456,021 - increase between 1991 and 1996 increase of 81,000 from California versus 56,000 increase from Washington and 25,000 increase from Oregon, more people from Japan than Oregon - in total equal to California - overseas increased by 580,000 in same period from 710,000 to 1.290-million. **Average income** - City of Vancouver $22,8000 regional $23,400 in 1987 in 1994 $30,490 in

relation to regional average of $30,680 - average income in city moved therefore moved from 97.4% of regional average according to tax returns to 99.5% in 1994. Household size - GVRD - 2.6 - Langley District 3.0 - Burnaby 2.6 City of Vancouver 2.4 - City of New West and North Van 2.1 - Maple Ridge 2.8 Delta 3.0 Anmore 3.2. **Films** - $805-million Canadian in 1996 102 films or T.V. productions versus around $60-million in 1986. **Building permits** 1996 $3.6-billion total - $2.47-billion residential - Commercial - $389-million - industrial $279-million. **Regional town centres** - Metrotown - 2.4M-Office -2.1M -shopping centre -5.296 total commercial, employment 20,000 population 18,400 housing units 12,488 - New Westminster 928,000 office - 1.8-million commercial 6,400 residential 4,700 - Lonsdale 1.2-million office-300,000 shopping centre - 2.1 million commercial - employment 22,000 and population 11,095 - Coquiltam Towne Centre - 225,000 office - 1.5-million shop centre - 2.5-million commercial - employment 22,000 and 9,175 residential - Richmond 1.5-million office - 1.3 million shop centre - commercial 4.5-million 12,500 residential units population 27,700 and employment 32,000 - Langley City - 600,000 office. 500,000 shop centre, 2.3-million commercial space with 4,600 housing units and population of 10,000 and employment of 15,000, Maple Ridge - 250,000 office space, 550,000 shop centre - 1.5-million commercial - 800 housing units - employment 2,100 - Surrey - 352,000 office, 1.1-million shop centre - 1.83-million commercial - 6,800 housing units - 16,500 residents with 15,700 employees - employment regional town centres - about 136,000 jobs in total - greater than downtown. **Space** - in hectares developed area 79,000 hectares, urban area equals 30% of land base of 282,066 hectares with 205,520 in the Greenbelt - note original projections for population in GVRD have changed 2.676 predicted for 2021 Vancouver 635,000, Surrey 472,000)

GVRD. 1998 Review of Transportation Costs and Revenues to be Assumed by the Greater Vancouver Transit Authority (current debt $1.4-billion between 1999 and 2010 estimated capital expenditure of $3.04-billion - 1996/7 operating costs $336-million estimated to be $352.2-million in 1997/8 - capacity expected to double by 2010 and revenue ridership 123.5-million in 1996/1997 to 175.5-million in 2010 - B.C. Transit estimate of 186-million rides GVRD lower at 184.8-million), January 5th.

GVRD. 1998a Website information, January 30th, aerospace industry is composed of 80 companies, employing 2,500, with revenues of $150-million - Report, April 15th 1997 by Strategic Planning - Greater Vancouver - The Tastest Growing Metropolitan Area In Canada - absolute population increases between 1991 and 1996 - Vancouver 229,075, Toronto 364,825, Montreal 117,360, Calgary 67,500, Ottawa 26,339, Hamilton 24,600, Edmonton 21,465, Winnipeg 6,759.

Three: The Economist (1982-1998)

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The Economist. 1991 "Detroit: Live or die, p.28, November 2nd.

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The Economist. 1993 "Inner Cities: Day of the Bulldozer," pp.33-34, May 8th.

The Economist. 1995 "A Survey of Cities: Turn Up the Lights," July 29th.

The Economist. 1995a "Communitarian conceits," March 18th, p.16.

The Economist. 1995aa "Gurus in government: Management consultants are all the rage in government these days, Since the public sector has much to learn from private enterprise, this is mostly a good thing -though not as good as many politicians seem to think," May 20th,pp.21-22.

The Economist. 1995c "A Survey Of Central Europe - the return of the Habsburgs," November 18th.

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The Economist. 1995d "Footloose football," September 9th.

The Economist. 1997 "A Survey Of Silicon Valley: Future Perfect," March 29th.

The Economist. 1997a "Gay on the continental march," July 5th,p.52.

The Economist. 1997b " A queer question about gay culture (now accepted even welcomed a left and right wing has emerged and there is a concern about end of a distinctive culture as it is absorbed, for this see Daniel Harris, "The Rise and Fall of Gay Culture,"by Hyperion; gays have gained new social status, from this liberal left account a conservative example of the new literature would be "Beyond Queer," by Bruce Bawer, then Andrew Sullivan, "Virtually Normal" - conservative take make sexuality a non issue) July 12th,p.75.

The Economist. 1997c "Chicago: Gay pride set in stone," August 23rd, p.20.

The Economist. 1997d "Survey of Universities: The Knowledge Factory," October 4th.

The Economist. 1997e "L.A. megalopolis: A post once happened here (sig of L.A. Conservancy - movement to restore inner city neighbourhood to east and south of downtonwn, Latino professionals move into Silverlake - use history, neighbourhood associations, to revive patches of L.A.),"October 25th, p.27.

The Economist. 1998 "Driving Britain off the roads (rising congestion, pollution and loss of countryside threaten country - Britain has Europe's third highest amount of congestion on its roads)," January 24th, p.55.

The Economist. 1998a "Housing in the countryside: Belt loosening (one person household now even with married household - in 1971 was only about 20% the level of married households - in all age groups this is rising - but most with the elderly and 45 to 55 -age cohort between 1996 and 2016)," January 24th, p.56

Four: Personal Interview and communication (PI-1 to PI-58).

Personal Interview (PI)

PI-1.Beasely, Larry - Director Central Area Division, Planning Department, City of Vancouver: Formal interview July 25,1994 and September 20,1996.

PI-2. Birch, Peter - City Planner, City of Vancouver, Community Planning Division: informal conversation, April 19, 1994.

PI-3. Catliff, Joyce - former member of the Vancouver City Planning Commission: Informal Conversation Spring 1996.

PI-4. Davies, Libby - former mayoralty candidate and city councillor, COPE member: Formal Interview December,1995.

PI-5. Durning, Tom - tenants rights activist and West End resident: informal Conversation 1996.

PI-6. Edleson, Nathan - City planner, City of Vancouver-Central Area Division: Formal interview December 1995 and September 24, 1996.

PI-7. Gordon, Michael - City Planner, City of Vancouver, Central Area Division: Formal interview July, 1994 and informal telephone interview September 4,1997.

PI-8. Green Jim - former mayoralty candidate and Director for the Downtown Eastside Residents Association: informal conversations between 1991 -1992.

PI-9. Hardwick, Walter- former city councillor and member of TEAM, Geography professor, University of British Columbia: Formal interview May 11, 1994.

PI-10. Jensen, Renee - reporter for the West End Times and activist and long time resident in Vancouver's West End: Formal interview May 19, 1994.

PI-11.Lash, Harry - former planning director for the Greater Vancouver Regional District: Formal interview May 20,1994.

PI-12. Leicester, Glen - General Manager Of Long Range Planning for BC Transit: June 1994.

PI-13. McAfee, Ann - Director of CityPlan Division, Planning Department of the City Vancouver: Formal interview July 20, 1994 and October 1,1996.

PI-14. Murfitt, Jackie - Director Community Planning Division, City of Vancouver: Formal interview July 27, 1994.

PI-15. Patterson, Jeffrey - former Senior Researcher, Institute of Urban Studies: Informal conversations, May through to September, 1996.

PI-16. Porter, Doug - neighbourhood Activist in Burnaby: Informal interview May 14, 1994.

PI-17. Price, Gordon - Vancouver City Councillor, NPA member: Formal interview April 19, 1994 and informal conversation August 22nd, 1996.

PI-18. Roer, Paul - former transportation planner for the City of Vancouver in the late 1960's: Interview November 30, 1995.

PI-19. Sarti, Bob - reporter for the Vancouver Sun and long time Strathcona activist: Formal interview June 8, 1994.

PI-20. Sigurdson, Muggs - activist and long time resident of Strathcona: Formal Interview June 8, 1994.

PI-21. Spaxman, Ray - former Director of City Planning 1973-1989: Formal interview July 28-9, 1994.

PI-22. Sommers, Jeff - community activist Downtown Eastside and community organizer based in the Carneige Centre: Informal conversations 1993-94.

PI-23. Stallard, Graham -Planner in West Vancouver, junior Planner for the City of Vancouver in the late 1960's: Formal interview November 30,1995.

PI-24 Tiessen, Eric - Deputy Planning Director, City of Coquitlam and junior planner for the City of Vancouver in the late 1960's: Formal interview, November 30, 1995.

PI-25. Williams, Bob - former City planner, provincial cabinet minister: Several conversations over a three month period in early 1994.

PI-26.Wiesman, Brahm - former Director of School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, Assistant Director of Long Range Planning Division during the 1960's for the Department of City Planning, City of Vancouver and former head of the School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia: Formal interview May 18, 1994.

PI-27. Youngberg, Ron - planner for the city since from 1958 to 1991 former Director of Local Area Planning, City of Vancouver 1974-1991: Formal interview May 26, 1994 and October 3, 1996.

PI-28. Director of Gordon House:: Formal Interview, Summer 1995.

PI-29. City Manager - City of Burnaby: Formal Interview, Summer 1994.

PI-30. Felip, Carlos - Director of City Planning, Port Coquitlam: Formal Interview September 21,1996.

PI-31. Director of City Planning - City of Port Moody: Formal Interview, Spring 1994.

PI-32. Gordon, Candace - restaurant owner, reform city councillor in the District of Maple Ridge: Informal interviews held between 1993-1995.

PI-33. City Manager - City of Burnaby: Formal Interview Summer 1994.

PI-34. Shayler John - community activist: Formal Interview July 20, 1994.

PI-35. Laviolettee Tom - Community activist: Informal Interview September 20, 1996.

PI-36. ESL teacher and Elementary Teacher- residing in the West End: Informal conversation August + September 1996.

PI-37. Rothon, Robert - former CBC host for French Language program: Informal conservation about the French fact in the West End- 1994.

PI-38. French, Trish - Planner, City of Vancouver: Formal Interview, July 12, 1994.

P1-39. Vladmir - Russian Immigrant, West End waiter and resident: Informal conversation, Spring 1996.

PI-40. Whistler, John - Chair, Bicycle Advisory Committee: Informal interview May 1996.

PI-41. Gratz Roberta - author of the Living City, Postmodern ideologue: Formal interview in Vancouver 1992.

PI-42. Thomsett, David - Senior Planner, Planning Department, City of Vancouver, Land Use Control Group, Land Use and Development Division: Informal interview July 1994.

PI-43. Rawson, Mary - Retired City Planner, one of the first female planners to practice in the country and active member in PIBC: Informal conversation 1993.

PI-44. Caucasian Realtor - City of Vancouver: Informal Discussion Spring 1994.

PI-45. Jim Wilson - First Director of the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, 1951 to 1964, Lecturer in City Planning, Simon Fraser University : Informal Discussion December 26, 1996 and Formal Interview, January 24,1997.

PI-46. Semotuk, Verna - Planner, City of Coquitlam, involved with Maillardville Plan Review : Formal Interview, January 15, 1997.

PI-47. Gail, May - Long time Teacher in Richmond: Informal interview July 12,1997.

PI-48. Realtor for the Europa: Informal interview July 20,1997.

PI-49. Hallhammer, Oliver - Artist and one of the original squatters of Cottonwood which lead to the creation of this Community Garden: Informal Interview July 28, 1997.

PI-50. Rhodes, Barry - Leading activist in anti-freeway campaign in Maple Ridge: Informal Interview through several meetings in 1992.

PI-51. Fletcher, James - Community activist and long time resident of Hastings Sunrise (located in the third settlement ring) Local Area and member of the Forum For Planning Action: Informal Interview July 30,1997.

PI-52. Local Architect - Caucasian Homeowner in Park (located in the third settlement ring): Informal Interview, July 30, 1997.

PI-53. Bose Bob - Three Term Mayor of Surrey from 1987 to 1996: Formal interview July 1990 and series of informal discussions between 1992 and 1993.

PI-54 Police constable - telephone interview about high incidence of reported crime in the City of langley, August 13, 1997.

PI-55. Chinese Senior -Female - 30 minute conversation with a Chinese women who lived with her On in Richmond on Bus 169 who also like Ginger Roger movies.

PI-56. Squires, Peter - Public Affairs Officer, Winnipeg Real Estate Board: Informal Interview September 19, 1977.

PI-57. Knol, Dilly -Director ofAndrews Street Community Centre: Formal Interview September 25, 1997.

PI-58. City Clerk - Tax Department, Municipality of East St. Paul - Gross taxation on $100,000 home $1590 and $1272 on assessed value of $80,000 (there is also a $250 provincial tax credit): Telephone interview October 10, 1997.

Five: Personal Observation (P0-1 to P0-9). 1992-1997

P0-1. 1992 Neigborhood Survival Conference, May 2nd, Britannia Community Centre.

PO-1a 1991-1994 Community Steps (Advocacy group for Regional Government in Vancouver).

P0-2. 1993 Putting the Community Into Government, June 4th, Richmond Inn.

P0-3. 1993 Building Stronger Neighbourhoods in Vancouver, June 5th, Main Auditorium,Vancouver Community College, Langara Campus

P0-4. 1993 Community Steps Forum: Setting a Community Agenda for Regional Government 11, June 24th, Burnaby Firefighters Hall.

P0-5. 1994 Founding Convention of Neighbour to Neighbour, Britannia Centre, November 4th and 5th

P0-5a. 1994-1996. Gay Discussion Group

P0-6. 1996 Neighbour To Neighbour: Bringing It Back To The Neighbourhood, February 24th, Peretz Institute.

P0-7. 1995 False Creek North Beach Neighbourhood (Area 1) Public Review of Initial Rezoning Application, October 30th.

P0-8 1997 Debate and public meeting on Export on Gentrification -speakers Bud Osborn, Peter Trower, and Neil Smith, as part of the International Conference in Critical Geography, August 11th.

P0-9 1992 to 1993 Council of Councils: attended sessions in Vancouver, White Rock, Richmond, Burnaby convened by the Greater Vancouver Regional district under the tutelage of Mayor Gordon Campbell to forge a consensus on a revised livable strategy for the region.

Six: City of Vancouver (CV-1 to CV-33). 1930-1998

City of Vancouver-1. 1930 The Zoning Bylaw No. 2074.

City of Vancouver-1a. 1952-1994 Annual Reports.

City of Vancouver-2. 1955 Report On An Administrative Survey of Municipal Government-City of Vancouver by Public Administrative Services.

CV-3. 1965 Administrative Manual.

CV-4. 1966 Report on a Proposed Department of Social Planning and Development, October 19th.

CV-5. 1989 Extract from The Minutes Of The Vancouver City Council Meeting Of May 30,1989.

CV-6. 1990 Clouds of Change: Final Report of the City of Vancouver Task Force on Atmospheric Change, June.

CV-7. 1990 Clouds of Change: Recommendations As Amended and Adopted By Vancouver City Council, October 16th.

CV-8. 1992 Urban Landscape: Ideas Paper: Urban landscape
Taskforce, March 5th.

CV-8a. 1993 Safer City Task Force: Final Report Recommendations, January.

CV-9. 1993 State Of The Environment, First Draft, April.

CV-10. 1994 Riots: Summary Of Background Paper- City of Vancouver Review of Major Events, September.

CV-11. 1995 Vancouver Greenways Plan:Draft, June.

CV-12. 1996 New Trade and Convention Facilities Review Program: A Summary of the Report on Stage One, February 27th.

City of Vancouver, BC Place Citizens Advisory Committee-12a. 1984 Density and Livability-people and place, Vancouver: Centre For Human Settlements, University of British Columbia.

City of Vancouver, Economic Advisory Commission-13. 1983 An Economic Strategy for Vancouver in the 1980's, April.

City of Vancouver, City Planning Commission-14. 1945 A Preliminary Report Upon Transit, June.

City of Vancouver, City Planning Commission-15. 1945 A Preliminary Report Upon The Downtown Business District, October.

City of Vancouver, City Planning Commission-16 1946 A Preliminary Report Upon Zoning.

City of Vancouver, City Planning Commission. 1980 Goals For Vancouver, February-17.

City of Vancouver, City Planning Commission-18. 1988 Downtown Vancouver: Planning Strategies For A Changing World, March 23rd.

City of Vancouver, Economic Development Office-19. 1995 Vancouver Tourism and Hospitality Data Base, August.

City of Vancouver, Engineering Department-20. 1988 Vancouver Comprehensive Bicycle Plan, July.

City of Vancouver, Engineering Department-20a. 1992 Strathcona Local Area Traffic Plan, Draft, May 22nd.

City of Vancouver, Engineering Department-21. 1992 Bicycle Network Study, June.

City of Vancouver, Housing Centre-22. 1994 1994 Survey of Low-income Housing In The Downtown Core, June.

City of Vancouver, Housing Centre-23. 1995 (circa) Fact Sheet.

City of Vancouver, Housing Centre-24. 1996 Vancouver Non-Market Housing Inventory: 1953-1995.

City of Vancouver, Housing Centre-25. 1996 Computer printout of housing statistics, August.

City of Vancouver, Transportation Planning Team-26. 1996 Draft Transportation Plan, September.

City of Vancouver, Urban Landscape Task Force-27. 1992 Greenways. Public Ways: Final Report of Urban Landscape Task Force, May.

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City of Vancouver, Bicycle Advisory Committee-30. 1996 Report To Council : Term Report 1994-1996 Activities, December 4th.

CV-31. 1997 City choices :Service cuts, tax increases or a mix of both: what's your choice-January.

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CV-33. 1998 City of Vancouver Statistics, January 5th (Web Site - 1992 24,800 international-inteprovincial 14,800 and Intraprovincial 1,500 between 1986 and 1991 10,835 rental units added - Cruise Ship passengers - 449,299- total retail sales - $12.6-billion -1992/3 attendance - Canucks 633,007/Lions - 227,873 - opera - 58,000 - Sympony - 172,000 - Orpheum 1991 - 344,860 - Film festival - 87,000 - Queen Elizebeth Threatre - 1991 - 655,797 - Floorspace 115-million

industrial/53.3-million office/retail-62.1-million - debt servicing cost per year now $60-million).

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CVCO-6. 1989 Manager's Report: False Creek North Official Development Plan, September 26th.

CVCO-7. 1989 Memorandum: Rezoning of Downtown South, File 8007-2, October, 17th.

CVCO-8. 1990 Manager's Report: Rezoning: "Yaletown Edge", April 6th.

CVCO-9. 1990 Manager's Report: Kitsilano RT-4 and RT-5 zoning-Summary, April 6th.

CVCO-10. 1990 Manager's Report: Planning Department Organizational Development Program, July 11th.

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CVCO-14. 1993 Policy Report: Standing Committee on Planning and Environment, Downtown South Liquor Licensing Policy, July 13th.

CVCO-15 1993 Policy Report: Building and Development- Adult Entertainment Stores and Arcades in Downtown South, July 13th.

CVCO-16. 1993 Policy Report: Urban Structure-The Future of Granville Street, July 29, for Standing Committee on Planning and Environment.

CVCO-16 1993 Policy Report: Proposed Text Amendments and Guidelines for Kitsilano Rt-7 and Rt-8 Districts, August 12th.

CVCO-17. 1994 Administrative Report: Urban Structure- Industrial Lands Strategy, May 3rd.

CVCO-18. 1994 Central Waterfront Port Lands - Proposed Policy Statement, File No. 8040-1, February.

CVCO-19. 1994 Policy Report: State of Social Housing in Vancouver, File No. 3401, April 6th.

CVCO-20. 1994 Standing Committee Of Council On City Services And Budgets: First Step To Better Government, December 8th.

CVCO-21. 1995 Policy Report: Urban Structure- Proposed Policies and Zoning for Artist 'Live/Work' Studios, February 2nd.

CVCO-22. 1995 Policy Report: Urban Structure- East Downtown Housing Plan.

CVCO-23. 1995 Standing Committee Of Council On City Services And Budgets: Better City Government-New Steps, April 24th.

CVCO-24. 1995 Policy Report: Urban Structure- Planning Process- Southeast Shore of False Creek, October 11th.

CVCO-25. 1995 Policy Report Urban Structure: Rezoning 572 Beatty Street (International Village) Dept. file No. MK-95009, October 24th.

CVCO-26. 1995 Policy Report: Urban Structure- Referral of RS-6 Zoning to Public Hearing, October 24th.

CVCO-27. 1995 Policy Report-Building and Development: Nelson Park Site Land Use Study Report, November.

CVCO-28. 1995 Administrative Report: Downtown South Area Residential Parking Survey and Application to International Village, November 29th File No. 2122-13.

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CVCO-31. 1996 Policy Report: Rezoning 500 Pacific Street (Beach Neighbourhood East) February 13th.

CVCO-32. 1996 Policy Report: Public Involvement Review Process, February 13th.

CVCO-33. 1996 General Manager, Engineering Services: 1996 Provincial Cycling Network Program., File no. 650182, February 27th.

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CVCO-33. 1996 Policy Report: Finance- New Trade and Convention Centre Facilities-Property Tax Implications, May 28th.

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CVCO-34a. 1996 City Manager: Progress Report - Safer City Initiatives, July 12th.

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CVCO-36. 1996 Standing Committee on Planning & Environment: B.C. Transit Five Year Plan and Funding Strategy, October 1st.

CVCO-37. 1996 Policy Report: Urban Structure- City Plan Community Vision Pilot Project-Selection of Two Pilot Communities, October 8th.

CVCO-38. 1996 Standing Committee on City Services and Budgets: Tourism Vancouver-Interim Payments of 2% Hotel Tax and Amendment of 1996 Work Plan and Budget, October 9th.

CVC0-39. 1996 Policy Report: Building And Development - CD-1 Text Amendments -4418 and 3550 Vanness Avenue (Collingwood Village); Amendment of Parking Requirement for Multi-family Residential Use, Dept., File No. 96033 & 96044-PP/LC, December 20th.

CVC0-40. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on City Services and Budgets - 1997 Comprehensive Trade Permits Fee Review, File 1755-1, January 14th.

CVCO-41. 1997 Policy Report: Development and Building - Policy for Residential Rezonings in the Central Business District and Related Zoning Amendments, Dept. File No. MG C. C. file: 5300/8007-4, January 21st.

CVCO-42. 1997 Memorandum: 1997 Operating Budget - Preliminary Report - File: 1605-1, January 31st.

CVCO-43. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic - Waterfront Pedestrian/Bicycle Pathway Widths - Coal Harbour, Bayshore and False Creek North Developments - File No. 2122-37 T&T agenda March 25, 1997.

CVC0-44. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on City Services and Budgets - Better City Government Development and Building Review - Time lines, Improvements, Efficiencies and Cost Savings, report February 28 the on April 10th agenda.

CVCO-45. 1997 Policy Report: Urban Structure - Regulating the Conversion and Demolition of SRO Hotels -File No. 3043, June 3rd.

CVCO-46. 1997 Memorandum: Proposed Traffic Plan For Burrard and Cypress Streets, June 9th, File 5751-1.

CVCO-47. 1997 Policy Report: Urban Structure and Licensing-Theatre Row- Standing Committee on Planning and Environment, May 28, for June 19th Council meeting.

CVCO-48. 1997 Administrative Report: Form of Development CD-Bylaw 7649, 7400 Oak Street - From Director of community Planning on behalf of Land Use and Development (from RS-1), file No. 2607-1 (over 100 units), May 30 for June 19th meeting.

CVCO-49. 1997 Policy Report: Urban Structure -Manager of the Housing Centre -Payment - in - Liu - Major Non Market Housing, Depart file No. 3430, May 28th for June 19 meeting Standing Committee of Council on City Services and Budgets.

CVCO-50. 1997 Policy Report: Development and Building - CD- Rezoning-5338-5490 Larch Street, Director of Land Use and Planning, File: 5305-1, April 25th.

CVCO-51. 1997 Administration Report: Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic - Transit Service to Fraser Lands, Riverside and Champlain Height south., June 10th, cc file No.: 5551.

CVCO-52. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic - Transit delay on Robson Street Between Howe and Hornby, June 17, CC File No. 5554, June 17th report for July 8th meeting.

CVCO-53. 1997 Memorandum: Proposed Rezoning of 6691-6699 Victoria Drive, March 14, Report , file 5301 for July 8th meeting.

CVCO-54. 1997 Policy Report: Standing Committee of Council on Planning and Environment-terms of reference for Hiring Consultants on Environment and Sustainability for Planning Southeast False Creek, July 8th, File No. :8206.

CVCO-55. 1997 Policy Report: Standing Committee of Council Services on Budgets- Allocation Plan and lease of a Donated Artist Studio -2050 Scotia Avenue (325 5th Avenue), July 8th, File No. 4663.

CVC0-56. 1997 Administrative Report. Director of Community Planning on behalf of Land Use and Development- form of development -2701 Arbutus Street- Owner Greystone Properties Ltd., File No. 2604.

CVCO-57. 1997 Administrative Report. Director of Community Planning on behalf of Land Use and Development- RM-5B Multiple Dwelling Developments: Rate of Change 1171 Barclay Street- D. E. 402145 Owner of Development: Carriage Lane Fine Homes Limited.

CVC0-58 1997 Administrative Report. General Manager of Engineering Services- extension of Street Activities Enforcement Staff, July 7th, File No. : 2630.

CVC0-59 1997 Memorandum: Revised Rezoning Application for 1005 Beach Avenue, June 18th for July 22nd Council meeting, File 5301.

CVC0-60 1997 Memorandum - Proposed Text Amendment to the Downtown Official Development Plan and the HA-3 District Schedule: Implementation of the Downtown Liquor Licensing Strategy, June 20, 1997.

CVCO-61. 1997 Policy Report: Standing Committee of Council on Planning and Environment - Sidewalk Cafe Program Expansion to Downtown Pubs, July 10th for July 24th meeting File: 2635.

CVC0-62. 1997 Revised Memorandum: CD-1 Text Amendment: 550 Burrard Street (Bentall V) June 20 th.

CVCO-63. 1997 Policy Report: Standing Committee of Planning and Environment - Proposed Signage for the Dance centre (1410 Granville Street- to be called Scotiabank Centre for Dance), July 15th for July 24th meeting, File No. : 2851.

CVC0-63a. 1997 Policy Report: Standing Committee on Planning & Environment - Water Opportunities Advisory Group - Draft Blueways Document and Recommendations for Further Work - (recommendation that $45,000 be taken from Contingency Reserve to undertake work on report on Document and hear delegations on - recommendations on future of entire waterfront - four important work items cited - June 1996 Council approve consultation process - four public meeting held - used as basis for draft produced in July 1997 - two key principles to guide work - ensure public input into planning and decision making and ensure water considerations are included in planning of adjacent lands - four goals set out - encourage diversity of uses, activities and structures that recognize a variety of users, asses and protect as well as enhance waterfront habitat, protect water based industry, increase public access along the water front and to water - of course one aspect in related to recreation, tourism and culture one of seven topic areas, recommendations for each water body - five departments involved in exercise - maybe start on a work program - establish a Blueways program within the City of Vancouver - be a multi-department initiative - moorage one issue - current regulation deter visitors moorage - and illegal anchoring - design guidelines for public docks - Council should endorse Fraser River Estuary Management Plan - use existing staff - will complement CityPlan - 19 sub areas of shoreline identified for specific recommendations -)," September 24th, Dept. File No. RJ

CVC0-63ab. 1997 Administrative Report: Seaboard Bus Shelters - Rent Review (rent on 240 of 340 bus shelters net $2.1-million over course of five years)," October 7th, CC File No. 5554.

CVC0-63b. 1997 Memorandum: Rezoning of 8405-8435 Granville Street (Zone C-1 and C-2 to C-2C to make pedestrian friendly in accordance local area vision - recommend go to public hearing - will exclude auto oriented uses - put building design guidelines in force - to emphasize gateway function of street as well - C-2C - began in 1977 in Kitsilano to foster pedestrian oriented and district shopping - since then has been introduced into Grandview-Woodlands/ Mount Pleasant (East Broadway by Main Street), Joyce ALRT Station area - only ped friendly uses allowed outright), October 9th, CC File No. 5304.

CVC0-63baa. 1997 Administrative Report: From Director of Community Planning - Heritage Designation of 1101 Nicola Street (strata title residents request designation)," October 10th.

CVCO-63ba. 1997 Memorandum: Civic Youth Strategy Progress Report (Children's policy adopted 1992 - with action plan - example of partnerships - Dusk to Dawn Resource Centrre - and Healing Circle for Addictions Society also opened in St. Paul's building - challenges housing - so far three projects - Housing Centre - 9 units sponsored by the United Native Nations and funded by province for youth 18 to 25 opened in past year at 1818 East Pender, 14 units Native Health Society - funded by province - 600 Vernon Drive - VanCity Place - 50 units for singles 18 to 45 funded by City and private contributions 326 W. Pender)," October 17th, File No. 4102.

CVC0-63bab. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on Planning and Environment - Implementation of First Phase Public Realm Improvements in Oakridge/Langara - Improvements to Tisdall Park and Oak Park (63 percent of DCL funds to go for park acquisition and development - 30 percent replacement housing and 7 percent for street (walking improvements) - as part of Public Benefits Strategy - to build out DCL will generate $15.5-million - based on current level of development next two or three years $1.3-million will be generated), October 21st, CC File No. 8017.

CVCO-63c. 1997 Memorandum: RS Options - Kitsilano RS-1S Area (rezone to RS-5S -go to public hearing from Dunbar to Vine and Arbutus and South of Broadway to 16th Avenue -64 percent support for rezoning - and 59 percent favoured RS-5S - takes two to three months for processing - council process for interim zoning -)," for Public Hearing October 30th.

CVC0-63c. 1997 Memorandum: Amendments to the MC-1 District Schedule and New Design Guidelines - for Cedar Cottage MC-1 - (allow housing in more areas encourage street frontage along commercial, retain same amount of density rights MC-1 adopted in 1976 - a partial combination of M-1 and C-2 - it has no outright uses and complicated floor space ratio - new amendments to encourage land use mix while ensuring compatibility - allow artist studios Class A and B - cultural, institutional and dwelling units will remain conditional uses- this will implement directions approved by Council in 1996), November 5th, CC File No. 5301.

CVC0-64. 1997 Policy Report: Director of Central Area on behalf of Land Use and Development - subject - CD-1 Text Amendment - 4255 Arbutus Street (142 dwelling units in two six storey structures - recommends approval - development not intrusive - however little in the way of useful public amenities although developer claims $3-million in benefits or extra costs incurred in development - equals $15 a sq. foot versus normal levy of $4 to $6 a sq. foot - neighbourhood incorrectly assumed maximum build out - development will take place on parking lot - parking will go underground - development add 191,559 sq. feet or 17,800 sq. metres - cushion of CD development - separates from RS-1, little traffic impact - 136 units be adaptable units - consultants reports refers to difficulty of using special standards - even disabled worried about resale value - conditions for approval step backed facade - current CD-1 zoning put in place in 1972 - site 2.8 ha (7ac) - public input 883 for and 1500 against - no sponsor group for amenity space although Larco claim has found a group - developers comments people over 65 in Vancouver is now 26.7% versus region 14% - mention Kinsmen foundation's Ease of Living Adaptable Housing Design Concept - estimated cost $1-million - city requested 20% of units to be given over to it - developer response - project would be unaffordable - preliminary costs show would cost $10-million or $50 per buildable sq. foot - be without precedent in Vancouver - 17 public meetings - noted in report - strong neighbourhood opposition - fear noise and disruption and high rise form - worry about resale value of apartments - opposed to tower form - viewed CD-1 zoning hard fought for by neighbours), November 12th, C.C. File: 5303-2.

CVC0-65. 1997 Administrative Report: Director of Community Services - Social Planning - Federation of Canadian Municipalities: Quality of Life Reporting System - (indicators to be developed - community affordability, Quality of employment, health Community Measure, housing measure, human capital measure, community stress, safety, participation measure - cities so far involved London, Windsor, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, Halifax, Hamilton, Ottawa, Toronto), November 19th, CC File No. 3253.

CVC0-66. 1997 Administrative Report: Director of Community Planning - Single - Family (RS) Zoning Information Improvements (Part of Better City Government Initiatives - approximately 64% of the city's land area made up of - each year about 1.5% of single family dwellings are replaced - concern complaints about disruption - with builders work on a code of behaviour - brochure joint effort Community Planning Division and GVHBA with input from permits and licenses - there are currently 52 Interpretative Notes on file in internal information system on RS zoning to assist in consistent application of bylaws - will now be published with updates - document to be called New Buildings and Neighbours - also in appendix B there is a list of 8 existing RS zones - Beginning 1990 city began to replace RS zoning with other types - then RS and RS-1S - RS- 5 initiated in South Shaughnessey in 1993 - RS-3 if not use guidelines RS build up area is reduced - RS-1 provides maximum architectural flexibility - RS interim zoning applies to some current areas now zoned RS-1 in certain areas), November 19th, CC File No. 5301.

CVCO-67. 1997 Administrative Report: Director of Community Services, Social Planning Department - Grant Allocation - Multicultural Family Support Project - (for smaller ethnic groups without own institutional infrastructure - groups cited Iraqi, Yugoslavians, Kurdish, Sudanese and Burmese), November 20th, C.C. File No. 2401.

CVC0-68. 1997 Policy Report: Building and Development - Eligibility for Heritage Density Bonus - Hotel Georgia - 1994 province gave city charter powers on interiors to designate landscapes and interiors), November 24th, CC File No. 5051.

CVC0-69. 1997 Policy Report: Director of Finance - 1998 Property Tax Options - (since 1994 shift taxes over from commercial to residential - in total about $6-million - prior to 1994 business class paid 56% and residential 39% of property tax levy - now 53% commercial and 43% residential), November 25th, CC File No. 1552.

CVC0-70. 1997 Administrative Report: Insurance Corporation of British Columbia (for undertaking ICBC Road Initiatives city has received $720,000 for a variety of projects in 1997 provided $107,0000 for six projects first half of 1997), November 26th, CC File No. 5761.

CVC0-71. 1997 Administrative Report: Storm Flooding Update and Proposed Assistance Program (notes impermeability control with RS-5 and RS-6 zoning and intensity of storms has increased since the 1960s - significantly - especially in the 1990s), November 28th, CC File No. 5809.

CVC0-72. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on Traffic and Transportation - Vancouver Transportation Plan - Review of Action Items Scheduled For Completion Within Three Years - (actions to be undertaken by engineering and planning - i.e., Director of CityPlans - participate in planning for LRT - collect and monitor data on traffic - review of opportunities for improving transit - Transportation Plan approved in May 1997 - look a modal split targets and Downtown Transportation Plan - prior to next Captal Budget Plan - prepare initiatives - some items six year time line others three year time line - 17 professionals and 40 support staff dedicated to working on transportation matters - many involved in customer service - Specific branches of Transportation Division to be involved in Plan area - one - Strategic Transportation Planning Branch - responsible long range planning and monitoring - The Neighbouhood Transportation Branch - local streets and traffic calming - bike network - The Parking Branch - planning and monitoring parking off and on street - The Traffic Management Branch - responsible for day to day management and street safety - including traffic signals and The Greenways and Local Improvements Branch of the Streets Division is responsible for Greenways and local street and sidewalk improvement - all related to specific area planning - link land use and transportation - note CityPlan visioning process - new priority based model being developed for Engineering Department in traffic calming - city cannot proceed alone needs to work with B.C. Transit - Downtown Transportation Plan - circulation plan for the downtown - improved regional and airport linkages - and network of bike links - could be done in a year - use Transportation Plan as model for - or could be done in systematic form over a longer time - plan monitoring, LRT, and Downtown Plan would require significant new resources - Actions items - Complete Port Roadway - and limit commuter use of - Review building lines which were developed to allow widening of streets - remove some unlikely to be needed - look at queue jumpers, improve intersections for pedestrians - reduce their waiting time - intersection improvement - stricter speed limit enforcement -request Transit improve service to Downtown South, North Fraser Lands, Downtown looped service - UBC - mention Upass system - protect industrial lands for servicing of downtown and other businesses - improvements to Knight Street)," November 20th CC File No. 5560 for December 9th meeting.

CVC0-73. 1997 Administrative Report: Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic - Upgrading the Seaside Bike Route along English Bay Beach - (cost of $885,000 - route highly

congested in the Summer time - increasing resident and tourist population use - congestion is expected to worsen - many parts route is sub-standard - does not adequately service in-line skaters - separated bike and pedestrian route recommended - Seaside Bike Route established in 1990 is 15 Km - from Stanley Park to Spanish Banks - Counts on Beach Avenue 750 hour move along 32% pedestrians 40% cyclists and 28% in-line skaters - half of cyclist and most of in line skaters used sidewalk - plus 4 to 500 an hour walked along seawalk per hour - with tourism and more residential development congestion is expected to worsen)," November 24th, CC File No. 5553, for December 9th meeting.

CVC0-74. 1977 City of Vancouver: Organization Charts (Housing Centre-79 plus auxiliary/Planning Department-137.5/CityPlans Division-18/Community Planning Division - 15/Central Area Division - 12/Land Use and Development Division-53 - (38%)/Planning Resources Division-34.5 -Management Team Directors - CityPlans/Central Area/Community Planning - within Community Planning - community visions division under Trish French - five staff/ Social Planning Department- 61FT and 44 Temp/Engineering -1657/Parks and Recreation - 1,833/Vancouver Library-710/Fire and Rescue-832/Police-1355.4 - in total approximately 6,931 employees working for the City of Vancouver),December, Office Of The City Clerk.

CVC0-75. 1977 Policy Report - Cedar Cottage MC-1/Welwyn Street Area - Implementation of Development Cost Levies (Be set at $34.98 per square metre or $3.25 per square feet - except childcare spaces - .51 per square feet and industrial uses $21.53 per square meter or $2.00 per square feet - spending proportions 9 percent sidewalk improvements, 43 percent child and daycare facilities and 48 percent for replacement housing - next 20 to 30 years estimate 1,100 new residents or 700 new housing units - workforce of 600 will continue -presently 60 units - most rental in two and three storey buildings - will probably be displaced - also some ground floor occupied by artist live-work studios - estimate $3.33 collectable at build out costs will be $4.03-million - money only available for about 62 units - at cost to city of its participation of $1.984-million - however DCL funds will only fund about 50 units - will need other funding sources - Commercial Street area redone under NIP - trees planted - will be retained), December 17th, File No. 8002.

Nine: City of Vancouver, Planning Department (CVPD-1 to CVPD-173). 1956-1997

CVPD-1 1956 Zoning And Development Bylaw No. 3575, June 18th.

CVPD-2. 1958 City of Vancouver Five-Year Plan 1959-1963.

CVPD-3. 1961 Zoning Plan For The Downtown Area, May 26th.

CVPD-3a. 1961 Vancouver Downtown Coliseum - Feasibility Study, prepared by International Power and Engineering Consultants Limited, August.

CVPD-4. 1961 Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No. 1, December 7th.

CVPD-5 1962 Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No. 2, June 7th.

CVPD-6. 1962 Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No. 3, September.

CVPD-7. 1963 General Explanatory Memorandum: Zoning and Development Bylaw No. 3575, November.

CVPD-8. 1963 Report Of The Director Of Planning On The Work And Organization Of The City Planning Department, December 19th.

CVPD-9. 1964 Report of the Director of Planning on the work and organization of The City Planning Department, January 31st,

CVPD-10 1964 Redevelopment in Downtown Vancouver, Report No. 4, March 10th.

CVPD-11. 1964 City of Vancouver Urban Renewal Program, Progress Report No. 5, March 31st.

CVPD-12. 1965 Harbour Park Developments Ltd. Bayshore Inn Site, April 1st.

CVPD-13. 1965 Technical Information Memorandum: Method of siting control for high-density apartment development, May 16th.

CVPD-14. 1965 Downtown-East Side-A Preliminary Study, June.

CVPD-15. 1965 Blocks 51 and 61: Redevelopment In Downtown Vancouver, June.

CVPD-15a. 1965 Land Development And Taxation In A Central Commercial Area, by Franklin Wiles, June.

CVPD-16. 1967 Report of the Director of Planning On The Proposed Reorganization of the City Planning Department, May.

CVPD-17. 1968 Zoning And Development Bylaw No. 3575, January 23rd.

CVPD-18. 1968 Urban Renewal Technical Report 1- Conditions of Single Family Zones.

CVPD-19. 1968 Urban Renewal Technical Report 2- Apartment Districts.

CVPD-20. 1968 City of Vancouver Plan-Part One-The Issues, December.

CVPD-21. 1969 Proposed Arbutus Street And King Edward Avenue Regional Shopping Centre, Town House and Apartment Scheme, July 4th.

CVPD-22 1969 Urban Renewal Technical Report 4- Industrial Districts.

CVPD-23. 1970 Report of the Director of Planning On The Work And Organization Of The City Planning Department: Strictly Confidential, January 2nd.

CVPD-24. 1970 Urban Renewal Study Report 7- Community Improvements and Development Programs.

CVPD-25. 1970 Downtown Vancouver: Development Concepts, June.

CVPD-26. 1970 Vancouver Urban Renewal Study, Technical Report No. 7 Suggestions For Changes and Improvements by Area.

CVPD-27. 1971 Report on Submissions Downtown Vancouver Development Concepts, February.

CVPD-28. 1971 Strathcona Rehabilitation Program: Recommendations of the Strathcona Rehabilitation Committee, July.

CVPD-29. 1971 False Creek Study Group, Report No. 3, September.

CVPD-30. 1972 The West Broadway West Commercial Centre Study Report 1 Development Concept, by Allen Parker and Henry Hawthorn October.

CVPD-30a 1973 Zoning Map, January.

CVPD-31. 1973 Local Area Planning.

CVPD-32. 1973 Downtown Vancouver: Part One-Proposed Goals, April.

CVPD-33. 1973 Guide Department of Planning and Civic Development, May.

CVPD-34. 1973 Evaluation Of The Planning Department, October.

CVPD-35. 1973 The West End Plan, November 27th.

CVPD-36. 1974 Shaping The Future: The City Planning Department's Goals and Objectives for 1974, February.

CVPD-37. 1974 Downtown Vancouver: First Draft, August 2nd.

CVPD-38. 1974 Downtown Vancouver, Supplementary Report, Procedures for control of Development, September.

CVPD-39. 1974 Downtown Vancouver: Planning concepts for future development and process for control of development- Report for discussion, September.

CVPD-40. 1974 West End Urban Design Guidelines, December.

CVPD-41. 1975 Annual Review 1974/75 Vancouver City Planning Department, March.

CVPD-42. 1975 Detailed Area Plans For Downtown, April.

CVPD-43. 1975 The Development Control Process For The Central Area, April.

CVPD-44. 1975 Kitsilano Area Planning Program: apartment Neighbourhood Plan, May.

CVPD-45. 1975 Downtown Zoning Official Development Plan, November 4th.

CVPD-45a. 1976 Zoning and Development bylaw No. 3575, dated October 5th.

CVPD-46. 1977 Annual Review 1976/77 Vancouver City Planning Department, January.

CVPD-46. 1977 Guidelines For Multi Family Housing: Needs, Principles, And Recommendations For Medium And High Density Housing For Families With Children, February.

CVPD-47. 1977 Robson Street Character Area Study, April.

CVPD-48. 1977 Yaletown: An Area For Preservation and Change, June.

CVPD-49. 1977 A Review of Local Area Planning, September.

CVPD-50. 1977 The Kitslilano Neighbourhood Plan, November.

CVPD-51. 1976 Annual Review 1975/76 Vancouver City Planning Department, January.

CVPD-52. 1978 Draft: Fairview Slopes Development Plan, November,

CVPD-53. 1978 Central Area Pedestrian Weather Protection- Draft, January.

CVPD-54. 1978 Review of Central Area Development Control Process: Preliminary Summary For Background, September 26th.

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CVPD-55a. 1979 Schedule "A" Central Waterfront Official Development Plan, March 13th.

CVPD-56. 1979 Understanding Vancouver's Housing: Existing Housing Policies, Part Two, June.

CVPD-57. 1979 Understanding Vancouver's Housing: Affordable Housing Government Responses, Part Four, June.

CVPD-58. 1979 Understanding Vancouver, December,

CVPD-59. 1980 Annual Review 1979/80 Vancouver City Planning Department, January.

CVPD-59a. 1980 Zoning District Plan (map).

CVPD-60. 1981 8 Years After: Case Studies under Discretionary Zoning in Vancouver.

CVPD-61. 1981 Public Plans and Policies For the Core: A Coreplan Background Report, July.

CVPD-62. 1982 Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer Policy Plan, April.

CVPD-62a. 1982 Departmental Organizational Charts: 1991 to 1994.

CVPD-62b. 1982 First Shaughnessy Plan Background Report, May.

CVPD-63. 1982 Greening Downtown, (prepared by Baird, Sampson Architects) June 9th.

CVPD-64. 1982 BC Place Issues Paper, June 16th.

CVPD-65. 1983 Case Studies On Residential Density, May.

CVPD-66. 1983 Who Lives In Non-market Housing? And Evaluation of the City of Vancouver Housing Program, July

CVPD-67. 1984 Reports To Council: Consultants Report on development Permit Process, March 2nd.

CVPD-67a. 1985 Hastings-Sunrise Plan: Summary, May 28th.

CVPD-68. 1985 Vancouver Local Areas: 1971-1981, August.

CVPD-68a. 1985 West End Information Report, September.

CVPD-68b 1985 East Neighbourhood Study, October 14th.

CVPD-69. 1986 West End Commercial Areas Policy Plan, January.

CVPD-70. 1986 The Vancouver Plan: The City's Strategy For Managing Change, July.

CVPD-71. 1986 Reports to Council: Secondary Suites in RS-1 Areas, September.

CVPD-72. 1986 West End Residential Areas Policy Plan, October.

CVPD-73. 1987 Nanaimo/29th Avenue Station Areas Plan, June.

CVPD-74. 1987 Joyce Station Area Plan, June.

CVPD-75. 1987 Broadway Station Area Plan, July.

CVPD-76. 1987 Reports to Council: Artists' Live/Work Studios, July 2nd.

CVPD-77. 1987 West End Residential Areas Policy Plan: Report Three Strategies, December.

CVPD-78. 1987 Rt-1A, RT-2A, &RT-5N Guidelines, December.

CVPD-78a. 1988 Reports to Council: Secondary Suites in RS-1 Areas 1986 And 1987 City Wide Policy, January.

CVPD-79 1988 Urban Amenities, February.

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6,200 or 2% - *significant* St. Boniface industrial park left out as is the University of Manitoba - in diagram of areas of concentrated employment - notes concentration in large industrial parks has been declining - Winnipeg region - with 710,000 in 1996 contains 63% of provinces population - calculate 776,000 population by 2010 - Standard and Poor Study only sees about 25 or 30,000 increase - 1991 to 1996 Winnipeg increased by .3% while outer area population increased by 10% - obsessed with Winnport - next 15 to 20 years between 5,000 and 5,000 jobs possible – no mention of research park at the University of Manitoba - everything is well massaged - very far from being neutral of objective - $30-million to widen and upgrade Kenanston - wants to widen Ellice - very strange - create arterial circle ? - note Oakbluff widening - Portage widening - completion of Perimeter Highway - - new route to Dugald - 12 grade separations - looking for dedicated funding or a special agency with ability to raise funds i.e., a Winnipeg Area Transportation Authority)

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SC-2. 1953 Ninth Census of Canada, Volume Three (1951) Housing and Families.

SC-2a. 1963 Census of Canada 1961 - Vancouver - Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Cat. No. 95-537.

SC-2b 1967 1967 Immigration Statistics, Cat. No. MP22-1, Ottawa.

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SC-6a 1982 Census Tracts 1981 Vancouver -Population, Occupied Private Dwellings, Private Households, Census Families in Private Households, October, Cat. No. 95-937.

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SC-44. 1997 The Daily, Cat. No. 11-001E, November 4th.

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SC-46. 1997 The Daily, (Bilingualism rate metropolitan areas St. John's 1991 4.7% versus 5.4% in 1996/Halifax 9.6% versus 10.7% in 1996/Saint John 10.6% versus 12.3%/ Chicoutimi-Jonquiere 15.1% versus 17.4%/Montreal 47.7% versus 49.7%/Quebec 27.7% versus 30%/ Sherbrooke 36.4% versus 39.1%/Trois Rivieres 21.6% versus 24.4%/Hamilton 6.6% versus 6.8%/ Kitchener 6.7% versus 6.9%/ London 6.4% versus 6.6%/Oshawa 6.4% versus/Ottawa-Hull 42.8% versus 44%/ Quebec part 59.8% versus 62.1%/Ontario side 37.4% versus 38.2%/Sudbury 38.5% versus 40.1%/Thunder Bay 6.8% versus 7.4%/Toronto 8.0% versus 8.%/Windsor 10.7% versus 10.5%/ Winnipeg 10.4% versus 10.9%/ Regina 5.6% versus 5.6%/ Saskatoon 6.3% versus 6.5%/ Calgary 7.0% versus 7.3%/ Edmonton 7.7% versus 7.5%/ Vancouver 7.2% versus 7.4%/ Victoria 7.7% versus 8.6% - about 69% of allophones in Quebec were able to speak French in 1996 - versus 66% in English -outside Quebec 90% allophones were able to speak English and only 5% French- home languages 1971 Italian first at 425,230 or 2% then German 213,350 at 1.0% then Ukrainian 144,755 or ,7%; then Greek 86,825 or .4% Chinese 5th 77,890 or .4% -1991 Chinese first at 430,085 or 1.6% Italian at 288,290 or 1.1% Portuguese at 153,530 or .6% Spanish at 145,040 or .5%, German 134,465 or .5% Punjabi- 123,780 or .4%; Polish 117,150 or .4% (versus .3% in 1971 or 70,960) - 1996 630,520 or 2.2% Italian 258,050 or .9% Punjabi 182,895 or .6% (versus .4% in 1991 or 123,780), Spanish 4th 173,040 or .6%; Portuguese 142,975 or .5% Polish 6th place or 137,330 or .5% (versus 117,000 in 1991), Tagalog or Pilipino appears in top ten first time at 111,905 or .4% - Aboriginal languages 122,205 or .6% in 1971/138,110 or .5% in 1991/ 146,120 or .5% in 1996 - Vietnamese appears first time in 1991 at 79,585 or .3% in 1991 102,905 or .4% still in tenth place - allophone population that spoke neither official language at home dropped from 44% to 40% - Quebec net gain those who spoke English at home 140,000 -Non official language - Canada 1971 -13% /1991 15.3% /1996 16.6% by mother tongue - BC. 15.5% to 19.5% to 22.3% - Alberta 22.6% to 14.5% to 13.6%- SK -26.9% to 14.4% to 13.6% - Manitoba 26.9% to 21.8% to 20.8%- Ontario 16.3% to 20.4% to 22.2% - Quebec 6.2% to 8.8% to 9.7%-NB 1.4% to 1.4% to 1.5%-NS 2.1.% to 2.5% to 2.8% NFLD. - .8% to .9% to 1%-PEI 1% to 1.2% to 1.6%- French - MB 6.1% to 4.7% to 4.5%/SK 3.4% to 2.2% to 2.0%/ Alberta 2.9% to 2.3% to 2.1%/BC. 1.7% to 1.6% to 1.5%/ Ontario 6.3% to 4.7% to 4.5%/ Quebec 80.7% to 82.0% to 81.5%/ NB 33.8% to 34,0% to 33.2%/NS 5% to 4.2% to 4.0% Canada 26.9% in 1971 to 23.5% in 1996 and 24.3% in 1991- Toronto highest

proportion of population that spoke a non official language 25% at home Vancouver 22% and Montreal 12% / for population less than 15 about 20% spoke a non official language at home 21/2 times national average of 8% in Montreal was 11% - Aboriginal languages Cree 87,500/Inukitut 27,800 and Ojibway 25,900 same order as in 1991 - in 1996 86% of Francophones lived in Quebec- number with French as mother tongue up 16% since 1971 to 6.7-million up 2% from 1991- Outside Quebec Francophone population declined by .6% to 970,000 and 76% of this population in Ontario and NB - NB has 242,000 in Ontario there are 500,000 - Metropolitan Areas - Chinese as mother tongue -Winnipeg - 9,290/Regina-2470/Saskatoon-2,645/Calgary-37,005/Edmonton - 32,185/Vancouver - 238,790/Victoria-6,900 - Vancouver - Chinese 238,790 - Punjabi-68,110-Tagalog- 23,430-Vietnamese -13,730-Arabic-4,150 - estimate at least 360,000 Asian immigrants or 19.8 percent Asian and 13 percent Chinese/Montreal-Chinese38,600/Ottawa-Hull-15,945/Toronto-266,46/Kitchener-Chinese - 2,945/Halifax-Chinese - 1,695/Quebec City - 750/Saint John-255/St. John's - 580/Chicoutimi-Jonquiere-45/Trois-Rivieres - 40/Sudbury - 440/Thunder Bay-365), Cat. No. 11-001E, December 2nd.

SC-47. 1997 Building Permits September 1997, (proportion single detached January to end of September - Metropolitan areas - 46,131 of 82,208 or 56% - Calgary (8,486)/ Edmonton 73% (4,283)/ Halifax 70.5% (1,711)/Hull 50% (1,131)/Kitchener 62% (2,173)/London 71% (1,469)/ Montreal 51% (8,821)/ Ottawa 57% (2,842)/ Toronto 52% (22,120)/ Vancouver 28.6% (12,909)/Winnipeg 73.8% (1,352)/ Victoria 56% (969)/ Regina 66.5% (492)/ Saskatoon 64% (876) - total value residential in the country $10-billion; Industrial $1.3-billion; Commercial $$3.3-billion; Institutional $1.4-billion for a total of 16.1-billion - for industrial Vancouver - $$107-million versus residential of 1.78-billion/ Winnipeg $149-million versus industrial of $46.1-million/ Ottawa $334-million residential versus $6.2-million industrial/ Calgary $957-million versus industrial $92-million/ Edmonton residential $388-Million versus $71-million/Regina $44-million residential versus $8.7-million industrial/ Saskatoon $77.5-million versus $10.5-million industrial/ Toronto $3.5-billion versus $456-million industrial/ Montreal $964.7-million versus $233-million industrial/ Quebec/ Halifax $143-million versus $3.9-million/ Hamilton $306-million residential versus $$42.5-million industrial/Kitchener $$214-million residential versus $34.2-million industrial/St. John's $71.4-million versus $$6.2-million industrial/Saint John $$25.6-million versus $$8.5-million industrial/Saskatoon $$77.5-million residential versus $10.5-million industrial/ Windsor $243-million residential versus $$98.2-million industrial/ Victoria $$136-million versus $5.7-million industrial),"December, Cat. No. 64-00.

SC-48. 1997 StATSCAN NEWS: A Newsletter for Statistics Canada Clients in the Pacific Region, (B.C. Population - 3.724-million - occuppied private dwellings - 1.424-million units single detached - 800,000 - apartment five stories and up 86,285 less than five stories - 84,965 and row houses 86,095 - immigrant population 903,195 1991-1996 216,615 -mother tonque - Chinese 252,405 Punjabi 96,220 French 53,035 - German 88,400 - lone parent family increased the fastest at 30 percent, common -law up 22.6 percent),Winter 1997.

SC-49. 1997 Income Distributions by size in Canada, (size of Family 1951-3.78/1959-3.91/1961-4.03/1965-3.98/1971-3.76/1976-3.49/1981-3.28/1986-3.17/1991-3.12/1996-3.08 average family income in 1996 dollars - 1951 $22,743/1959-$28,766/1961-$32,283/1965-$34,506/1971-$44,101/1976-$54,250/1981-$55,042/1986-$55,294/1991-$56,623/1996-$56,629 - unattached $23,269-1980 in 1996 $24,433 - incidence of low income - 3.871 in 1980/5.295 in 1996 5.205-million in 1995/4.941-in 1993 - Children under 18 incidence of poverty 15.8% in 1980 versus 21.1% in 1996 - unattached 65 years plus incidence of poverty - 1980 12.4% versus 10.3% in 1996 - unattached incidence of poverty below age 65 17.4% in 1980 and 19.7% in 1996 - incidence of poverty in 1996 16.2% versus 13.2% in 1990) Cat. No. 13-207-XPB, December.

Fourteen: Canada Housing and Mortgage Corporation (CMHC) 1994-1997

Canada Mortgage and Housing (CMHC). 1994 National Housing Outlook Third Quarter, 1994, August.

CMHC 1994a Housing Choices for Older Canadians, Public Affairs Centre.

CMHC 1994b Winnipeg : Market Housing outlook - Spring, 1994.

CMHC. 1995 BC. Housing Outlook: Housing Outlook Conference, October 11th, Vancouver: CMHC.

CMHC. N.D. (Circa 1995) Healthy Housing: A Guide To A Sustainable Future.

CMHC. 1995 Manitoba: Rental Market Report, April 1995.

CMHC. 1996 Statistical Files for housing starts 1984 ends April Report 1997, Vancouver: Supplied by Pacific Region Office, Vancouver.

CMHC. 1996a New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA/Fraser Valley, September, Vancouver.

CMHC. 1996b Consumer profile: Buyers of New Homes, CMHC Market Analysis Centre.

CMHC. 1996bb Housing Forecast Winnipeg 1996, Spring.

CMHC. 1996c Immigrants And The Canadian Housing Market: Living Arrangements, Housing Characteristics, And Preferences.

CMHC. 1996d Research & Development Highlights - Issue 28, November.

CMHC. 1996e Consumer profile: Buyers of New Homes, (new home prices have fallen from 3.2 times household income to 2.7 in 1996 - only exception to fall is in B.C. and Atlantic provinces - existing homes fall from 2.7 to 2.5 and Ontario witness greatest decline - from 3.8 to 2.6 - buyers - parents and children 50.9, couples 27.9 single persons 11.3 , single parents 4.4 other families 5.5, hence more non traditional buyers, annual average in the 1990s new house sales 102,000 and existing 369,700, existing row and semi cost more if used than new between 1987-90 and 1991 and 94 home buyers up for 55 and older and down for under 35 and slightly for 35 to 44, ratio buyers household income to cost of home fall the most for apartments and least for single detached between 1987 and 1994 - younger buyers in Quebec and older in B.C. i.e., 50 percent of buyers over 50 and about 15 per cent younger than 35 versus 30 percent for each as average for Canada - Canada 40 percent first time buyers in B.C. only 20 percent - mature baby boomers will move to smaller units, new classes of buyers, lower mortgage rates allow more people to buy - 1987- 1990 annual average 125,000 versus 1991 to 1995 102,000 - single detached fall 101,800 to 75,300 or from 81.3 percent to 73.3 percent) CMHC Market Analysis Centre.

CMHC. 1997 Housing Starts Family Market Montreal Metropolitan Area (1990-1996), Montreal Office.

CMHC. 1997a New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, April 1997.

CMHC 1997b British Columbia Housing Statistics, April, 1997.

CMHC. 1997c New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, May, 1997.

CMHC. 1997d New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, June,1997.

CMHC. 1997e New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, July 1997.

CMHC. 1997f British Columbia Housing Statistics: June 1997.

CMHC. 1997g Canadian Housing Statistics 1996.

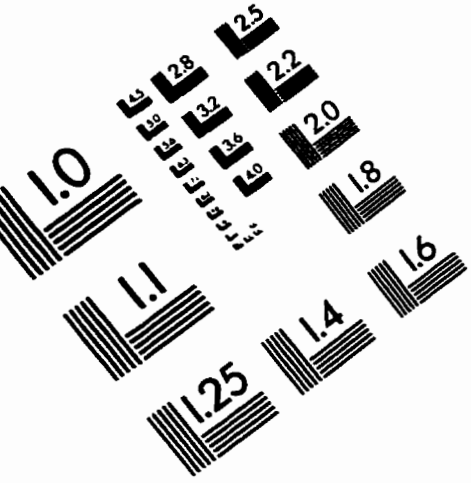
CCMHC. 1997i The Long- Term Housing Outlook: Household Growth, 1991- 2016
MHC. 1997gg Winnipeg Rental Market Report 1996 Survey.

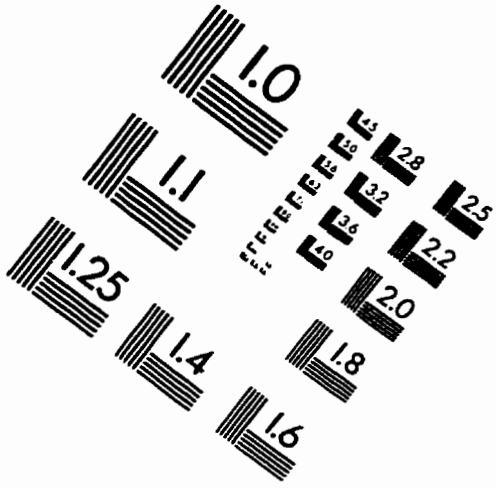
CMHC. 1997 h Winnipeg: Housing Market Outlook, Fall 1997.

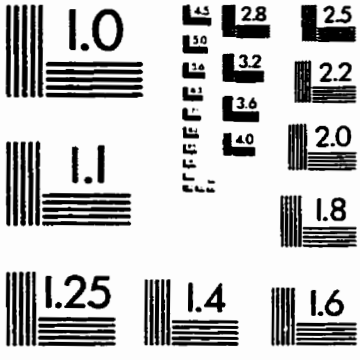
CMHC. 1997i New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, October 1997 (to end of October 3996 single detached of 13,307 or 30 percent - Core of Vancouver equaled 1,724 - units of which 1,274 of 2872 were high rises or 44 percent of regional total - and 13 percent of region's housing starts - total dwellings City of Vancouver - 4788 - 36 percent of regional total, Surrey second 2266, Coquitlam third 1014 and Richmond fourth 763, New Westminister 441 - City of Vancouver 657 new single detached - 479 on East Side - Burnaby 242 single detached, North Vancouver City - 26 single detached - White Rock - 26 - 951 units in already built up area so approximately net addition of single detached between 20 and 23 percent).

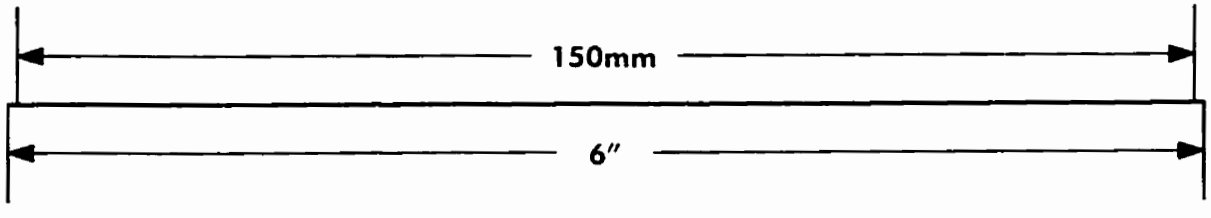
CMHC. 1997j New Housing Report: Vancouver CMA Fraser Valley, November 1997 (November 1425 total new units started - 569 in Vancouver or 39 percent of regional total - 373 single detached in month or 26.5 percent of new additions - Year to date Vancouver - City of Vancouver - 5,357 or 36.3 percent of 14,732 - Core 2105 or 14.2 per cent of regional total and 39.2 per cent of City total - 716 in West End and 1389 Downtown - ZMCRS - 1379 or 25.5 percent of City of Vancouver total and 9.3 percent of regional total - first two zones - 3,484 or 56 percent of city total and 26.3 percent of regional total - ZARS - in Vancouver city is 1873 or 12.7 percent of regional total and about 35 percent of city total - single detached - City of Vancouver 742 or 13.8 per cent of all starts in the City of Vancouver and 16.9 percent of regional total of 4369 - Surrey 1230 single detached out of 2569 or 47.8 percent of all new units single detached and 28.1 percent of all of region's single detached - Surrey total equals 17.4 percent of all regional starts - Burnaby - single detached 248 and New Westminister - 118 and North Vancouver City - 28 equals 394 units add to City of Vancouver equals 1,110 or estimated net addition of 3269 or 22 percent for region replacement rate of 25 percent - excluding this calculation about 29.6 percent of new units were single detached - high rise construction - total for region of 3034 or 20.5 percent of regional total but in Core 1453 or 69 percent of all units constructed here and 47.8 percent of regional total - medium-rise - 3950 (low rise apartments) and row condominium 1475 - total medium rise 5425 units or 36.8 per cent of all units versus 13.4 percent for the City of Vancouver as a whole - zone of middle class resettlement- 694 medium rise or 50.3 percent of new units - 15 units single detached 1.7 percent and semi detached - 32 semi detached 2.3 percent (so low rise 4 percent of new additions), 468 - or 33.9 percent of zone addition total - City of Vancouver ZARS - single detached 727 or 38.8 percent or 97 percent of single detached built in the City of Vancouver and 16.6 percent in the region whereas this zone accounts for only 12.7 percent of all units - prices - single detached sold Vancouver CMA average $510,000 and median $399,000 low median - $269,000 high West Vancouver $860,000 - City of Vancouver median $580,000 - Mission $240,000 median, Chilliwack $180,000 Abbotsford $230,000, White Rock $599,000 median and $640,000 average, Burnaby $595,000 median and Richmond median $554,000, Langley District $294,000).

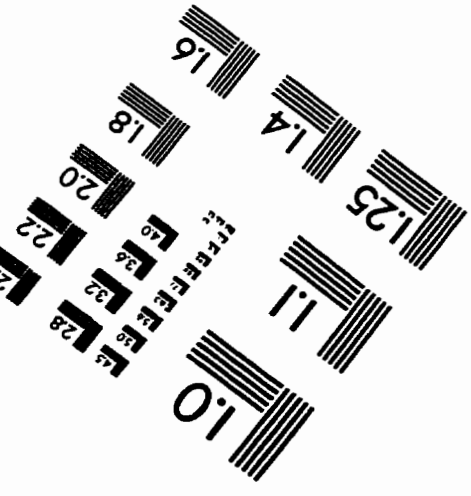
IMAGE EVALUATION
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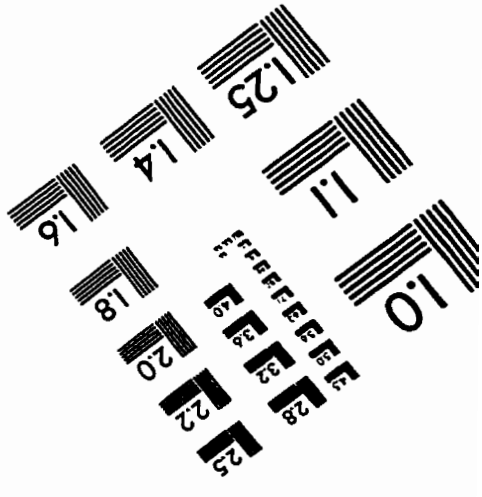












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