

**House as City:
Re-constructing Vancouver's urban imaginary in master-planned neighbourhoods,
South False Creek (1976-1986) and Concord Pacific Place (1990-2000)**

by

Danielle Wiley

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Cultural Mediations

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Abstract

This dissertation explores how models of the house reflect the physical and imaginative structure of the contemporary city, using case studies of master-planned neighbourhoods in False Creek, Vancouver.

To put these more recent, experimental housing models in context, I first look at the historic model of the single family house, which was embedded in Vancouver's earliest practices of land division and property development. The city's first master plan in 1929, which aimed to rationalize Vancouver as a modern city, also assumed the single family house as its basic unit. I then look at how False Creek's housing models this historic urban structure. South False Creek (1976-1986), an enclave of row-houses in picturesque gardens, was conceived as an organic, adaptable community—and as a critique of modernist urbanism. Concord Pacific Place (1990-2000), with its slender point towers and vast parks, introduced planned neighbourhoods of an unprecedented scale, involving transnational resources and multiple stakeholders.

This study questions a common assumption, in contemporary urban theory, that the house no longer carries the meanings of the built environment. Many critics focus on the flows of capital, materials, people and information that seemingly dissolve the city. They shift the *locus* of the “post-urban” environment to: “voids” in the urban body that are ripe for transformation; infrastructures that extend its territory; or globalized, corporate nodes that represent its de-territorialization. The house, embedded-in-place and slow to change, appears ill-fitted to this theoretical framework.

My research refutes the de-coupling of a supposedly static house from a transforming urban-scape, and reevaluates earlier models of a highly contiguous

house:city relationship. My case studies show how, in Vancouver, housing is instrumental to defining the “contemporary” city. South False Creek aimed to create an image of a benevolent city, rooted in local, communitarian values, by blending a residential vernacular with avant-garde urban principles. In Concord Pacific Place, a housing type was introduced to literally transform a tract of the downtown, but also to place Vancouver on an “international stage,” and connect it to strategic networks of investment and migration. Ultimately, I argue that the house remains a sensitive register of contemporary urbanism.

(350)

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Chapter 1

House as City: Re-constructing Vancouver's urban imaginary

1.0 House as City

In Vancouver, the figure of the house, as a manifestation of the city's cosmological structure, is very powerful. This dissertation explores how housing developments in Vancouver's downtown have historically reflected changes in the physical and imaginative form of the city: from an ad hoc colonial town fuelled by property speculation and blue-collar industry; to a highly-ordered, modernist city with a two-sided core, split into an industrial area and a business district; to the current "livable city", deeply self-conscious of affirming its local character while establishing itself as a global site of property investment, tourism and migration. I will use case studies of master-planned residential developments, on the south and north shores of False Creek, to demonstrate how models of the "house" in these two districts each encapsulate a city model and, as such, infer a particular urban imaginary.

This study recognizes the particularity of Vancouver, in the extent that housing has contributed to the city's historical development and to the recent transformation of its core. At the same time, this research has broader implications for contemporary urbanism. While, in classical and modern urban theory, the house and city were assumed to be homologous entities, a recent vein of "post-urban" theory rejects the house as a valid lens through which to interpret the built environment. An important goal of my research, then, is to demonstrate that studying changing notions of the "house" can help build our understanding of contemporary, as well as historical, cities. Vancouver speaks to the different built forms and urban ideas of the contemporary North American city. My research reevaluates the role of the house

as a metaphor and model for the city, in a context where the “house” is attached to different building types and social structures, and where the “city” itself, as a geographic and cultural entity, is disputed.

1.1 Research Project: A History of Housing in downtown Vancouver

Vancouver’s morphological development has been propelled by the house in a very material way. Until the 1980s, residential districts in the downtown were predominately made up of single family detached houses. But over the past 20 years, more than 150 condominium podium-point towers have crowded out the commercial high-rises in the business district, doubling the downtown residential population to 80 000, with a further 40 000 anticipated by 2025 (Montgomery 46). Before—and alongside—the ubiquitous podium-point tower, other approaches to housing in Vancouver, such as the “garden city” developments in South False Creek, have evoked alternative urban paradigms. The oscillation between different models of housing in downtown Vancouver points to tensions in our ideas about the contemporary city and urban life.

Before looking at more recent experimentations with housing models, I will explore how the detached, single family house on its private lot was established as a historic norm. Since Vancouver’s founding in the late 19th century, this notion of a “house” was embedded in the city’s earliest practices of land division, property speculation and building construction. As such, it is deeply entrenched in Vancouver’s basic urban structure. From the city’s early history, this house was seen as a unit of economic exchange, albeit one that was deeply entwined with normative ideas of family and community.

In 1929, Vancouver’s first—and only—comprehensive master plan was created. For the first time, the city was zoned, that is, it was conceived as a rational

system of districts defined by land use and building type. This influential document served a dual purpose: first, of re-imagining Vancouver as a proper modern city and, second, of protecting the single family house as the basic unit of that city model. I will demonstrate, however, that although the detached, single family dwelling was embraced in the Plan of Vancouver as the primary “house” of the modern city, this document laid the groundwork for the high-rise residential districts that would redefine downtown Vancouver a few decades later.

Notably, the Plan of Vancouver targeted the West End, once a district of manor estates for Vancouver’s elite, as a potential high-density neighbourhood. While never formally adopted, the Plan was a touchstone for major changes to the West End’s zoning regulations in the 1950s, which stimulated a building boom. The 220 high-rise, mainly rental, apartment buildings built between 1962 and 1975 still dominate this neighbourhood.¹ It is significant for this study that the West End challenged the single family dwelling as the normative house, and presented a radical alternative to a dominant model of the modern, North American city as a low-rise, low-density “suburban metropolis.”² The West End became a key referent in the redevelopment of Vancouver’s downtown.

1.2 Case Studies: Master-planned Neighbourhoods in the False Creek Basin

This account of Vancouver’s early development establishes a context for my case study of master-planned neighbourhoods which, since the 1970s, have transformed the downtown core and, as importantly, redefined the city’s image. These residential developments introduced new housing types into the downtown, further displacing the single family dwelling as a naturalized idea of the “house.”³

1 http://vancouver.ca/community_profiles/west_end/history.htm

2 This characterization of the American urban environment is Lars Lerup’s. Lars Lerup, *After the City* (Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 2000).

3 There were, of course, multi-family housing types historically in Vancouver, but the

I will focus on two sites: “Area 6” in South False Creek (1976-1986) and Concord Pacific Place (1990-2000).

I want to emphasize that False Creek itself is a highly charged site. As the former industrial core of the city, it sits between to the current downtown centre to the north, and an expanse of single family residential neighbourhoods to the south. It is crossed by three of the city’s major bridges, and so constitutes the foreground of views to and from the city centre. My account of the early morphological development of the city will show that the areas around False Creek, despite being at the geographic and economic centre of the city, were largely invisible to the public eye in the early decades of the 20th century. The master planning of South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place was part of a broader program to reclaim this area of the city centre, by replacing the industrial lands with a benevolent, highly visible public realm and “livable” neighbourhoods.

The decision to develop housing in the False Creek basin coincided with the re-orientation of Vancouver’s political and economic structure, from local manufacturing and natural resource export, towards transnational sectors of tourism and real estate. I will argue, however, that the housing models created in False Creek’s new neighbourhoods are not simply reflections of a changing economy, but are powerful manifestations of a shifting urban imaginary, and of changing understandings of the configuration of public and private space in the city. Both South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place were proposed by their planners and architects as critiques of prior, modernist, approaches to city-making. Both were promoted as utopic counter-models to, on one hand, the grid of International-Style office towers in the adjacent business district and, on the other, to Vancouver’s traditional single family neighbourhoods.

single family house was dominant in the city imaginary. The introduction of HBA’s *Plan of Vancouver* reads, “the retention of Vancouver as a city of single family homes has always been close to the heart of those engaged in the preparation of (the) plan” (26).

South False Creek was executed by the City of Vancouver and its consultants, and aimed to represent specific political and cultural values: a community built on social inclusiveness and supported by a benevolent government; an “ecological” city in harmony with nature; a city life focused around family and leisure rather than work and production. A hidden enclave of rowhouses nestled in lush gardens and woodland, it was hoped that the district would evolve into an organic, socially-inclusive, and locally-focused community. The housing itself mimics, more or less, the scale and form of the single family dwelling, but the private yards of the traditional house type are replaced with tightly-knit, semi-public gardens. The internal focus of the neighbourhood is reinforced by the relative scarcity of infrastructure and streets connecting South False Creek to the surrounding city.

Concord Pacific Place, on the opposite shore of False Creek, posits a starkly different urban model. First, the mega-project introduced a new scale of residential development to Vancouver, one which required deep pockets of capital, the collaboration of multiple public and private stakeholders, and an appeal to a global market as well as a local community. A radical densification of private property and the provision of substantial public amenity appear as two opposing, but necessary, faces of the city. The “house,” in the form of slender podium-point towers, and the public domain, composed of expansive public parks and infrastructure leveraged from the residential developers, create a polarized, but visually dramatic landscape. Not entirely unlike South False Creek, the siting of the residential towers in public greens suggests a re-alignment of the “house” to its yard, and of the private domain to the public realm. I will argue that the visibility of the “house” in Concord Pacific Place is also highly symbolic, that is, of the district’s appearance on a perceived global (or Pan-Pacific) stage.

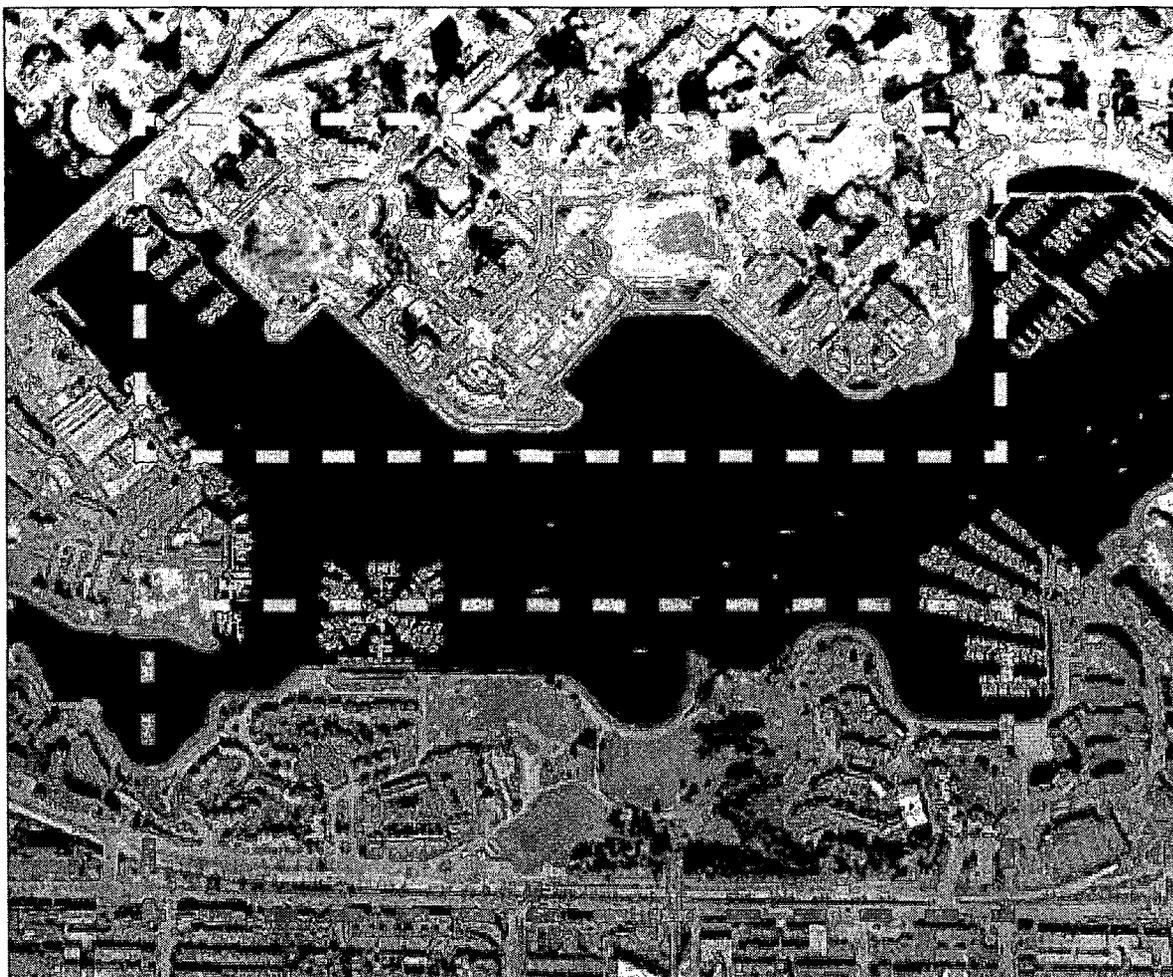


Fig. 1. Aerial of False Creek, indicating north shore site (Concord Pacific Place) and south shore site (South False Creek). Province of British Columbia, 30 Jun 2010.

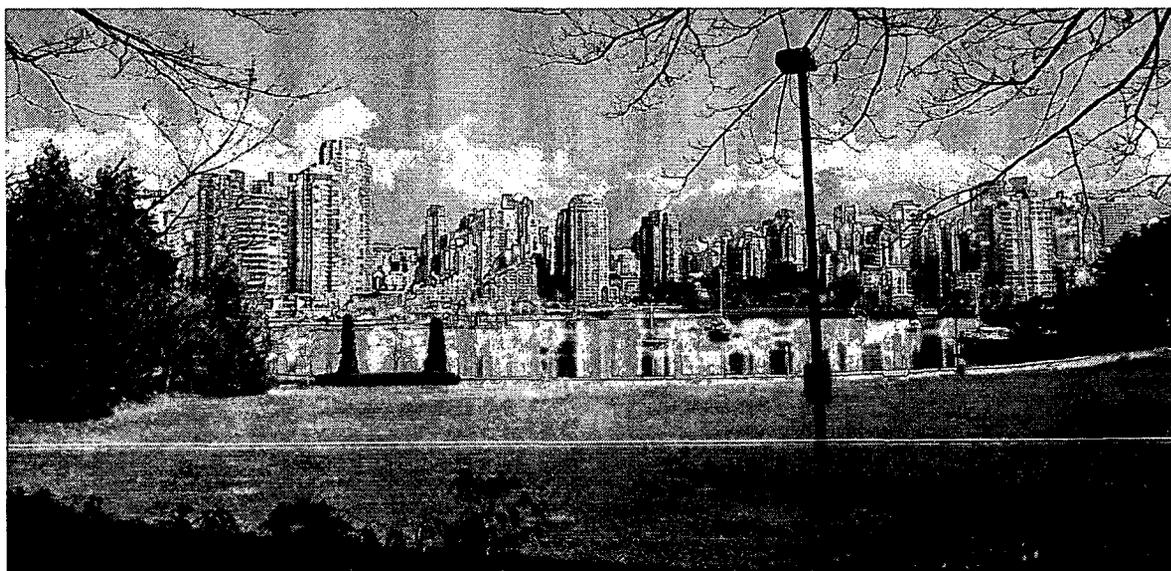


Fig. 2. View of False Creek North from Charleson Park, in South False Creek, D. Wiley, 2010.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

My study demonstrates how Vancouver has been invented and re-invented as a “contemporary” city largely through experimentations with housing models.⁴ This premise problematizes key works of contemporary urban theory which discount any relationship of the house to a broader urban structure. It also reevaluates a longer lineage of modernist urbanism that casts the house as central to both making and interpreting of the city.

Contemporary urban theorists often grapple with environments that are, seemingly, de-territorialized and re-territorialized by the circulation of capital, people, information and ideas. The city itself seems untenable as singular entity, located in a particular time and place. Likewise, the house—similarly regarded as a fixed entity, with latent ties to a classical paradigm of body-city-cosmos—seems irrelevant to the dynamic restructuring of this “post-city” or “post-urban” environment. Peter Eisenman is the most explicit, arguing that the house, as a building type and as a concept, bears no relationship to the broader urban structure:

(T)he presumed idea of the part-to-whole relationship first proposed by Alberti – when he wrote a house is a small city, and a city is a large house – is no longer operative. The whole is no longer either more or less than the sum of its parts; these entities have little to do with one another (2006:18).

In rejecting the historic role of the house in the city structure, some urban theorists shift the *locus* of meaning in the urban environment to other sites, for example: the infrastructures that breach the city and enable its dissolution (Castells 2002, Graham and Marvin, 2001); to the “voids” where the urban fabric breaks down and becomes ripe for transformation (Rubio 1995, Koolhaas 1995); or to the extra-urban sites that emblemize “post-urbanism,” like the corporate campus, the shopping mall or the

⁴ I use the term “contemporary” to differentiate the existing city, and current approaches to urban planning, from the “modern city” represented by and, in part, built from the Plan of Vancouver.

historic/entertainment centre (Baxi and Martin 2007, Shane 2005). Such sites, located at the intersection of work and production, and of leisure and consumption, are seen to represent the dynamic structures of the contemporary urban environment.

My research points to certain limitations in these theories when mapped onto a specific, Canadian context. In certain ways, Vancouver is unlike the cities on which these post-urbanist theories are modeled (namely, select American cities such as Los Angeles, Atlanta, Houston, New York, and a few Asian megalopolis, such as Singapore and Gurgaon).⁵ It has few corporate headquarters and little industry; it is not a hub of finance, technology or tourism; and its restored historic centre, entertainment districts and shopping malls do not approach the scale of their American or Asian counterparts. Moreover, my project shows that Vancouver's development has not been shaped by peripheral sprawl (like Houston) or corporate campuses (like Silicon Valley), but by the development of inner-city housing under a highly-controlled, centralized approach to urban planning.

Nonetheless it is not my goal to dismiss these "post-urban" theories. In many cases, they aptly observe the new functionalities, locations, materiality and forms of the built environment. Ultimately, my research suggests that the house is inscribed by the very forces which these theories aim to apprehend. The creation of the podium-point tower as a house type, for example, coincides with the ascendance of real estate as a new cornerstone of Vancouver's economy, one which reorients the city towards so-called "global immigrants" and investors.⁶

While my research responds to a recent body of "post-urban" theory, I will align my work more closely with a longer lineage of modernist urbanism in which

⁵ For example, on Atlanta and Singapore, see Rem Koolhaas (1995); on Houston, see Lars Lerup (2000); on Gurgaon and Silicon Valley, see Martin and Baxi (2007).

⁶ The term "global immigrants" is referenced from Ming Wai's thesis on how public art in Vancouver reflects the city's ambition to attract "high value" immigration. Ming Wai Jim, Alice. "Thoughts of the Meaning of Return: HKG/YVR." (2007).

the house is embraced as a manifestation of the city. As Eisenman notes, the idea that the house (the part) and the city (the whole) are mutually defining entities within a scalar environment dates back to Leon Battista Alberti, who himself referred to it as a historical concept. In his *De Re Aedificatoria*, Alberti argues that the nested structure of the house and city is governed by the principle of compartition. For Alberti, compartition describes the physical structure of the built environment, but also entails a metaphysical understanding of the individual, the collective and the cosmos as resonant wholes.

In framing my own research, I will not focus on classical urban theory but on how the mutuality of the house and city is re-visited in modern urbanism, particularly in the early- to mid-20th century. The progressive modernists who founded the *Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM)⁷ made urbanism—understood as the conceptualization of the city as an entity—a central concern of the Modern Architecture Movement. I will show how, in proposing the Functional City and the Minimum Dwelling as counterparts, CIAM's proponents reiterate the classical notion of the house as microcosm and metaphor of the city. Later in the 20th century, as the pressures of post-war reconstruction and expansion in Western European cities mounted, the “natural” structure of the city, and of the place of the house within it, became an explicit point of debate. In fact, Alberti's axiom that “the city is a large house and the house is a small city” was attributed to Team 10 member Aldo Van Eyck, who repeated it at the 10th CIAM Congress at Otterlo (1962), as a critique of the “Functional City” model.⁸

For Van Eyck, a failure to recognize, in modern architecture and urbanism, the intrinsic relatedness of house and street, inside and outside, and private and public,

⁷ Some sources use *Congres International d'Architecture Moderne*.

⁸ The 1962 Congress signaled a passing of the guard from the dominant ideology of the Functionalist City, encoded in CIAM's so-called Athens Charter, towards Team 10's new urbanistic ideals.

resulted in a fractured urban environment. Van Eyck argued that the purpose of architecture was to express these very relationships. He further suggested that the structure of the urban environment stems from the relationship between house and city. In his *Amstelveenseweg* orphanage, for example,

the idea was to persuade it to become both ‘house’ and ‘city’; a city-like house and a house-like city...It seemed best to anchor the children’s large house – little city – to the street, ie. to the public sphere” by conceiving of the building “as a configuration of intermediary places clearly defined (89).⁹

Intermediary spaces such as the threshold between house and street are, for Van Eyck, powerful manifestations of the intersection of individual experience and social life, and are the sites where the meaning of the modern city might be recovered.

The concerns about the modern city expressed by Van Eyck, and others in Team 10 and the architectural avant-garde of the mid-20th century, are strikingly similar to those of contemporary urban theorists: accelerating urbanization, enabled by new infrastructures and technologies; growing, increasingly mobile populations; the de-materialization of urban space; and reconfigurations of familial and social structures. Then, as now, some critics believed that these changing dynamics in the urban environment were unraveling the historical structure of the city and thus the inter-dependency of the city and house.

Giancarlo de Carlo and Alison and Peter Smithson, for example, argued that the “new dimension” to the modern city required a new scale of urban project. In his theory of the *nuova dimensione*, de Carlo argued that the expanding peripheries of historic cities should be conceptualized as “open” territories, defined by changeable social relations rather than static, built forms—an argument that resonates with recent urban theories that, as Mary-Louise Lobsinger observes, “describe urban conditions as, for example, flux or flows, and lauds self-organizing nonhierarchical

⁹ Aldo Van Eyck, “The Medicine of Reciprocity, Tentatively Illustrated,” *The Shape of Relativity*, ed. Vincent Ligtelijn (Basel: Birkhauser, 1999) 88-109.

protocols” (37).¹⁰ The Smithsons, for their part, argued that the modern city could be restructured through, first, a new scale of infrastructure that would facilitate the circulation of people, cars and goods, and, second, a new form of house. The residential buildings in the Smithsons’ “Open City” studies, for example, are bar-shaped and connectible, with open corridors to mediate between interior private spaces and the exterior public domain.¹¹ De Carlo’s *nuova dimensione* and the Smithsons’ “Open City” are two instances of a mid-century discourse about whether a large building could, in itself, be capable of creating a city (Teysot 120).

What’s notable for my research is that the house appears, in this discourse, as an element which might both characterize the emerging city and help to regenerate it. It’s worth returning to earlier debates over the proper scale and form of the house when considering the housing models proposed in South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place.

Another essential voice is Aldo Rossi, whose polemical *L’architettura della citta’* (1966) reclaimed an “innate” structure and scale for the city, whether historical or modern. Rossi was a vocal critic of what he called the “gigantism” in architecture that was appearing in the so-called “open” peripheries and housing precincts of many Western European cities in the 1960s and 70s (Lobsinger 30). In *L’architettura della citta’*, Rossi argues that the proper form of the city devolves from the relationship of house to residential district; monument to public space; private domain to public realm; and of the typical to the singular. “Residential districts,” characterized by a house-type, comprise the general fabric of the city; and “primary elements,” unique buildings and places that endure through the city’s history, comprise its public realm. Rossi’s model of city is a stable—and, problematically, a somewhat meta-historical—

10 Mary Louise Lobsinger, “The New Urban Scale in Italy,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 59.3 (2006) 28-38.

11 Alison and Peter Smithson, *Urban Structuring: Studies of Alison and Peter Smithson* (London, New York: Studio Vista, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1967).

configuration of parts within a whole. Like Van Eyck, Rossi argues that the modern discord between house and city impoverishes the urban environment. In opposition to de Carlo, the Smithsons, and others in the mid-century avant-garde, he reaffirms the humanistic basis of Alberti's principle of compartition: that the relationship of building to city circumscribes the relationship of the individual and collective.

Undoubtedly, the work of these mid-century thinkers reflects their experience of post-war Western European cities; insofar as they can support my research, they must be re-framed for a contemporary, North American context.¹² Still, these works raise interesting questions for contemporary urbanism and for my study of Vancouver in particular. I will ask: How is Rossi's notion of a proper city-form challenged by Vancouver, where the "residential districts" of podium-point towers do not create a neutral fabric, but themselves comprise the city for the city's "primary elements," such as its skyline and public parkscape? What role does a house model such as the podium-point tower play in an urban fabric which is not, as Rossi and Van Eyck assume, accumulated over a long history of architectural and cultural traditions? How is a "shared" notions of a house or urban imaginary challenged in the context of a young, transient city like Vancouver, where identities and communities are often not place-bound?

1.4 Research Approach and Methodology

This dissertation is divided into three parts. First, a history of the morphological development of Vancouver shows how the basic lineaments of the city were established in tandem with a dominant, naturalized house model. Second, case studies of South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place show how experimentations

¹² These thinkers on the structure of the modern urban environment, and on the possible relatedness of house to city, are all Western European architects. I suggest that this bias is simply reflective of the disciplines of architecture and urbanism in that era, which were dominated by a Western European discourse.

with housing models have been essential to the transformation of the downtown core and, more broadly, to the city imaginary. Third, a literary study frames the project within a lineage of modern and contemporary urban theory, by exploring the ways in which the house has been deployed as a metaphor and microcosm of the city.

While the morphological study of Vancouver is mainly a scholarly, written research, it draws heavily on visual representations to document the physical and imaginative transformation of the city. For example, in tracking the city's early development, I refer to historic platting surveys, marine surveys of the waterfront, the illustrations in the 1929 Plan of Vancouver, and other mapping materials. Later, Fire insurance plans from 1955 provide a snapshot of the downtown in a period of flux; in the West End, for example, wood-frame manors sit alongside new concrete apartment buildings in a patchwork of irregular, consolidated lots. I also refer to tourist maps spanning from 1898 to 2006, to help describe the city's changing self-representation.

My two primary case studies also draw on a range of textual and graphic sources. The City of Vancouver's Official Development Plans for the two sites describe density and massing; transportation and parking; green space and amenities; population mix; and even stylistic design requirements. More importantly, they shed light on the City's intentions for the master plans. The architects' design drawings further speak to ideals of the "house" that are proposed in each project, and its relationship to its site and to the city. Developers' marketing materials, which target specific groups of local residents and foreign investors, present images of community, urban life, and an ideal home and city model.

My own drawing analyses also form a significant part of these case studies. While the first part of these case studies, in relying on master planning documents, take a more abstract, urban-scale perspective, my drawings focus on the residential buildings and dwelling unit at a more intimate, material scale. Using floor plans,

photo studies, site diagrams and maps, these graphic studies ask: What traits of the traditional single family house are replicated in these residential building types? How are the so-called “functions” of the city mirrored in the dwelling unit? How is the relationship between the private and public domains expressed in the residential building and dwelling unit? Another drawing study tracks BC’s imports of construction materials to show how the materiality of the house is tied to changes in the economy. My goal in these drawing studies is, first, to build a material understanding of these houses and, second, to show their embeddedness in the city imaginary.

Finally, the third part of this dissertation is a scholarly review, as described above. Its purpose is to investigate how the house, as a concept and building type, has been deployed in theoretical models of the city. This literary study considers the potential contribution of my case study of Vancouver to the field of contemporary urban theory.

1.5 Chapter Breakdown

Following this Introduction, the dissertation is organized into five chapters:

Chapter 2 The House in Urban Theory

The interrogation of the role played by the house in the city structure is a recurrent theme in the modern architecture and urbanism. I position my study, first, as a critique of contemporary “post-urbanism,” which rejects the city as an entity and, as such, the possibility of the house as its base unit. I suggest that my case studies problematize these “post-urban” theories, as they do not fully account for Vancouver’s urban history or the recent development of its “livable” downtown. Second, I will reevaluate a lineage of mid-20th century urbanism which regards the house—in its material, social and symbolic aspects—as central to the interpretation of the city.

Chapter 3 A Morphological History of Vancouver: The House in the City

This chapter provides an account of the morphological development of central Vancouver over its first century. I will trace the development of its districts, block pattern and streets system, infrastructure, and building fabric, which together constitute the basic structure of the city. At the same time, I also consider how the city imaginary which develops in tandem with the city form, by looking, for example, at maps for the tourism and real estate industries.

One goal of this chapter is to show how the single family house on its private lot is entrenched in the city's physical form and image. This chapter establishes this particular notion of the house as a datum, from which later experimentations with housing models will deviate. This schematic account of the city's history also sets the stage for more intensive case studies of South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place. I locate the False Creek basin, where these housing developments are sited, in the city's geography and history, and also describe the emergence of another district, the West End, which would influence their design.

Chapter 4 Case Study: South False Creek

In Chapter 4, I first look at how the False Creek basin became available for the development of residential neighbourhoods. I will show how the making of the False Creek site coincides with a shift in the imagination of Vancouver as an industrial, modern city, towards an organic, "livable" city. I will then show how South False Creek was designed as a microcosm of this ideal city, as its makers sought to create new configurations of houses, public and green spaces, infrastructure, commerce and leisure. Yet, despite attempts to find housing types that would correspond to a new city model, South False Creek's housing relies on traditional precedents. This chapter draws on the City of Vancouver's planning documents and the architects' design

proposals, in addition to photography and drawings, to describe South False Creek in the context of changing notions of urbanism, housing, and public and domestic life.

Chapter 5 Case Study: Concord Pacific Place

This chapter recounts the longer course of development of the north side of the False Creek basin, which, after changing ownership between CP Rail, the Province of BC, and developer Concord Pacific, was ultimately constructed as a marquee high-rise neighbourhood. I will argue that Concord Pacific Place was also conceived as a model city—one starkly different from its predecessor on the south shore. Concord Pacific Place re-instates certain precepts of the modern city: first, in terms of urban form, and, second, in terms of its planning approach, as seen in the City’s prescriptive zoning regulations.

The rational grid that was rejected in South False Creek is, in Concord Pacific Place, accepted as *status quo*; on the other hand, its housing type is, for Vancouver, new. I will argue that this house model, the podium-point tower, suggests a significant shift in the vision of the city. The podium-point tower—which consists, of course, of private residences—is used to remake substantial tracts of the public realm. As such, the “house” becomes the foreground of a new city model.

Visual Studies

The case study chapters are followed by graphic studies of the built sites and their housing models. Using architectural drawings, photos, statistical data and diagrams, I hope to produce “partial mappings”¹³ of the sites, describing:

13 In this idea of “partial mapping,” I refer both to Stefano Boeri’s “Eclectic Atlases” project (1999), which uses a “sampling” approach to reading contemporary urban sites, and to historian Carlo Ginzburg’s idea of “partial knowledge.” Ginzburg suggests that any “wholeness”, while itself unknowable, can be inferred through fragments. Boeri’s project proposes different “gazes” for urban mapping, as means other than conventional, Cartesian cartography: space as it is experienced by the body; the impact of time in constituting urban “events” rather than objects; and modes of movement in the contemporary city.

- the number, type and density of dwelling units;
- siting (ie. the barriers and connections to the surrounding fabric);
- configuration of public, semi-private and private space;
- the re-shaping of the downtown around public and private views;
- a shift from housing types modeled on the “traditional” single family house to buildings based on commercial or institutional precedents;
- the re-appearance of traits of the single family house in new house models;
- how materials and construction of the residential building reflects the city’s place in local and global social-economies.

Conclusion

In Vancouver, the house—in particular, master-planned residential districts—encapsulates the city imaginary. The house expresses changes in the form, scale and materiality of the city’s architecture; in the configuration of its public and private spaces; in the structure of the household and neighbourhood; and even the transformation of local industries, impacted by so-called global economies.

Using Vancouver as a case study, this dissertation argues that the investigation of housing models can be a valuable tool in conceptualizing the emerging characteristics of urban environments. Ultimately, I consider the potential—or desirable—relationships between housing and the city imaginary, and ask how these relationships suggest principles for urban design and development.

Chapter 2

The House in Urban Theory

2.0 Introduction

In this dissertation, I show how the housing models in South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place each encapsulate a different city imaginary for Vancouver. They each call upon the “house” to represent a particular construct of socio-cultural values, a political and economic structure, and ideas of domestic and public life. Here, my goal is to provide a broader historical and theoretical context in which to situate Vancouver’s experimentations with housing models – that is, a strong lineage in modernist urbanism, in which the city is continually re-imagined through the relationship of “house” to “city”.

My goal in this chapter is, first, to review how this house:city construct has operated over the history of modernist urbanism. Second, I want to note how this metaphor is discarded in a theoretical “turn”, when the city itself is denied as a real entity, or even as a useful conceptual construct to understand our environment around us. Finally, I want to suggest how the house:city relationship might be reconsidered in urban theory, as a tool to interpret the dynamics of the urban environment.

In the last century, housing was accepted as a natural, enduring concern of urbanism. When CIAM sought to codify urbanism as a discipline in the early 20th century, the pairing of the Minimal Dwelling and the Functional City was posed, first, as a solution to the inter-war housing crisis and, second, as a conceptual framework through which to project the future city.¹ When Team 10 and the architectural

¹ It is unfortunately beyond my scope to explore the Garden City model as an important counter-model to CIAM’s Functional City, and as a foundation for the more conservative theories of modern urbanism, including New Urbanism.

avant-garde broke with CIAM after WWII, the “house” was again invoked, albeit in a different model, as a means to repair the damage done to cities by modernist urbanism (Crosby 1960; Smithsons 1967). A new form and scale of housing, moreover, was seen as instrumental to the emergence of extra-urban territories *around* traditional cities (Lobsinger). In this chapter, I will look at how housing has been central to the imagination of the modern city, even as this city-model oscillated between humanist, machinic and organicist paradigms.

In the post-modern turn from the 1960s to 80s, many urban theorists re-iterated the relatedness of the house and city, as part of a broader re-conceptualization of the city as a historical, collective artifact (Van Eyck 1998; Rossi 1966; Venturi 1966).² Aldo Rossi’s *L’Architettura della città*, which affirms the residential district as a fundamental component of the city, is perhaps the last, notable theorization of the city as an entity with an intrinsic, discernible structure. Peter Eisenman’s introduction to the American edition of Rossi’s treatise, however, already questioned its anachronistic reliance on an Albertian notion of the city as house. He would later declare that the house and the city have little to do with one another (“Che non c’è”). So this chapter will also explore a critical turn in urbanism, when it becomes problematic to imagine the city in terms of a house-model. The house becomes a relic of a past city, or even an “anti-urban dream,” incapable of registering the dynamics of contemporary urban territories.³

Seeing the classical “house:city” construct as untenable, contemporary urban theorists have sought alternative frameworks through which to conceptualize the built environment. Some of these critics focus on points of breakdown, becoming

2 For some critics, including Rossi, the house-city relationship is universal; for Venturi, Eisenman and others, it is a social construction.

3 Reinhold Martin argues that “(the) new forms of alienation (of modernist city planning) are met by the old anti-urban dream of recovering a lost home, but now in casual, domesticated corporate campuses rather than in uptight suburban houses” (“Multi National” 9).

and exchange: consider Solà-Morales Rubio's *terrains vagues*; Careri's archipelago city; or Graham and Marvin's splintered infrastructures. Others look for new architectural forms and programs which, instead of the house, have come to represent the transmutation the city by the forces of globalization: for example, Koolhaas's congested mega-buildings ("Bigness"), and Baxi and Martin's corporate campus ("Multi-National City"). I will suggest that these places and phenomena should be considered as replacements for the house as the symbolic centre of the city.

In later chapters, my case study of master-planned neighbourhoods in Vancouver will problematize this rejection of the possibility of any meaningful relationship between house and city in contemporary urban theory. Arguably, Vancouver is a peripheral city, and marginal to the avant-garde of urban theory, which tends to focus on emerging megalopolis in Asia, Europe and the U.S. At the same time, Vancouver is surprisingly prominent in discourses of urban planning *praxis*. "Vancouverism", the city's own, branded, urban paradigm does not coincide with the open, networked, mutable territories that appear in contemporary "post-urban" theory. Instead, it's rooted in the idea of the city as a real entity, a recognizable, material place. Its housing -models are actively used to make and re-make the city imaginary.

Ultimately, my study of Vancouver will suggest how the exclusion of this house:city relationship from contemporary urban criticism risks opening up rifts between theory, praxis, and the material and imaginative realities of the city. This doesn't necessarily mean that the pairing of a house type and a city model constitute a "real", ontological, structure of the urban environment. Rather, I want to explore – in both my particular case studies of Vancouver and in this broader review of modernist urbanism – how the house:city operates as a metaphor, taking on different meanings in different times and places.

2.1 CIAM, the Minimal Dwelling and the Functional City

The *Congres internationaux d'architecture moderne* (CIAM) was established in 1928 in La Sarraz, Switzerland, by 28 key figures of the emerging Modern Movement in architecture, including Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius.⁴ The purpose of CIAM was to advance modernist architecture and urbanism as a social art (Mumford 9). CIAM's founders aimed to develop an architectural "avant-garde," based on two optimistic, yet somewhat contradictory, tenets: first, that the changed social conditions of modernity demanded the transformation of the built environment and, second, that architecture and urbanism were themselves capable of propelling positive social change.⁵

Beyond these tenets, CIAM members held different views on the directives of modern architecture urbanism. While a full review of these debates falls beyond my scope here, Eric Mumford's comprehensive history, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, describes how, over a period of 30 years, certain formal and technical strategies of architecture, city design and regional planning—and not others—were linked to CIAM's idealistic program of social change (12). Here, I simply want to underline that, from the outset, urbanism was a central concern of the Modern Movement of architecture. "*L'urbanisme*" appears as the fourth of six tasks identified at the first CIAM meeting at La Sarraz, and the permanent workgroup on urbanism was chaired by Le Corbusier, CIAM's most influential member.⁶ Second, I want to

4 Note that these architects were primarily European, and based their research primarily on the models of Western European cities. They did, however, seek to engage CIAM representatives from Russia, Canada, the U.S., Japan, certain African countries, and elsewhere.

5 Mumford notes two prevailing meanings of "avant-garde" in the context of the 1920s, both of which apply to CIAM's ideological project: first, the attack of aristocratic and bourgeois institutions and, second, a set of de-familiarizing formal strategies, which are linked to social change (2).

6 The six eclectic questions put forth in the "Work Program" for this first congress reflect CIAM's social imperatives: 1) Modern architectural expression; 2) Standardization; 3)

explore how, for CIAM, the house and city are homologous—that is, they appear to summarize each other and the “machinic” paradigm of Modernist urbanism.

Housing and city-building were regarded by CIAM as integral concerns. The “Minimal Dwelling” was selected as the theme of the second congress in Frankfurt in 1929. CIAM’s Minimum Dwelling concept was a direct response to the “housing problem,” that is, the perennial challenge of providing ample, affordable housing for the burgeoning working class in increasingly over-burdened cities.⁷ An uneasiness around treating the dwelling unit in isolation from its urban context motivated CIAM’s executive, CIRPAC, to declare the theme of the following congress as “Rational Site Planning” (Mumford 44).⁸ Here, CIAM’s urban principles were Hygiene; 4) Urbanism; 5) Primary school education; and 6) Governments and the modern architectural debate (Mumford 14).

7 The “housing problem” in European cities had been a recurrent discourse in the architectural discipline since the turn of the millennium (Mumford 53).

8 The *Comité international pour la résolution des problèmes de l’architecture contemporaine*

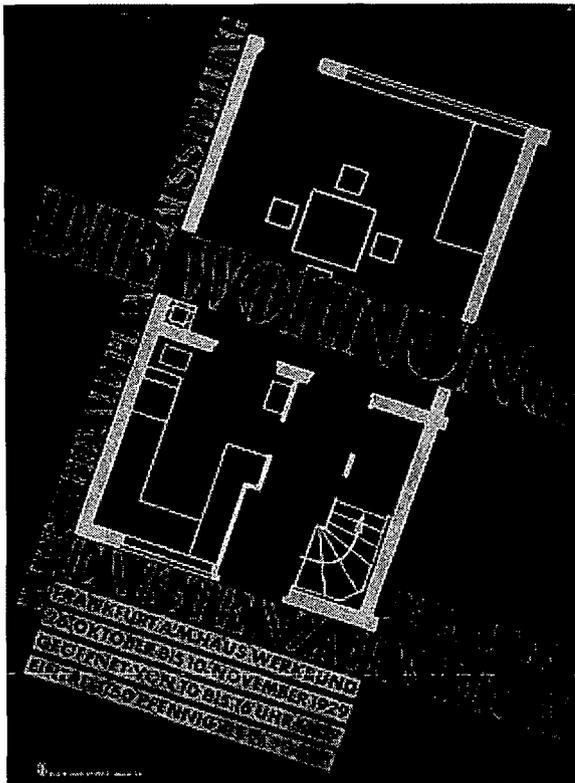


Fig. 3. Promotional Poster for CIAM 2 congress. CIAM, 1929.



Fig. 4. Book Cover for “The Minimal Dwelling.” Karel Teige, 1932.

sketched out in preliminary form: the notions that very large parcels of land should be amalgamated and planned *in toto*; that the city should be organized into single-function zones; and that high-density towers should comprise the city centre, allowing for efficient transportation routes and maximum green space. In the following congress, in Athens in 1933, CIAM's ideas about the modern "house" and "city" were resolved into a comprehensive theoretical framework: the "Functional City" (65). As "a model of the master-planned city (that) represents the ultimate expression of modernist, future oriented planning," the Functional City was arguably CIAM's most significant achievement (Mumford 3) (fig. 5).⁹ Its principles were then inscribed in the Athens Charter, a key founding document of the Modern Movement.¹⁰

2.1.1 The City Model: The Athens Charter and the Functional City

The Functional City divides the modern city—and modern life—into four categories: dwelling (notably, the primary of the four), work, transportation and recreation.¹¹ These four functions are distributed into separate domains in the city. The Functional City proposes to marry the rational analysis of the social and physical needs of an urban population with the regularization of land distribution and architecture, to create an optimal configuration of buildings, infrastructure and open space.

The principles of the Functional City were strongly influenced by Le Corbusier's theoretical city schemes, including "*Ville Contemporaine*" (1922), "*Plan Voisin*" (1925) (International Committee for the Resolution of Problems in Contemporary Architecture) was CIAM's elected executive body.

⁹ Mumford credits this evaluation of the Functional City to anthropologist James Holston (3).
¹⁰ The Athens Charter would be informally adopted as a guiding set of principles for CIAM subsequent congresses, but was not officially published until 1943.

¹¹ The concept of "recreation" would later be expanded to include further aspects of spiritual and community life. See Mumford's discussion of CIAM's middle generation, specifically related to Jose-Luis Sert's concept of the "heart of the city" (201-214).

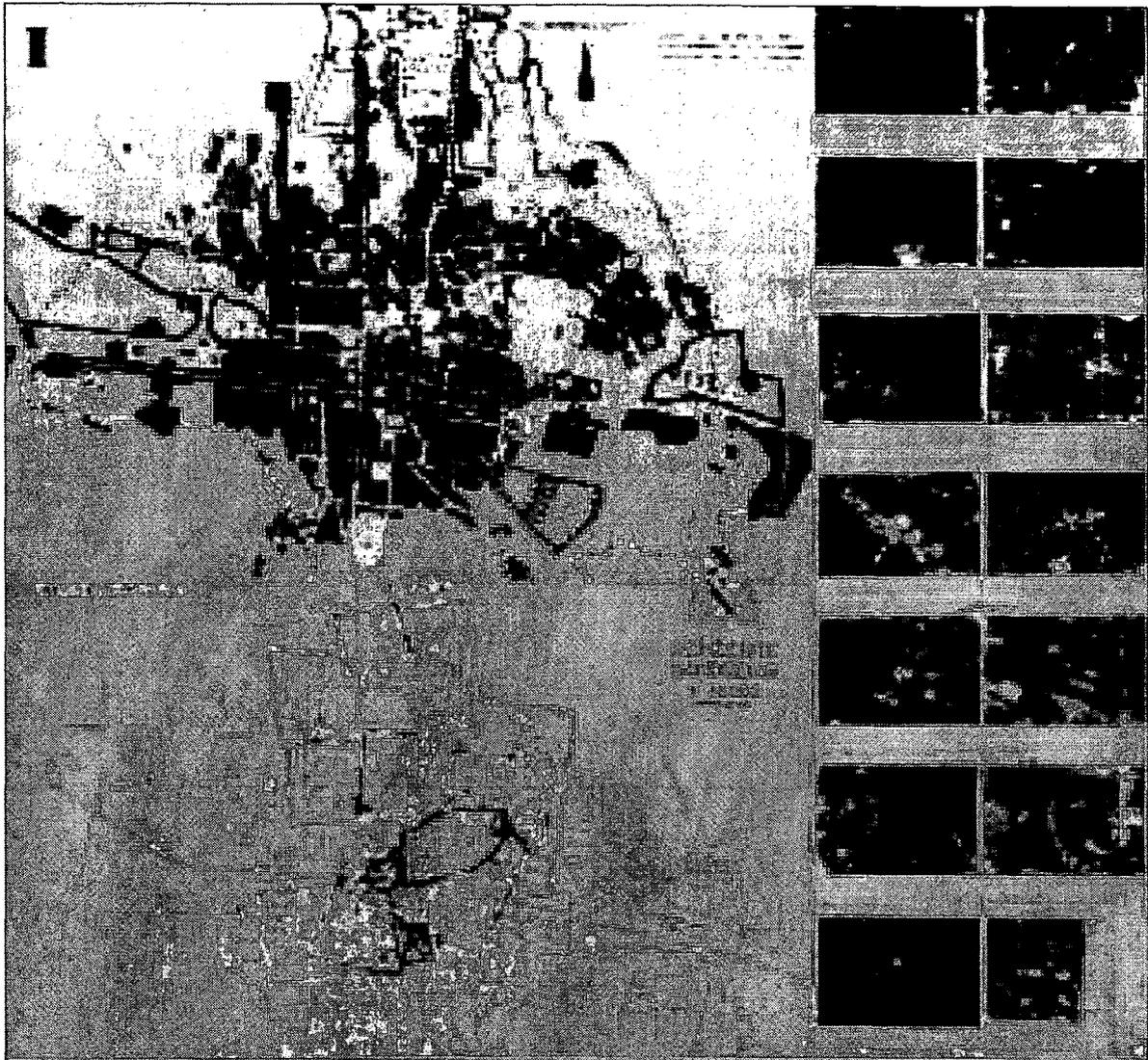


Fig. 5. Plan for the Functional City, CIAM, 1932. This drawing was prepared for the Moscow congress, which was cancelled, but is reflective of the studies presented Athens, in 1933.

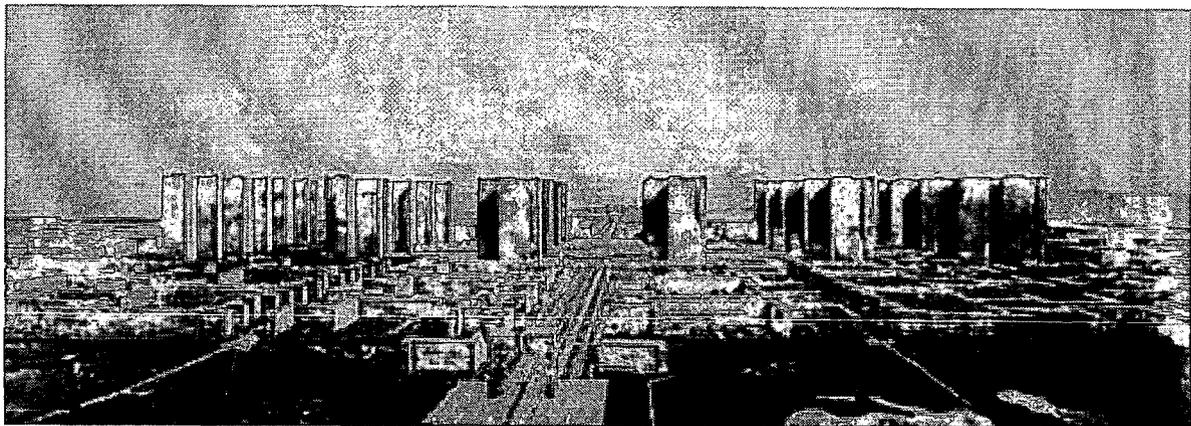


Fig. 6. Ville Contemporaine, Le Corbusier, 1922. The mid-rise buildings in the foreground are housing - high-density for their time - with the office towers beyond.

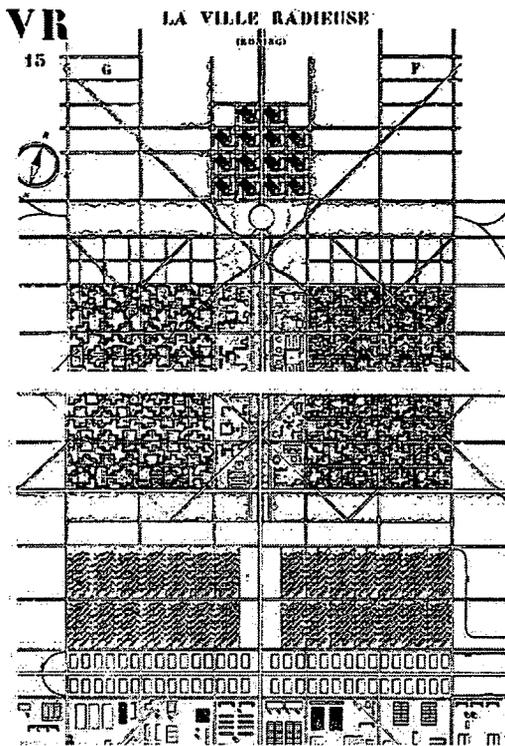
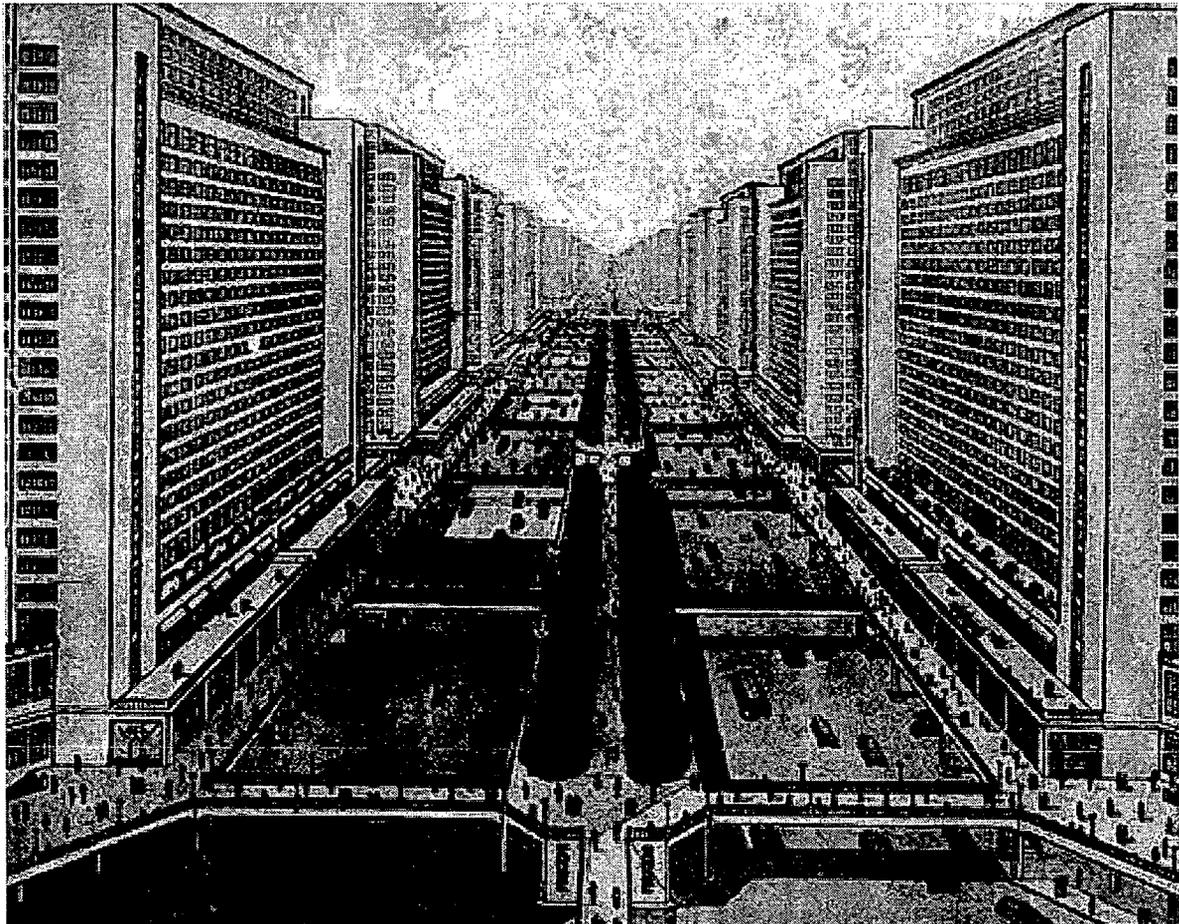


Fig. 7. Site Plan. "La Ville Radieuse," Le Corbusier, 1935. The "high-rise" housing blocks are in the four quadrants at the centre of the diagram. (The more iconic cruciform office towers are in a cluster at the top of the plan.)

Fig. 8. View of separated highway into the city centre. "La Ville Radieuse," Le Corbusier, 1935.



and “*Ville Radieuse*” (1935) (fig. 6). In “*Ville Radieuse*,” for example, the office towers at the city centre are distributed through a grid of 400 square metre blocks (fig. 7).¹² Each tower—highly glazed, cruciform, and up to 60 storeys in height—is sited in an expansive, shared green space, and oriented to maximize the solar exposure. The residential district, to the south of the business centre, follows a similar morphology. At eight to twelve storeys, the residential towers are, for the time, high-density buildings. Like the office towers, they are oriented to maximize solar exposure of each dwelling unit. The central office district, residential districts, and industrial zones beyond are separated from each other by tracts of parkland. A multi-tiered network of expressways connects these zones of the city, and also separates car and pedestrian traffic into different levels (fig. 8). The main corridor through the city is lined with cultural and recreational facilities. At its centre is a hub of government, commerce and transportation.

Beyond prescribing particular formal features (such as dense, multi-story residences and expansive, common parkland), the Functional City paradigm exemplified in the *Ville Radieuse* advocated a scientific planning methodology. Statistical methods, borrowing heavily from the social sciences, were used to calculate the base requirements of a projected population; for example, the number of dwelling units and, by extension, the distribution of housing blocks and parks. The smooth efficiency of traffic would be ensured not only by the orthogonal network of roads, but also by the statistical optimization of street widths. The Functional City implies a methodology of planning that aims to “(bring) the world under rational control for the common good” (Mumford 49).

CIAM’s Functional City infers a dramatic increase in scale – of both the house as

12 The “*Ville Radieuse*” was largely derived from Le Corbusier’s “Response to Moscow” (1930), which was designed in parallel with the development of CIAM’s urban principles and of the Athens Charter.

a building type and of the city itself. A vast amount of land and resources would be required to realize the Functional City in any degree of completeness.¹³ The increased size of the urban project necessitated a parallel increase in the scale of authority overseeing its implementation. From the first congress in La Sarraz, CIAM members maintained that major institutional bodies should be created to administer urban development at a national, or even international, level. Le Corbusier, for one, sought out governments that held the necessary power to execute his urban schemes (6). Even before the advent of CIAM, Le Corbusier imagined the modern city as a truly transnational construct. In *Urbanisme* (1925), he argued that Paris should be rebuilt, in the image of the “*Ville Contemporaine*,” with foreign capital from Germany, Japan, the U.S. and Britain (fig. 9).¹⁴ Of course, the idea of re-visioning an existing city in

13 In the original debates at La Sarraz, it was suggested that profits of development should benefit community, underlining the original, socialist aims of CIAM (Mumford 15).

14 *Urbanisme* was published in English as *The City of Tomorrow and its Planning* (1987).

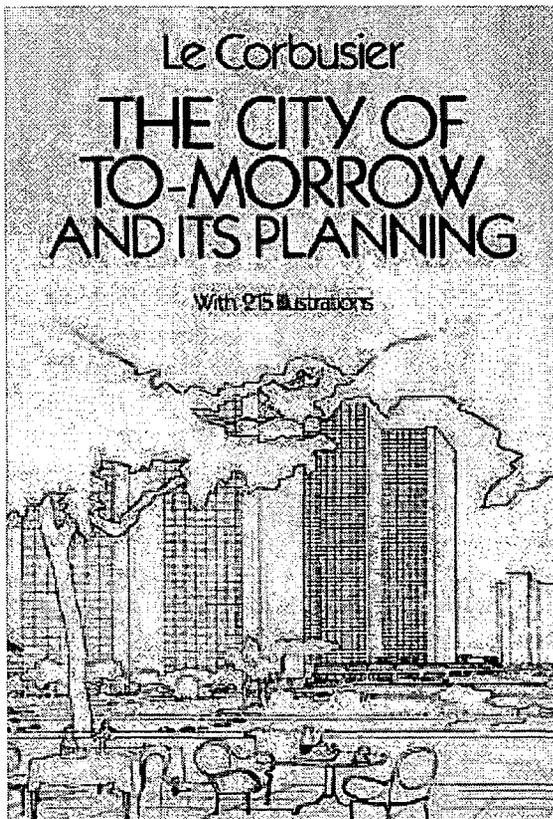


Fig. 9. Book cover of “The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning.” Originally published in French as *Urbanisme*, Le Corbusier, 1925.

an internationalist image, and of implementing this vision with foreign resources, resonates with this study of the development of False Creek. Most critical to this study, though, is how CIAM's Functional City spans from the scale of the individual dwelling to the city as a totality.

2.1.2 The House Model: The Minimal Dwelling and the High-Rise

At the CIAM 2 Congress in Frankfurt, the concept of the Minimum Dwelling was embraced as the solution to affordable housing (figs. 3,4). Modern, rational design would reduce the area of the dwelling unit and standardize building construction, in order to making housing more accessible (ideally, costing not more than one week's wage for a low-income earner) (Mumford 31). Twenty-six minimum dwelling projects were exhibited at CIAM 2.¹⁵ The projects, meant to be objectively comparable, were presented in graphically consistent, same-scale plans, accompanied by statistical data, construction cost and location, but stripped of contextual and qualitative information such as views of the buildings' exteriors or interiors.¹⁶ The orthogonal geometry of the dwelling units, their modularity, the use of repetitive elements such as standardized windows, and "industrial" materials such as concrete and steel, made a strong case for the potential of factory-based production and standardized on-site construction in modern housing. The "minimal" dwelling units, with their tight arrangements of intensely-used rooms, aimed to manifest, architecturally, the modernist ideology of Taylorism.¹⁷

The projects, which included one-family houses, duplexes and multi-family

15 The exhibition was developed into a book, *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* (1930).

16 The same-scale plans, prepared by Ernst May and associates, compared minimal dwelling apartment plans from twenty-six European cities and the United States. Most plans came from German cities (and half of those from Frankfurt), and others from Brussels, Vienna, Paris and the U.S. (Mumford 36).

17 Unit sizes ranged from 29.5 to 76.5 square metres for one-family houses, and from 23 to 91.2 square metres for multi-family units (Mumford 42).

buildings, assume one family per dwelling unit or, in other household types, one bedroom per adult.¹⁸ In this sense, they reinforce the notion of individualism traditionally implied by the Western single family home. But CIAM's discourse on the minimal dwelling was, at the same time, ideologically linked to social collectivism. The reduction of space in private dwellings and their arrangement into multi-unit buildings were meant to weaken the insularity of the nuclear family. At CIAM 2, Walter Gropius spoke, optimistically, about the family "losing its character as a self-contained productive unit," and argued that "most of the former family functions are being assumed by the state" (qtd. in Mumford 36) (fig. 10). The efficient engineering of the Minimal Dwelling would also facilitate many domestic tasks, liberating women to participate in the workplace. This technologically-enhanced house would further break down the nuclear household and ease the transition towards a more collectivist society.¹⁹

Although the CIAM 2 exhibition focused on dwelling units, CIAM was also concerned with representing a collectivist agenda in the architecture of the residential building. In his lecture at CIAM 2, Gropius discussed formal strategies in housing that could intensify the relationship between the individual and the collective. Some of his points likely drew on the earlier work of Moisei Ginzburg, an advocate for communal housing and editor of the popular journal on contemporary architecture, *S.A. (Sovremennaya Arkhitekura)* (Mumford 38) (fig. 11). Ginzburg described design elements in his "People's Commisariat Apartments" in Moscow (1928) which would stimulate the transition towards a socially superior, collectivist mode of life; for example, "well-lit access corridors," designed as a social forum and porous interface between the private and public realms (Mumford 38).

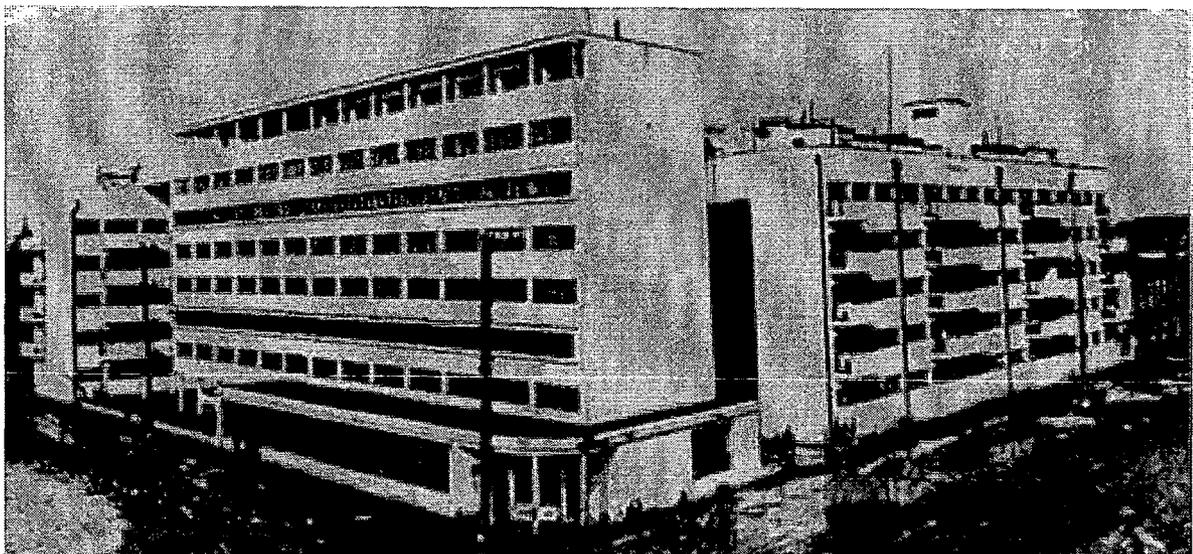
¹⁸ Gropius pronounced in his CIAM 2 lecture that "every adult (should have) his own room – however small it may be!" (qtd. in Mumford 37).

¹⁹ In light of these positive social trends, Gropius saw the multi-storey apartment block as a transition between the traditional single family house and a future "centralized master household" (38).



Fig. 10. Rotterdam Bergpolderflat, Willem van Tigen, 1932-34. The project is credited as the first working-class, high-rise apartment built as conceived by Walter Gropius.

Fig. 11. Sverdlovsk Socialist Housing, Moisei Ginzburg, 1928-32. Ginzburg was a Soviet delegate to CIAM from 1938 to 1932.



Gropius's most vocal argument, however, was that a high-rise, as a building type, would secure a maximum of shared green space, and was thus the natural corollary of the minimal dwelling unit.²⁰ The minimization of the private space of the family, as a means to maximize public open space, became a primary tenet of the Functional City. The privileging of the commons over private space also buttressed CIAM's critique of both the historical city and the Garden City model, on the basis that they reinforced a culture of individualism and, hence, capitalism. Le Corbusier was an even more radical proponent of the high-rise as an ideal "house." In the "*Ville Contemporaine*," "*Plan Voisin*" and "*Ville Radieuse*" (the former two designed years before the first CIAM congress), Le Corbusier appropriates the iconic towers of Manhattan, recasts them as residential buildings, and reconfigures them into an open landscape of superblocks. In these utopic urban schemes, the skyscraper, a prior symbol of corporatization and capitalism, took on ambivalent meanings, representing the dualistic imperatives of the Functional City—economic rationale and social good.²¹

2.1.3 The "Machinic Paradigm"

In CIAM's city model, technology appears as both a cause of and solution for a rift between society and the built environment. As Le Corbusier argued in "Architecture or Revolution," the phenomenon of industrial machinery had resulted in a socio-economic revolution; only the built environment had not kept pace with the profound transformations of modernization (288). He argued that new technologies and, more importantly, the logic of industrial production should be the means to produce a built environment congruent with modern life.

20 Mumford suggests that Gropius was referring to Le Corbusier's "*Ville Radieuse*" (38).

21 It's been widely observed that the iconic skyscrapers of Le Corbusier's utopic urban schemes appropriated the tower building type already well-established in Manhattan.

The implications of this “machinic paradigm” for urban planning were both technical and conceptual. From a practical perspective, modern planning techniques aimed to facilitate mass production, for example, by reducing the resources used to produce housing and better distributing its benefits to the masses. At the same time, the Functional City was also meant to formally *represent* an industrialized society. CIAM’s Minimal Dwelling is as reflective of the machinic paradigm as the city planing principles of the Functional City itself. The Minimum Dwelling was intended, like the Functional City, to both facilitate its own mass production and to represent the ideals of industrialization.

I want to emphasize, however, that CIAM’s “machinic paradigm” was, at the time, seen as a “natural” law. Mumford notes that Taylorism and Fordism were widely accepted in the 1920s as “natural,” falling within the same order as biological or ecological systems, and thus impervious to politics or ideology (20). Likewise, both Le Corbusier and Gropius defended the choice of the high rise housing as both rational and natural. At CIAM 2, Gropius used mathematical calculations to demonstrate that a greater density of inhabitants can be accommodated on the same portion of land, without sacrificing sunlight or views. At the same time, he frames his case in distinctly organic terms, suggesting that the high-rise has “*biologically important advantages* of more sun and light, larger distances between neighboring buildings, and the possibility of providing extensive, connected parks and play areas between blocks” (italics mine, qtd. in Mumford 38).²² Likewise, the minimal provisions of the *Existenzminimum* were biologically determined: “an elementary minimum of space, air, light and heat” would ensure that the dweller “can fully develop his life functions” (qtd. in Mumford 38).

²² Other CIAM members were opposed to high-rise residential buildings, and supported low- and mid-rise building types as more appropriate solutions for affordable housing. Ernst May demanded that Gropius’s discussion of the high-rise dwelling be deleted from the CIAM 2 publication (38).

House and city are bound together in this machinic/organic logic. Like the *Existenzminimum*, the Functional City itself was seen as the natural outcome of a design process in which social, economic and technological forces are analyzed and translated into a rational form. Le Corbusier would push the argument furthest, arguing in *Urbanisme* that the urban form described by the Functional City reflected the primordial, biological needs of the people (Mumford 39).²³ It is within this logic of biological determinism that CIAM rejected all prior forms of city-making. Previous urbanisms are seen as evolutionary stages culminating in the Functional City (54). By extension, the existing city itself is rejected as a substrate for the future city. CIAM's principles of modern urbanism are not designed to work within historical urban structures, but rather assume an ideal, *tabula rasa* site.²⁴

The Functional City was, of course, more subjective and prone to fashion than CIAM's scientific rhetoric would suggest. Over the course of CIAM's congresses, certain socio-cultural principles—such as efficiency, rationality and collectivity—were matched to certain formal preferences—such as a maximum of sunlight, sparing ornamentation, and orthogonal volumes. The congresses, a forum for CIAM members to debate the directives of modern architecture, also show how the urban principles propagated by the Modern Movement were in continual flux. But despite the instability of CIAM's vision of the city, the house and city were consistently understood to belong to a total order. This total order is the imaginative structure of the Modern city; organic and machinic, both “natural” and the product of a socio-economic rationale.

23 Likewise, Le Corbusier described the dwelling unit as “the primordial element of urbanization” (qtd. in Mumford 80).

24 At La Sarraz, CIAM stated that certain elements of the historic city might be retained in the modern city in cases where they “are a pure expression of previous cultures” (qtd. in Mumford 90). These artifacts are thus understood as a testimony of a *past* culture, not as part of a living tradition.

2.2 Restructuring the House and City: The Mid-Century Avant-Garde

Although a complete version of the “Functional City” was never realized, by the 1950s, many urban projects in many places in the world stood as concrete examples of the principles of the Athens Charter. The perceived failings of these places called into question the Charter and CIAM’s broader urban paradigm. By this time, CIAM no longer represented the progressive avant-garde of urbanism, but rather the canon. For architects working far away from CIAM’s centre of influence in Western Europe, the principles of the Athens Charter were found to be inappropriate to the local demands of climate, geography and cultural context.²⁵ In Europe, they seemed inadequate to the challenges of post-war reconstruction, which had revived a popular interest in the cultural legacies embedded in the historic city.²⁶ Efforts were made by a second generation of the CIAM executive, notably by Jose-Luis Sert in the “Heart of the City”-themed congress in 1951, to integrate communitarian and spiritual concerns into the paradigm of modernist urbanism (Mumford 201). CIAM’s faultlines were showing.

In 1954, a group of young architects was tasked with organizing the 10th CIAM Congress, held in Dubrovnik in 1956. The group—which included Alison and Peter Smithson from Britain, Gian Carlo de Carlo from Italy, Aldo Van Eyck and Jaap Bakema from the Netherlands, George Candilis from Greece, and Shadrach Woods from the US—seized the opportunity to voice their dissent with CIAM’s dominant urban paradigm. In official presentations and informal discussions at CIAM 10, the group argued that modernist urbanism had come to suppress, rather than support, the life spirit of the city (figs. 12, 13). Several, including the Smithsons and de Carlo,

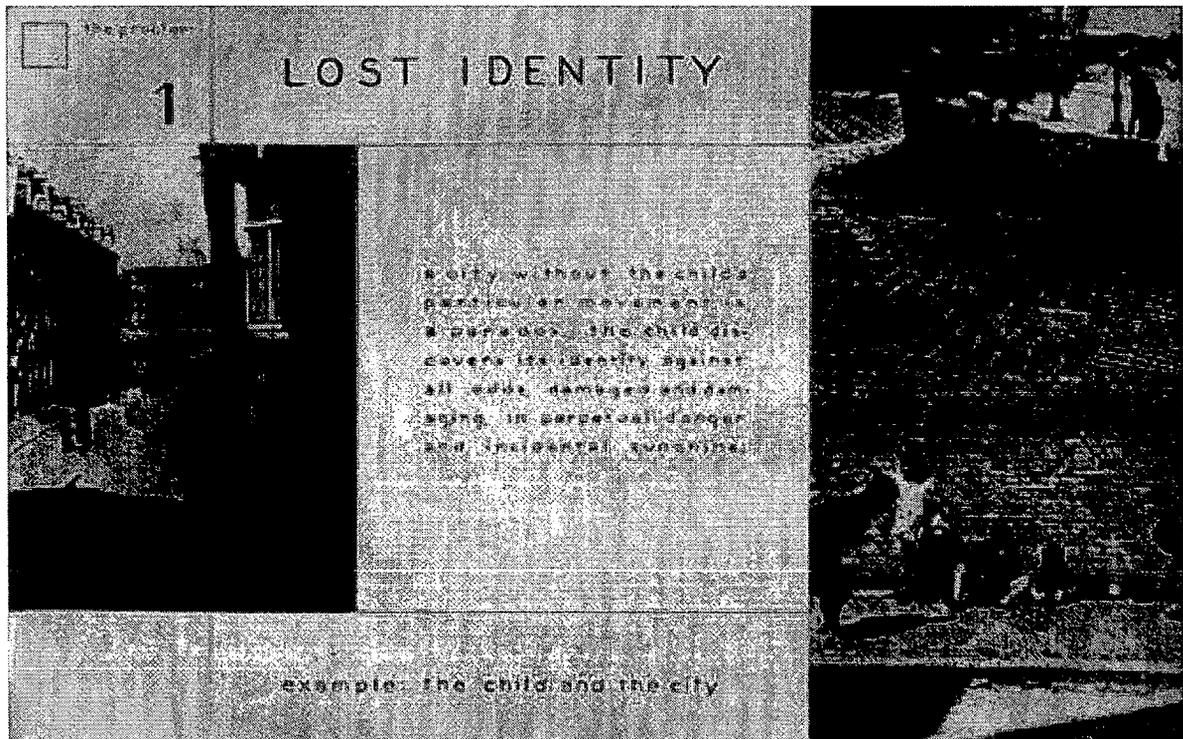
²⁵ Misgivings about the vast, unsheltered spaces implied by the Functional City model for diverse, local climates were expressed by many CIAM members, from Scotland to South America (Mumford 236)

²⁶ Many critics, including the Smithsons and Theo Crosby, argued that modernist reconstruction projects had done more damage to European cities than had the war (Crosby 8).



Fig. 12. "Urban Re-identification Grid" Alison and Peter Smithson, 1953. The Grid, presented by Team 10 at the ninth CIAM congress, critiques the Functional City, as an incomplete, dehumanizing urban model. The Grid uses a combination of photographs by Nigel Henderson and the Smithsons' Golden Lane project, to describe a city based on "human association."

Fig. 13. "The Lost Identity Grid" Aldo Van Eyck, 1953. The Grid looks at the relationship of the child to the city, using Team 10's concepts of growth, mobility, cluster and change.



argued that changing social structures and new technologies demanded a new form of “modern city,” distinct from both the hierarchical, closed form of the historic city and the arid, alienating Functional City. By the end of the congress, the group had banded together as “Team 10,” declared the “death of CIAM,” and taken up the mantle of the architectural avant-garde (Crosby 9).²⁷

Here, I will show that their work – which both critiques and elaborates upon the Functional City – assumes that the house and city, together, constitute the built environment as a totality. Here, I will show that their work is a critique and, at the same time, an elaboration of the Functional City. Like the founders of CIAM, members of Team 10 argue, on the one hand, that the built environment must be transformed to reflect social changes that have already occurred and, on the other hand, that architecture and urbanism are tools to propel social change. Like their predecessors, they view the “house” as a problem, that is, as a basic unit of the city that needs to be reworked in a fairly radical way.²⁸ As in the Functional City, the house models proposed by Team 10 members are assumed to encapsulate a holistic approach to conceptualizing the city. Important differences, though, differentiate Team 10’s city models from the Functional City, particularly in their understanding of the city as a growing organism, and of the urban project as an intervention in an existing environment.

2.2.1 The Smithsons’ *Urban Re-Structuring*

While the Team 10 members agreed that the spiritual core was missing from

²⁷ Although not all attendees concur that this declaration occurred, Team 10 members recall that Giancarlo de Carlo announced the “the death of CIAM” in his presentation on “the situation of Contemporary Architecture.” In October 1959, the journal *Architectural Design* confirmed that “the Death of CIAM was formally announced at Otterlo, Holland, in September” (Mumford 263).

²⁸ In this dissertation, I refer mainly to the Smithsons’ housing proposals, but one could also consider Aldo van Eyck’s rethinking of the “house as city” in Amsterdam orphanage project (“Shape of Relativity”), or de Carlo’s housing project in Matera, Italy (Toscano).

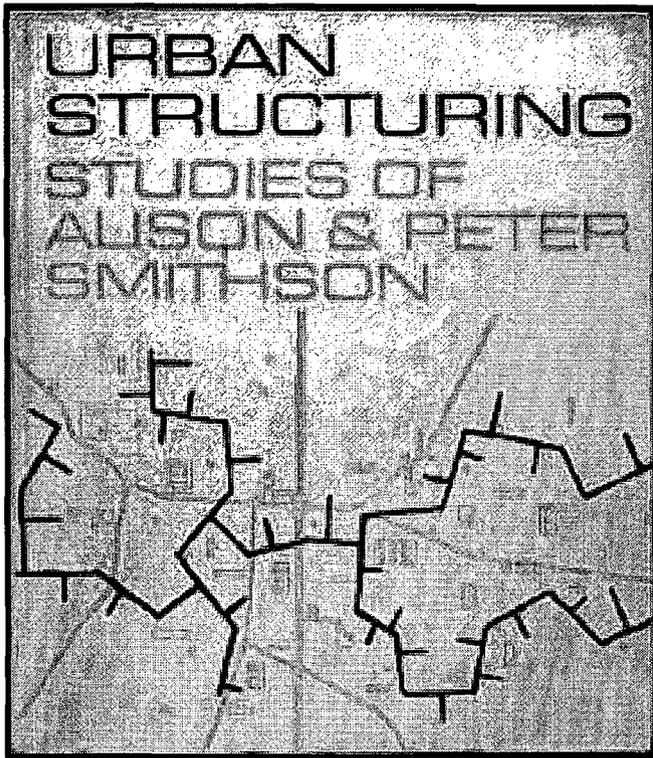


Fig. 14. Book cover for "Urban Structuring," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.

Fig. 15. Nigel Henderson's photographs, reproduced in "Urban Structuring."



the Functional City, they held different beliefs about the ideal modern city and the best approaches to architecture and urban design. Here, I will focus on Alison and Peter Smithson—not because their views are wholly representative of Team 10, but rather because they put forward a comprehensive theory of urbanism, and one uses the dwelling as a means to conceptualize the broader city. Their early site studies in *Urban Structuring* (1967) span from the village to the metropolitan region, and their design projects range from individual dwellings, to residential complexes, to regional transportation networks (fig. 14). Despite its title, the main subject of this book is *re-structuring* cities, marking a shift in post-CIAM urbanism, as the *locus* of the modern city is moved from a theoretical *tabula rasa* to the renewal of existing urban fabrics (fig. 15). (In this way, the studies also open up interesting comparisons with my present case study of Vancouver’s downtown redevelopment.)

By embracing the existing city as a physical reality within which the modern city must be built, the Smithsons and Team 10 accept, to some degree, the validity of the historic city as a model. Still, the Smithsons’ attitude towards the historic city is ambivalent. On the one hand, they aim to revalidate historical urban elements, such as “house” and “district,” suggesting that their human essence had been sacrificed in the overly reductive Functional City model. On the other hand, they argue that the words and concepts that traditionally describe the urban environment are too historically laden. In their stead, the Smithsons propose “replacement concepts” to loosen our thinking around urbanism: association; identity; patterns of growth; cluster; and mobility (Structuring 12).

These “replacement concepts” deliberately obscure the line between the formal, technical and socio-cultural aspects of the urban environment. They are sometimes used as stand-ins for physical parts of the built environment; a “cluster”, for example, can describe a settlement of any size—a village, town or metropolis (33).

But the concepts also describe social situations; “mobility”, for example, refers to an increasing social mobility and intensified interpersonal connections, as well as new systems of transportation (43). The Smithsons’ urban theory retains aspects of the technological and sociological determinism of CIAM’s urbanism and the Functional City, as they justify the invention of a new architecture on the basis of the demands of new technologies and the social behaviours that result, in part, from them.²⁹ *Urban Structuring* proposes a radical revisioning of the city, which, despite the Smithsons’ intention to break with the Functional City, places them within the same lineage of progressive modernism.

2.2.2 The Smithsons’ City Model

It’s significant, to me, that the Smithsons use a housing project, “Golden Lane,” to articulate their early ideas about the transformation of the modern city. “Golden Lane”, originally a competition entry for high density housing in the City of London in 1952, became the basis of their broader theory of urbanism, first presented at the CIAM 9 congress and later published in *Urban Structuring*.

In *Urban Structuring*, the “Golden Lane” project is organized according to the scalar orders of the built environment or, in the Smithsons’ words, “the various levels of association—the house, the street, the district, the city” (Structuring 21). These levels, however, are not to be approached literally, but as ideas; the Smithsons’ task is to “find new equivalents of these forms of association for our (current) society” (21). In “Golden Lane,” the “house”, for example, is re-thought in terms of “human associations” which vary between families and cultures (figs. 16, 17). These associations, more than the architectural form of the house *per se*, give

²⁹ “Re-identifying man with his environment cannot be achieved by using historical forms of house-groups: streets, squares, greens, etc., as the social reality they represent no longer exists” (22).

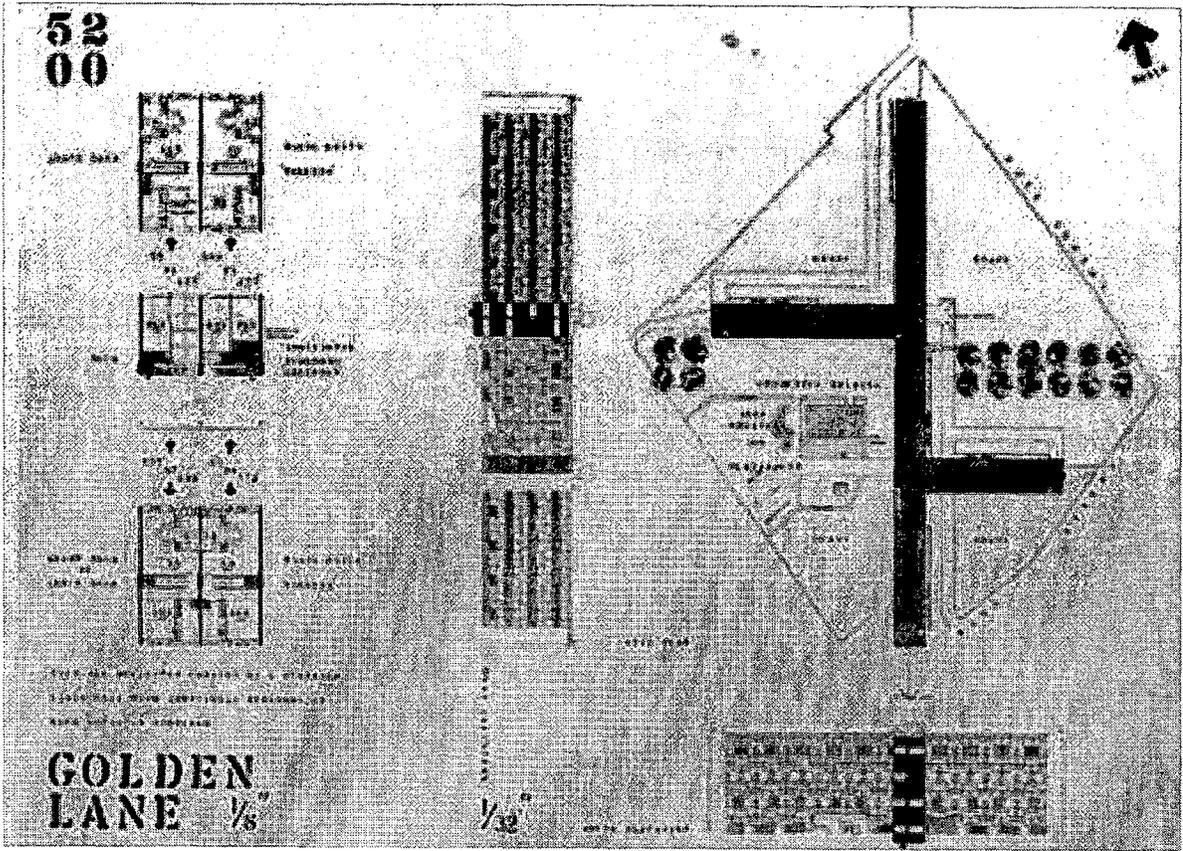
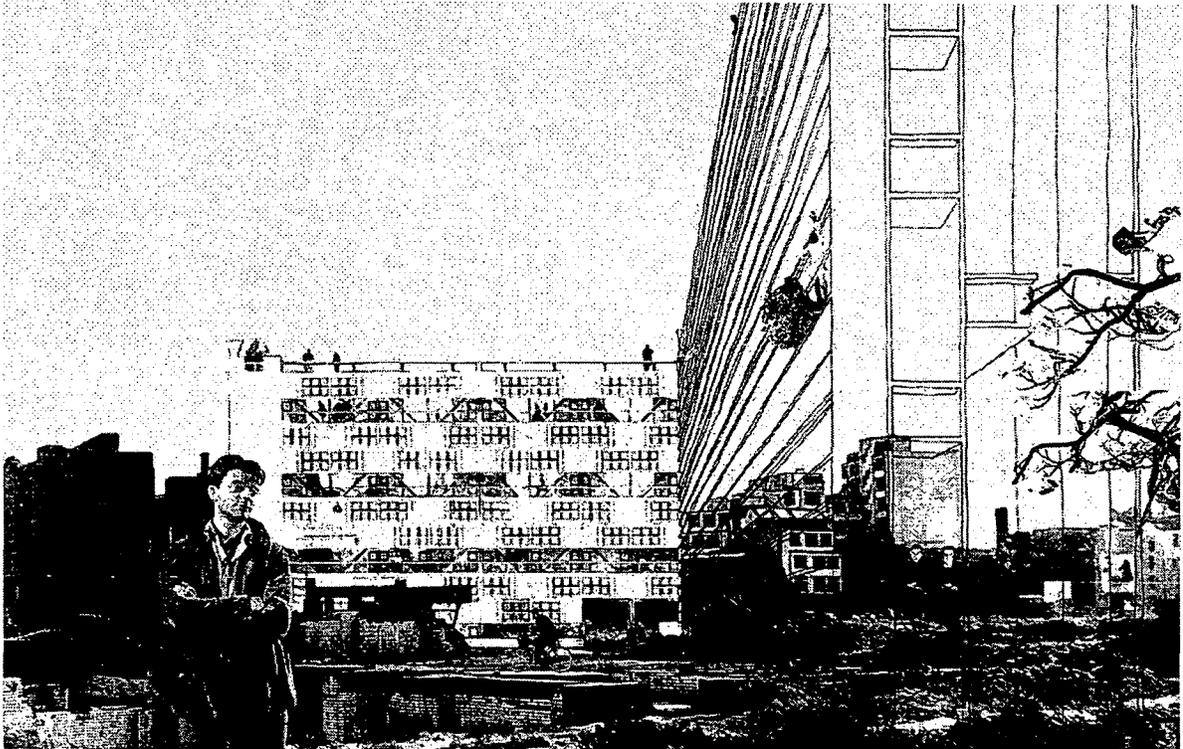


Fig. 16. Unit plans and site plan of housing, "Golden Lane," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.

Fig. 17. View of housing, "Golden Lane," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.



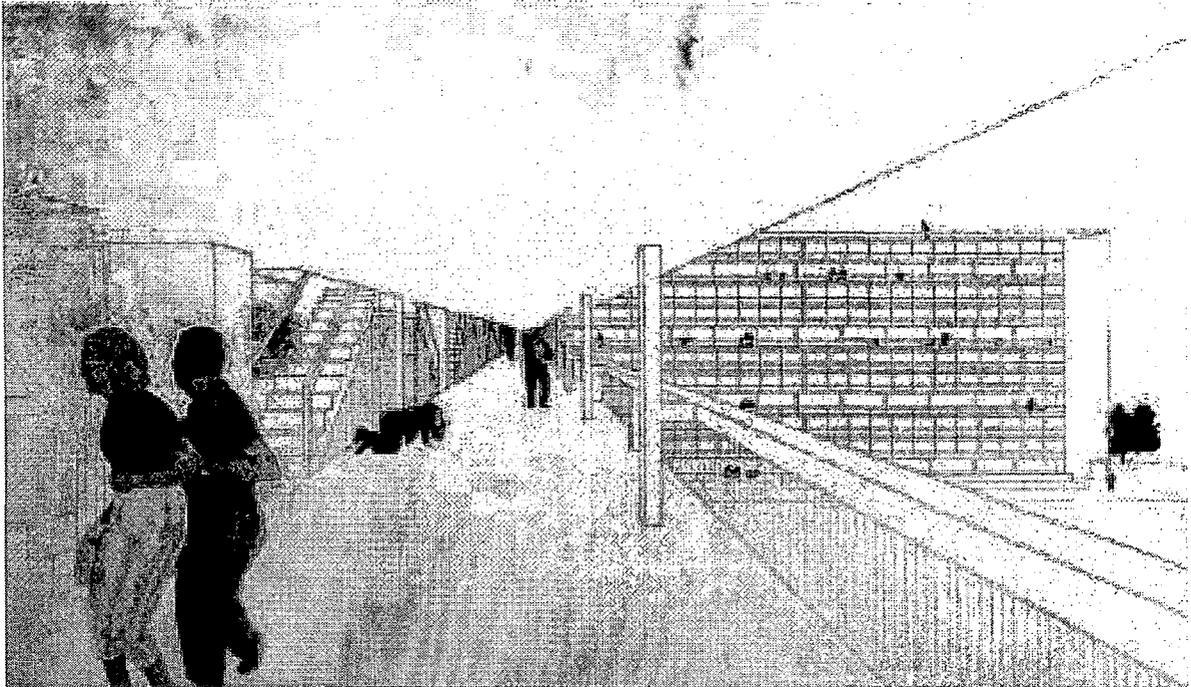
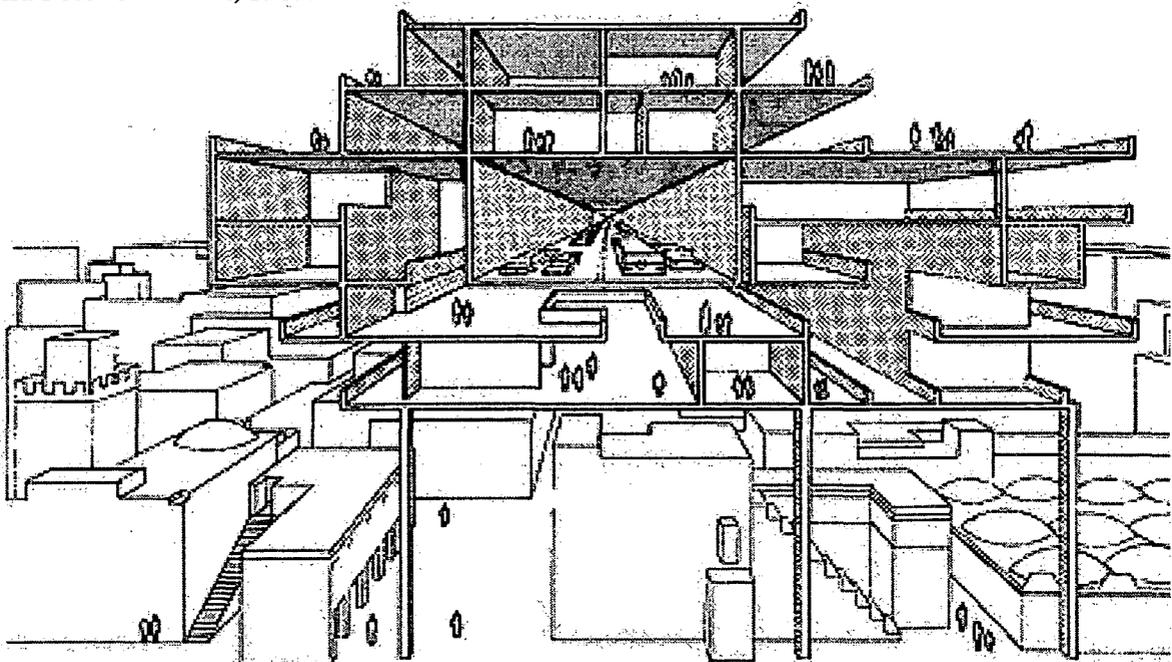


Fig. 18. View of the 'streets-in-the-air' exterior corridors outside of dwelling units, "Golden Lane," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.

Fig. 19. New mega-structure built otop of existing city, from "Urban Structuring," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.



“identity” to the dwelling (22). In a moment, I’ll describe the Smithson’s housing in more detail, but I also want to point to the Smithson’s re-thinking of the “street” and its relationship to the house. In “Golden Lane,” ample “street decks” flank the residential buildings at every storey (fig. 18). They function as a pedestrian realm, where children play, mothers stop to chat, and where people shop, repair bicycles and run errands, but they also tie the residential buildings to major vehicular roads and infrastructure. The decks—as an interface between the house and an increasingly mobile, intensely social outside world—are at the heart of the Smithsons’ concept of “a multi-level city with residential streets-in-the-air” (22).

The designers further describe “Golden Lane” as a microcosm of a “district” and “city.” According to the Smithsons’ theory of urbanism, districts should no longer be organized in “rational lot divisions,” as this rigid land pattern can’t accommodate a socially creative environment; hence, in “Golden Lane”, the housing blocks and streets-in-air are arranged into a compact, irregular geometry. This more complex pattern of land and built forms is meant to better connect residents to the “range of activities that give identity to the community” (25).³⁰ Multiple districts “in association” create the richer array of activities and identities that comprise “the ultimate community”—that is, the city (26) (fig. 19).

While “*Hauptstadt Berlin*,” another theoretical design in *Urban Structuring*, doesn’t deal directly with the house, it’s worth looking at how the project advances the city model proposed in “Golden Lane.” “*Hauptstadt Berlin*” proposes complex, separated, systems of urban motorways and pedestrian networks in the centre of Berlin, exploring the Smithson’s concept of social and physical “mobility” in the urban environment (52) (fig. 20).

30 “Golden Lane” is limited as an illustration of the district which, of course, isn’t always residential. The Smithsons’ ideal district—composed of loosely organized quarters, of varying height and density and associated with kinds of work—would present a finite, compact, irregular form, recalling the defined boundaries of a historic hill town (25).

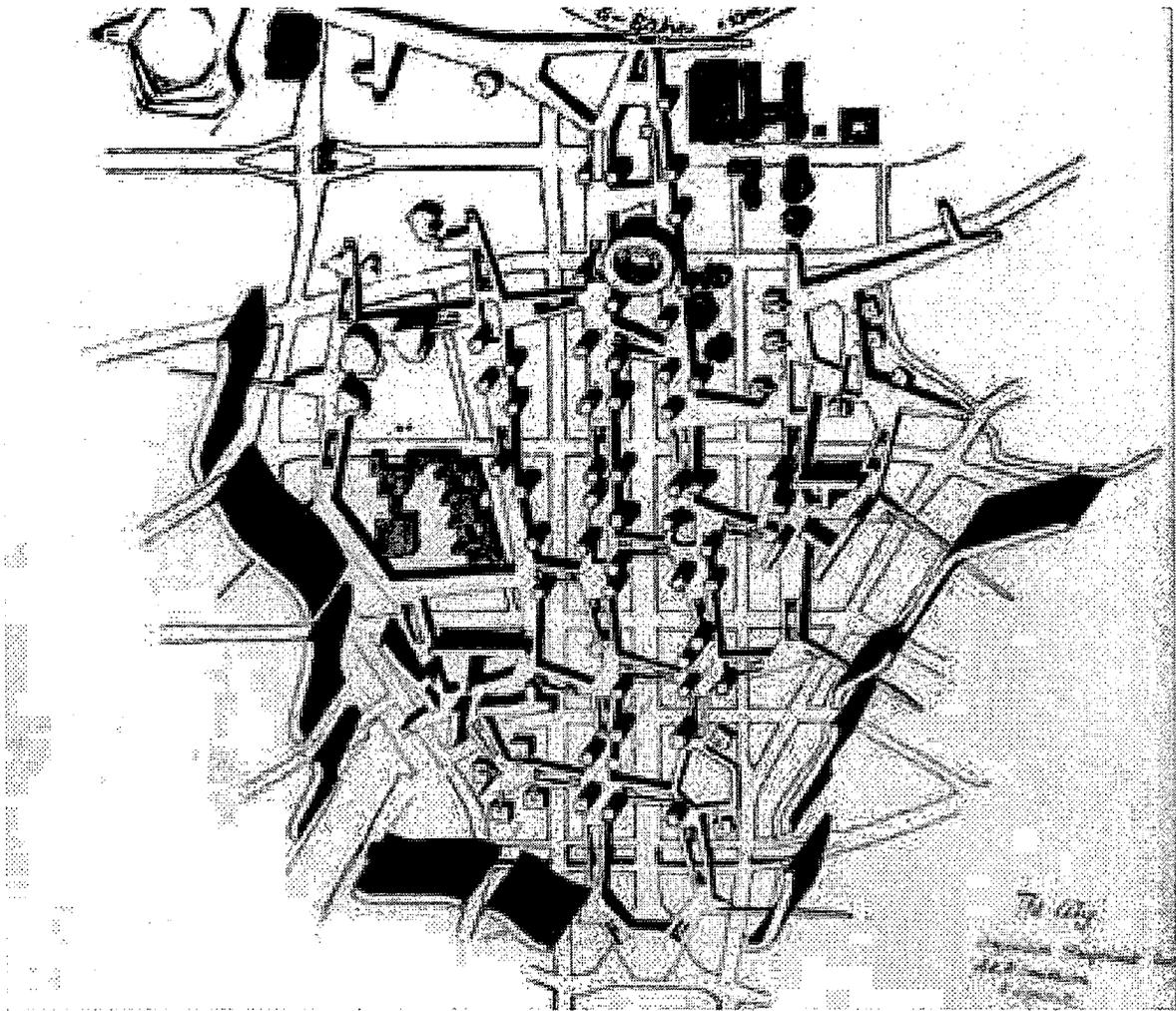
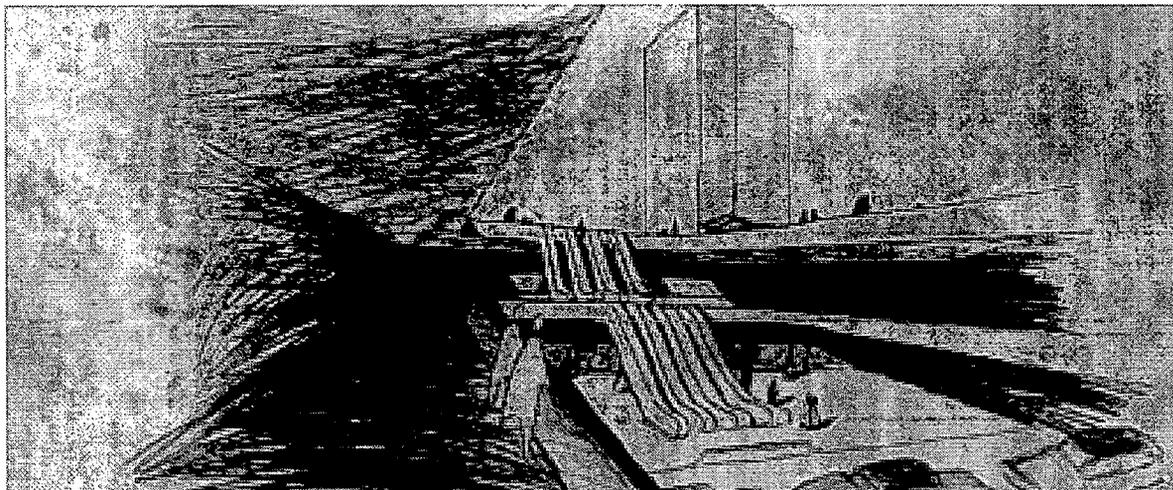


Fig. 20. Aerial sketch, "Hauptstadt Berlin," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1958, from *Urban Structuring*, 1967.

Fig. 21. View of 'streets-in-the-air', "Hauptstadt Berlin," Alison and Peter Smithson, 1958, from *Urban Structuring*, 1967.



Like “Golden Lane,” *Hauptstadt Berlin* engages an existing city, and focus on the means of its renewal. The projects target, on the one hand, the low-density areas surrounding obsolescent railways and industries and, on the other hand, “dying” city centres suffocated by tight, historic fabrics (26). In “Golden Lane,” the new dwellings and mesh of streets-in-the-air are imagined to “lace-in between existing buildings, and mesh over existing road and service networks” (26). In *Hauptstadt Berlin*, the urban motorway is meant to permanently open up the closed centre of the historic city.³¹ The motorway was re-imagined on a super-scale, assuming the same power as a major topographical feature, or the massive fortifications of a medieval city (52). The proposed system of motorways should make the “whole thing work,” that is, the whole urban structure of the historic centre, its modern suburbs and the larger regional territory—but it should also visually and symbolically unify the city (53). It pushes the “streets-in-the-air” concept from “Golden Lane” much further (fig. 21). A system of elevated pedestrian platforms and paths spans over the city’s existing grid and connects to multi-level buildings, including offices, shops and hotels (56). The network of transportation infrastructure organizes the overall city; the pedestrian platforms organize the social realm of a local district.³²

The Smithsons’ city model shares some principles and formal similarities with the Functional City and the *Ville Radieuse*. Major traffic arteries and industrial areas are to be neutralized by green spaces (82). Pedestrian and car traffic are physically separated to streamline circulation through the city. (The Smithsons argue that faster, smoother mobility will result in increased social contact.) The “streets-in-the-air” in the “Golden Lane” project, broad terraces along the façade of the residential

31 The damage done to Berlin during WWII was regarded by the Smithsons as an opportunity: “Berlin has what every other city in the world is beginning to wish it had – an open centre” (81).

32 “...mobility is not only concerned with roads, but with the whole concept of a mobile, fragmented community” (52).

buildings, are meant to act as social forums—not so unlike the “well-lit corridors” of Ginzburg’s *Minimal Dwelling*. But the differences between the Smithsons’ multi-level city model and the Functional City are telling. In “*Hauptstadt Berlin*,” the modest street decks of “Golden Lane” become an extensive, continuous pedestrian network suspended above the existing urban grid. These “streets-in-the-air” add a three-dimensional thickness to the largely two-dimensional masterplan of the “*Ville Radieuse*.” The mesh of pedestrian routes is meant to be quite literally connective, stimulating the social contact and “vital human associations” that were seen as lacking from the Functional City (18). “*Hauptstadt Berlin*” retains some degree of functional zoning, but its zones are stacked; traffic and services are located on the ground plane, with social activities above. While the Smithsons’ city model retains aspects of a machinic paradigm, such as ultra-efficient circulation, the dense, multi-use urban spaces in their “*Hauptstadt Berlin*” study points to a vision of the modern city as congested, lively and evolving.

A greater departure from the Functional City model is that the Smithsons tailor their theory of urbanism to the existing city, rather than presume, like Le Corbusier, to replace it. For the Smithsons, the problems of city are caused, first, by historic centres, which are too congested and rigid, and, second, by derelict or ill-formed areas, which are too sparse. They use urban infrastructure, particularly the street system, to re-unify the modern city, both visually and functionally. They use architecture similarly, as a connective tissue. I’ll show how the “house” that they propose for the metropolis, for example, is characterized by vertical and horizontal connections to a mesh of pedestrian paths and vehicular motorways.

The Smithsons’ work participates in a shift in the mid-century avant-garde towards a more explicit organicism. The members of Team 10 and, later Archigram and the Metabolists, all compare the city to an ecosystem.³³ In their urban theories

33 Alison Smithson. *Team 10 Primer*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1962.

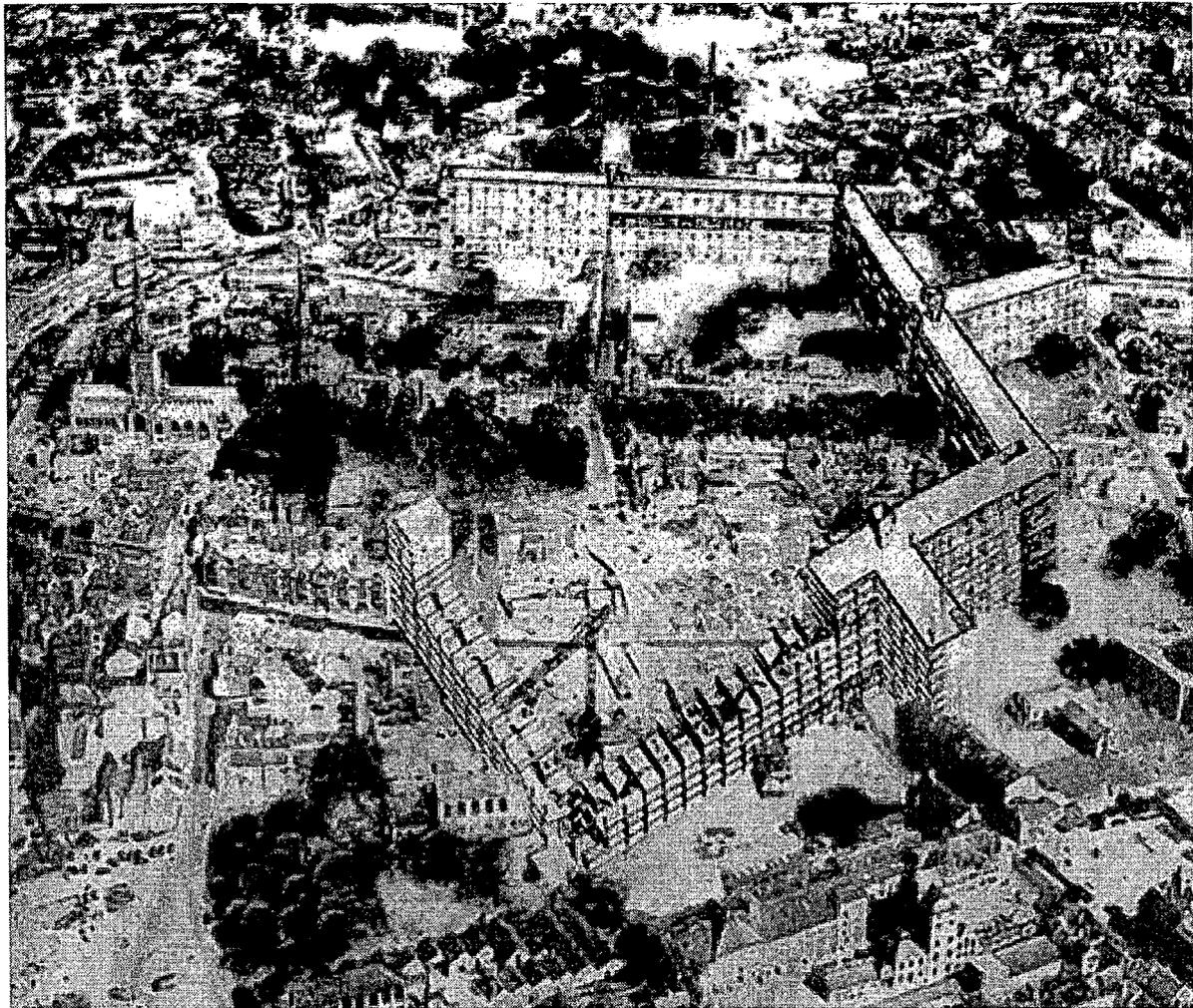
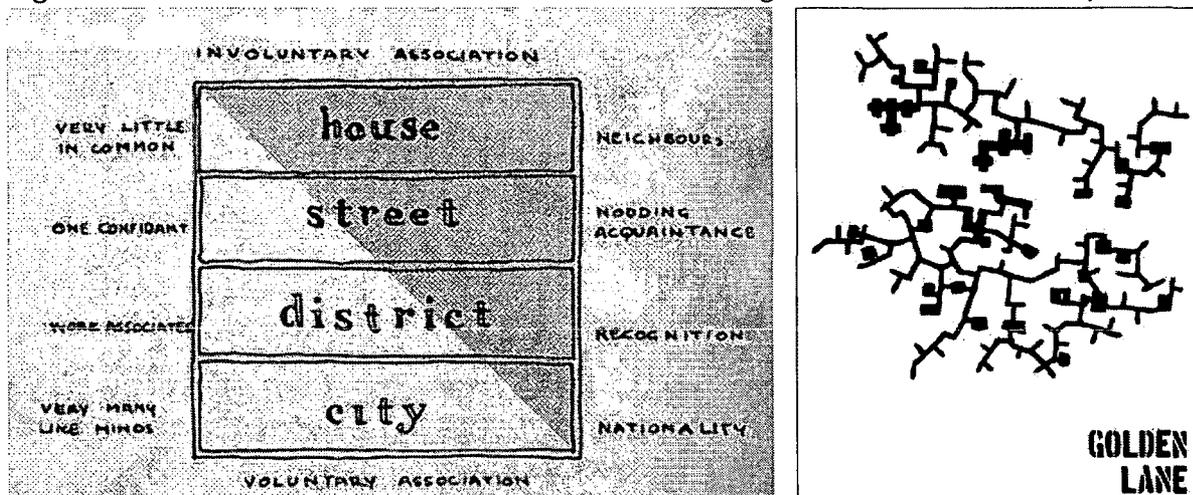


Fig. 22. View of a mega-structural housing project, 're-structuring' a former industrial district, "Golden Lane," from *Urban Structuring*, Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967.

Fig. 23, 24. Diagrams of associative structure of the urban environment, from *Urban Structuring*, Alison and Peter Smithson, 1967. Note the scalar arrangement, from house to city.



and architectural projects, they explore the capacity of urban forms to grow, accumulate and adapt. The notion of an urban fabric as a natural “system” suggests new tasks for the architect or city planner, who must integrate mechanisms and processes of change in a proposed project. Alan Colquhoun notes that, like CIAM’s machinic paradigm, this organicism remains rooted in the modern scientific paradigm, as the urban organism is interpreted in terms of its biological functions at a micro-scale (Typology 1983: 12).³⁴ In fact, the projects of the Team 10, Archigram and the Metabolists are often described as—and sometimes formally resemble—cellular structures (13). Also reflective of this organicist urban paradigm is the Smithsons’ focus on the *relatedness* of urban parts, in contrast to CIAM’s greater tendency to consider urban elements in isolation. (Consider for example, CIAM’s separate congresses on the Minimal Dwelling and the Heart of the City, or their exhibitions of architectural projects in standardized, objectively-comparable “grids.”) The Smithsons’ urban theory—based on key concepts of the cluster, association, growth and pattern—sought to define relationships *between* dynamic urban elements. Such organicist tendencies in the mid-century avant-garde, as well as its focus on the social content of the city, would strongly influence the South False Creek project in Vancouver.

2.2.3 The Smithsons’ House Model

The Smithsons’ theory of urbanism assumes that the city and the house are intrinsic entities.³⁵ They argue that an urban structure must first be “crystallized;” then the house form is generated as an expression of that structure (Structuring 19).³⁶

³⁴ Note that, whereas CIAM’s Functional City was conceptualized in terms of discrete, biological *organs*; Team 10’s urban models invoked biological *systems*.

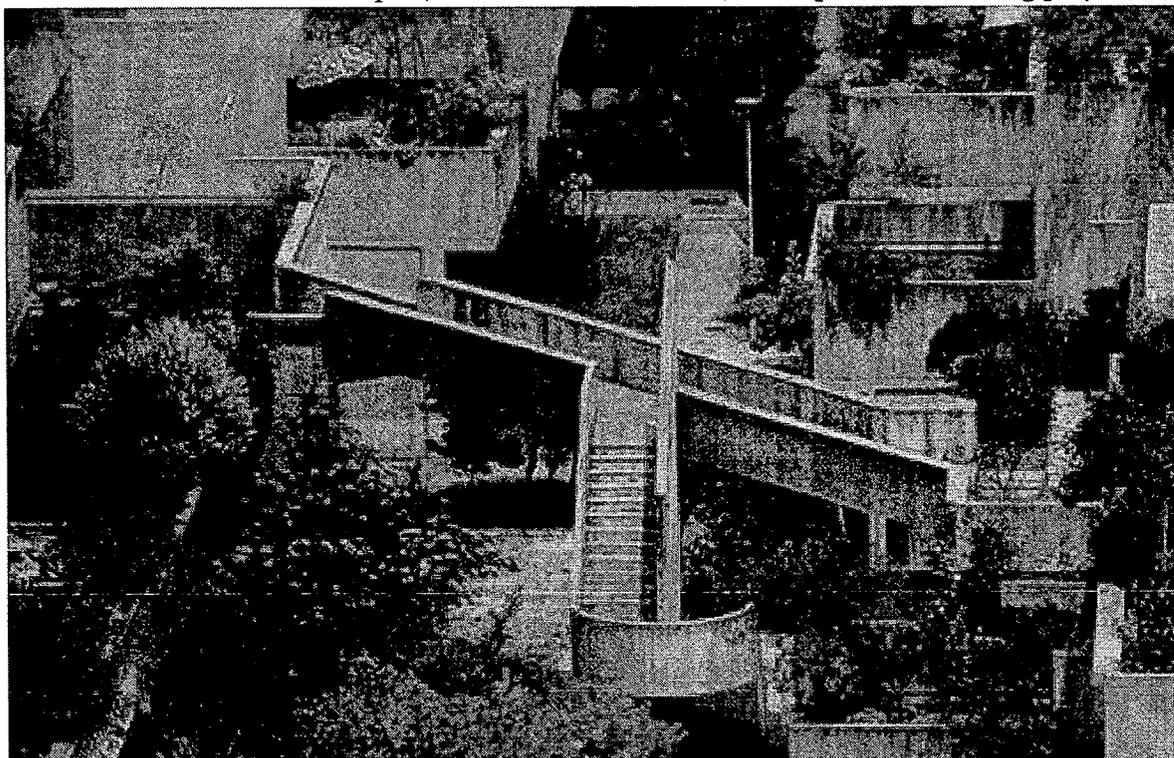
³⁵ The Smithsons argue that this principle applies to an urban settlement of any size (19). Nonetheless, their main focus is the emergent modern metropolis, such as London or Berlin.

³⁶ “It is useless to consider the house except as part of a community owing to the interaction of these on each other. We should not waste our time codifying the elements of the house



Fig. 25. Robin Hood Gardens, Alison and Peter Smithson, 1972. A built example of the Smithsons' 'streets-in-the-air' housing model.

Fig. 26. Village Matteotti Housing Estate, Giancarlo de Carlo, 1974. Another example in which Team 10's urban concepts (cluster, association, etc.) are explored in housing projects.



Their claim that the house is generated by, and inseparable from, a larger urban system is a critique of CIAM's discourse on the Minimal Dwelling, which treated the dwelling unit as an isolated entity. But their "Golden Lane" project further suggests that the design of the individual dwelling unit holds less importance than the residential building and its relationship to an urban fabric. The Smithsons approach the "house" in terms of a pattern of urban development, in which residential buildings are used to structure, or re-structure, the city.

In "Golden Lane," housing is used to remediate a decaying area of the City of London (fig. 22). (This urban renewal project bears obvious parallels to the False Creek Basin redevelopment, begun a decade later.) The values that the Smithsons invest in the modern city, such as sociability, a strongly-felt sense of belonging, and "the concept of 'mobility' in all its meanings," are formally expressed in their proposed housing model (43). The housing consists of long, mid-rise bar buildings, which angle and branch off, to connect with each other and with existing urban elements (fig. 24). Their reaching form implies the possibility of accumulation, as future buildings would tie into this "pattern of growth." The horizontal bar building is also a pointed critique of the vertical (and thus socially isolating) towers of the Functional City.

The "house" is meant to carry considerable visual and symbolic power. In "Golden Lane," the formidable scale and formal strength of the residential buildings reinforce the Smithsons' strategy of urban renewal. These new urban elements can "expect little help from their surroundings... (so they) must by their unblemishable newness carry the whole load of responsibility for renewal in themselves" (27). The mega-scale of the residential building is seen as necessary to fit into the scale of modern urban infrastructures, including their massive motorways (fig. 25). More

until the other relationship has been crystallized" (19).

importantly, this house relates conceptually to the mega-scale and “open form” of the emerging metropolis.

2.2.4 The Open City and the *Nuova Dimensione*

The Smithsons’ house model should be considered in context of debates, at the time, about the “open city.” After WWII, British and Western European cities underwent a period of rapid reconstruction and expansion. Once characterized by its compact centre, medieval fortifications and distinct geographic and cultural boundaries, the historic European city had been imaginable as a “closed” form. According to Team 10 and many others, this city was now being opened by sprawling housing districts, low-density industrial areas and freeways.³⁷ These peripheries were readily understood as the new, expanded socio-economic region of the modern city, but their status as an architectural or urban entity proved more difficult to articulate (Lobsinger 30). For some architects and theorists, the “open city” constituted an aesthetic blight; for others, a space of opportunity (31).³⁸

While the Smithsons’ clearly saw the potential in a more “open” metropolis, they maintained that the principle goal of urbanism was to give comprehensibility to the city (20). The design studies in *Urban Structuring* aim to reinforce weak or decaying areas of the city, rather than to posit a truly open, or formless, urban territory. The proposed web of residential buildings in “Golden Lane”, for example, is intended to re-organize a disused industrial area, and give it a formal strength and intensity of use necessary to make a new neighbourhood viable. Similarly, the

³⁷ The problem of opening modern European cities was the focus of the Smithsons’ “London Roads” and “Berlin: The Open City” studies (59, 81). Mary Louise Lobsinger notes that the “the unruly development of Italian cities” was also a concern of the architectural avant-garde in Italy (29).

³⁸ For a discussion of the 1950s and 60s discourse of the “open city”, particularly in an Italian context, see Lobsinger, “The New Urban Scale in Italy: On Aldo Rossi’s *L’architettura della città*.”

proposed freeway infrastructures in “*Hauptstadt Berlin*” aim to organize an historic core, suburban districts and extra-urban peripheries into a comprehensible system. For the Smithsons, the “open city” is porous, but not amorphous.

Other Team 10 members, however, regarded the “open city” differently. For Giancarlo de Carlo, the growing peripheries of metropolitan regions symbolized the loosening of social, economic and formal structures of the historic European society (Lobsinger 32). The historic city was static, hierarchical and hegemonic; the city-region presented opportunities for de-centering political power structures and creating a more dynamic, “self-organizing” urban territory (32). De Carlo’s and the broader Italian discourse around the “open city” hinged on the concept of the *nuova dimensione*.³⁹ The “new dimension” of the city referred to the emergent properties of the urban periphery; its vast open spaces, and its indeterminate activities, programs, and organization. The *nuova dimensione* also referred more literally to the mega-sized infrastructure and architecture, such as the new *centri direzionali* (“directional centres”) then being constructed outside of Italian cities.⁴⁰

Like the Smithsons, de Carlo and other Italian architects argued that the *nuova dimensione* demanded urban forms at a larger scale (fig. 26). Like the Smithsons, they saw transportation infrastructure as a major morphological force in the urban environment. De Carlo, however, held a more radical vision of the degree of amorphousness that could, or should, be achieved in the “open city.” He argued that minimal elements in the urban periphery should be fixed and that, apart from this skeletal infrastructure, the “city should be considered as an elastic system ... that

39 Architect Giuseppe Samona coined the term “*la nuova dimensione*” in 1959, “to describe the dynamic between the city, its socio-economic formation, and the surrounding countryside” (Lobsinger 31).

40 Rossi contributed an article, “*Nuovi Problemi*” (New Problems), to an edition of *Casabella* dedicated to the Italian Directional Centre (ICD), a planning program similar to the American Central Business District (CBD). Refer to Lobsinger for a discussion of Rossi’s views on the *nuova dimensione*.

would allow any form to emerge in given conditions” (Lobsinger 32). These flexible forms, according to de Carlo, would adapt along with changing social practices and the “forces of participation” (32).

An important counter-position in this debate was provided by Aldo Rossi who, early in his career, turned his attention to the increasing (and, for him, regrettable) polarization of the modern urban environment into centres and peripheries (34).⁴¹ For Rossi, the mega-scale architecture being constructed in urban peripheries was not the correct response to the “opening” of the historic city into a larger socio-economic and geographic region (36). He was also suspicious of the tendency, in the discourse of the *nuova dimensione*, to frame the problems and solutions of city-making in biological or sociological terms—for example, by relying on concepts such as self-organization, or equating the physical mobility enabled by urban transportation systems with social mobility (33). To counter this abstract turn in urban theory, and the resulting “gigantism” in architecture, Rossi set out to systematically describe the structure of the city, asking: In the past, how have cities changed, grown or decayed? Do historic and modern cities develop in fundamentally different ways? What is the relationship between the architecture of a building and of a city? Does the city have an architecture *per se*? A full review of Rossi’s treatise, the *L’architettura della città* (1966), translated as *The Architecture of the City* (1982), falls beyond the scope of this dissertation. Very pertinent here, however, is how Rossi’s theory of the city is rooted in the re-articulation of the relationship between city and house (fig. 27).

2.3 Natural and Historic Structures of the City: Aldo Rossi and Post-modernism

For Rossi, nebulous theorizations of the “open city” had resulted in distortions in architectural design and, more gravely, in a fundamental misapprehension of the

41 Rossi’s early writings on the periphery include “*La città e la periferia*” (1961).



Fig. 27. Book cover for "L'Architettura della Città," Aldo Rossi, 1966.

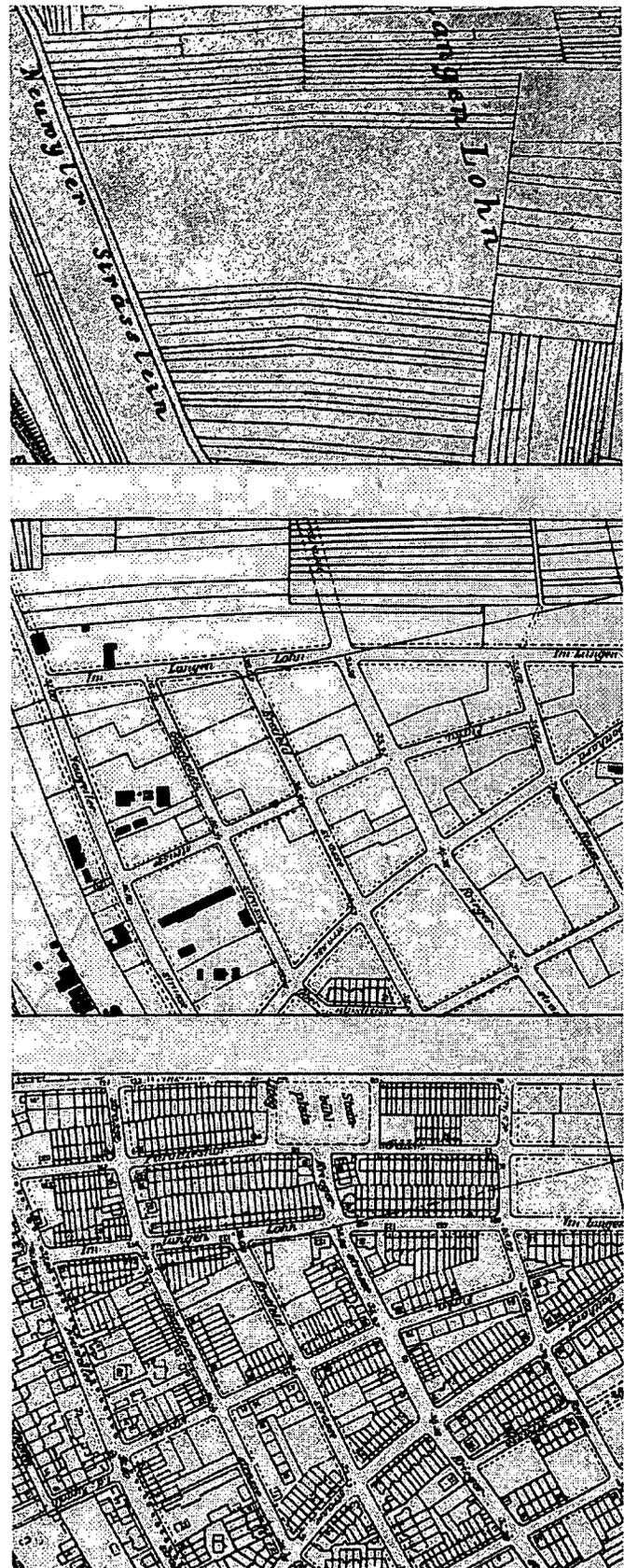


Fig. 28. Rossi reprints an image from Hans Bernouli's study of the morphological development of an area near Basel, Switzerland, from architectural fields (1850), suburban plots (1920) to a denser urban fabric (1940), from "Architecture of the City," Rossi, 1966 (trans. 1982).

city. His goal was to re-ground urban theory in the study of the material reality of the city, and its demonstrable, historic patterns of growth, decay and development. For Rossi, architecture and the city are concrete phenomena that can, and should, be described in material terms (fig. 28). Moreover, architecture, rather than sociology or geography, is the correct discipline within which to study the city, as built forms are the medium in which forces acting upon the urban environment are materially manifested (Rossi 1982: 21). Finally, Rossi makes the controversial argument that architecture and the city have a natural, intrinsic structure, and that a change in scale—on this point, he refers to the unprecedented size of the modern metropolis—doesn't substantially change a city's structure:

(We contest that) this 'new scale' (the *nuova dimensione*) can change the substance of an urban artifact. It is conceivable that a change in scale modifies an urban artifact in some way; but it does not change its quality. Terms such as urban nebula may be useful in technical language, but they explain nothing (160).

For Rossi, it is not enough to invoke vague descriptors such as “*urban nebula*,” or unspecific forces such as “changing social structures” as the basis for radically new urban strategies. Much of *The Architecture of the City* consists of historical case studies, through which Rossi investigates how particular mechanisms, such as expropriation, land division practices and master planning, effect morphological change. On the basis of these case studies, he refutes the notion, posited by the Smithsons, de Carlo and others of the architectural avant-garde, that ephemeral social relations and political trends are a determining factor in urban form. He shows, for example, that while the increasingly small increments of land in modern Paris are typically attributed to the democratic revolution, this same land pattern soon manifested in Berlin, when the communist government elected to sell its assets (139). He argues that this pattern of land division and urban development is a broader morphological tendency of the modern city, and so would eventually appear,

regardless of the political regime.

Other notions of progressive urbanism that Rossi refutes is that the modern city, or even the modern regional territory, demands a new scale, an “open” form, or new rules of urbanism. Rossi points to the transformation, after the fall of the Roman Empire, of Roman amphitheatres in Arles, Nimes and Florence into local markets and residential districts, to illustrate how decaying and amorphous zones appear and are re-absorbed into a city throughout its history (89). He argues that the so-called amorphous peripheries around historic cities are similarly areas in transition, not a new genre of urban territory (93). While they appear, in the present, to be discontinuous with the city structure, Rossi believes that they will eventually relate to an urban whole. Rossi further argues that “it is inconceivable to think that urban artifacts change in some way as a result of their size, ... (that) the city is modified as it extends, or that urban artifacts are themselves are different because of the size at which they are produced” (49). The *nuova dimensione* is not a fundamentally new phenomenon, and so its size alone doesn’t change the terms of urban analysis or architectural praxis.

2.3.1 Rossi’s City Model

Rossi’s model of the city is rooted in the assertion of its wholeness. He doesn’t claim, though, that the city can be apprehended as a complete form *in any given moment*. Rossi’s insistence that all parts of the city relate to a whole depends on his concept of urban history. An urban “part”—whether a historic monument or a peripheral region—already exists in the present, but its full meaning unfolds over time. The relationship of these elements to the urban structure is never foreclosed, but is constructed over the course of the city’s history. “The unity of these parts,” that is, the city’s wholeness, “is fundamentally supplied by history, by the city’s memory

of itself” (64). Urban history, for Rossi, is kind of a *posteri*, collective narrative that makes the city comprehensible.

The Smithsons looked to major urban interventions, such as a new system of urban motorways, to make “a mobile, fragmented, community” into a comprehensible entity (54). For Rossi, the comprehensibility of the city was never truly lost, but lies beyond the scope of the present moment. Parts of the city always fit into the whole, even if they currently appear to be discontinuous, because “history” will always make it so. Within this same logic, Rossi denies the possibility of the “instant city” then being postulated by avant-garde urbanists, including de Carlo and Archigram.⁴² As the city accumulates historically, it can’t be unilaterally re-invented. This argument is a direct critique of progressive, modernist urbanism, as

42 Archigram’s “instant city” concept circulated widely in architectural journals. See, for example, “Amazing Archigram: A Supplement” (1967).

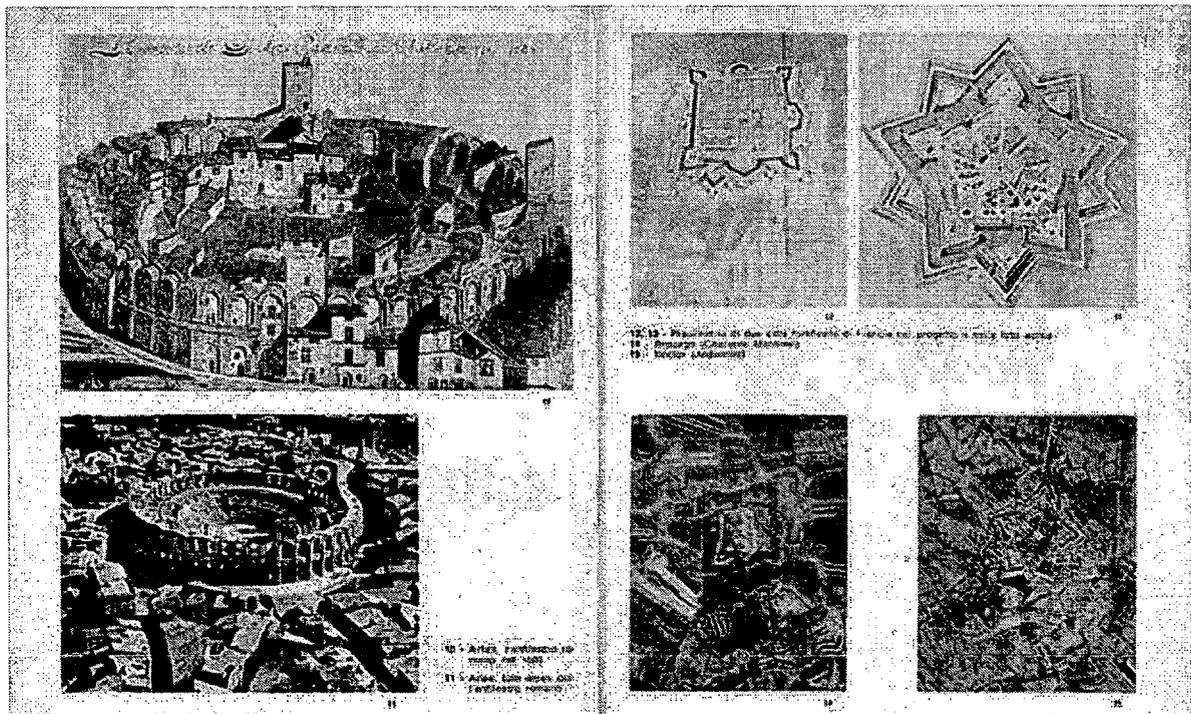


Fig. 29. Rossi looks at how historic cities are characterized by ‘primary elements’ such as monuments, and in themselves constitute primary elements. Primary elements assume different uses and meanings over history, from “Architecture of the City,” Rossi, 1966 (trans. 1982).

it suggests that radical master plans—and visionary city-makers—have only limited power to change the city. Rossi again invokes historical case studies as evidence that major projects are absorbed into a city only if they fit within its current trajectory of urban development. For example, Rossi suggests that while Haussmann’s boulevards may seem to have been a radical intervention, they were readily absorbed because they were tailored to the particular problems of 19th-century Paris and “followed the real direction of the development of the city” (146). Rossi also argues that the role played by an urban “part” is defined by the city’s collective history, not by the part’s function. (Consider the examples of the Roman amphitheatres, which assumed new functions as housing, markets and piazzas.) On this point also, Rossi critiques the “naïve functionalism” of modern urbanism, which ties the value and aesthetic of an architectural form to its practical use (46).⁴³

Finally, Rossi defines the “architecture” of the city in two ways. First, the city, as a “gigantic man-made object,” constitutes a singular work of architecture “that is large and complex and growing over time” (29). Second, particular parts of the city, or urban artifacts, have the power to represent or summarize their city. From a practical perspective, the city structure is most readily observed through its urban artifacts or “parts” (35). Nonetheless, Rossi insists that a study of an urban “part” should reduce neither the artifact nor the city to a single idea.⁴⁴ Nor should a study conceptually isolate the part from its place within an “inseparable whole”:

We believe...that the whole is more important than the single parts, and that only the urban artifact in its totality, from the street system and urban

⁴³ Rossi uses the example of the Vial Vicosa in Portugal (among others) to show how closed, stable forms—not open forms or amorphous zones—are able to adopt new functions and accrue meanings and values over time: “Only the pre-existing condition of a closed and stable form permitted continuity and the production of successive actions and forms” (88).

⁴⁴ “The city is not by nature a creation that can be reduced to a single basic idea. This is true for both the modern metropolis and for the concept of the city as the sum of many parts, of quarters and districts that are highly diverse and differentiated in their sociological and formal characteristics” (Rossi 1982:64).

topography down to the things that can be perceived in strolling up and down a street, constitutes this totality (35).

This city of parts, “at once natural and artificial,” devolves from the relationships of the private domain to public realm; of the monument to public space; of the house to the *quartiere*; and the district to the city (27).

2.3.2 Rossi’s House Model

The house plays a special role in Rossi’s concept of the “architecture of the city.” According to his theory of urbanism, the structure of a city consists of two types of elements: the “primary element” and the “residential district.” Primary elements are the unique buildings and places and that endure through history, comprise its public realm and encapsulate a city imaginary. A large portion of Rossi’s book is dedicated to describing how different kinds of primary elements—which range from a monument, to a characteristic street or neighbourhood, to the city plan itself—accrue value over time (fig. 29).⁴⁵ Other sections describe how “residential districts” comprise the general fabric of the city.⁴⁶

Rossi argues that the dwelling “offers one of the best means of studying the city and vice versa” (72). Because Rossi’s primary interest is to explore the nature of the city, he concentrates on the residential district and its relationship to a broader urban structure, rather than on individual dwellings. In a sense, Rossi sees residential districts as a normative urban tissue, a background for the city’s unique primary elements. At the same time, neighbourhoods are also relatively autonomous, “characteristic” urban parts. In cities both ancient and modern, residential districts have their own centres, monuments and way of life (69). Slow, historical change at the scale of the residential district, more than at the scale of the individual dwelling,

45 See Chapters 3 and 4, “The Individuality of Urban Artifacts” and “The Evolution of Urban Artifacts.”

46 See “Residential Districts as Study Areas” and “The Individual Dwelling” in Chapter 2.

reveals the relationship of the house to the city whole. According to Rossi,
 The residential district is thus a moment, a piece of the city's form. It
 is intimately bound up with the city's evolution and nature, and is itself
 constituted of parts, which in turn summarize the city's image... (65)

Primary elements, by definition, do not change their form, or change only very slowly. But residential districts do transform over time, and so provide a material record of the city's evolution.

It's important to keep in mind the difference between Rossi's varied understandings of the "house": first, as an archetype, that is, a shared, constant idea of a house; second, as a regionally and culturally specific building type,⁴⁷ which Rossi calls a "model"; and, third, as an actual, particular, house.⁴⁸ The second definition, the residential building type, most closely relates to what I've referred to as a "house model."

Rossi sees a house type as embedded in a time and place. It "materially represents a people's way of life, a precise manifestation of a culture, (and so) is modified very slowly" (70). Rossi rejects an assumption made by avant-garde urbanists, evident in both CIAM's Functional City and the Smithsons' *Urban Structuring*, that the "house" can simply be transformed to suit a fresh, theoretical city model. To prove his point, Rossi discusses the *Siedlungen* of the 1920s, locating the Rationalists' polemical house model within a history of housing typologies in Berlin (figs. 30, 31). Despite its brevity, the study is a valuable precedent to this dissertation.

47 Rossi defines type as "something that is permanent and complex, a logical principle that is prior to form and that constitutes it" (40). This "type" (or, I would say, "archetype") "reacts dialectically with technique function and style, (and) with the collective character and the individual moment..." (41). Through this dialectical process, the built artifact becomes a material expression of its place and time. Rossi's distinction between "type" and "model" borrows from Quatremere de Quincy: "The word 'type' represents...the idea of an element that must itself serve as a rule for the model... The model...is an object that must be repeated such as it is... Everything is precise and given in the model; everything is more or less vague in the type" (40).

48 An individual house is based on a model but, on a theoretical level, is also an instantiation of the archetype

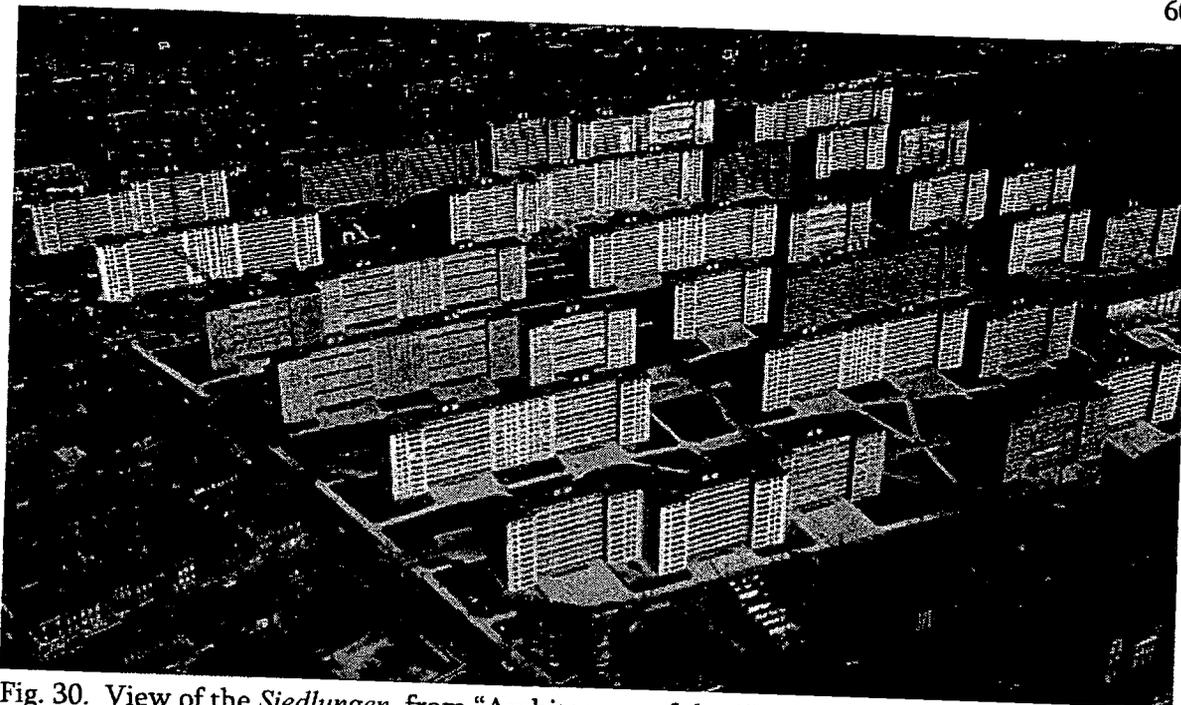
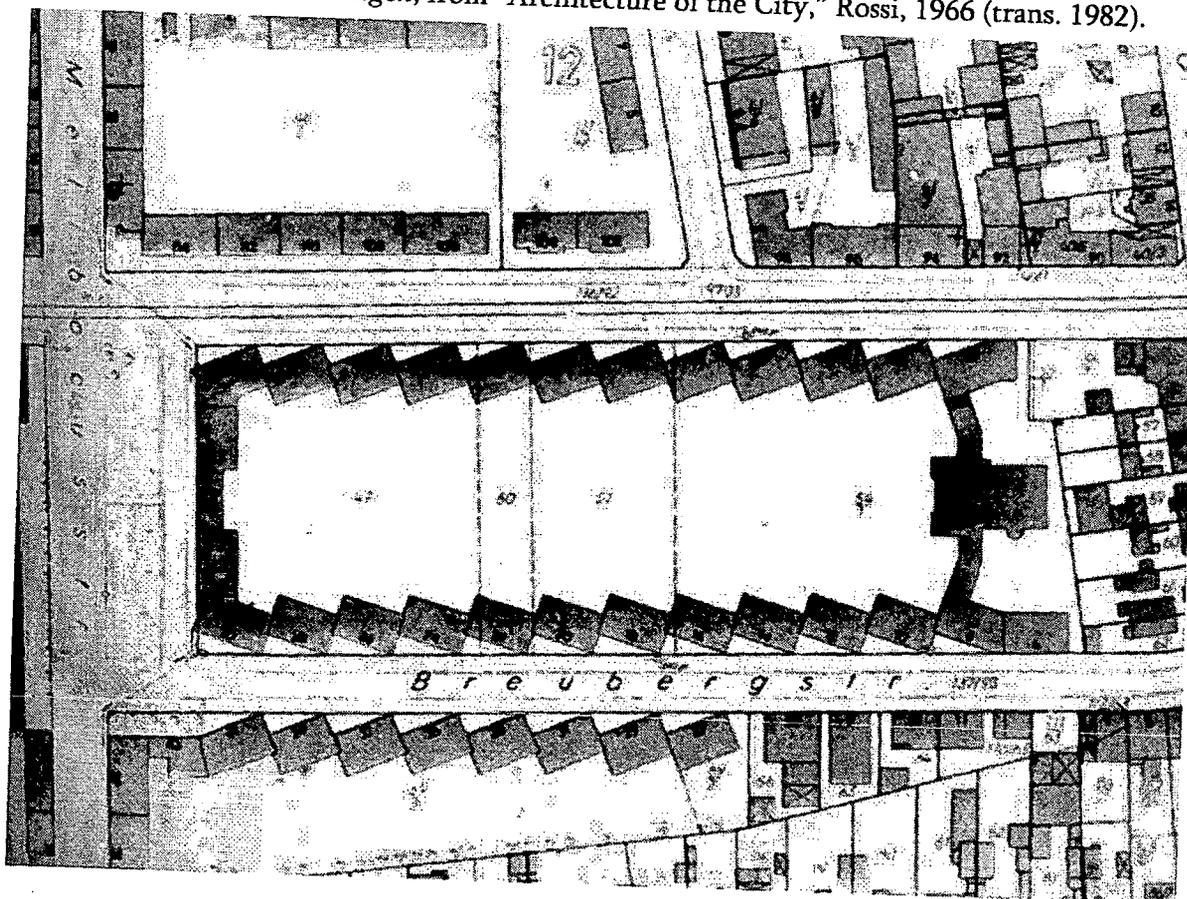


Fig. 30. View of the *Siedlungen*, from "Architecture of the City," Rossi, 1966 (trans. 1982).

Fig. 31. Plan of the *Siedlungen*, from "Architecture of the City," Rossi, 1966 (trans. 1982).



He looks at the variety of housing forms in early 19th-century Berlin – already emerging as a very modern city – including residential blocks, semi-detached houses and single-family houses (74). The block housing type, in which the building is pushed to the site perimeter and a series of courtyards occupies the block's centre, was derived from changes to police regulations in 1851, intended to facilitate surveillance and maximize land use (74). This housing type was most often a rental barrack. The semi-detached and single-family house types, on the other hand, borrowed from neo-classical models of the villa and the romantic, English country house (76).

The *Siedlungen*, conceived in the 1920s as a response to Germany's "housing problem," epitomize the scientific, sociological approach of Rationalist urban theory.⁴⁹ The large tracts of long, parallel rows of bar-shaped buildings stood in stark contradiction to the surroundings urban fabric in Frankfurt and Berlin. But despite the Rationalists' rhetorical "break" with historic architectural forms, the *Siedlungen* contain telling similarities to earlier housing types.

Rossi notes that the *Siedlungen* clearly borrow, on one hand, from the residential block type of the rental barracks; on the other, they act as detached structures, the most important trait of the single family house. They are disengaged from the street and demand a free division of land, like earlier villa models. The siting of the buildings according to solar orientation—in accordance with CIAM's Athens Charter—was a radical change in Berlin's housing patterns, one which caused substantial rifts between these new districts and the existing urban fabric. But, in a sense, the positioning of the *Siedlung* to be more directly related to "nature" and freer from the order of the city echoes Berlin's earlier modern villas, which were located at the edge of the city to be "closer to nature" (79). Rossi argues that the composite character of the *Siedlungen*, part barrack and part villa, made them particularly suited

49 "Siedlung" translates, although somewhat insufficiently, as "residential district."

to “giving certain tendencies a new definition,” and to absorbing “all the themes of the single family house” (81).⁵⁰

Rossi inserts a cautionary note in his critique of the *Siedlungen*. He observes that the study of the individual unit, as the most basic unit or “cell” or the city, was a fundamental aspect of Rationalist urban theory. The architects who conceived the *Siedlung* were engaged in formulating an exact, ideal form for the *Existenzminimum*, “the optimum dimension from the point of view of organization and economy” (76). The *Existenzminimum* presupposed a static relationship between a particular lifestyle and a particular type of dwelling, which, according to Rossi, resulted in its fast obsolescence. Rossi argues that the rigidity of the dwelling units and the disconnection of the *Siedlung* from the street, both of which reflect the influence of CIAM ideological urban principles, made the *Siedlungen* difficult to absorb into the urban structure. (One might assume, although Rossi doesn’t say, that the *Siedlungen* are an example of a “discontinuous” urban part which, nevertheless, must be incorporated into the city whole over time.)

Rossi’s study of the *Siedlungen* suggests that even a seemingly radical, new residential building type inevitably retains characteristics of pre-existing house models. My own case studies, which observe how the traits of the single family house are retained in South False Creek’s enclaves and in podium point towers in Concord Pacific Place, corroborates this idea. But the “house,” while not easily remade, is by no means fixed. This case study shows, in a concrete way, how house models change in concert with larger urban development patterns, and under the influence of many factors, including the importation of “foreign” building types, changes in regulatory policies, socio-economic trends and, finally, the circulation of

⁵⁰ Rossi notes that the *Siedlungen* were not wholly different from housing models of the avant-garde in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, including the Garden City and “*Ville Radieuse*” (82).

urban theories (46).⁵¹

The study of the *Siedlungen* shows how a house model is used to realize a city model—in this case, the Rationalist city. Rossi’s study also points to the ambiguous status of the house in modernist urban theory (and in Rossi’s own theory of urbanism): Is the house a “natural” manifestation of a culture and a “people’s way of life,” as Rossi suggests (70)? Or is it an entity to be re-created, to produce a certain kind of city and society? I suggest that, in the history of modernist urbanism, the house oscillates between these two poles, thus appearing as a “problem” to be solved in each iteration of the modern city.

2.3.3 From the Architecture of the City to the “Post-urban” Environment

The Architecture of the City is one of the last, comprehensive theories of urbanism that openly explores the role played by the house in the form and imagination of the city. In fact, the reception of his treatise, during the post-modern “turn” in the architectural discipline, helps to explain why the “house” has since been excluded from contemporary theorizations of the city.

Rossi’s work is associated with a post-modernist discourse in the 1970s and 80s on architectural typology. In *The Architecture of the City*, Rossi notes that his proposed “science of urbanism” could eventually include typological studies, which could produce a comprehensive classification of urban elements and architectural types (170). This notion of typological classification strongly resonated with the structuralist theory that was then sweeping through the humanities disciplines, and so became a singular focus on attention on Rossi’s work, seized upon by innumerable European and North American schools and critics, including Franco Purini, Rob and

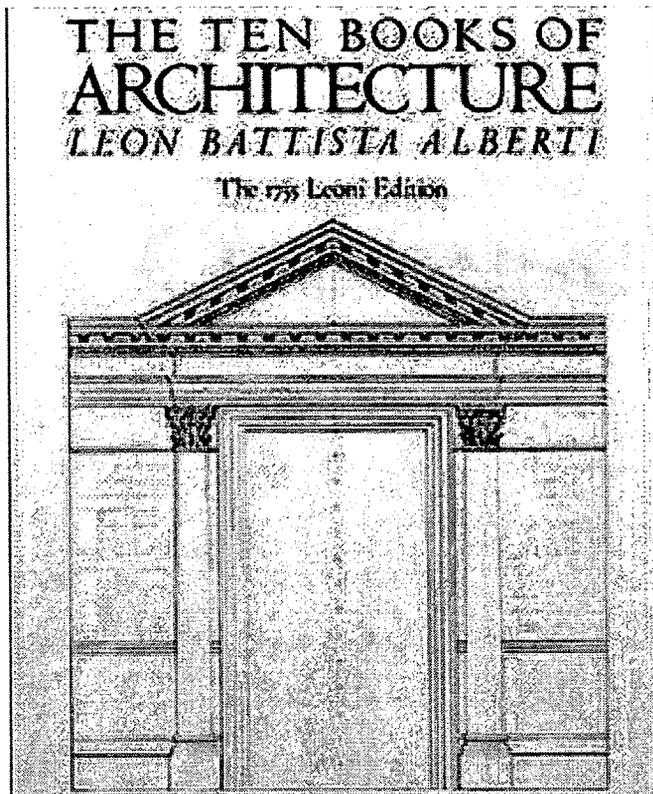
51 Specifically, Rossi points to the influence of the Garden City and the Functional City, as modern, “fundamentalist” theories of urbanism (46).

Leon Krier, and Robert Venturi.⁵² But by the late 1980s, architectural typology fell out of favour, criticized as producing endless classifications of abstract, platonic forms, invested with universal values but detached from any social or material context (Colquhoun 14). As architectural typology became suspect, so did Rossi's work. In particular, the vestiges of classical principles in his thinking – including the formal architectural vocabularies of “type,” *but also the notion of an intrinsic relationship of house and city* – became grounds to reject his theory of the city, as misaligned with the “new” trajectory of contemporary urbanism.

It's easy to dismiss Rossi's urbanism for its ties to a classical, anachronistic model of the city and, by extension, to humanism. Indeed, Rossi's “city of parts” recalls principles of urbanism which can be traced back to Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria (On the Art of Building in Ten Books)* (fig. 32). For Alberti, an essential aspect of any work of architecture is “compartition,” that is, the proper relationship of the parts to the whole (fig. 33). Compartition, sometimes translated as “arrangement,” has no simple equivalent in modern architecture and urbanism. Compartition governs the proper composition, for example, of an architectural façade according to the classical orders and, at the same time, governs the harmonious relationship between the house and the urban structure (fig. 34). The concept of compartition is, without a doubt, rooted in the humanist worldview of the Renaissance, in which man, society and the cosmos –and the house and the city— are interrelated wholes. Alberti's axiom, “the city is like a large house and the house in turn is like a small city,” summarizes the notion of compartition (23). Although he never cites Alberti, Rossi's conceptualization of residential districts and primary elements as autonomous “parts” which relate to the city “whole” re-iterates a classical city model.⁵³ In his

⁵² See, for example, Krier, “Elements of Architecture” (1983).

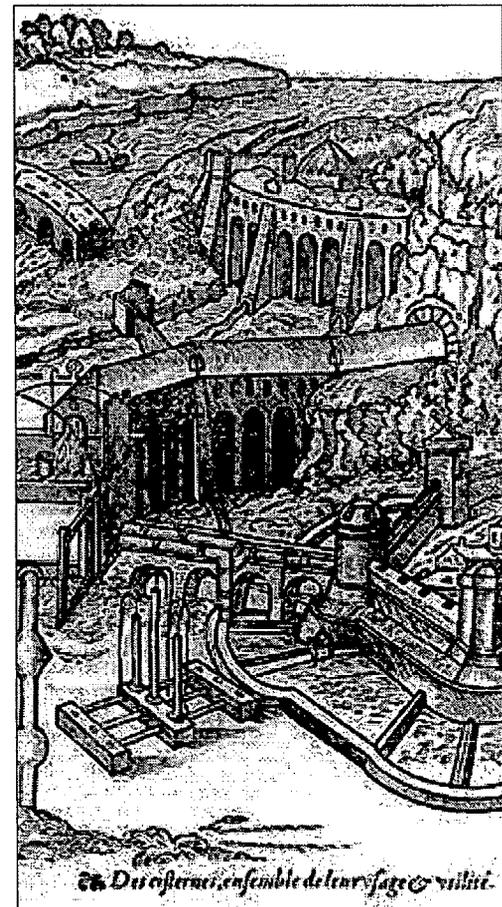
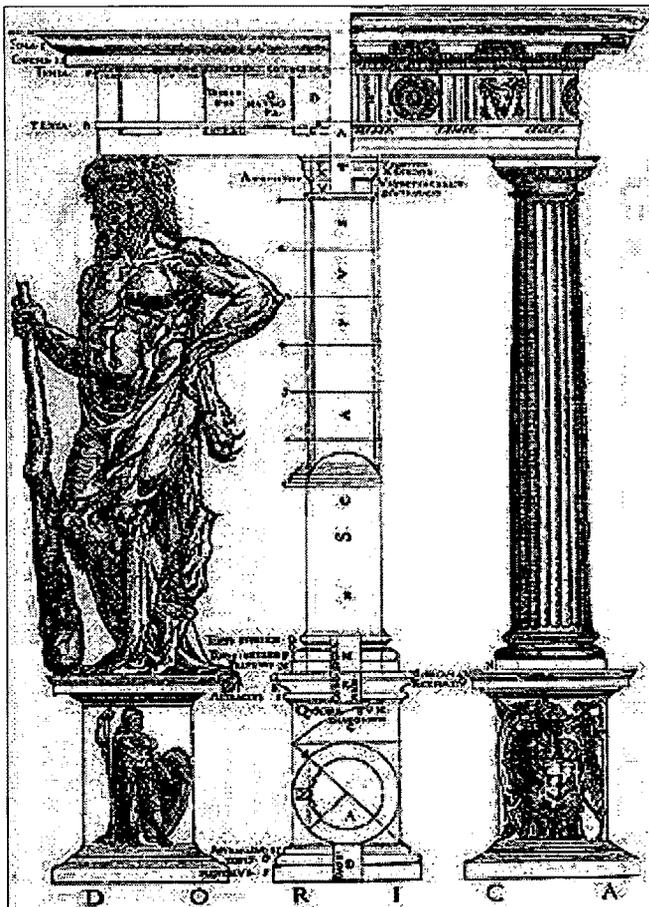
⁵³ Eisenman's introduction to the English-language edition does cite Alberti's axiom (1982:9).



(Clockwise from top)
Fig. 32. Cover of "The Ten Books of Architecture," Leon Battista Alberti, trans 1965.

Fig 33. A drawing of a town, sited to take best advantage of the site, in terms of air, views, protection from attacks, and access to resources. From "The Ten Books of Architecture," Leon Battista Alberti, trans 1965.

Fig 34. A study of the classical orders of architecture, *ibid.*



introduction to the English edition of *The Architecture of the City*, Peter Eisenman links Rossi's work to Alberti's, essentially suggesting that his conception of the city is a nostalgic anachronism (9).⁵⁴

But Rossi's notion of the completeness of the city is not the same as Alberti's. For Alberti, the city's wholeness is universal and meta-historical. For Rossi, it is metaphorical rather than an ontological. Rossi's theory of urbanism recognizes sites of rupture, discontinuity and amorphousness which, through history, are re-absorbed into the city. Eisenman, nonetheless, takes great issue with the notion that history supplies the city's meaning. For Eisenman, the history of the city is not its natural content, but a mythology to be overturned ("End of Classical"). His critique should be taken in context of broader post-modernist revaluations of "history" as a socio-cultural construct which perpetuates dominant ideologies and power structures. In the place of modern history, plural, fragmented histories and identities are seen to constitute the post-modern urban realm. In this context, it seems untenable to base a model of the city or house, as Rossi does, on the identity of "people" or a "place."⁵⁵ For Eisenman, reevaluating of the content of architecture and the city results in their unraveling, in the detachment of house from city, and part from whole:

the presumed idea of the part-to-whole relationship first proposed by Alberti – when he wrote a house is a small city, and a city is a large house – is no longer operative. The whole is no longer either more or less than the sum of its parts; these entities have little to do with one another (2008).

I want to suggest, nonetheless, that Rossi's work has much to contribute to contemporary urban theory. Most important to this dissertation are his analyses of

54 Citing Alberti's axiom, Eisenman suggests that Rossi merely substitutes the Renaissance's humanist relationship "between individual (man) and individual (object)" for the "collective, (modern) subject, (the population of the modern city) and its singular object (the city, but seen as a house at a different scale)... (This) is to imply that nothing has changed" ("Introduction" 9; also qtd. in Martin 8).

55 For example, Rossi describes a house as a materialization of "a *people's way of life*" (70, italics mine).

the residential district as *material evidence* of the city's physical and socio-cultural development. My study of Vancouver shows that house models continue to be used to shape an urban imaginary. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the city must be accepted as a fixed entity. In this sense, my research demonstrates that, while Alberti's axiom of "the city as a large house" can't be upheld as a universal principle, it can serve as an operative concept, assuming new meanings in each historical moment.

2.4 Post-Urbanism: The Exclusion of the House in Contemporary Urban Theory

Architect and theorist Reinhold Martin revisits the post-modern turn in architecture and urbanism in *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again* (2010), and finds Rossi's city model to be irreconcilable with the reality of contemporary urban territories. He argues that both Rossi and Eisenman, distracted by humanist and post-humanist theorizations of the city, missed its actual transformation—and, possibly, its dissolution. They failed to recognize the unfolding (and enfolding) of inside and outside, house and city, individual and population, into a dispersive, networked "environment" made up of apparently discrete units (9).

Eisenman's and Martin's comments are among very few direct references to the concept of a house:city relationship, which had been such a preoccupation of post-modernist architectural discourse. Both comments suggest that this relationship, whether ontological or imaginative, has been dissolved by a new, post-humanist paradigm.

In his re-reading postmodern architectural theory, Martin reveals the current pre-occupations of the discipline. A comprehensive review of current theories of urbanism falls beyond my scope here, but I do want to illustrate how the house:city metaphor disappears when the "city", as a collective project *per se*, is displaced in favour of a post-humanist, post-urban environment. Interestingly, certain features

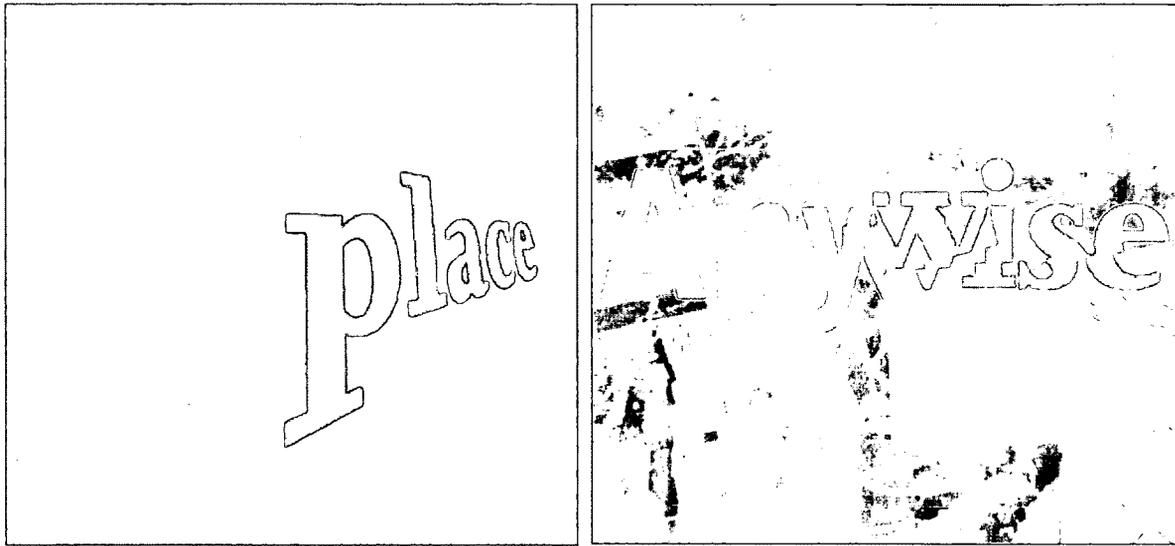
of the post-urbanist environment resonate with mid-century, modernist city models that I discussed earlier. First, the notion that the urban environment has become amorphous re-emerges. Second, infrastructural systems are again regarded as primary morphological forces, and critics tend to conceptualize the city in terms of these dynamic networks. Third, many theorists emphasize economic structure and social relations, over material form, in their analyses of the urban environment.

For example, Martin's characterization of an "unfolding...dispersive, networked 'environment'" is reminiscent of mid-century theorizations of the "open city" and the *nuova dimensione*. The amorphous zones of the "open city" were seen, by the Smithsons and de Carlo, as the site of the future city and, by Rossi, as a transitional moment in the city's history. Under the influence of post-structural critical theory (for example, of Derrida, Deleuze and Guattari, and Grosz), architectural critics in the late 20th-century interpret these amorphous zones in the context of the "centers" and "margins" of the Western city—and, more broadly, the dominant and subversive power structures of Western culture.⁵⁶ The city "centre," unitary and highly visible, is seen to represent State authority and the dominion of history. The city's "margins," fragmented and *un-imageable*, are valorized precisely because of their failure to be incorporated into the dominant image of the city.⁵⁷

A highpoint in this discourse was the "Any" series of conferences and publications in the 1990s, in which the application of post-structuralist concepts of such as de-territorialization in architecture and urbanism was an important theme (figs. 35-37). Sanford Kwinter and Elisabeth Grosz speculated how architecture

56 Influential texts included Derrida's "Differance" (1968), Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1980), and Elisabeth Grosz's, "The Future of Space: Towards an Architecture of Invention" (1998).

57 I explored the idea of how urban margins are invested with the powers of difference, multiplicity and becoming at greater length in "A Walk about Rome: tactics for mapping the urban periphery," *Architecture and Theory*, 15:1 (2010). Note that this discourse originates, somewhat ironically, in the putative centre of Western culture, that is, in the modern capitals of Western Europe.



Figs. 35, 36. Covers from the “Any” series of conferences and publications.

and urban form might shed their historical formal vocabularies, and assume new representational languages of enfolding and “becoming.” Ignasi de Sola-Morales Rubio coined the term *terrain vague* to describe the “non-places” found outside of the walls of historic European cities, created by wartime destruction, ad hoc post-war expansion, and de-industrialization. Later, Francesco Careri would compare both European and North American cities to archipelagos, in which multiple, compact urban centres float in a “sea” of loosely-formed territories (181).⁵⁸ The amorphous spaces of “post-urban” territories are invested, in these theorizations, with the powers of difference, heterogeneity and futurity.

Notions of the house:city, of a scalar relationship between the architecture of the building and of the city, and of the city as a palimpsest of built forms and cultural meanings, are of course very ill-fitted to a discourse that seeks to break with classical ideas of form and place. Post-modern urban models, including Rossi’s but also

⁵⁸ Many critics, following the work of Sola-Morales Rubio, explored the difference between the “margins” of European cities, made by war damage, post-war reconstruction and expansion, and the margins of American cities, made by historically dispersive building patterns and land speculation practices.

Koetter and Rowe's *Collage City*, sought to describe the material and cosmological *form* of the city. The architectural avant-garde in subsequent decades—invoking terms such as de-territorialization and de-materialization—resists viewing the urban environment in formalistic terms. In this line of theory, the “house,” whether as building type or metaphor, simply can't be put forward as a means to interpret the city.

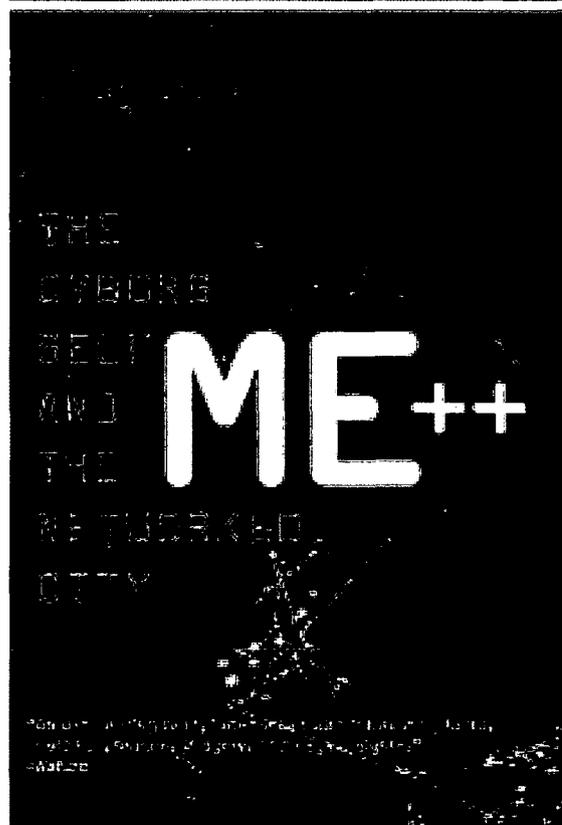
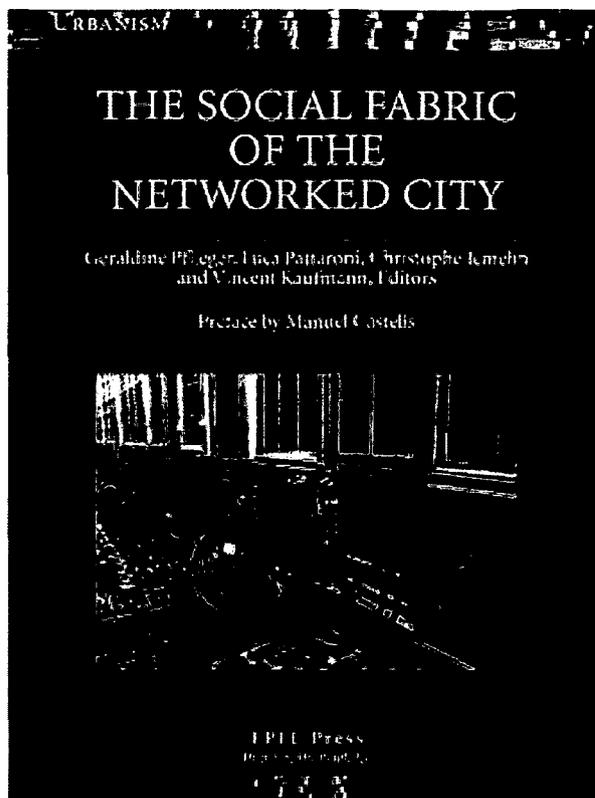
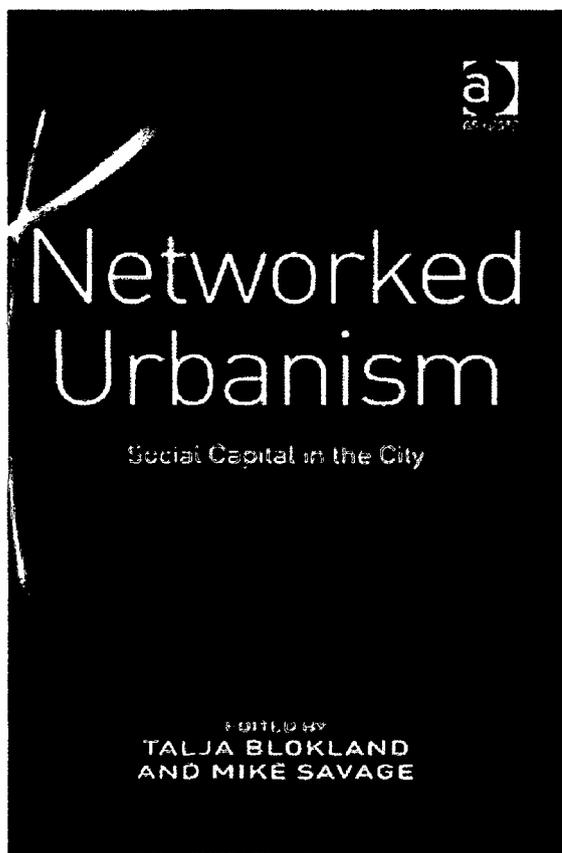
It's important to contextualize these theorizations of “post-urban” space in broader discourses of globalization. Countless critics, in architecture but also in sociology, geography, economics and other disciplines, focus on how the boundaries of the city are dissolved by the flow of people, capital, commodities, information and ideas, through physical and digital networks. Arjun Appadurai, Manuel Castells, David Harvey and Saskia Sassen are only a few.⁵⁹ Manuel Castells' concept of the “Network Society,” for example, is typical of the socio-economic models that have proved influential in architectural and urban theory. For Castells, the contemporary environment is composed of two interconnected systems, the global and the local (85). The former, which he calls “the space of flows,” is a new spatial form, made up of segments of cities that are electronically linked into a global economic, communication, transportation and human resource networks.⁶⁰ Castells' “space of flows,” which extends a site beyond its geographic and social boundaries, anticipates Martin's characterization of the “dispersive, networked ‘environment’” (figs. 28-41).

Such theorizations of trans-urban networks are, in some ways, an evolution of the mid-century discourse on urban infrastructures that I discussed earlier.⁶¹ The

59 See Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” (1996); David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again” (1996); and Saskia Sassen, “Cities in a World Economy” (2001).

60 Castells argues that the ability of a city to participate in the “space of flows” depends on its level of connectivity, echoing Graham and Marvin's theory of urban “splintering.”

61 Eric Swyngedouw compares Graham and Marvin's study of globalized urban networks to the discourse of urban infrastructure prevalent in the planning and geography disciplines in the 1960s (130).



Mobile Design Conference

designing the networked city
bcn, 21.10.2010



Figs. 38, 39, 40, 41. A sample of book covers, showing a breadth of recent publications and conferences in contemporary urban theory exploring the concept of a “networked city.”

Smithsons, for example, saw highway infrastructures as the corollary of an expanding metropolitan region; many contemporary critics now correlate new technological and socio-economic networks to a dispersed, post-urban environment. But where the Smithsons still gave the house a powerful morphological role – their inter-connecting, bar-shaped residential buildings acting as an infrastructure in and of themselves—for many contemporary critics, the house plays no part in the networked environment. In urban models. In Graham and Marvin's *Splintering Urbanism* (2001), for example, the connective infrastructures of the contemporary environment are not architectural at all; rather, they are utilities. They describe how the distribution of water, electricity, digital information, and other assets breach urban, regional and international boundaries. They argue that these systems both define local “places” and entangle them in global power structures. As corporations distribute infrastructure and assets differentially, “high-value” places become continually more connected to global networks, and “low-value” places are continually passed over (fig. 46). These systems act as simultaneous, opposing forces of concentration and dispersion, densification and dilution.

The notion that globalized socio-economic systems are urban forces is a cornerstone of “post-urban” architectural theory. They dismantle the city as a coherent entity. They raise the question of whether the “post-urban” environment is even a representable place. The infrastructural networks which are said to define the contemporary urban environment can be physical, virtual, or even invisible. They do not visibly, or formally, express the symbolic structure of the urban environment. The Smithsons, by contrast, saw the urban motorway and their unique house model as tools to create a unifying order –and image—for a fragmented metropolis. The systems of the “networked city” do not have this representational capacity.

2.4.1 Other Microcosms of the Contemporary Urban Environment

As the house is displaced as a microcosm and metaphor for the city, contemporary critics look to other sites to represent the urban environment. Rem Koolhaas, for example, proposes the “Big” architecture as one such representational space: the super-sized mega-project, into which multiple programs, activities, spaces and people are compressed (fig. 42). In “Bigness or the Problem of Large,” Koolhaas describes a work of architecture so large that

(it) breaks—with scale, with architectural composition, with tradition, with transparency, with ethics... (These breaks) imply the final, most radical break: Bigness is no longer part of any urban tissue. It exists; at most, it coexists (510).

“Bigness” responds to a city which has lost its totality to a gamut of factors: growing global populations, communications technologies, capitalist production and consumption, and the ills of modern planning (Otero-Pailos 383). Koolhaas suggest that vast tracts of cities everywhere are mostly the same: generic buildings are dispersed, left to flourish or perish, in a boundless landscape of residual space (“Generic City” 1251).⁶² This residual landscape is not a marginal, yet potent, “space of becoming;” it is simply *merde*.⁶³ Housing, rarely mentioned in Koolhaas’s writings, falls into this residual space, which, for Koolhaas, is not a marginal, potent, “space of becoming;” it is simply *merde*. Jose Otero-Pailos argues that Koolhaas willfully reimagines this generic landscape—which to me, closely correlates to the *residential districts* that make up the vital “urban tissue” in Rossi’s city model—as a void, in part, so that it might be more easily replaced with “big” architectural projects (383). Koolhaas conceives of his own mega-projects as formally unstable “voids,” easily

62 The Generic City represents an urbanism of continual renewal, free from the over-determination of history. It also represents, however, the global homogenization of urban environments. Koolhaas focuses on the suburban metropolis of the U.S (“Atlanta”) and young mega-cities in Asia (“Singapore”).

63 Koolhaas notes that in OMA’s design competition entry for the city of Melun-Senart, “there were explicit judgments of contemporary architecture: it is mostly ‘merde’” (qtd. in Otero-Pailos 380).

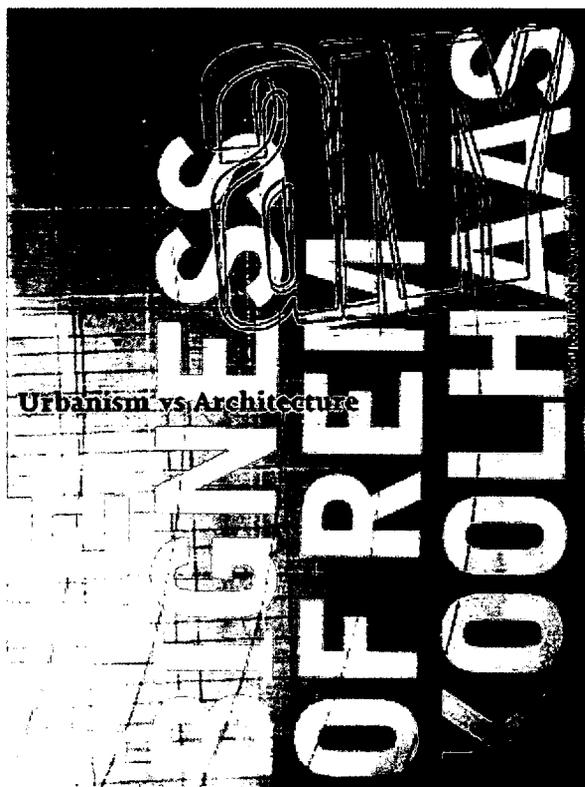
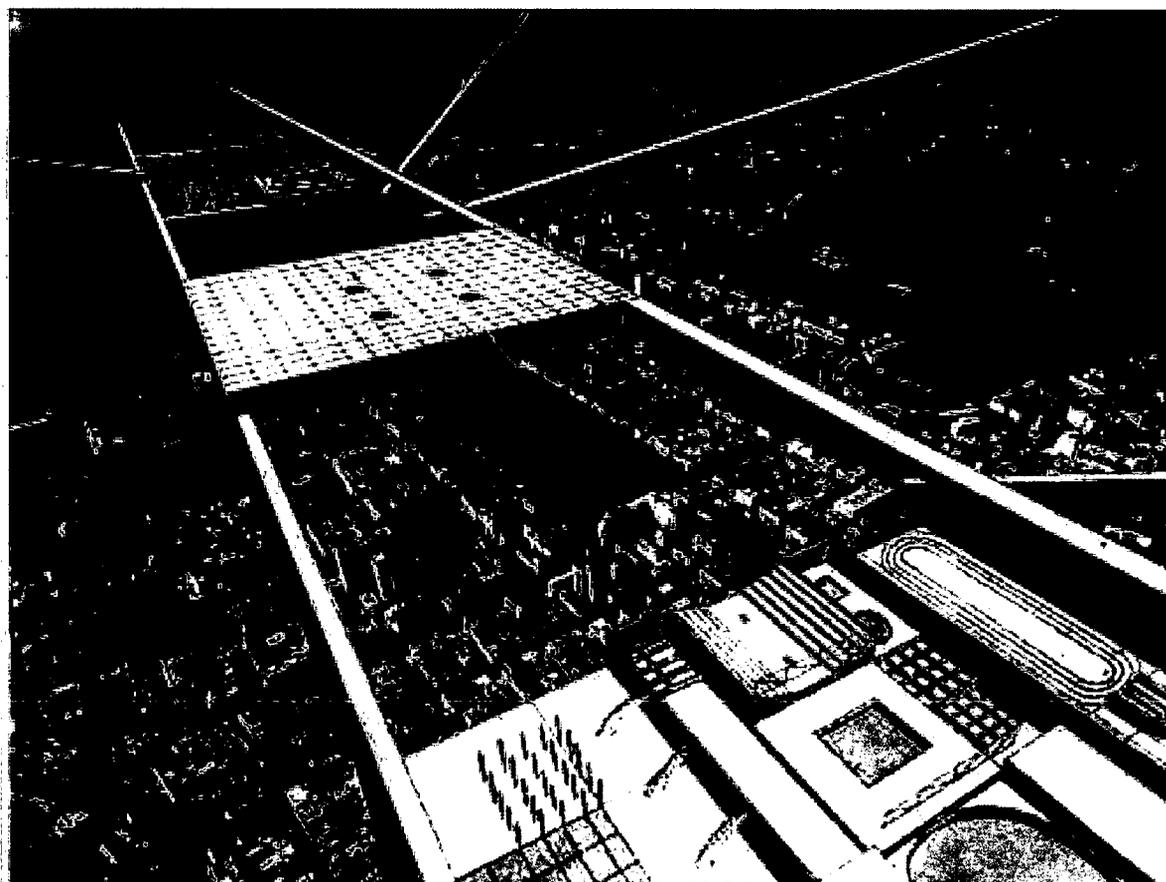


Fig. 42. Book cover for "Urbanism VS Architecture: The Bigness of Rem Koolhaas," 1994. The compilation of essays is based on the Any 9 conference, and features Koolhaas' article, "Whatever happened to urbanism?"

Fig. 43. Drawing from "Exodus, or The Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture", Rem Koolhaas, 1972. This drawing, part of Koolhaas' thesis project at the Architectural Association in London, shows a tract of the historic city being replaced by "Big" architecture – described as a "strip of intense metropolitan desirability runs through the centre of London."



substituted for the existing (mainly residential) sprawl (fig. 43).⁶⁴

To me, Koolhaas's "bigness" must be understood as a replacement for the classical house:city construct. He writes that "in a landscape of disarray, disassembly, dissociation... Bigness (might) reconstruct the Whole, resurrect the Real, reinvent the collective..." (510). So, like the house, "bigness" encapsulates the city.

It re-constitutes the city as an architectural interior. Inarguably, "bigness" picks up the mid-century discourse on mega-scaled architecture and the "new dimension" of the city. But where these earlier mega-structures aimed to re-unify the city at a new scale, "Bigness" means to simply supplant it. Nonetheless, like the house, "Big" architecture acts as a microcosm of the city. Like the house in the earlier city models, or even like the mid-century mega-structures, "(Bigness) represents the city; it preempts the city; or better still, it *is* the city" (515).

In *Multi-National City: Architectural Itineraries* (2007), Reinhold Martin himself, with Kadambari Baxi, posits an alternative to the house, as a microcosm and metaphor for the "post-urban" environment: the corporate campus (fig. 44). The sprawling offices complexes of global corporations are nodes in what Martin and Baxi call the "Multi-National City" (MNC). The MNC is not a genre of city, but a single entity stretching across the globe, physically and digitally connecting the world's most important urban centres (figs. 45, 46). (Martin and Baxi's MNC evidently borrows from Saskia Sassen's "global city" and Manuel Castells' "space of flows.") The defining features of this city model – the networks of finance, information, communication and trade – are materialized in the corporate campus. More importantly, all the functions of the modern city are reproduced here, making the office complex into a miniaturized city. Even the experience of alienation in the "uptight suburban houses"

64 The "treatment of sprawl as 'void' is not entirely innocent... (H)e describes his own projects as 'voids' ...and thus grants himself the license to replace the existing with his designs" (Otero-Pailos 383).

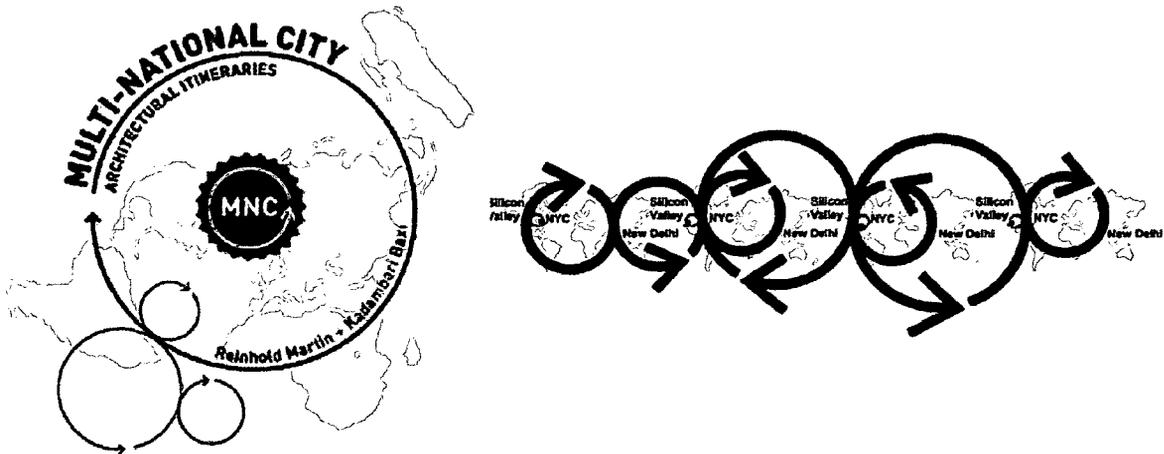


Fig. 44. Cover for “Multi-National City,” Martin and Baxi, 2007.

Figs. 45, 46. Diagrams from “Multi-National City,” Martin and Baxi, 2007. The study focuses on the myriad socio-economic, technologically-enabled connections between the digital “hubs” of Silicone Valley, New York City and New Dehli. These connections give shape to the Multi-National City.

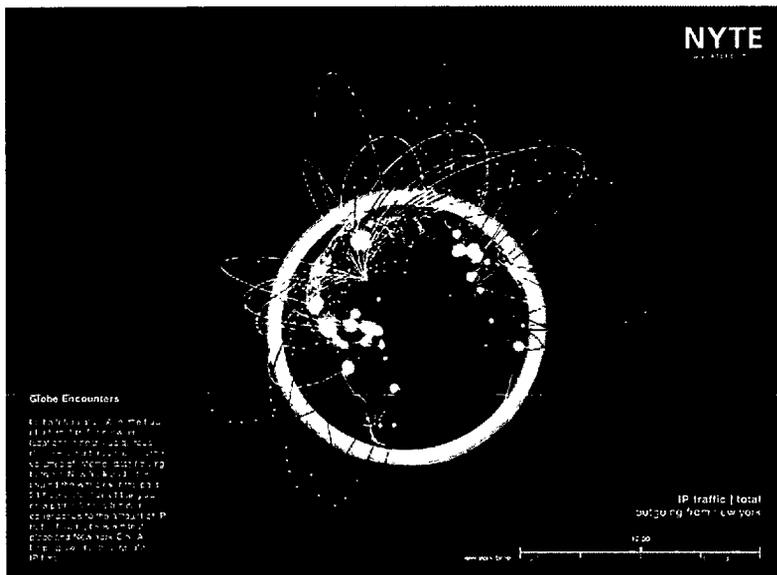
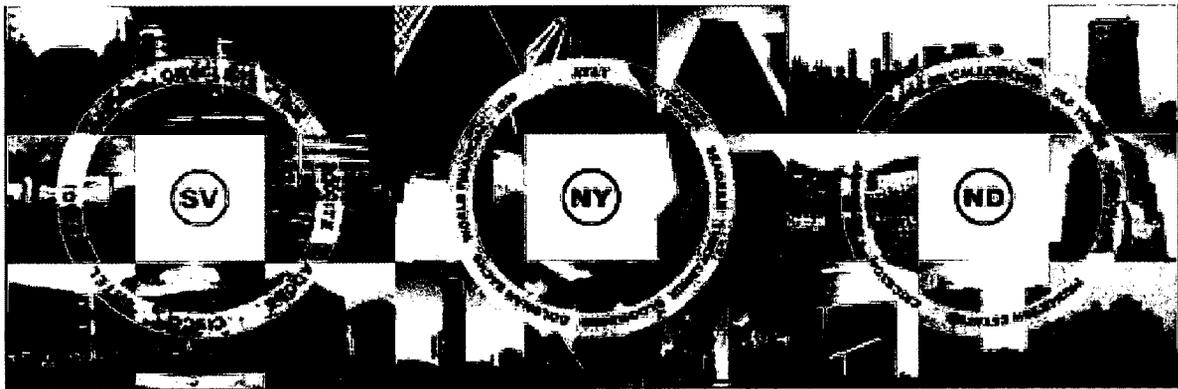


Fig. 46. “Globe Encounters,” MIT Senseable City Lab, 2009. This visualization of internet data flowing from New York City to cities around the world helps to illustrate Castells and Marvin and Graham’s arguments regarding “high-value” places receiving greater investment of digital resources. From <http://senseable.mit.edu/nyte/visuals.html>, 27 Feb 2012.

of the modern city is reproduced in the “casual, domesticated corporate campus” (MNC 9).⁶⁵

The house has traditionally been conceptualized as an urban microcosm, not only in classical urbanism but in avant-garde theorizations of the modern city through the 20th-century. “Post-urbanist” critics either explicitly argue (Eisenman), or imply by omission (Martin and Koolhaas), that the house can no longer serve this function. Notably, the “other” places and phenomena that are said to better represent the “post-urban” environment function in a similar way. Like the house, they are imagined as totalities. Like the house, they are said to register and manifest the forces acting on the urban environment. Like the house, they summarize its physical or imaginative structure.

2.4.2 Situating the House in Post-urban Theory

I’ve suggested, in reviewing selective moments in urban theory in the 20th century, why the house is seen as an inappropriate lens for interpreting contemporary urban environments. The house appears inseparable from classical models of a static, hierarchical, “closed” city; it’s linked to the city planning principles and totalizing ideology of the Modern Movement; and it’s too closely associated with the formalism and universalism of post-modern architectural discourse. I want to argue, nonetheless, that the omission of the “house” from contemporary urban theory poses risks. It creates a rift between theory and the material reality of those many cities which do not fully conform with models of a de-materialized, networked, multi-national city. (Notably, much of this theory focuses on a select few globalized metropolises, like L.A., London and Singapore.⁶⁶) It creates a rift between urban

⁶⁵ “(The) new forms of alienation (of the modern, planned city) are met by the old anti-urban dream of recovering a lost home, but now in casual, domesticated corporate campuses rather than in uptight suburban houses” (MNC 9).

⁶⁶ L.A. is theorized as the *de facto* network city by Mike Davis, Michael Dear, Edward Said,

theory and city planning praxis.

Contemporary “post-urban” theory doesn’t fully account for Vancouver’s historical, physical development, nor for its current practices of planning and city-making. Here housing projects have, historically, been used to re-make parts of the city that were misaligned with its socio-economic trajectory or cultural identity.⁶⁷ From the late 1960s to present—the same period in which the “house” is marginalized in avant-garde urban theory—local city-makers have embraced master-planned housing developments as a tool to transform the city’s industrial core into a “livable city.” Vancouver’s “new urban paradigm,” called “Vancouverism” by some, has gained traction in the international urban planning *profession*, as False Creeks has served as a model for urban districts built in Toronto, Dubai, and Fort Worth, Texas.⁶⁸ But “Vancouverism,” in embracing housing models at its core, clearly falls outside of the dominant discourse of contemporary urban theory.

Where theorizations of the contemporary urban environment describe dispersed, amorphous territories, Vancouver’s city planning practices have focused on making the city more dense, robust and “imageable”. My case studies of False Creek will show how housing developments, in particular, were used to represent, and realize, an emerging city model. The South False Creek project was designed as a microcosm of an inclusive, holistic and ultimately “livable” city. Concord Pacific Place was used even more explicitly to re-make the city and

and others. Koolhaas’s better known case studies are of Atlanta and Singapore. Sassen’s “global city” focuses on New York, London and other international hub cities. Martin and Baxi’s “Multi National City” is based on studies of Silicon Valley, New York City and Gurgaon, outside of New Dehli.

⁶⁷ This idea is discussed at length in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁶⁸ “Vancouver has been re-created in exacting formal detail in parts of Dubai and is influencing the planning of Abu Dhabi; making its mark on various cities in China; transforming waterfronts in places like Fort Worth; and inspiring greater density in cities such as San Francisco and Toronto. Vancouver now seems to sit alongside well established archetypes like Paris and Manhattan, places that cities everywhere look to as precedent.” Matthew Soules, “The ‘Livable’ Suburbanized City,” p8.

its image: its housing was meant to re-sculpt the skyline, and the neighbourhood was composed as a visual foreground for view corridors and bridges entering the downtown. In both projects, the “house” is cast in a powerful morphological and representational role.

As such, my case studies refute the notion that the house is incapable of registering the “new” forces that act on the contemporary urban environment. When Eisenman claims that “the part-to-whole relationship (of house and city) is no longer operative,” he suggests that the house has become detached from the dynamics of contemporary urban environments. I will argue, however, that South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place show that these dynamics are materialized in new housing models. That is, the “house” is inscribed with the very forces that, according to post-urban theory, have dissolved the city.

My study of Vancouver is a critique of “post-urbanism,” insofar as I mean to reinstate the house as an essential component of an urban imaginary. Nonetheless “post-urban” models such as Baxi and Martin’s Multi-National City, Koolhaas’ Generic City, and Graham and Marvin’s splintered urbanism make important contributions to contemporary urban theory. So my goal is not to discount these ideas, but to build on them. They suggest how current dynamics of economic exchange and investment, corporate “cultures,” migration, or even globalized construction practices disrupt classical and modern models of the city. But even while these forces challenge the status of the city, they might still be reflected in shifting ideas and forms of the “house.”

Chapter 3

A Morphological History of Vancouver: The House in the City

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines an urban history of Vancouver—its site, its founding, its development and growth. This history is primarily morphological, that is, it focuses on the study of physical form and its underlying structures in the built environment. But a morphological study inevitably draws in social, political and economic aspects of the city's history. My goal in this chapter is to provide a context for my interpretation of the particular, mutable, relationship between housing models and urbanism in Vancouver.

My account begins in the 1860s. First, I will explore how early land divisions, building fabrics and infrastructures in the late 19th century have left lasting traces in Vancouver's urban fabric, which continue to shape the city's development. I will show that, in Vancouver's early history, a particular concept of the "house"—the single family dwelling on its lot—was assumed as the basic unit of the city.

Second, I will look at how the "Plan for the City of Vancouver" of 1929, Vancouver's first comprehensive survey and master plan, summoned a modern city model that was intertwined with, but certainly not identical to, the actual city that existed at that time. I will demonstrate how the Plan, on the one hand, further entrenched the single family dwelling as the "natural" model of the house. On the other hand, the Plan revealed tensions between the aspiration towards a fully rational, future-oriented, modernist city, and the peculiar acceptance of a traditional housing model.

Finally, I will look at one district, the West End, which in the 1950s and 60s emerged as the city's first high-rise residential neighbourhood. Curiously anticipated

by the 1929 Plan, the West End marked a significant break from a naturalized model of the “house” and the established norms of residential fabrics. As such, the West End opened up the potential for a wholly different city imaginary. This nascent city model was not uncontroversial. I will show how the West End was used as both model and counter-model for the master-planned neighbourhoods that would later transform Vancouver’s core.

An important goal in this chapter is to demonstrate the historical relationship of a dominant house model to the city structure. Over Vancouver’s history, different approaches to city-building and, later, inner-city redevelopment correspond to changing notions of the house. I will argue that early Vancouver’s single family neighbourhoods, the ad hoc development of high-rise apartment buildings in the West End in the 1960s, and the master-planned tower districts of recent decades each evoke a different “ideal” city. I don’t mean to suggest that architects or planners consciously shape their urban design approach according to a particular conceptualization of the “house.” I hope to show, however, that 1) a relationship does exist between a house model and the city form; 2) this relationship is particular to a time and place, and is thus changeable; and 3) that the place of the “house” in the urban structure is, at times, assumed to be natural and inviolable and, at other times, is interrogated as means to re-imagine, or even physically re-shape, the city. In this sense, studying changing approaches to housing provides valuable insights into a city’s material and cosmological structure.

3.1 Siting Vancouver, 1860 to 1929

I lay it down therefore for granted, that our City ought to be contrived as to ... not (lack) any of the Necessaries of Life. Its territory shall be healthy, wide, pleasant, various, fruitful, secure, and abounding with Plenty of Fruits, and great Quantities of Water. It must not want Rivers, Lakes, and an open Passage to the Sea for the convenient bringing in of such Things as are wanted, and carrying out such as may be spared.

Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria* (67-68)

The introduction to Harland Bartholomew and Associates' "A Plan for Vancouver" of 1929 dwells on the great potential of Vancouver's site (figs. 48, 49). Apart from a modern emphasis on a natural resource-based economy, the Plan echoes Alberti's description, above, of the ideal territory for the city:

...Scanning the world over, it would be hard to find a city which, in addition to being practically the sole ocean port of half a continent, inhabited by a progressive and increasing population, has on its outskirts a river valley with great agricultural possibilities, with a hinterland rich in minerals, lumber and raw materials for manufacture, and adjoining at the moderate distance of five hundred miles the greatest granary of the world. Can any city claim an equal situation? (HBA 25)

Today, the most striking feature of Vancouver continues to be its spectacular site. Often criticized for its undistinguished architecture and public spaces, Vancouver is more widely praised as a beautiful city because of its dramatic situation between the Pacific Ocean and the Coastal Mountains. The downtown is surrounded on three sides by water: the Burrard Inlet to the north, English Bay to the west and False Creek to the south.¹

¹ The downtown peninsula was originally an island but, in the late 19th century, the intertidal mud flats between False Creek and the Burrard Inlet were infilled to connect the

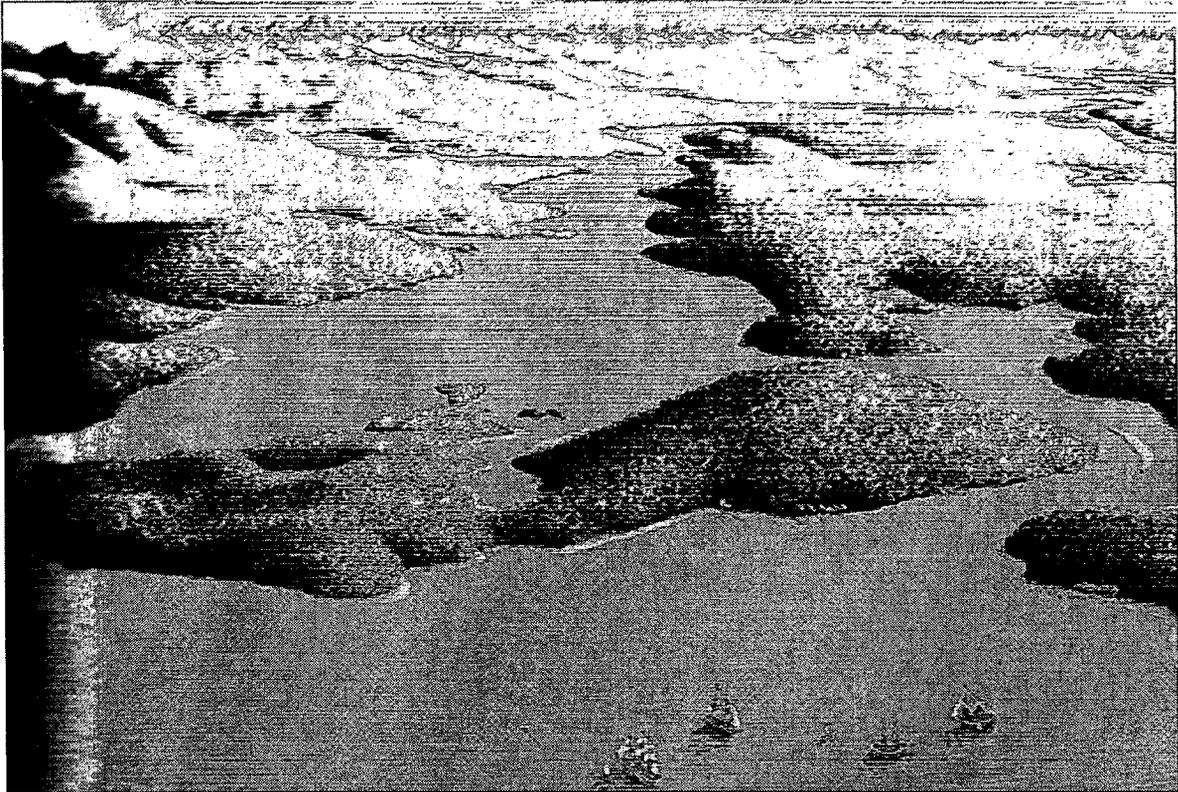


Fig. 48. Artist's rendering of Vancouver in 1792, Jim Mackenzie, from Lance Berelowitz, *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination*, 2005.



Fig. 49. Aerial view of Vancouver in 1982, Allen Aerial Photos, *ibid.*

The city's strong physical orientation towards the waterfront is reflective of its socio-economic structure. The large port on the Burrard Inlet was from the beginning a major generator in Vancouver's economy. In early tourism maps, routes from the Burrard Inlet port are represented as an organic extension of the city's territory, forecasting the enduring importance of trade, communication and cross-migration with "that portion of the world which may be reached by the Pacific Ocean" (HBA 25) (fig. 50). But this waterfront orientation has had an equally profound impact on the city's socio-spatial structure. Many have noted the peculiar, centrifugal quality of Vancouver's urban spaces, as waterfront promenades at the city's edges, rather than central squares or boulevards, characterize its public realm (Berelowitz 164). The mountains also have a powerful influence on the city's form and identity. The mountainous backdrop to the cityscape invokes a physical and psychological isolation from adjacent regions. The city's physical orientation echoes Vancouver's relative autonomy from Canada's centre of power centres to the east, and city's industrial area to the mainland. City of Vancouver, "The False Creek Flats" (Vancouver: Current Planning, City of Vancouver, 2007) Accessed May 11, 2011.

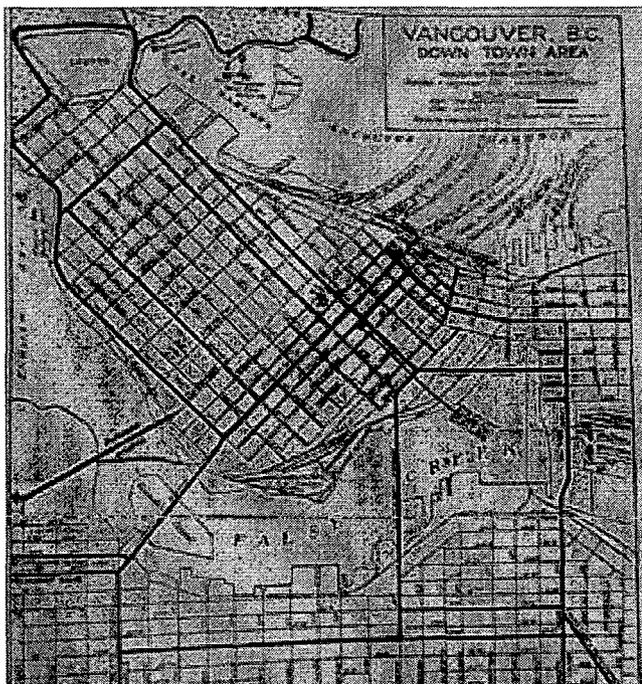


Fig. 50. Tourist map, Vancouver Publicity Bureau, "Vancouver, BC Downtown Area," 1930.

its pursuit of relationships with the American Pacific Westcoast and the Pacific Rim.

In 1929, when Harland Bartholomew and Associates designed their master plan, Vancouver fell far short of its site's vast potential. Only a few decades old, Vancouver was a sparse industrial town, with a population of less than 150 000 (69). The city was a product of the BC Provincial Government's desire to increase the value of its land holdings on the Pacific coast. In the late 19th century, the Province offered enormous land endowments to Canadian Pacific Rail, to entice the corporation to extend its railway westwards from New Westminster, at that time the provincial capital, to the Burrard Inlet (72). By 1860, the Royal Engineers had cut a diagonal route, the King's Way, from New Westminster to the new townsite (fig. 51). Along the route, the surveyors apportioned the land into orthogonal district lots to sell off to speculative real estate investors, effectively erasing the trails and settlements of about 5000 aboriginal inhabitants (19). The town centre itself, however, was slow to take root. In 1863, the Province designated its own land reserve, the Hastings townsite, as the future city centre. CP Rail bypassed the government's townsite by bringing the railway further west to Coal Harbour. The adjacent Granville townsite,

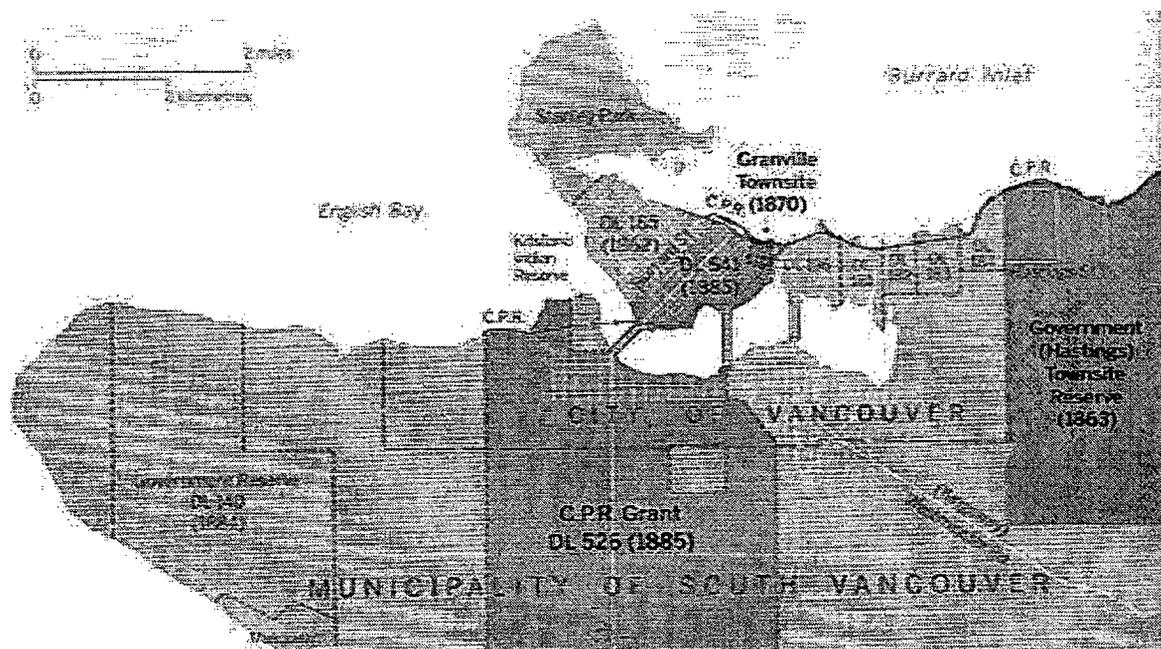


Fig. 51. Vancouver's early land parcel pre-emptions, Eric Leinberger, from Lance Berelowitz, *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination*, 2005.

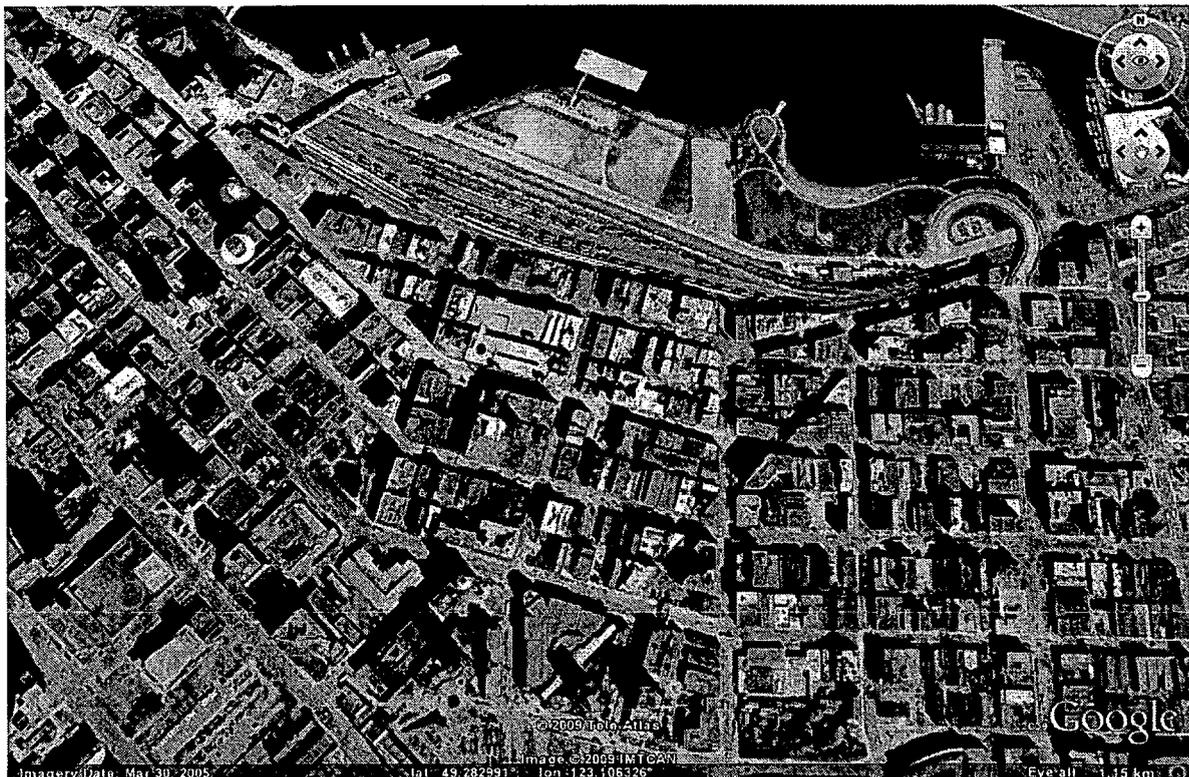
a land parcel owned by CP Rail, became the *de facto* city centre, its position secured by a major port and railway station. Further west, yet a third parcel of land, now called the West End, was then identified by the Province as a future high-end residential district; its grid was rotated to address the shoreline of the peninsula and maximize water frontage and views. Thus, three different grids were laid out in the downtown within the city's first 10 years, as different stakeholders jockeyed for territorial control (44) (fig. 52).

These early, colonial, land divisions remain imprinted on the city plan (fig. 53). In all three downtown grids, CP Rail's and the Royal Engineers' surveyors used a medieval

Fig. 52. Vancouver's rotated street grids, Eric Leinberger, from Lance Berelowitz, *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination*, 2005.



Fig. 53. Aerial view of downtown Vancouver, from Google Earth, 1 Sep 2011.



English measure, the 20 metre-long “chain,” as a basic unit of measurement for city blocks and individual building parcels (45). A typical block in downtown Vancouver measures 4 chains (80.5m) by 6 chains (120.5m). These blocks were further subdivided by a lane servicing the rear of two back-to-back rows of building parcels. The lanes measured 1/3 chain, a standard street measured one full chain, and special avenues were laid out at 1-1/2 chains, creating a simple hierarchy of streets. As Vancouver scholar Lance Berelowitz notes, “(t)his simple yet expedient and very efficient measuring system was responsible for almost the entire city’s pattern of streets, blocks and parcels. It created the physical structure, the skeleton, on which has grown the flesh of the city” (47). I will discuss later how the single family house on its standard lot is assumed in this basic platting pattern.

But despite these highly regulated practices of surveying land and distributing property rights, much of Vancouver remained, in reality, a virtual wilderness. The 1898 map of Vancouver, shown below, depicts a far denser fabric of buildings than what actually existed at the time (fig. 54). The streets illustrated in the West End of downtown (to the right of the image) were certainly not yet built, but instead represent surveyed lot lines and building parcels - and a dose of hopeful anticipation.²

Urban geographer Michael Conzen’s studies of the morphology of mid-western American cities provide useful observations for understanding Vancouver’s development.³ Conzen’s work suggests that a schism—between actual, physical construction of the built environment and the more abstract, socio-political forms of urban development such as land division and property speculation—is typical in early modern American cities.⁴ (In

2 Vancouver’s first archivist, James S. Matthews described the West End at the turn of the 20th century: “All the area of the southern slope west of Burrard was wilderness; the stumps stood where they have been cut off when the trees were felled...it was possible to walk, or rather scramble over, the West End.” Starkins 80.

3 Michael Conzen, the son of founder of the British school of urban morphology, C.R.G Conzen, is well-regarded for morphological studies of North American cities and towns. See, for example, “The Study of Urban Form in the United States,” 2001.

4 Note that this is morphological pattern differs from that of older European cities, which, before Conzen’s work, were the dominant case sites in the discipline of urban mor-

Omaha, for example, Conzen illustrates how the arrival of the railway triggers a period of intense land speculation, where the land is platted according to the changing tastes of an imagined clientele, and then subdivided and sold many times before any built form appears.⁵⁾ Conzen's studies also show that, despite the absence of actual buildings, early patterns of land division and property ownership, abstract as they may be, do in fact give shape to the city, and continue to constrain its form over the long term. Vancouver certainly adheres to these morphological patterns. I will show, for example, how early platting patterns would be adhered to, even when streets and buildings were constructed decades later, such as in the West End. I will also show how the initial block pattern in the West End, originally intended for single family estates, would, in subsequent generations, enable certain forms of multi-family, high-density dwellings.

phology.

5 Michael P. Conzen, "Town-Plan Analysis in an American Setting: Cadastral Processes in Boston and Omaha, 1630-1930," 142-70.

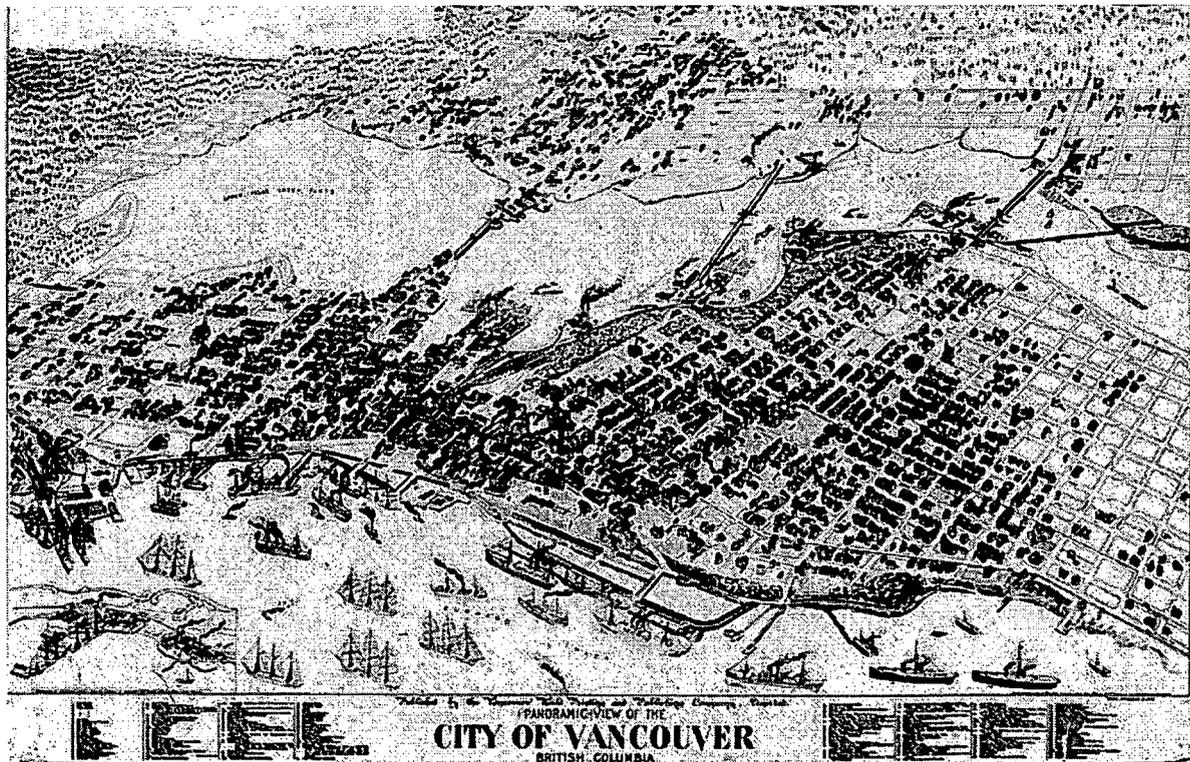


Fig. 54. Toronto Lithographing Co. Ltd., "Panoramic View of the City of Vancouver, British Columbia" 1898.

3.1.1 Vancouver's Districts

Maps documenting Vancouver's early development show that, by the turn of the 20th century, the city was configured into a few major districts. Each district has a distinct spatial order and building fabric.

In the Hastings and Granville townsites, the efficient grid-block pattern was designed to stimulate real estate speculation and to facilitate the distribution of natural resources and manufactured goods to the port and railway (Berelowitz 40).⁶ By the waterfront, the east-west orientation of the blocks reflects the early dominance of the link between the port and terminal rail station at Coal Harbour. The block orientation in the rest of downtown is north-south. This relatively rigid block-pattern, however, accommodated a much looser, fine-grained building fabric. Five-storey brick warehouses shoehorned between 2-storey wood-frame houses and 8-storey residential hotels created the characteristic "sawtooth" street facades of Gastown and the Downtown Eastside (Punter 53) (fig. 55).

In a city that was conceived with no grand avenues or formal vistas, the seams between the misaligned townsites created points of relief in the grid-block pattern, and produced Vancouver's most formally interesting spaces, buildings and views. Many major institutions claimed the irregular plots between the Granville and Hastings grids, including the Dominion Building, briefly the tallest building in the British Empire. In the absence of a planned civic centre, the largest open space along this seam, Victory Square in the Downtown Eastside, became the unofficial town square. The Courthouse, the headquarters of all the major newspapers and Woodward's department store, a

⁶ Here also, Conzen's observations on the relationship between cadastral practices and the "laissez-faire" political and cultural context of the early, mid-western American city seem relevant to Vancouver. Conzen notes how the grid proved to be a particularly potent tool of the mid-western colonial town, making it easy to subdivide land into small lots more suited to modern uses during early speculative and building phases of the city; to introduce avenues and civic sites typical of a city growing in stature and ambition; and, as the city matures and some areas fall fallow, to amalgamate sites for the larger building schemes of public and private stakeholders.

5-building complex, all fronted onto this unusual, sloping green, confirming its place as the *de facto* commercial, civic and symbolic centre of Vancouver.

The nearby industrial districts (now known as Gastown, to the north, and Yaletown, to the south) assumed a key position in the city structure, dominating the city's extensive waterfront. The railway and port were critical to Vancouver's development, and early tourist maps of the city illustrate the prominence of the port and rail in the city imaginary. In the 1898 aerial view (shown above), ships swarm to the major port on the Burrard Inlet and other industrial sites along the northern waterfront. The productive mills along False Creek, however, occupy the geographic centre of the city and are the real focus of this image.

Distinct from the central townsite, the industrial districts are characterized by large, irregular plots that do not adhere to the city's standard block pattern. A marine survey of the city shoreline in 1925 shows docks and built-up portions of the shoreline extending into the waters of the Burrard Inlet and False Creek, to augment the industrial lands (fig.



Fig. 55. View of shifted street grids, "Gastown, Early 1900s," Vancouver Archives, Undated.

56). Mills, warehouses and other industrial buildings, many of which were rebuilt in steel and masonry after a major fire in 1886, were some of the largest, tallest and most substantial works of architecture in the early city (Lillquist 220). Housing, however, was also woven into the industrial district, particularly on the salt flats between False Creek and the Burrard Inlet, away from the productive waterfront. These ad hoc multi-family buildings housed lower class and racially segregated communities which formed the city's industrial labour force.

This same marine survey shows a thatch of rail tracks, running parallel to the natural shoreline and connecting various harbours and industrial sites. This thick band of rail separates the industrial waterfront from the building fabric of the downtown. In an early tourist map, shown below, the rail tracks are depicted alongside a zone of dense greenery, reinforcing this sense of detachment (fig. 57). These representations show how, for the average city dweller, the centre of the city, False Creek, would have been a place that one couldn't enter or easily see. One can imagine how, by the mid- 20th century, as the



Fig. 56. Marine survey showing Vancouver's downtown peninsula and port, W.J. Stewart, "Burrard Inlet," Vancouver Harbour, 1925.

industrial base of the city declined, the False Creek basin would have become a virtual void in the image of the city.

As in virtually all cities, residential districts formed the largest portion of Vancouver's land area. Much of the working class housing was located in the Strathcona district to the east of False Creek, and woven into the industrial and commercial areas in the east and centre of downtown. More prestigious residential districts were established to the west of downtown, as well as south of False Creek and the downtown peninsula. District Lot 185, now known as the West End, was originally owned by the BC Provincial Government. Platted at the same time as the government's Hastings townsite, the West End constitutes the third grid in the downtown area, perpendicular to the Granville city centre. By 1888, the West End had come under CP Rail's control, and "the company began to sell high-priced homes to company officials and other affluent citizens" (Starkins 80). While large estate manors were built close to English Bay and Stanley Park, rows of two-storey wood frame houses for the middle class were built just west of Burrard St., the boundary line between the West End district lot and the downtown. (80).⁷ Later I will show how these estate lots would enable the transformation of the West End into an apartment district. The most notable features of the West End, though, were not the manor estates but the

7 Note that wood is the conventional material of local residential architecture, which is reflective of the Vancouver's natural resource-based economy.



Fig. 57. Detail of False Creek, from Toronto Lithographing Co., "Panoramic View of the City of Vancouver, British Columbia" 1898.

“natural” amenities of Stanley Park, a 1000-acre park reserve, and English Bay, the city’s only non-industrial waterfront.⁸ These green reserves were protected from development, in part, because of the early development of the West End as an elite residential neighbourhood.

3.1.2 Vancouver’s Early Morphology

This brief survey of Vancouver’s early development suggests that, despite a lack of “design,” the city nonetheless developed according to a formal, as well as an economic, logic. First, the territory was surveyed into district lots and a pattern of blocks. This initial spatial order was fully operational before much actual building had occurred. The city’s grid-block pattern, paired with real estate practices, must be understood as perhaps the most significant morphological force in Vancouver’s early formation. Second, infrastructures like the port and railway, and property lines between major land owners, created inflections in the basic grid pattern, which impacted the city’s formal development over time. The rail lines along False Creek, the irregular spaces along the seams between townsites, and Shaunessey’s curvaceous, garden city street layout (platted in 1912), are all examples of such inflections. Third, while the grid-block pattern is laid out fairly homogeneously across the urban territory, distinctive building fabrics differentiate the city’s districts. For example, the main townsite is characterized by a tight mix of land uses, building forms, and construction practices—creating a highly variegated building fabric despite a rigid, orthogonal framework of streets and lanes (figs. 58, 59). In the West End, on the other hand, a similar pattern of blocks and streets was built up as a fairly dispersed landscape, punctuated by Edwardian manor estates.

Vancouver, while thoroughly modern, was not a modernist city *per se*. The

⁸ The 1001-acre Stanley Park was designated in 1888, and named for Governor General Lord Stanley of Preston. Mike R. Steele, “The Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation: The First 100 Years” (Vancouver: Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation, 1988) 3.

city was built within a certain, modern, rationale of urban land use, based on the logic of real estate speculation, and the needs for nearby labour forces and efficient distribution of goods. But it had grown up *without* an over-arching intentionality or design vision. As such, it stood in stark contradiction to prevailing, modernist notions of an “ideal” city and good city-making practices (or, for that matter, of earlier European and classical models). When Harland Bartholomew and Associates first surveyed Vancouver in 1929, they found the city to be deficient precisely because of a lack of human foresight and intentionality (24). I will show how HBA’s Plan was intended, first, to rationalize the existing urban fabric and, second, to add elements in order to “complete” the city.⁹ The 1929 Plan marks a shift in the conceptualization of the city, introducing the notion that Vancouver could be envisioned as a whole entity, and structured in a systematic, calculable, and yet wholly organic way. I will further show that the rationalization of the city structure also implies the codification of a certain house model.

9 Note that these additions were intended to fill voids in the “body” of the city. HBA’s Plan frequently refers to the city as a body, for example, in this passage on Vancouver’s underdeveloped hilltops: “...So it is urged that the city acquire these interesting and generally neglected topographic features...rather than to allow them to become...cancerous spots in the urban body” (238).

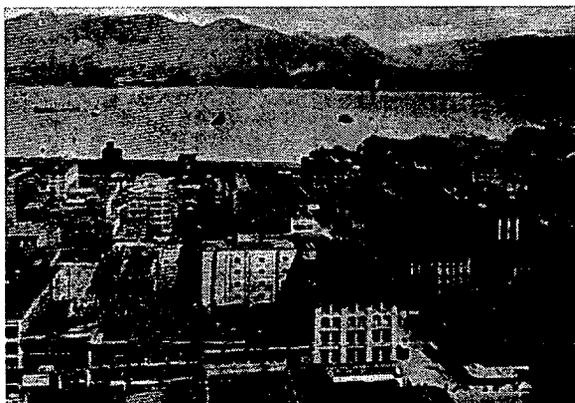


Fig. 58. View of mixed building fabric in the downtown (looking north), Vancouver Archives, 1914.

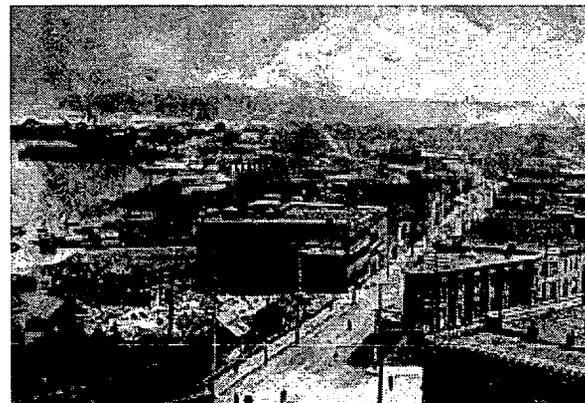


Fig. 59. View of mixed building fabric in the downtown (looking north-east), Vancouver Archives, “Cordova and Water,” 1898.

3.2 “A Plan for the City of Vancouver,” 1929

Harland Bartholomew, the founder of urban planning as a distinct, scientific discipline in the United States, advocated a rational approach to urban planning, supported by clear mechanisms for implementation, including advanced zoning techniques, government involvement and capital investment, and public participation.¹⁰ His firm, which was based in St-Louis, Illinois, and was the most highly esteemed American planning firms of the era, was first hired in 1927 by the Vancouver Town Planning Commission to write a zoning by-law.

It is significant for my study that this zoning by-law was originally intended to prevent the intrusion of apartment buildings into single-family house neighbourhoods (HBA 211). The first motivation for restructuring the city into formal districts was thus to protect the single family house as the base unit of the city. Also notable is that, for Bartholomew, such regulations for particular house model could not be imagined without considering the “whole” urban structure, as house and city could not be imagined in isolation. The firm argued that a zoning by-law for Vancouver would be meaningless, or even detrimental, without a comprehensive study of the present city and a long-range plan for its future development.

HBA’s full study and planning proposal, nearly 300 pages in length and ponderously titled, “*A Plan for the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, including Point Grey and South Vancouver and a General Plan of the Region,*” was never formally adopted by the Town Planning Commission as the city’s master plan. The Plan, nonetheless, “was the Gideon Bible in the top drawer of the Planning Department for decades” and had a powerful influence on the City of Vancouver’s planning policies and actual development (Grescoe 238).¹¹ I will show how the Plan would both

10 Eldridge Lovelace, Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning (St. Louis: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Illinois, 1993) 168-169.

11 It proved to be somewhat problematic to import experts from the eastern United

constrain and enable certain forms of housing and residential fabrics for much of the next century.

HBA's Plan represents a first—and only—attempt to develop a master plan for all of Vancouver. It documents a pivotal moment in which this fledgling mercantile town re-imagines itself as a proper city. Despite the romantic, Beaux-Arts aesthetic of the renderings that illustrate HBA's urban design, and despite the traditional, low-density building fabrics proposed, HBA's planning approach is unquestionably modern. The city is grasped as a total entity: HBA argues that, should the Plan be adopted by the government and residents, "we may hope to see a Vancouver in which every acre of ground is devoted to its most appropriate purpose," so that the city could finally be looked upon as "an organized entity" (25). Bartholomew's understanding of

States in planning a city in the Pacific North-West. Bartholomew was "a flatlander whose vision of the ideal city came from planning dozens of Midwestern towns on landlocked plains" (Grescoe 228). This background is apparent in his often-declared admiration for Vancouver's coastal mountain views as an urban "backdrop" and, at the same time, his Plan's lack of consideration for the truly three-dimensional topography of the Vancouver.

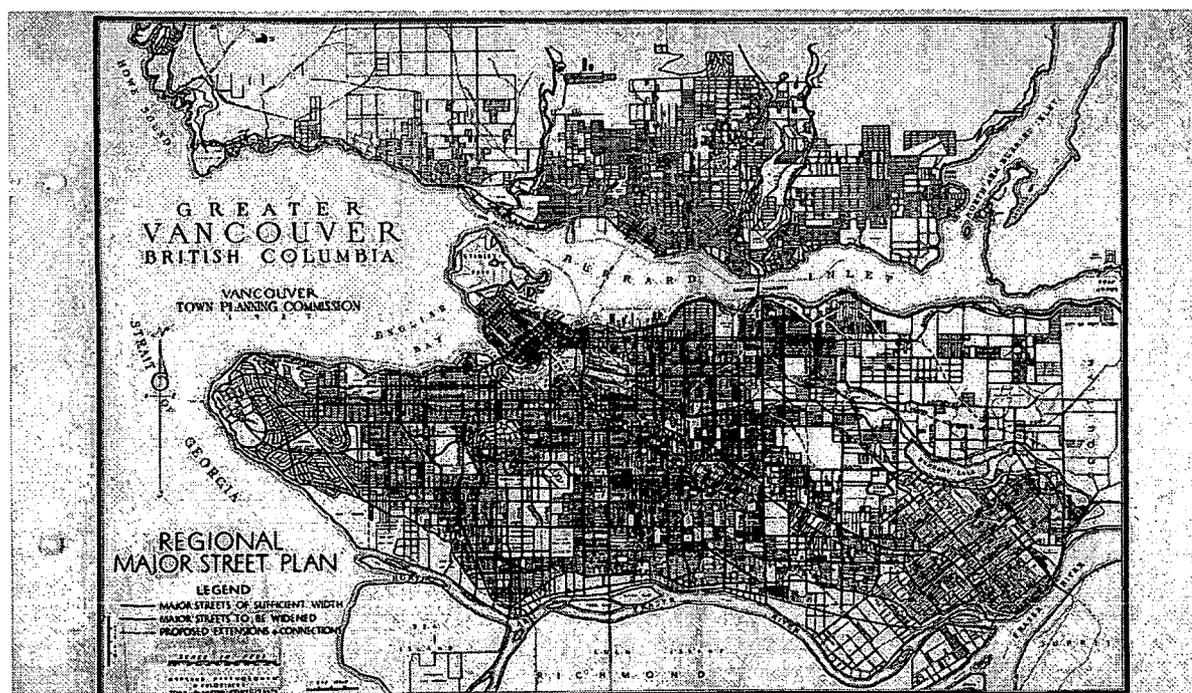


Fig. 60. Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Regional Major Street Plan," A Plan for the City of Vancouver, 1929.

the city as a discrete entity is typical of early modernist planning, whereby (according to many contemporary theorists) the city is turned into an abstract object of study, and all its parts surveyed, rationalized and re-configured into a total order.¹² Also typical of modernist planning approaches of the era is HBA's use of site plans and aerial views as key tools to study and represent the city, as though from an "objective" distance (fig. 60). This rationalist approach to urbanism further relies on statistics and quantifiable surveying; in HBA's Plan, almost every building height, side yard setback, street width is counted, and "everything from the correct shape of curbs and lampposts" is prescribed (Grescoe 227). In contrast to this remarkable survey of the physical conditions of Vancouver, the Plan gives only a scant outline of the city's history and socio-cultural aspects.¹³

Of course, the purpose of the HBA's "Plan for the City of Vancouver" is not only to grasp the city in its present state, but to project a future, idealized city. The final product of HBA's study is an "Ultimate Programme," which describes the future infrastructural systems and overall form of Vancouver, when the city would reach a population of 1-million (figs. 61, 62). The Plan outlines interim planning phases towards the achievement of this "ultimate" city.¹⁴ Notably, the suitable form and role of each urban component within the "organized entity" of the city are not historically derived but are *rationally* calculated. Planning is understood as "a scientific attempt to direct the growth of various components, residential, industrial and business,

12 While it is beyond my scope here to address the diverse, largely post-structuralist, literature on how modernist planning's "objectification" of the city, I discuss this notion, at further length in "A Walk About Rome: Tactics for Mapping the Urban Periphery," 2010.

13 This focus on the present appearance of the city as the foundation for planning and design, and the parallel de-emphasis on historical, morphological processes of the city, are consistent with the modernist ideology in the disciplines of architecture and planning of the era. In later decades, this bias would become the basis of critiques of early modernist planning.

14 The notion of an "Ultimate" Program suggests that a city can be a complete entity, or be completed as an endeavour.

that go to make up a city along sane and...permanent lines.”¹⁵ The Plan describes a comprehensive structure for the city in which all components are related within a system that is at once rational, organic and complete.

Curiously, graphic illustrations and vignettes throughout the HBA Plan show traditional building forms—particularly single family dwellings—which seem at odds with the Plan’s planning ideology. Consider, for example, the streets sections, rendered with detached houses in an American cottage style. Likewise, HBA’s zoning schedule, itself a tool of progressive, modernist planning, shows a strong bias towards a detached house in its regulation of massing, height and setbacks. That this “house” is simply taken for granted in the zoning by-law’s regulations of form underlines how the very concept of single family dwelling is naturalized in this city model.

A discord—between a systematic rationalization of space and infrastructure at the urban scale, on the one hand, and a seemingly unquestioned assumption of traditional architectural forms at the building scale, on the other—reveals significant tensions in Bartholomew’s imagination of the modern city. This same tension is echoed in the discord between a rational, scientific text and the picturesque aesthetic of its illustrations, particularly of the house. The appearance of the “house” in the

15 This quote is from the Town Planning Council brochure, 1931, but taken from Grescoe 227.

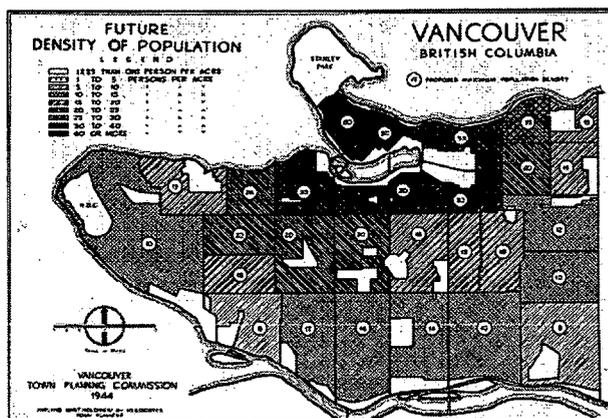


Fig. 61. “Future Density of Population,” Ibid.

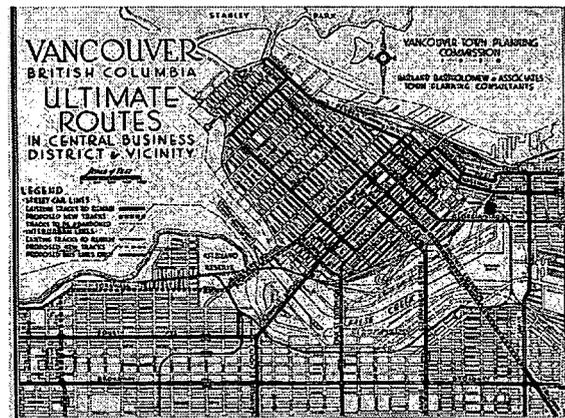


Fig. 62. “Ultimate Routes in Central Business District & Vicinity,” Ibid.

Plan reveals inherent conflicts in HBA's vision of Vancouver as a modern city.

3.2.1 A Plan for Vancouver: A Model of the Modern City

HBA's Plan proposes to re-make Vancouver into a modern city, over time, using particular planning techniques and spatial strategies. The most significant components of HBA's proposal are: the introduction of zones, the rationalization of the street grid, and a re-configuration of the public realm. First, I'm going to consider how HBA's zoning proposal essentially re-structures the city by sorting heterogeneous urban and social fabrics into definable districts. Second, I'll consider how the HBA's proposal for a comprehensive, hierarchical network of streets and public transportation describes, sometimes inadvertently, the desired qualities of the modern urban environment. Third, I'll explore how civic and recreational spaces are proposed to secure the public realm and formally complete the city. Finally, I'll show how normative ideas of the house are embedded, relatively unquestioned, in the city model described by the Plan.

3.2.2. Zoning: Re-ordering the City

HBA's zoning proposal, which resulted in Vancouver's first full Zoning By-law in 1928, aims to codify and protect particular urban fabrics.¹⁶ The Plan identifies ten zones, which include four types of residential districts, three types of commercial districts, two types of industrial districts, and the General Business District (fig. 63).

Zone A, "One-Family Dwelling Districts," permits only detached houses and related amenities such as churches, public schools, libraries and playgrounds. These regulations are designed to protect extremely low-density (and higher-class) areas from the threat of densification and the intrusion of multi-family, commercial

¹⁶ HBA's Zoning By-law was ratified in 1928, before the full Plan was published in 1929, but was nonetheless an integral part of HBA's larger planning study of Vancouver.

or industrial uses. (Zone A most closely corresponds today to RS-1, Vancouver's standard single-family zoning, which still covers the majority of the city's land area). Zones B, C and D are identified as multiple-dwelling districts, the densest of which are concentrated around the city's industrial core.¹⁷ The commercial zones E, F and G differentiate the city's commercial centre from the secondary high streets and small-scale shops of local neighbourhoods. Two industrial zones differentiate light- and heavy-industry. Moving down the hierarchy from the most restricted "Zone A," the regulations become more flexible, and land uses and building forms become more mixed. "Zone E Local Commercial Districts," for example, are permitted all uses in Zones A through D, as well as additional retail uses. (Only in the heavy-industrial zone are residential uses excluded outright.) Put another way, Zone A represents the most "pure" land use, and the most stringently defended.

Bartholomew's concept of a "good" city is strongly tied to the functionality of every zone. Unsanitary and neglected parts of the existing city of Vancouver are seen to be "cancerous spots in the urban body" (238). Note that the HBA Plan

17 An exception, which I will discuss later in this chapter, is the West End.

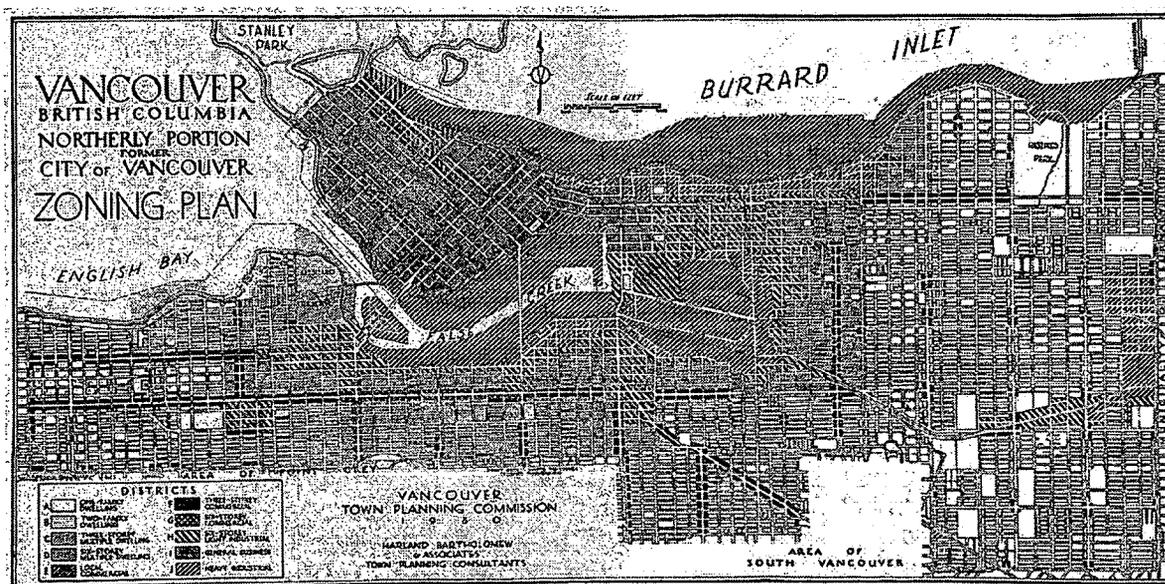


Fig. 63. "City of Vancouver Zoning Plan," Ibid.

describes the False Creek industrial district as “an eyesore and a menace to health. Its regeneration is essential to normal civic development” (147). To build the “efficiency and value of the district,” the False Creek channel must be sanitized, its industrial activities segregated, and the boundaries between industries, transportation and adjacent neighbourhoods must be rationalized (149) (fig. 64). For Bartholomew, the scientific rationalization of functions inevitably improves the *aesthetic* of city, as “a more systematic location of industries, streets and railroad tracks will effect a more slightly appearance” (149). Likewise, setbacks and side yards in residential districts improve the aesthetics of a neighbourhood, but also ensure healthful light conditions and air circulation. HBA’s proposal to systematize the development of residential, commercial and industrial districts through zoning suggests that the city need not only be efficient, but also beautiful and healthy, where health is rooted in a modern notion of hygiene.

The rationalization of the city into zones is achieved by controlling not only

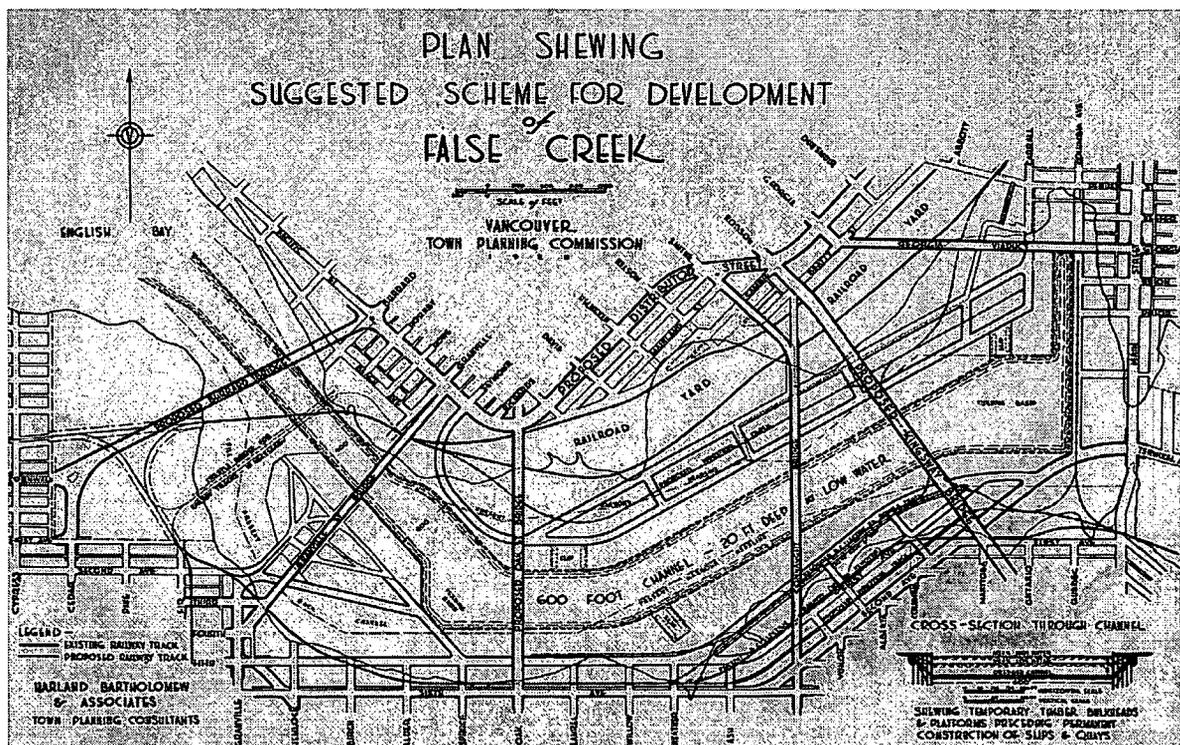


Fig. 64. “Plan Shewing Suggested Development for Development of False Creek,” Ibid.

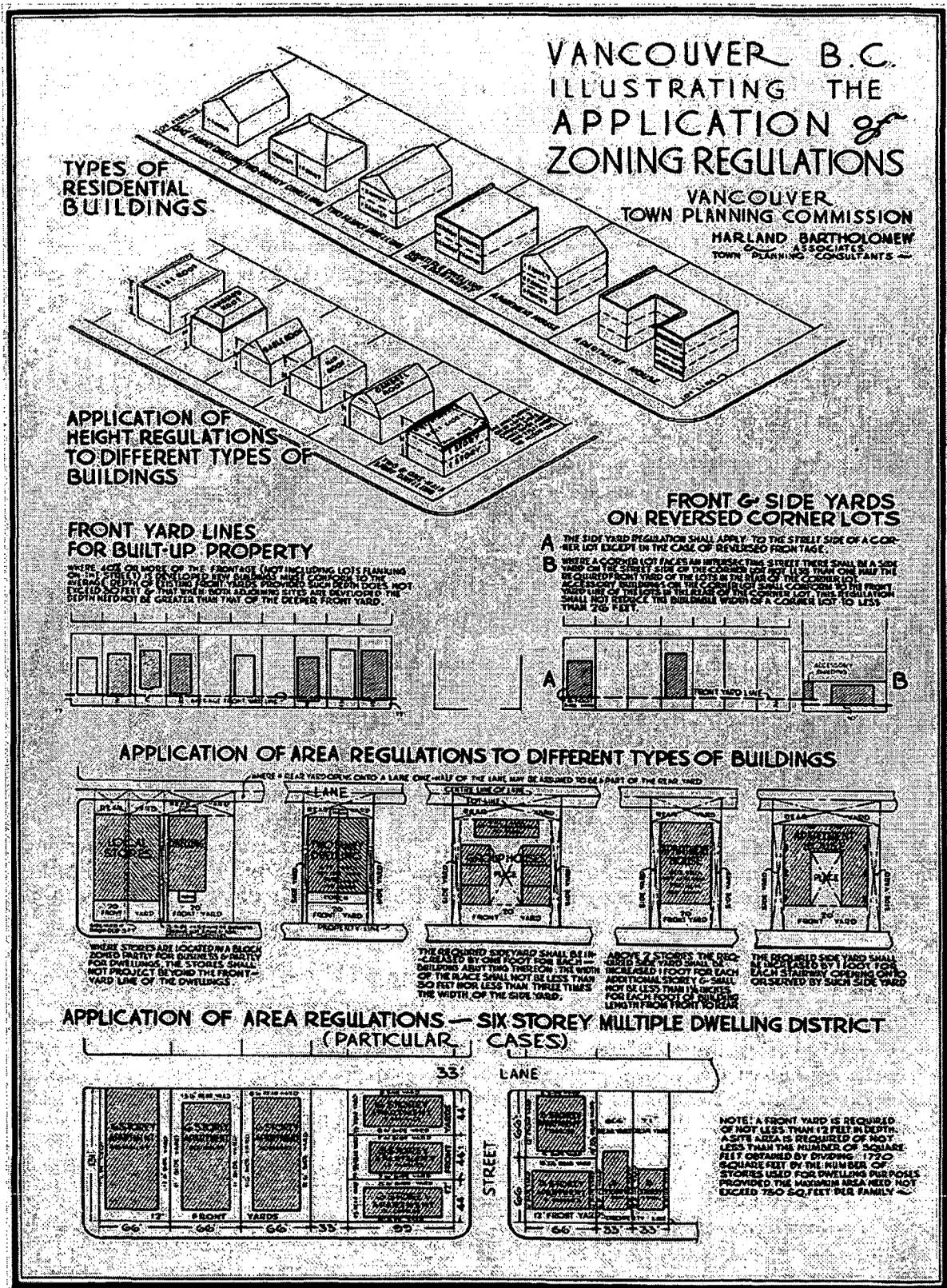


Fig. 65. "Illustrating the Application of Zoning Regulations," Ibid.

land use but also building type, height and massing, setbacks and yards, density, street width and character, and the provision of green spaces and other amenities (fig. 65).¹⁸ According to HBA's Plan, the physical and legislative division of the city into districts promotes public health and welfare; prevents overcrowding of land and preserve the amenity of residential areas; secures adequate light, air and access; establishes the formal character of each district; and conserves property value by directing future building development (HBA 220). Bartholomew's zones are not conceived solely in terms of so-called "naïve functionalism," but also infer material and experiential qualities of the built environment.¹⁹

3.2.3 Street Infrastructure: Mobility and Visuality

HBA's study of the city's transportation network shows the rich range of concerns embedded in Harland Bartholomew's approach to modern planning. A rational hierarchy of street types is proposed – from local residential streets to formal boulevards, eight-lane thoroughfares with integrated streetcars, and a pastoral parkway (figs. 66, 68). In all cases, a car lane is used as the module to establish street width, emphasizing how vehicular movement is prioritized in the making of the modern city. In the illustrative cross-sections "Major and Minor Streets" and "Pleasure Drives," cars and streetcars are carefully rendered to illustrate the width and function of each street type; pedestrians do not appear. In these drawings, streets of every scale, including parkways and arterials, are framed by single family homes set in naturalistic gardens (fig. 69). Again, these illustrations of houses help to establish

18 Vancouver's zoning By-law divides the city into "ten (types of) districts, and in each district complete regulations are provided, not only as to use, but also as to height, size of yards required and the density of population to be permitted" (HBA 220).

19 The term "naïve functionalism" is cited from Aldo Rossi, but I mean to refer more broadly to the widespread criticism, in the mid-20th century, of the reductive notion of "function" in Modern Architecture and urbanism. A few exemplary texts are: Alan Colquhoun, "Typology and Design Method," *Arena: Journal of the Architectural Association* 913 (1983), 11-14; and Fred Koetter and Colin Rowe, *Collage City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1984).

HBA's particular image of the modern city.

HBA's proposal for Vancouver's transportation network highlights the desirable qualities of a modern city—namely, efficiency, continuity and spatial dispersion. Rationalizing the street network and transit system will ensure, first, the efficient distribution of activities and, second, “continuous” movement (fig. 67). The street

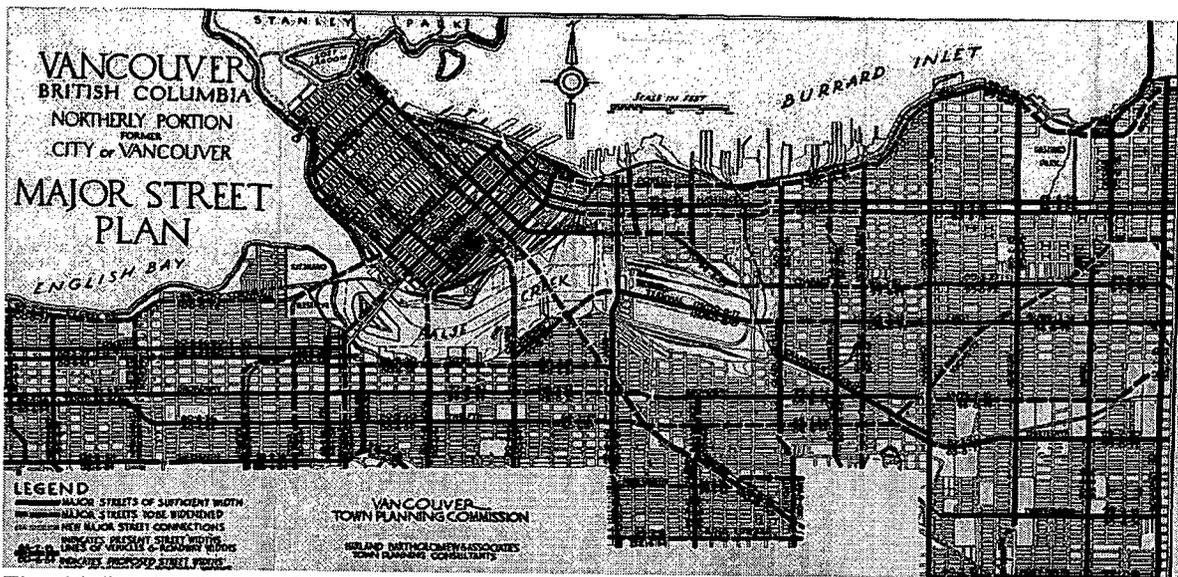


Fig. 66. “Major Street Plan,” Ibid.

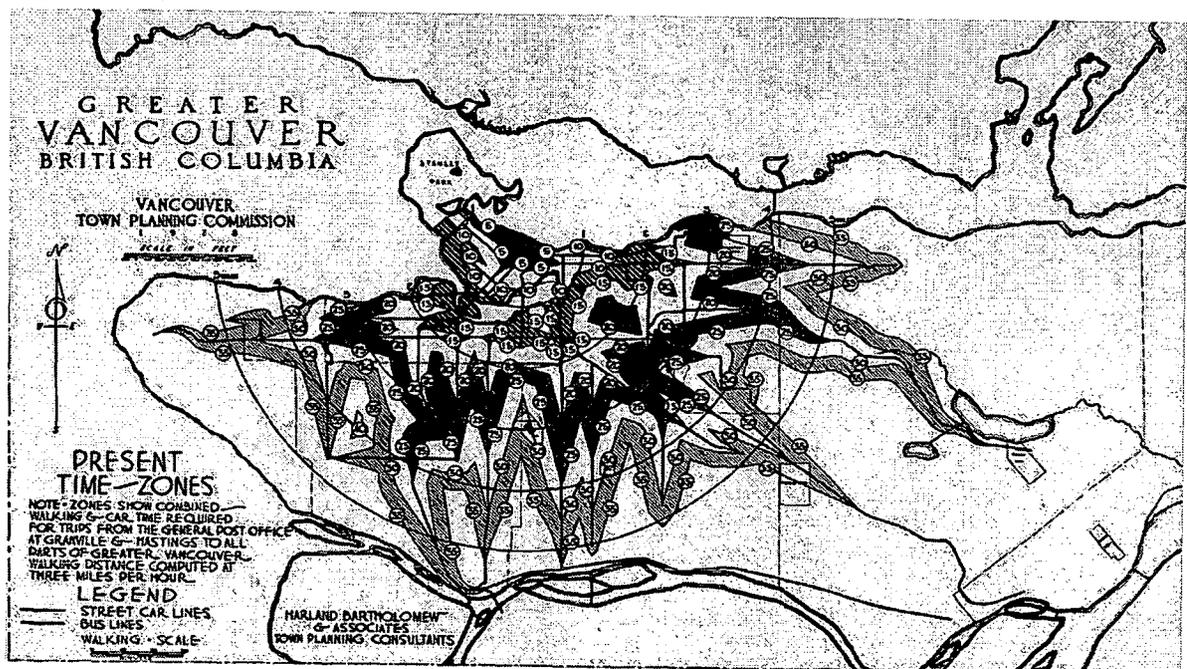


Fig. 67. Diagram of walking and car time from the General Post Office at Granville and Hastings to various parts of the city, from “Present Time Zones,” Ibid.

system will allow “traffic to move safely and quickly to and from all parts of the city;” routes should be straight and “as direct as possible in order to accelerate traffic movements” and, of the many requirements of a major street, “none is more important than continuity” (39). To ensure perfect movement through the city, the proposed number of lanes on major routes far exceeds the needs of HBA’s projected “ultimate” population of one million.

The quality of smoothness in this modernized street system seems to resonate in all components and activities of the city. For example, the Plan recommends that commercial activity in the Greater Business District be dispersed along several streets corridors and contained in relatively low buildings. “The construction of the Distributor Street (along the waterfront) and the absence of skyscrapers *will spread business evenly* over the area and prevent undue traffic congestion” (25, italics mine).

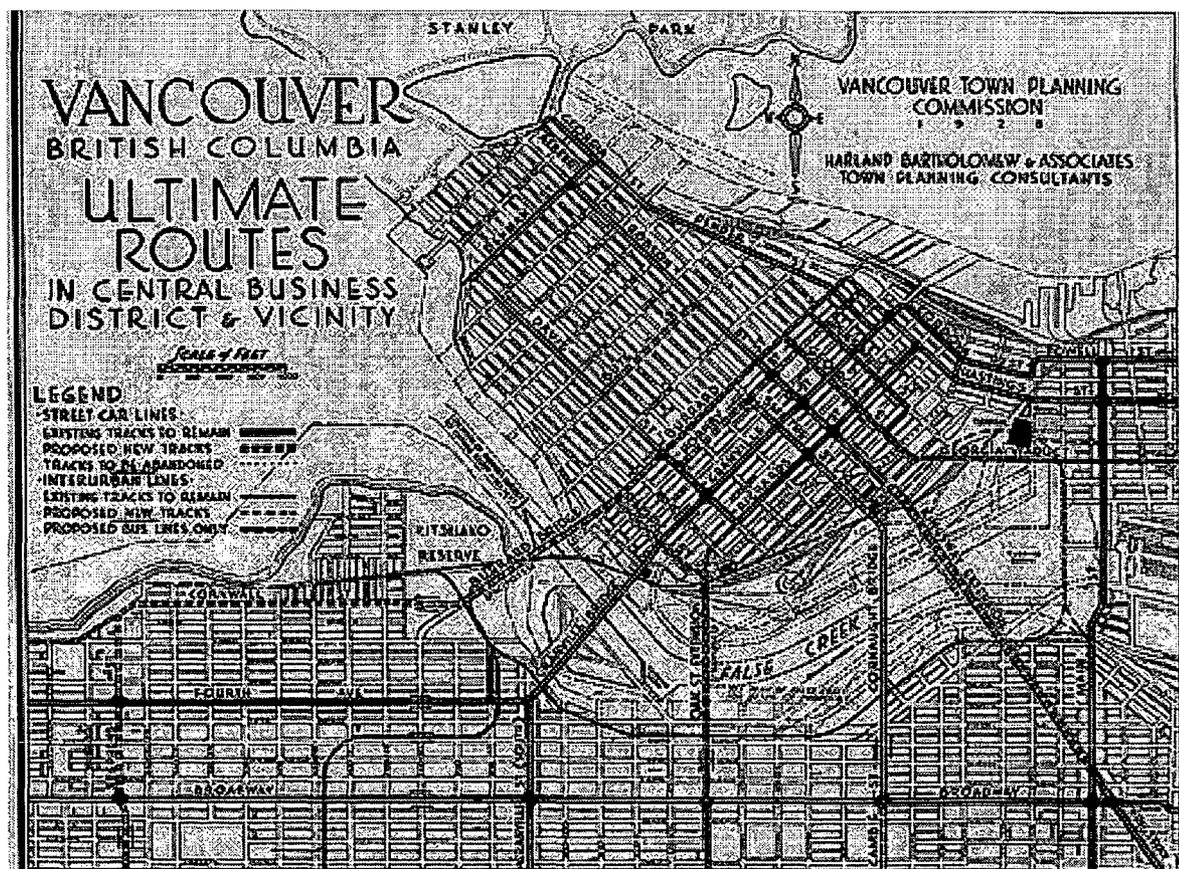


Fig. 68. “Ultimate Routes in Central Business District & Vicinity,” Ibid.

Although Vancouver in 1929 did not lack construction capacities, HBA's zoning proposal for the General Business District recommends a height restriction of only 10-storeys—already a concession from their first recommendation for a 6-storey height limit.²⁰ Elsewhere, building heights of 8-storeys are permitted only in heavy industrial areas. The zoning proposal further limits density, particularly in residential districts, by preventing subdivision of lots and enforcing setbacks. In HBA's Plan, low-density residential and commercial building fabrics produce a “modern” urban environment, with ample light, air, views and an open form.

In HBA's “Streets Proposal,” the widening of existing streets, the addition of distributors and boulevards, and the even distribution of amenities along low-height street corridors all imply an expansion of urban space (fig. 75). The spatial openness of the modern city is underlined by the Plan's preoccupation with views. In describing the system of proposed parkways and boulevards, HBA notes that “one aim has been to carry the motor-loving public to new points from which the magnificent panorama of Vancouver may be seen” (238). The promenade along English Bay, the scenic drive around Stanley Park, topographic high points such as Little Mountain and Capitol Hill, as well as “the drives along the Inlet... provide magnificent vistas of the sea and mountain, but they need to be improved to make them more effective” (238). To preserve the views in English Bay, for example, HBA proposes that the Town Planning Commission clear up the shore, put the area under private control, and construct a Distributor (a landscaped parkway) between the beaches and the city fabric (60). HBA's Plan ties the beauty of the city to its natural setting and, more importantly, re-orientes major components of the street system and public realm towards the scenic horizon. This interest in the visuality of the city, and the

20 “The limitation of the height of buildings in the downtown district has received a great deal of thought. Were the area...fully developed, there would be no need of any tall buildings, and theoretically, buildings of six storeys in height would fulfill the requirements for the Vancouver of the future” (HBA 228).

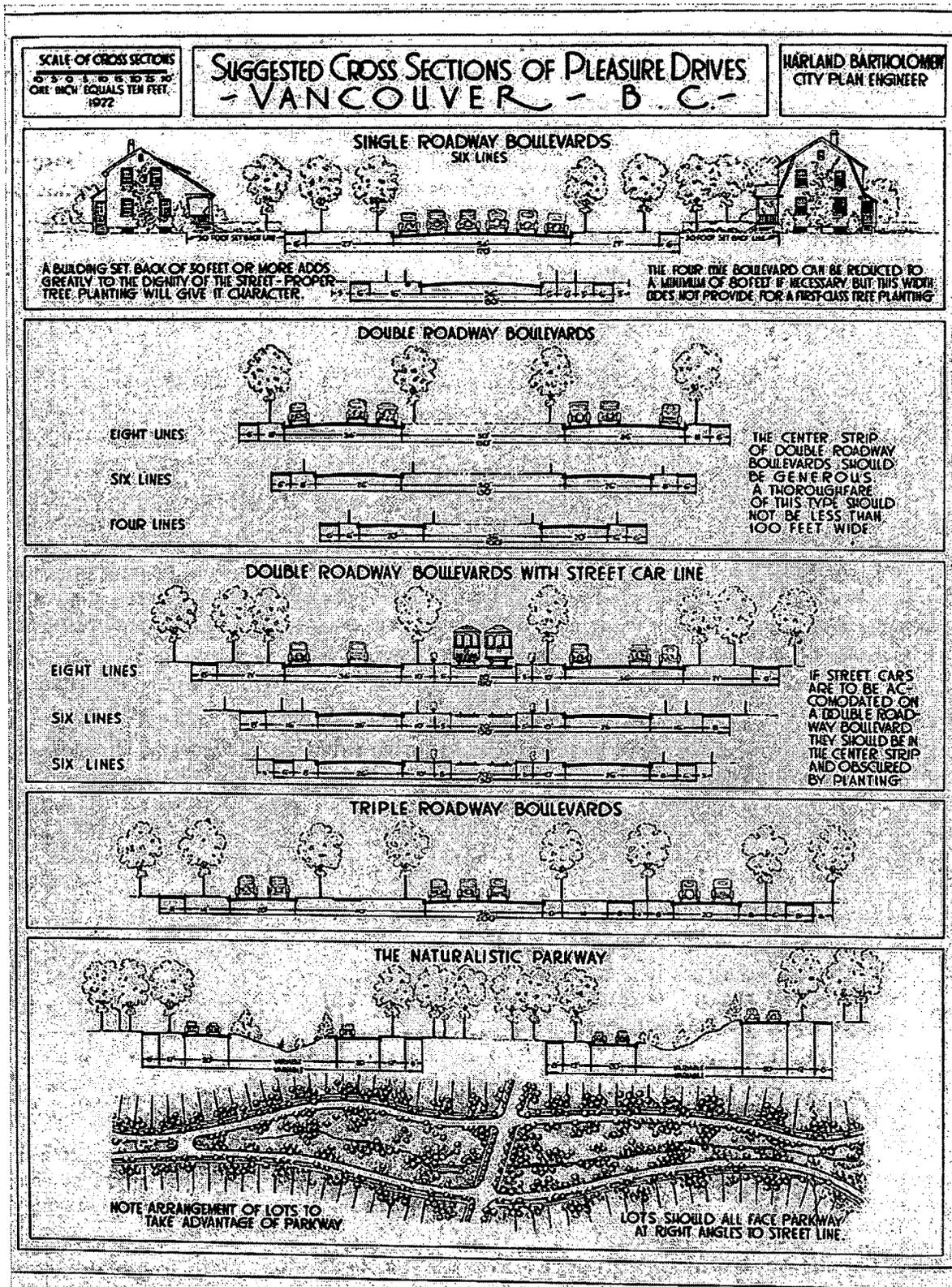


Fig. 69. Street sections showing typical single family house and street trees, from "Suggested Cross Sections of Pleasure Drives," Ibid.

orientation of urban space towards the distant view, would come play a critical role in the Vancouver's future development.

3.2.4 The Public Realm

HBA's Plan imagines Vancouver as an expansive, low-rise city, with a closely-knit industrial and business centre, surrounded by single family neighbourhoods, and ringed by scenic drives and promenades. Like the downtown core, which is split between industry and business, the public realm in this city model is distinctly two-sided. First, a civic centre, highly formalistic and coherent, centralizes the city's administration and "high" culture. Second, a network of small-scale parks and recreation facilities are dispersed through neighbourhoods, providing local access to leisure and recreation.

Like the zones and street system, the Plan organizes the neighbourhood-based parks and amenities into rational categories; in this case, they are classified according to age group and gender (fig HBA 172). The leisure activities depicted in the accompanying illustrations – boys and girls riding bikes and skipping ropes, a young man playing baseball and a father playing golf – show the centrality of the nuclear, middle class family in HBA's imagination of an urban community (fig. 70). These illustrations, perhaps more than its laconic text, suggest how a hierarchy of green spaces – used by different family members for different activities – contributes to the social order of the city (fig. 71). But the Plan's network of public spaces does not simply differentiate recreation according to social roles, but also promotes a larger vision of a healthy, fulfilled urban life.

In HBA's Plan, a good city assumes the qualities of both a well-oiled machine and a body. Descriptions of the parks and green spaces of the public realm, in particular, show this ambiguity between the mechanistic and organic city:

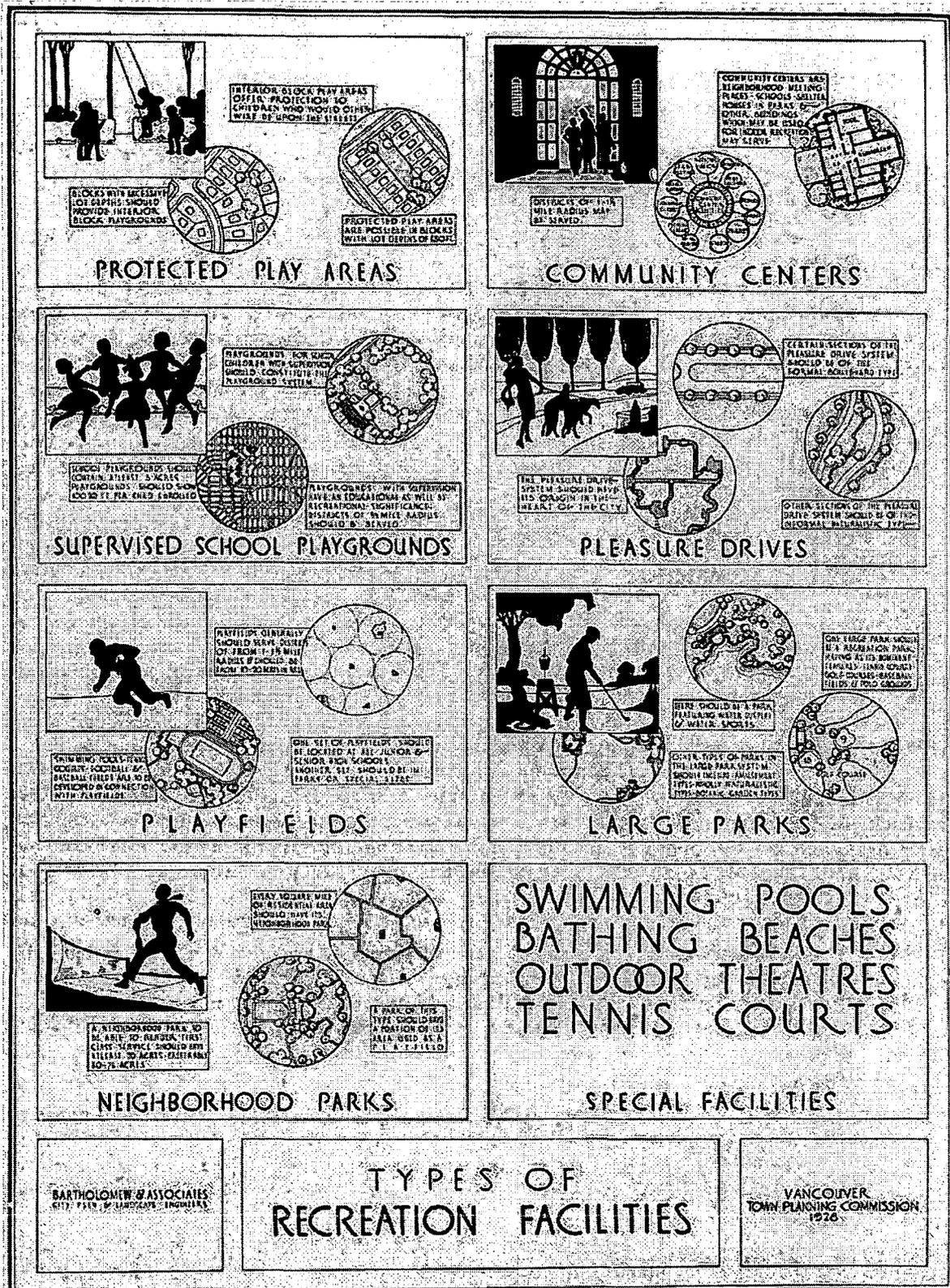


Fig. 70. Site plan vignettes of green spaces show typical single family residential fabric, from "Types of Recreational Facilities," Ibid.

A bathing beach, a playground, a lovely park, each when in full use is in a sense a factory. Its products are smiles, light hearts, ruddy cheeks, sound bodies, wholesome human interests (169).

Taken together, HBA's proposals for zoning, transportation systems, amenities and green spaces describe the formal structure—the morphology—of the modern city. Simultaneously a machine and an organism, the city is made up of nested, interlocking systems of districts, streets, buildings and open spaces. The logic of the urban structure is nonetheless rooted in the physical needs and social pleasures of its citizens. Despite its close alliance with the mechanistic paradigm of progressive architecture and urbanism at the time, the Plan suggests a distinct humanism in Bartholomew's vision of the city.²¹

In fact, in the final section of the *Plan for Vancouver* concludes that, "it is not enough merely to build a clean, healthful, orderly,

21 Leon Battista Alberti argues that the purpose of the city is "to serve the health and pleasure of its citizens" (4). This ultimate goal holds true for Harland Bartholomew's modern, planned city.

Fig. 71. Recreation facilities and activities are categorized according to age and gender, from "Classification of Population," Ibid.



smooth-functioning urban organism...” (237).²² The preceding components of the Plan – zoning, a rational system of streets and infrastructure, and a network of parks and recreation spaces – constitute a basic urban pattern, but cannot, in themselves, produce a complete city. As an anchor for the public realm and a focal point to city as a whole, HBA proposes a great Civic Centre.

The Civic Centre would centralize the city’s government and cultural facilities, but would also have a strong representational function. For every city for which they produced a master plan, Harland Bartholomew proposed a similar centre: it should be located on a highly visible site; it should be adjacent to the central Business District; and it should comprise an architecturally harmonious group of civic buildings (fig. 72). Vancouver’s Civic Centre was to be sited close to Granville Street, a main corridor into the city, backing onto the Business District to the north-east, and, to the west, overlooking English Bay, the only stretch of waterfront not overtaken by

22 “It is not enough merely to build a clean, healthful, orderly, smooth-functioning urban organism... The city becomes a remembered city, a beloved city...by its ability to create and hold bits of sheer beauty and loveliness” (HBA 237).



Fig. 72. Rendering of HBA’s proposed Civic Centre adjacent to the Burrard Bridge, from “Civic Centre,” Ibid.

industry. From this prominent location the Civic Centre would oversee the city. Equally importantly, it would be *seen by* citizens as they move along the city's major thoroughfares and across its bridges.²³ It plays a metonymic function in the city model: residents identify their citizenry with the Centre and, by extension, with the city.

HBA's rendering of the proposed Civic Centre evokes a *castello*: the site's topography is exaggerated to accentuate the building's height, and a lush parkway, in the foreground of the image, frames the building. But the resonance between HBA's Civic Centre and the ducal palace of Alberti's Renaissance city is more than a formal resemblance between a modern government office building and the home of a sovereign authority. The Civic Centre situates the city's authoritative presence. It also completes the city form, giving it coherence and meaning

3.2.5 The Single Family House

But despite the symbolic weight of the Civic Centre in Bartholomew's city model, I argue that the true core of HBA's concept of the modern city is the single family house. Its protection is the first motive of the zoning by-law. As is noted in the Plan's Introduction, Vancouver's Town Planning Commission commissioned the firm to prepare a zoning by-law "largely to prevent the intrusion of apartment houses in single or two-family residential areas" (211). This housing model is taken for granted as an organizing element for the entire urban structure—including zoned districts, the street system, the public realm and green spaces (fig. 73).

I noted earlier that the city's block and platting patterns established in the late 19th century assumed the single family home as a basic building form, long before HBA's study. As local urbanist Lance Berelowitz observes, Vancouver's typical street

23 "A civic centre so located will be a constant stimulus of civic pride" (239).

block, 396 feet long (6 chains) by 264 feet wide (4 chains), proved to be an efficient size for single family detached houses (45). With a mid-block lane, this city block divides into two rows of 12 house lots, each 33' wide by 122' deep—which today remains the standard-sized house lot in most Vancouver neighbourhoods. But while the configuration of the typical residential district, was not created by HBA's Plan, it was further entrenched by it (fig. 74).

The Plan affirms that “the retention of Vancouver as a city of single family homes has always been close to the heart of those engaged in the (master planning process)” (26). When HBA conducted its survey of Vancouver's existing land uses, roughly one fifth of the urban fabric comprised detached and semi-detached housing. (If one were to include the amenities dispersed through these residential

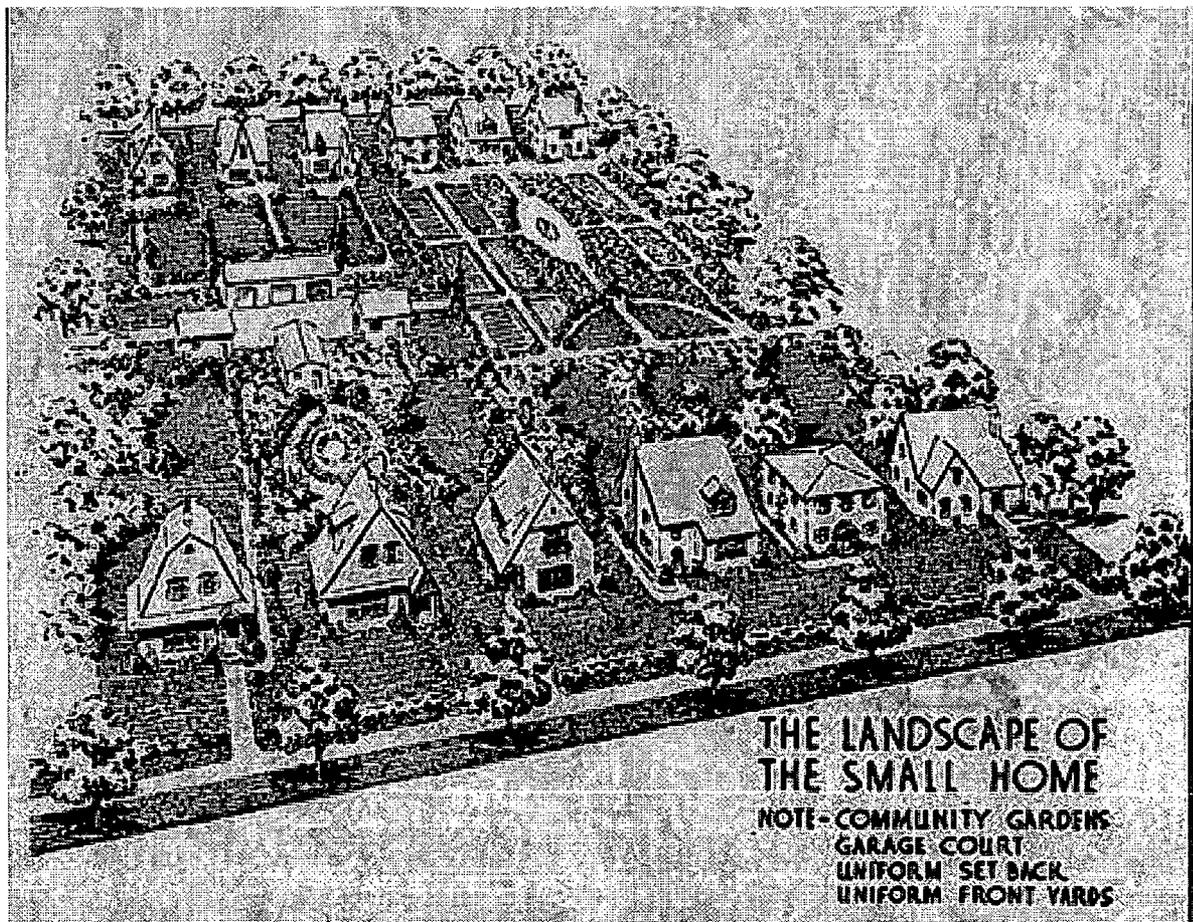


Fig. 73. “The Landscape of the Small Home,” Ibid.

areas, such as schools, churches and local parks, this proportion would be larger.) Under HBA's zoning proposal, detached and semi-detached housing were increased to almost three quarters of the residentially-zoned districts, and one quarter of the total city area.²⁴ (To contextualize these figures, the central business district and 3-and 6- storey commercial districts, combined, are allocated only 5% of the urban territory, about one fifth of the area allocated to detached housing.) In these low-density zones, the basic form of the single family house is controlled through various height, yard and floorspace regulations. Generous front and rear yards are provided (20' and 45', respectively), with side yards wide enough to allow windows (HBA

24 Compare to a combined 8.9% of land area occupied by 3-storey and 6-storey residential zones.

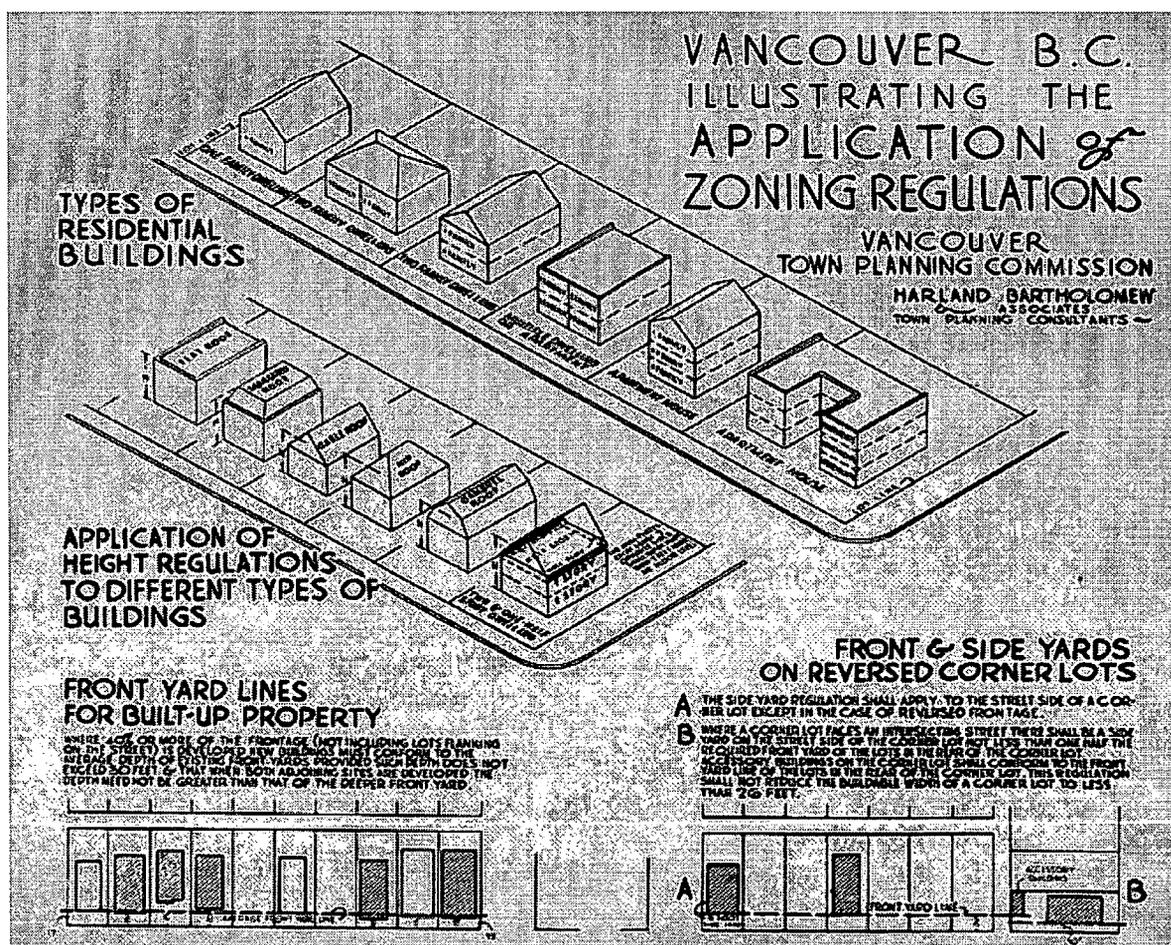


Fig. 74. "Application of Zoning Regulations," Ibid.

226). The height limit of 2-½ storeys suggests a two-storey house with a peaked roof. Graphic illustrations of the zoning—showing simple pitched roofs, deep eaves, bay windows, and deep, elevated front porches with open railings—reinforce the image of the traditional single family dwelling types common to North American suburban neighbourhoods.

Without question, the single family dwelling characterizes Vancouver's traditional residential neighbourhoods. But I want to further suggest that the logic of this house is implanted in the greater structure of the city. First, HBA's zoning report uses Zone A, "One-Family Dwelling District," as a *status quo*; all subsequent zones are elaborations upon this basic datum, in which layers of uses and more complex building forms are added (fig. 75).²⁵ Single family houses are also permitted, and

25 The regulations of zones other than Zone A are organized into the same categories and formal controls used to regulate the city's basic residential fabric: height; front yard; rear yard; side yard; etc.

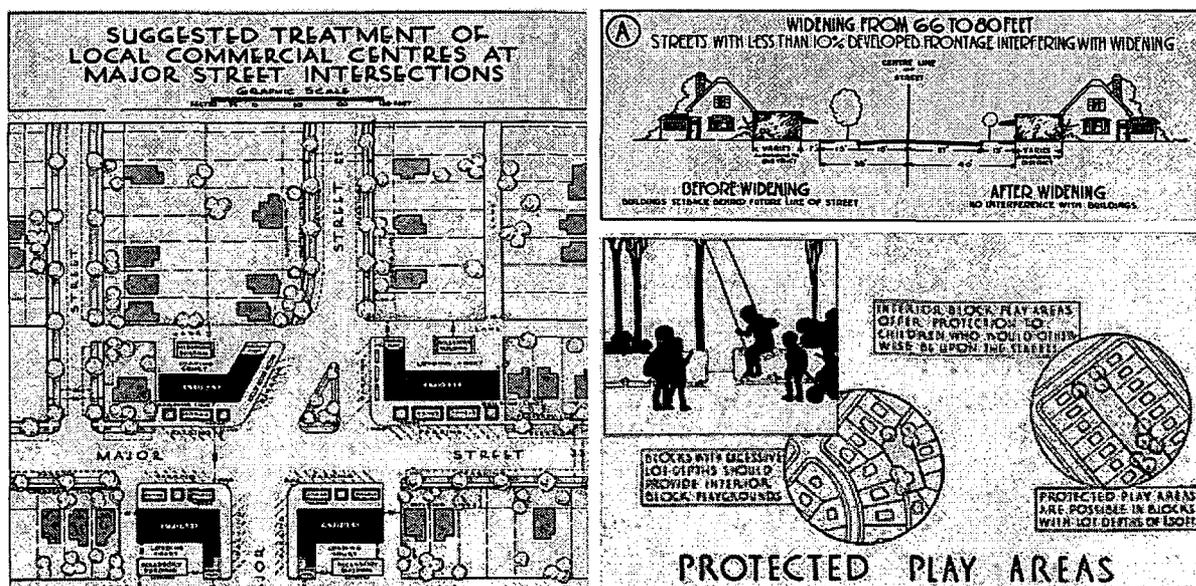


Fig. 75. Plan of neighbourhood-based commercial nodes, surrounded by single family residential fabric, from "Suggested Treatment of Local Commercial Centres at Major Street Intersections," Ibid.

Fig. 76. Plan to rationalize the street system. Note the assumption of single family houses, from "Widening From 66 to 80 Feet," Ibid.

Fig. 77. Single family residential fabric in site vignettes, from "Protected Play Areas," Ibid.

assumed to be present, in all zones, whether residential, commercial or industrial. Second, the proportion of land area dedicated to streets and lanes—almost 30%—assumes a low-density fabric of detached buildings. (A fabric of single family houses requires that a greater amount of land to be attributed to roads and other infrastructures.) Finally, the renderings in the Plan seem to best represent Harland Bartholomew’s imagination of the role of the house in the modern city. The single-family house appears not only in illustrations of residential zoning, but in virtually *all* illustrations in the Plan. In the illustrations of “Proposed Development of Major and Minor Streets,” for example, single family homes in an American cottage style are the only buildings shown, even in the case of multi-lane boulevards (fig. 76). Illustrations of the “Types of Recreation Facilities” have site plans showing a fabric of detached houses on lots, underlining how deeply rooted the single family house is in the imagination of the city (fig. 77).

The single family dwelling is foundational to the model of the modern city represented by HBA’s Plan. One premise of this dissertation is that, while the relationship between a given house type and notions of the city’s form is often not explicitly recognized by the city’s planners and architects, it is nonetheless operational in the urban imaginary. This relationship thus presents a valuable means to understand the historical, present and future morphologies of Vancouver.

3.3 The West End: An Alternative Housing Model

In the Plan, one residential district deviates from the Harland Bartholomew’s vision of the single detached dwelling as the dominant building form in modern Vancouver—the West End. The unique role of the West End as a future high-rise residential district is highlighted in the Plan’s “Introduction”:

In these days, when apartment houses are so much in demand, Vancouver in the

future should be deemed very fortunate (to be) in the possession of an apartment district west of Burrard Street which, while contiguous to business, has also the desiderata of a residential district, due to its proximity to Stanley Park and the foreshore of English Bay. (26)

The West End was anticipated, in HBA's 1929 Plan, as a means to concentrate the city's growing population of newcomers within a designated area, and to preserve more traditional urban fabrics. Although some apartment buildings had already been built, it would still have been a radical leap to imagine the West End as a high-rise district. The tallest building at the time was the eight-storey Sylvia Hotel, which would not be surpassed in height for another 25 years (Starkins 81) (fig. 78). This passage is all the more striking when one considers that the impetus for the original master planning study was the protection of single family neighbourhoods.

HBA's Plan was intended to create an early modern, American-style "suburban city" and to preserve the single family house as its basic fabric. At the same time, the Plan set the stage for the West End to develop as a residential tower district in a very visible position beside the downtown. In the following decades, the area would become a model, alternately positive and negative, for approaches to creating Vancouver's downtown.

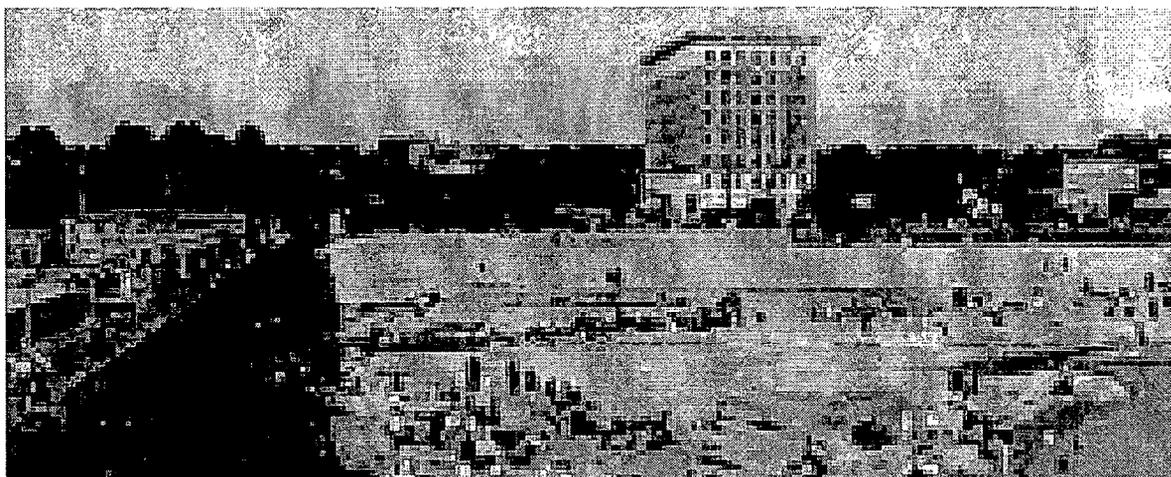


Fig. 78. View of English Bay, showing the Sylvia Hotel, from Vancouver Archives, 1917.

3.3.1. HBA's Plan for the West End

The area now known as the West End was one of the original lots, District Lot 185, surveyed by the Royal Engineers in the late 19th century.²⁶ From north to south, the area spans between two bodies of water, Coal Harbour and English Bay. To the west lies Stanley Park. To the east, Burrard Street marks the dividing line between the distinct grids of the West End and the downtown core (fig. 79).

While the area was first developed in the late 1880s by CP Rail as an elite neighbourhood of large manor estates, the truly wealthy soon relocated to the British “garden city” neighbourhoods of Shaunessey (established in 1909), Point Grey and, later, the British Properties in West Vancouver (1931). As these manor states were consolidated, subdivided and re-purposed, a particular geography of housing types and social class

26 That the boundaries of the West End remain largely intact shows the powerful influence of early land divisions over urban development. This phenomenon is what the British school of urban morphology refers to as a “morphological frame.”



Fig. 79. Detail of the West End, from Toronto Lithographing Co., “Panoramic View of the City of Vancouver, British Columbia” 1898.

emerged. To the north-west, closer to Stanley Park and the active industrial waterfront at Coal Harbour, a middle-class neighbourhood of single family homes developed, often requiring the West End's large manor lots to be subdivided. To the south-east, closer to downtown, the manors themselves tended to be converted into apartments (Starkins 80). In particular, the conversion of manors into rooming houses produced a large stock of low-wage rentals to the interior of the U-shaped tramline corridor along Davie, Denman and Robson streets, which separated this area from the waterfront. Along the tramline itself, purpose-built apartment buildings proliferated, the first being the Manhattan in 1906.²⁷

Over the next few decades, the area inside and along the tramline developed into a "congenial" neighbourhood of converted Edwardian houses, squat three-storey walk-ups, and gardens, a place "for the young, starting out at very low wages, and the very old, surviving on often very small pensions," for "genteel bohemians," and foreigners (Starkins 81). This ad hoc development of mixed dwelling types in the West End, as well the particular, diverse population, likely inspired HBA to focus on the neighbourhood as a site for a future, high-density district (figs. 81, 82).

The density of the residential fabric allocated to the West End in HBA's Plan is, according to Bartholomew, "greater than permitted in most cities" (231) (fig. 80). Here, the Plan permits 6-storeys, double the height limit of the next tallest residential neighbourhood. (Three-storey multiple dwelling districts are also zoned outside the downtown peninsula, by False Creek's industrial lands.) The West End's zoning regulations reduce the minimum front yard to 12 feet, from the 20 feet typical of Vancouver's single family lots. The regulations also permit dwelling units as small as 287 square feet whereas, in the 3-storey residential districts, 750 square feet per family is the minimum (227). To put these figures in context, the density regulations for HBA's more standard, 3-storey multi-family districts allow eight households on a

27 Ref: S. McKay's chart, tracking the proliferation of apartments on the tramline.

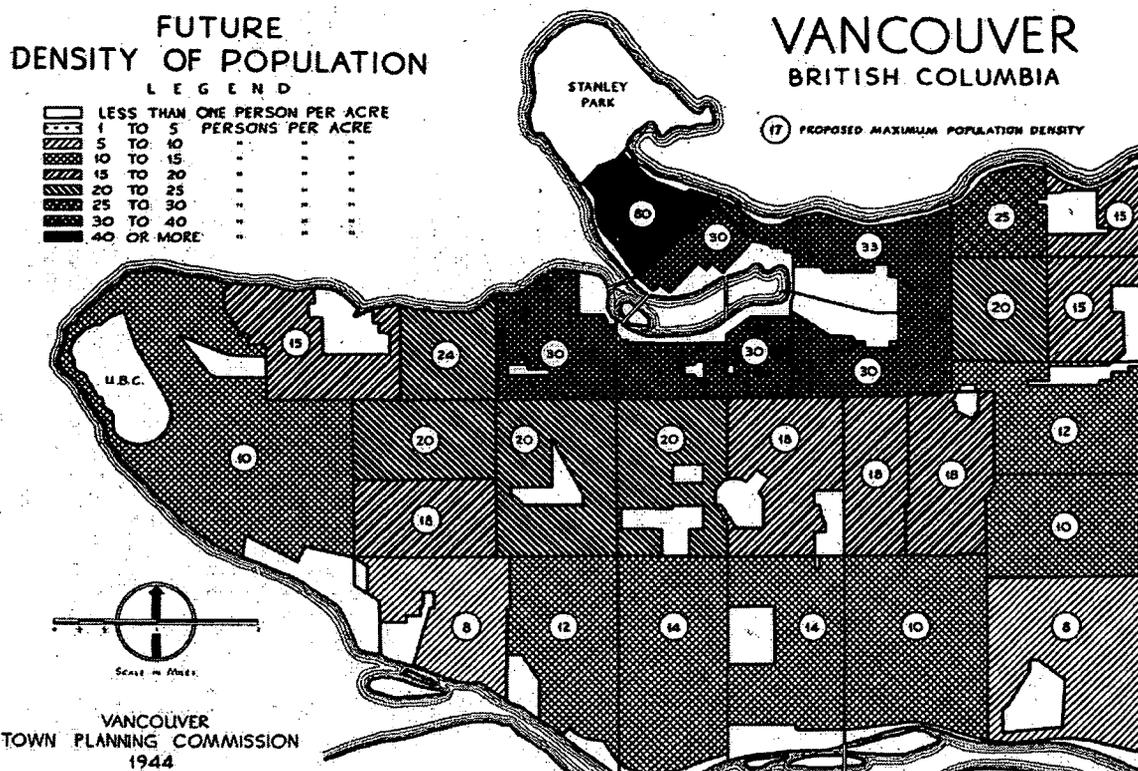


Fig. 80. Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Future Density of Population," A Plan for the City of Vancouver, 1929.

50-foot lot; the zoning for the West End permits about *thirty households* on a 66-foot lot.²⁸

HBA's Plan also allocates an exceptional level of commercial density to the West End. This allocation to the West End is striking, as Bartholomew believed that the current amount of commercial space in the General Business District was already over-generous for the city's future population of 1-million residents. The Plan, on the whole, aims to dilute commercial areas, recommending that "it is not necessary or good practice to make provision for the development with stores throughout their length" (219). In the West End, though, the "scientific and reasonable way" of determining commercial allocations was not applied. Because the amount of

²⁸ "After considerable study a special density regulation ... has been proposed for this apartment area, so that in general there will be permitted five suites per floor or thirty families in a six-storey apartment on a (standard) 66 x 131 foot lot" (HBA 231).



Fig. 81. Postcard, from BC Artifacts, “The West End, Showing English Bay and CPR Skooner leaving for Orient,” 1915.



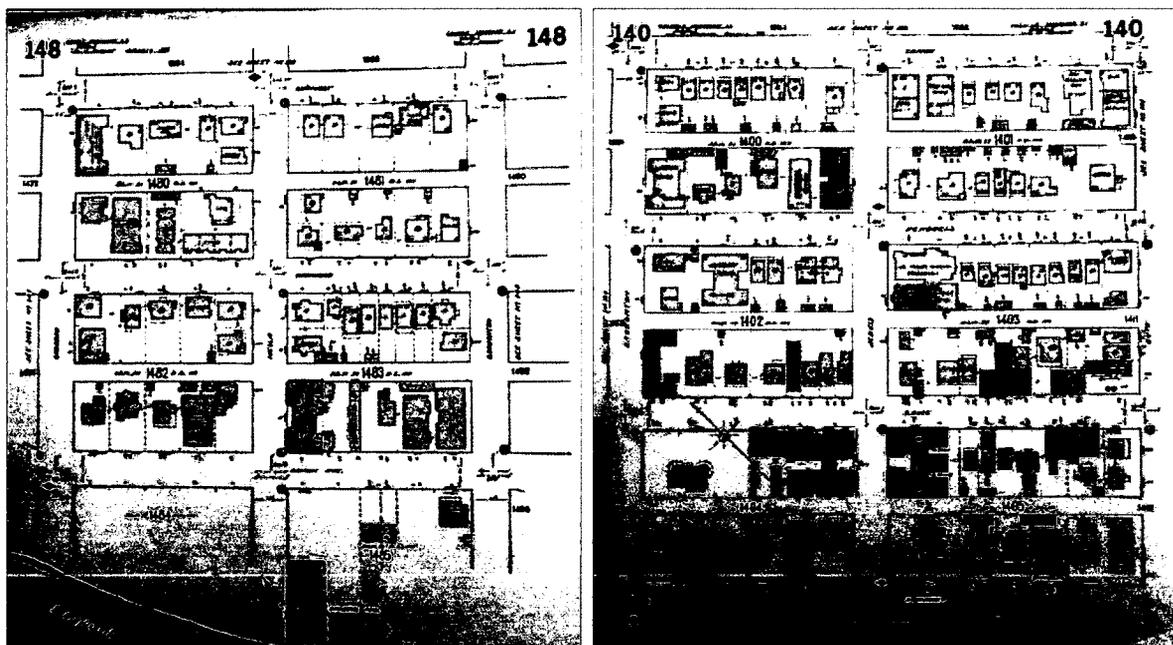
Fig. 82. View of the West End, from Vancouver Archives, Undated (1920s).

business frontage deemed “appropriate” for the West End would fall far short of the expectations of local property and business owners, “the entire frontage of Davie, Denman and Robson Streets (is) zoned as 6-storey commercial districts, although such classification is in excess of the estimated requirements of the district” (223).²⁹ The Plan thus anticipated the U-shaped tramline corridor to develop as a major commercial area, secondary only to the downtown.

3.3.2 The Making of the West End

Ultimately, while the development of the West End into a high-rise neighbourhood was enabled by zoning policies, it was not truly *planned*, in the sense that Bartholomew intended. The Fire Insurance Plans from 1955 graphically

29 “The West End presented some difficult zoning problems. It is comparatively easy to compute the expected population ... and hence the amount of business frontage can be calculated. If, however, commercial districts are restricted in this scientific and reasonable way, they do not meet with the wishes of owners of property who have anticipated certain streets as future business streets” (223, italics mine).



Figs. 83, 84. Pages from a comprehensive fire insurance survey of the West End, showing lot divisions, building footprints, and construction type, from British Columbia Underwriters' Association, Fire Insurance Plan of Vancouver B.C., 1955.

demonstrate how development trends that had begun decades earlier, such as manor conversions, had substantially altered the urban fabric, outside of any purposeful re-zoning or masterplan (fig. 83). The insurance plans show the older, regularized grain of 66- by 131- foot lots giving way to a patchwork.³⁰ They describe the ad hoc development of larger buildings on irregular, dogleg sites, formed somewhat opportunistically as lots become available for consolidation. (It is interesting to remember that the larger standard lot in the West End—itsself an amalgamation of two standard 33-foot lots from the city’s original platting into a miniature manor estate—facilitated this densification.) Marking out the use of steel and concrete, these drawings also suggest changes in construction practices as well as building size. They infer a new form and materiality for the “house”.

In 1956, City Council responded to pressure from the West End’s business

30 In the early the 20th-century, the West End had developed into a consistent urban pattern, composed of 66 x 131-foot lots, with 66-foot wide streets and 33-foot wide lanes (HBA 231).



AERIAL VIEW OF VANCOUVER, BC, SHOWING HARBOR AND STANLEY PARK.

Fig. 85. Vintage Postcards and Collections, “Aerial View of Vancouver BC, Showing Harbor and Stanley Park,” 1946.

community which, in this era of suburbanism, had been losing customers to malls outside the downtown core. The West End zoning regulations were changed to allow taller buildings and greater densities, triggering a dramatic transformation of this neighbourhood. Over the next 12 years, 220 high rises were built, several of them up to 20-storeys.³¹ This generation of buildings, constructed over a very brief time in a very small area, continues to dominate the urban fabric of the West End (figs. 85, 86).

Most of these buildings are point towers or Bauhaus-style, mid-rise buildings with strip windows and flat roofs. Most are built from concrete, rather than the wood frame construction typical of Vancouver. Their exteriors are clad in tile, stucco, or exposed concrete. Their lack of detailing, sparing design and modular structure speaks the strong influence of the International Style, paired with the economizing building practices of a developer-driven construction boom (fig. 87). The generous gardens surrounding the base of each high-rise reflects the influence of CIAM-inspired modernist architecture and urbanism of the era. But this relative spaciousness is also a particularity of Vancouver's zoning; the amount of open space required around each building was determined by a mathematical formula—a remnant of the scientific planning techniques of HBA's Plan.

Both the district imagined in HBA's Plan in 1929, and the West End as it actually developed from the 1950s to the 1970s, revised the vision of modern "Vancouver as a city of single family homes." Beyond the most evident change in building type, the neighbourhood diverges from the typical fabric of single family dwellings in many ways. Green space is provided in heavily landscaped gardens that surround the towers, rather than in private, visually open yards. A continuous U-corridor of commercial streets circumscribes the neighbourhood, as opposed to the occasional grocer at street intersections. The public realm of streets and sidewalks

31 "West End: History and Heritage," (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 2008). Accessed Aug 5 2009. http://vancouver.ca/community_profiles/west_end/history.htm.



Fig. 86. View of the West End, showing fabric of detached houses, from Fred Herzog, "West End from Burrard Street," 1957.



Fig. 87. Similar view, showing office buildings and apartment blocks, from Vancouver Archives, Undated (early 1970s).

are oriented externally, that is, towards distant views, rather than internally, towards front yards and porches. I've suggested that, in Vancouver, the West End helped to displace the detached family dwelling on its individual lot as the natural model of the "house". Yet the residential building nonetheless remains the dominant component of this alternative city model.

3.3.3 Remediating the Neighbourhood: Planning and Design Guidelines

By the end of the construction boom in the late 1960s, public perception of the West End was quite negative, in part, because it was seen to lack certain components of a "complete" district. The West End had densified very rapidly, largely without the construction of amenities, such as green spaces, schools, or community buildings. What is interesting to me is that the public's concerns suggest that other problems in the emerging high-rise neighbourhood were truly *morphological*. According to a



Fig. 88. View of residential high rises, from Vancouver Archives, "West of Denman," Undated (early 1970s).

1969 study by the City of Vancouver Department of Social Planning and Community Development,

it was a concern of many (residents)...that the West End was quickly becoming a concrete jungle... Many felt that all development in the area should cease until adequate community facilities ... and a comprehensive physical and social plan for the area were developed. (Patillo 11)

The ad hoc development of the West End was perceived to have damaged the older fabric of buildings, open spaces and views in the West End, as “the random location of apartment blocks has limited the attainment of desirable standards of light, sunlight, view, appearance, site development and the spatial relationship of buildings to each other” (10). The configuration of major streets, blocks and residential and commercial fabrics was also problematic. The width and directness of the interior residential streets, laid out in a grid pattern, allowed them to be used as arterials between the central business district and the West End’s U-shaped commercial corridor. The streets also lacked landscaping, lighting, furniture and other features of typical residential streets, contributing to a “concrete” and “alienating” environment (19).

Pressure from the new residents’ association and public perceptions about the neighbourhood’s decline spurred the City to take a more hands-on approach to the West End’s development. The City quickly approved the development of a new community centre and added landscaping and traffic-calming roundabouts to the streets (*ref*). But they then introduced measures to recalibrate the urban fabric through subtle, formal changes that could be realized over the long term. In 1972, a team composed of members of the City’s Planning Department, Social Planning Department and Engineering Department created the “West End Urban Design Guidelines.” In the future developments, “height, use, density (and) parking requirements” would be determined by the City Planning Department while all other

details, including “building materials, open space, light angles, appropriate line set backs” would be negotiated within the context of the urban design guidelines (City 1972:1). The guidelines recommended, for example, that future buildings be stepped to follow the natural slope of the streets, and that towers be set back from the north-south streets to improve views – first steps towards Vancouver’s unique policies around view corridors.

The remediation of the West End signals a new level of attention, on the part of Vancouver’s city-makers, to the relationships between buildings and open spaces; between a house and the sidewalk and street; and between a neighbourhood and adjacent commercial, industrial and business districts. These relationships are assumed to be critical to the viability of the urban structure, and produce a so-called “livable” city. Most importantly, the West End design guidelines signal a shift from the city’s brief *laissez-faire* period of growth, back towards a more modernist planning approach, in which urban development is controlled according an *a priori* vision. In later housing developments in the False Creek basin, the site of my primary case studies, the City’s approach to planning and urban development would become increasingly “hands-on.”

3.3.4 The West End as a City Model

The reason that I’ve discussed the West End at some length is that I believe its development in the 1950s and 60s opened the door to an alternative model of Vancouver as a modern, North American city. This model is starkly different from the paradigmatic mid-century American city of concentric suburban rings around a dense commercial centre. The city form suggested by the West End is denser and taller, not just in its commercial centre, but in also in residential neighbourhoods and around the city’s major parks and green spaces. Many of its open spaces are private

“display” gardens that frame the residential towers. Generous, landscaped street corridors comprise a large part of its public realm. This public realm is organized around views down the length of its orthogonal streets, rather than around more intimate spaces within blocks. In this model of the city, an interest in preserving and dramatizing views of the city’s natural setting grows in tandem with densification and increasing building heights.

This city also has a different social, as well as morphological structure than the archetypical North American city model. The single family dwelling is no longer the dominant house; the 4- or 5-member nuclear family is no longer the dominant household. The city model assumes a more transient population, composed mainly of smaller, 1- to 3-person households.³² This population, employed in commerce and service industries, prioritizes close proximity to the central business district and local shopping areas. The blue-collar base of this economy loses visibility as industries and their labour forces move to outlying areas (Patillo 11).

I pointed earlier to a discord between the highly rational, progressive modern city that HBA intended to summon through its *Plan for Vancouver*, and the traditional single family house that is assumed to be its base unit. What I want to emphasize is the emerging multi-family housing types in the West End—although an anomaly in the Plan—may in fact better align with Bartholmew’s city model. Arguably, residential high-rises such as those in the West End are better fitted, formally and ideologically, to the street system, infrastructures, and zoned districts in HBA’s vision. They are denser, more productive and efficient (at least in terms of land use), and are historically linked to a rationalist urban and architectural paradigm.

The West End signals an important shift in the city’s development. In the

32 Patillo’s 1969 sociological study quantitatively shows a shift towards smaller households in the West End, that is, a greater proportion of dwelling units became bachelors and 1-bedroom, with households of 1 to 3 people (21).

1960s, Vancouver's growing population and emergent post-industrial economy would pressure the City to create new residential districts. This housing demand could not be satisfied by leap-frogging suburbs as, unlike many North American cities, a system of intra-urban freeways was not built here. (The natural topography of the metropolitan region, hemmed by mountains and oceanfront, also inhibited sprawl.) So the demands for housing, employment, services and recreation bore down on the city centre. The perceived successes and failures of the West End would strongly influence the City of Vancouver's approach to redeveloping the downtown.

3.4 False Creek's New Neighbourhoods: The West End as Precedent

I've argued that phases of ad hoc development and formal planning in the West End both helped to destabilize the single family dwelling as the *de facto* house. The converted manors, walk-ups, slab buildings and International-style towers introduced a variety of building types. Later, with the introduction of design guidelines, the West End served as a ground to experiment with modulating the urban structure, including the configuration of streets, buildings, green spaces and views, towards creating a good neighbourhood, as well as proper housing. In fact, it was in this period that the term "livability" was introduced to Vancouver's Planning vocabulary.³³

In the next chapters of this dissertation, I will look at two inner-city, master-planned residential districts that show how Vancouver's experimentation with housing and urban form has unfolded. Notably, these districts refer to the West End, both as a model and counter-model.

The first site, South False Creek (1976-1986), was developed under the

³³ An early use of the term "livability" in Vancouver (and, in fact, the term was applied to the greater regional district) was in the late 1960s, by Harry Lash, Director of Planning for the GVRD. The concept was later formalized in the first "Livable Region Proposal" in 1976. See Vanessa Timmer and Dr. Nola-Kate Seymour, "The Livable City," 2006.

direction of the City of Vancouver. Declaring in its Official Development Plan that this new district should *not* be like the West End, the City adopted a strong ideological stance with regards to what comprises a good city. Its position was explicit: certain spatial patterns and forms of housing better support the emergence of healthy, pleasurable, and complete communities; other building forms, such as the West End's high-rises, do not.

South False Creek was built overtop of former industrial lands along a 52-acre stretch of the south bank of False Creek. The planners and architects of South False Creek rejected many of the ideals of the modern city that were manifest in the West End and deliberately sought alternative building types and spatial patterns. The housing development, which accommodates about 1600 residents in row-houses, garden apartments and mid-rise buildings, deliberately excluded point towers and slab buildings. Public and shared resident amenities were integrated into the district from the onset. Rejecting the dominance of the car and the street grid in the modern city, South False Creek was designed around pedestrian-oriented paths, in a setting of public gardens.

Only a few years later, in the late 1980s, the West End was used as a positive precedent for a new district on the opposite shore of False Creek. By then, the socio-political and economic climate in Vancouver had shifted. The West End, as well, had matured into a leafy, socially-mixed and desirable neighbourhood.³⁴ It had proved to be well-suited to Vancouver's demographic trend towards smaller-households of new-comers from across Canada, and immigrants from the "entrepreneurial classes" of Europe and the Pacific Rim. Unsurprisingly, the series of development proposals for False Creek North positioned the West End's residential high-rises as a familiar, local

34 Patillo 1969, xx.

house model.³⁵ (In fact, Concord Pacific, the developer that ultimately constructed False Creek North, built its first project in the West End, using this district as a testing ground for its development pursuits.³⁶)

The first phase of the False Creek North development, Concord Pacific Place, is, at 166-acres, only three times larger than the first phase of the South False Creek development. But, with a projected population of 20 000 residents, its population is 12.5 times greater (Montgomery 46). Carrying lessons from the West End's "retro-active" design guidelines, the city planners ensured that this density would be paired, from the outset, with green space, waterfront access, and views. But while the West End was reclaimed as a positive model for False Creek North, aspects of South False Creek were rejected. For example, the City insisted that False Creek North should be integrated into surrounding areas, particularly the central business district, and reclaimed the city grid as a primary ordering device and a "robust, flexible framework" for urban growth.³⁷

These two sites, sitting on opposite shores of False Creek, were described by their various creators (including the City planners, developers, designers, and residents' groups) as "complete" urban communities.³⁸ Moreover, they were both conceptualized as microcosms of the city as a whole. The differences between the two (formal, social, ideological) show that the relationship between a house model and city imaginary is a fluctuating one. Nonetheless, in this chapter I've aimed to illustrate that this house-city relationship is always embedded in the material, morphological and imaginative structures of the city. In some periods, the house-

35 See, for example, Marathon Realty Co. Ltd., "False Creek Housing: A Development Proposal for the North Side of False Creek," 1974.

36 Ref.

37 City of Vancouver, Vancouver's Urban Design: A Decade of Achievements. Vancouver: City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1999.

38 Ibid.

city relationship appears organic or natural, as was the case in HBA's study of Vancouver's historic and future development. At other times, the "house" is taken up as a specific object of inquiry. During the master-planning of the False Creek basin, experimentation with alternative housing types is purposefully linked to a re-invention of the city.

Chapter 3, Part B
Maps of Vancouver: Representations of an Urban Imaginary (*Visual Study*)



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This unconventional view places south at the top of the page. In effect, the industrial ports given a more prominent position in the foreground (3), and the active industrial lands around False Creek occupy the centre of the view (4). A vignette of False Creek, bottom-left, emphasizes the importance of industry to the representation of the city (5).



Fig. 90. “Panoramic View,” Detail of False Creek.

The industrial lands are idealized, with neat, compact factories set in a swath of green.

Dense forests are portrayed as buffering the industrial zone from the residential and downtown fabrics.

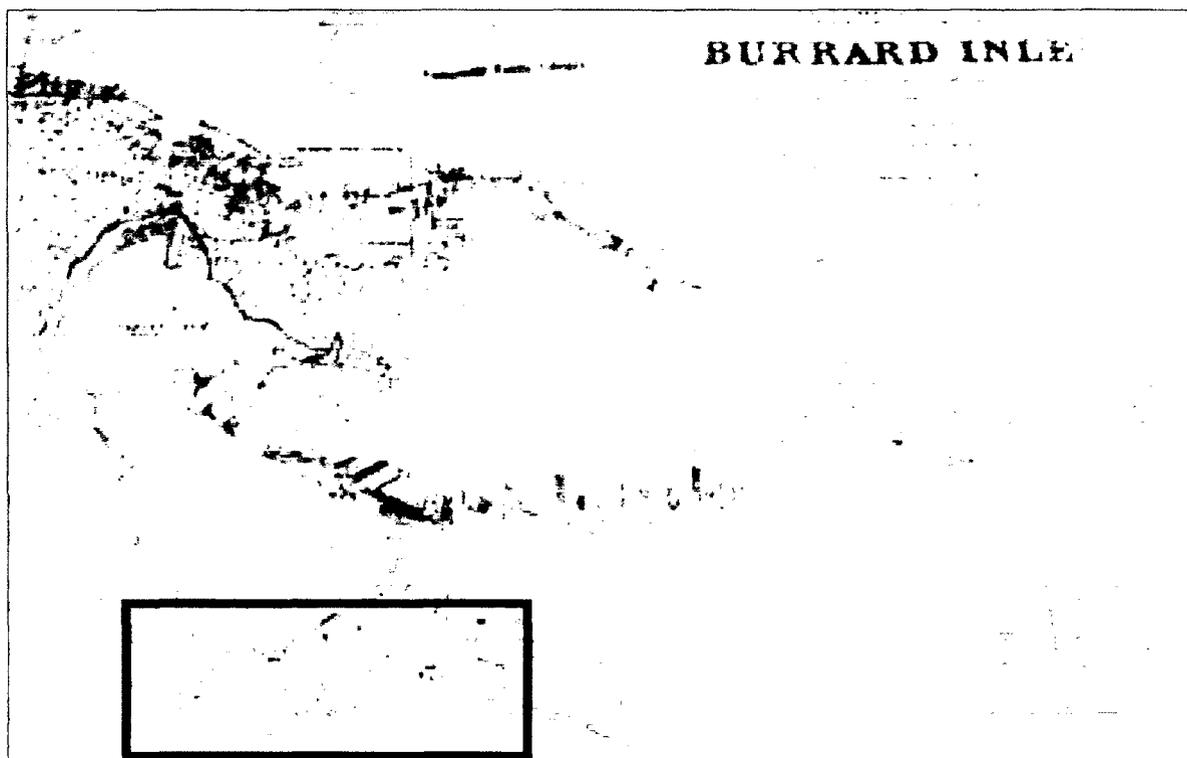


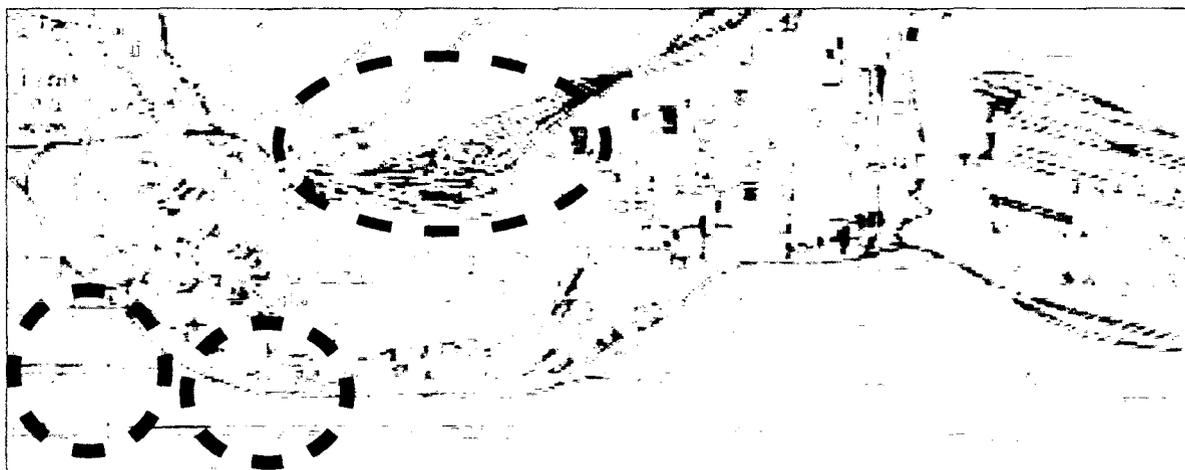
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This marine map provides an empirically accurate depiction of the water basin and shoreline of False Creek, providing a detailed survey of the industrial docks. The representation of the urban fabric, however, is less exact.

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The relationship between the railway and the city grid is ambiguous. Streets break off on either side of the rail lines or, at times, appear to merge with them (1). Some rail lines also drift off indeterminately (2).

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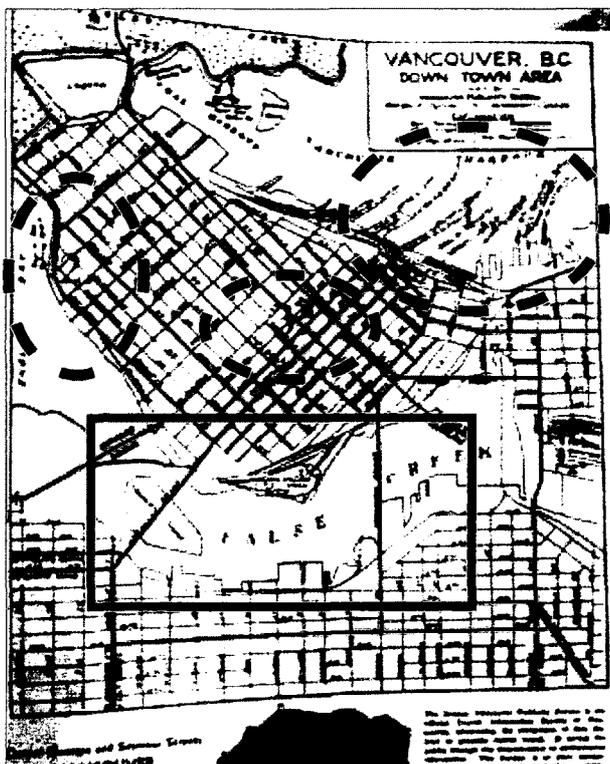


Fig. 93. Map 3, Vancouver Publicity Bureau, "Vancouver, BC Down Town Area," 1930.

This tourist map is published concurrently with the previous marine survey. Foreign shipping routes from the Burrard Inlet are drawn as lines extending from the port, and appear to extend of the city's territory (1).

In the West End, the street grid extends, inaccurately, to the water's edge, without any intervening beaches or park space (2). This representation suggests that, apart from English Bay, the waterfront of Vancouver does not yet figure sharply in the public imagination of the city.

The street hierarchy shows the clear influence of HBA's transportation plan; bold lines indicate arterials, bridges and main commercial streets (3).

Fig. 94. "Down Town Area," Detail of False Creek.

This tourist map, which gives a general impression of a natural shoreline along the north of False Creek and a series of industrial docks along the south, might have borrowed information from the marine survey (4, 5). Similar (although fewer) rail lines are shown around the C.P.R. roundhouse terminus on the north shore (6). This map shows a similarly ambiguous relationship between the industrial lands and the city grid; streets and rail lines extend to the shore; one line ends abruptly in the water (7).



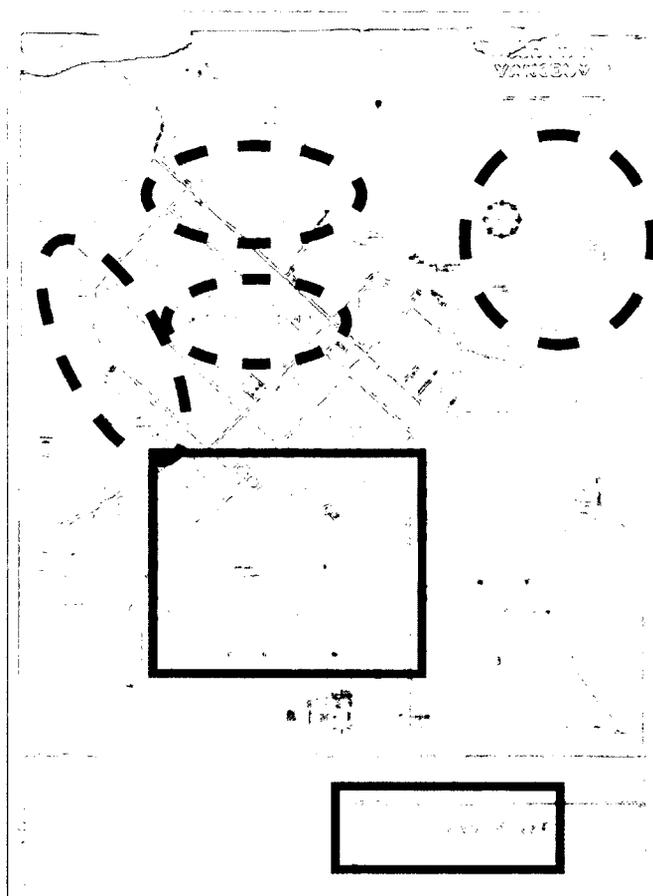


Fig. 95. Map 4, Shell, "Downtown Vancouver," 1959.

This tourist map suggests the growing prominence of the West End at the end of the 1950s, when the neighbourhood's construction boom was well underway. The "West End" label extends well into the downtown, while the downtown is not labeled at all (1). More beaches and park space appear along the waterfront to the southwest of the West End (2).

Lines of major shipping routes from the Burrard Inlet, as well as a string of piers along Coal Harbour, portray the northern edge of the peninsula as the city's true industrial zone, and "Canada's Gateway to the Pacific" (3, 4). In contrast to these shorelines, the False Creek basin is scantily detailed.

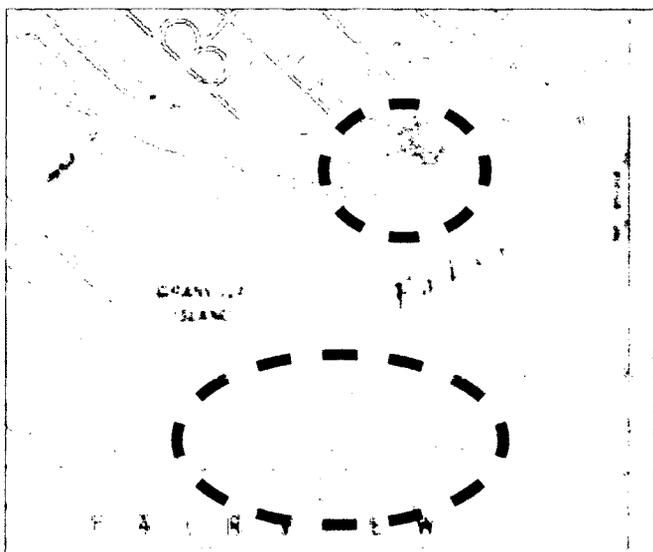
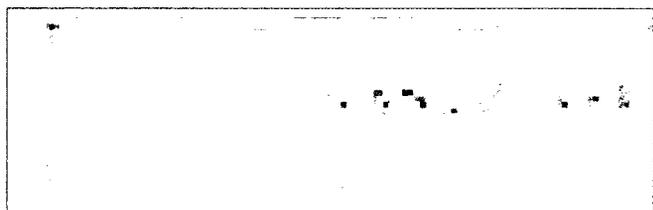
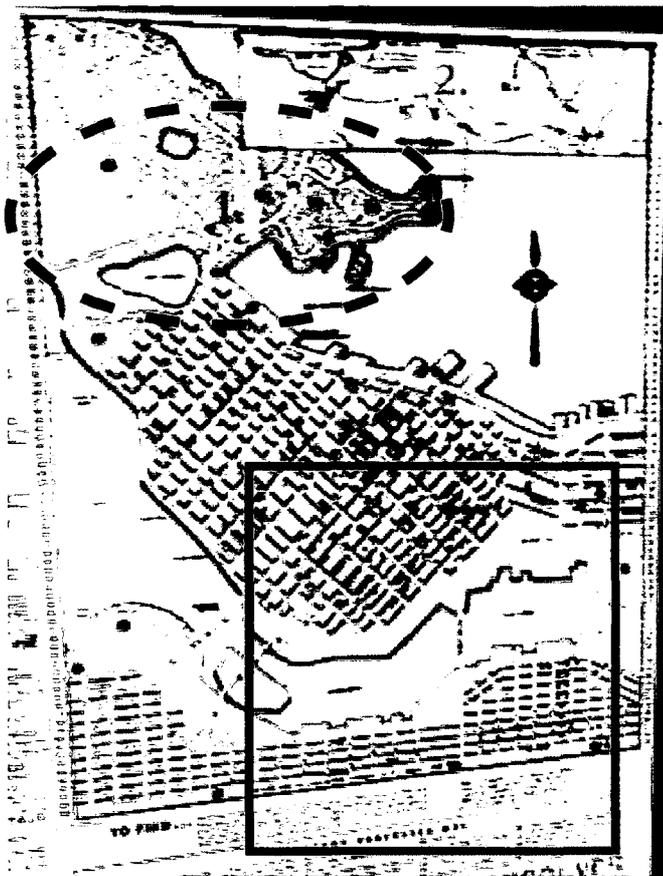


Fig. 96. "Downtown Vancouver," Detail of False Creek.

Similarly the 1930 Down Town Area tourist map (previous page), the changing shorelines to the north and south of False Creek are carefully surveyed (5). The roundhouse is shown as one of very few notable buildings in the downtown (6).

The street grid, though, is now shown as completely detached from the False Creek lands, cut off at the railway (7).

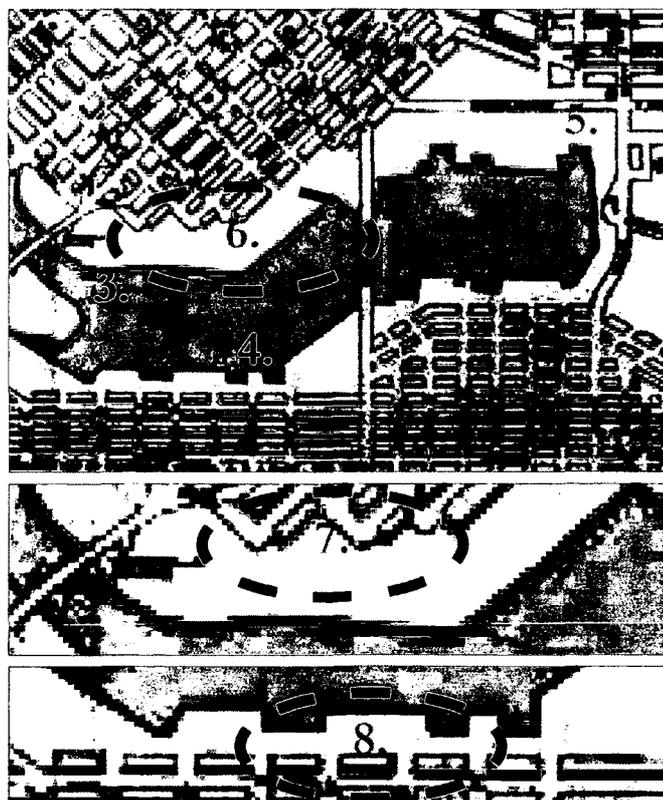
Fig. 97. Map 5, Easi-find Map of Vancouver, P.J. Mack, "Once in a World, A City Like Vancouver," 1970.



This tourist map shows Stanley Park as very prominent feature, almost equal in size and features (indicated by numbers) as the downtown (1). The vignette in the upper right shows the connection between the downtown peninsula to West Vancouver and North Vancouver, by way of the Lion's Gate Bridge (built in 19xx) (2). British Properties in West Vancouver have increasing status.

The lands around False Creek, by contrast, appear completely blank.

Fig. 98. "Once in a World," Detail of False Creek.



The edges of the shores have been simplified and regularized; the south shoreline is drawn without bays and docks (3,4). The extent of the water basin is reduced; for example, the arm of water that extended to the Georgia Viaduct is omitted (5).

No rail lines are shown; nor is the CPR Round House (6).

The relationship between the False Creek lands and the city fabric is notable. On the north shore, the edge of the street marks this boundary (7). On the south shore, no line is drawn, and the street grid merges into the white space of the basin (8).

The south side of False Creek is also very compressed.

Fig. 99. Map 6, City of Vancouver, "Vancouver Capriccio," 1975.

This tourist map was published in the same year that the first phase of False Creek South was completed. Vancouver is represented as an eclectic collection of buildings set in a lush gardenscape.

The perspective places the west side of the downtown in the foreground; the historic downtown in the east side recedes in the top right (1).

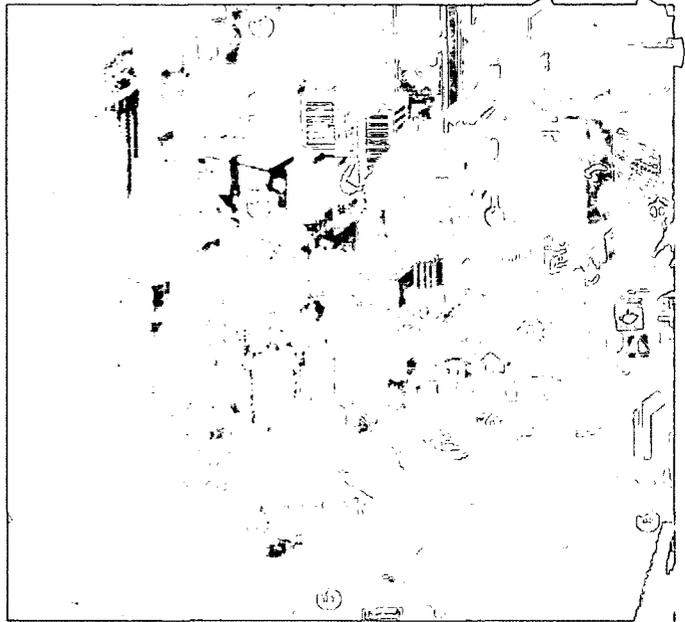


Fig. 100. "Capriccio," Detail.

The industrial north bank of False Creek is not shown at all; instead, key features of the downtown are transposed to the shoreline (2).

False Creek South is shown as a lush green space. No residential buildings appear. The area is labelled "Destination Park" (3). An old man with a walking stick is heading off for a mountain hike (4). A mix of single family homes and modernist office towers are shown in Fairview Heights, immediately to the south of False Creek South (5).

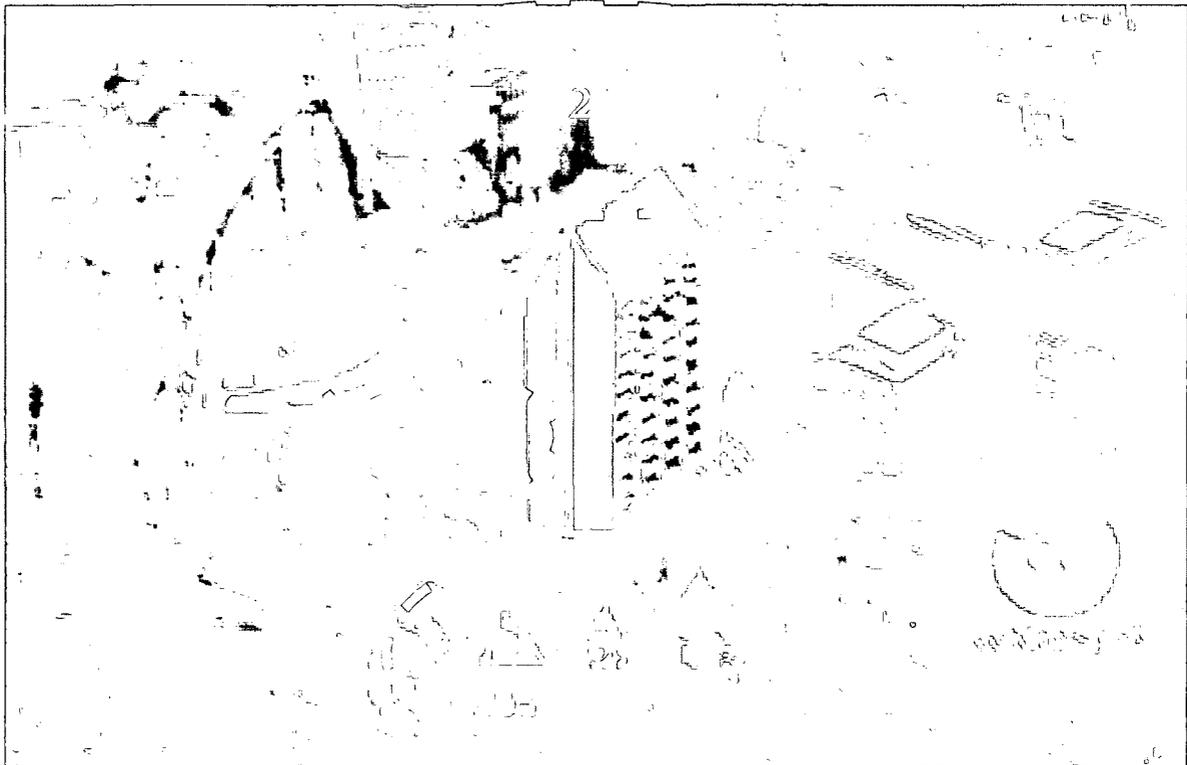


Fig. 101. Map 7, City of Vancouver, “Cityscape: A Map of Downtown Vancouver”, 1981.

This tourist map was published in 1981, when the first phases of the False Creek South were completed, and one year after CPR sold False Creek North to the Province of BC.

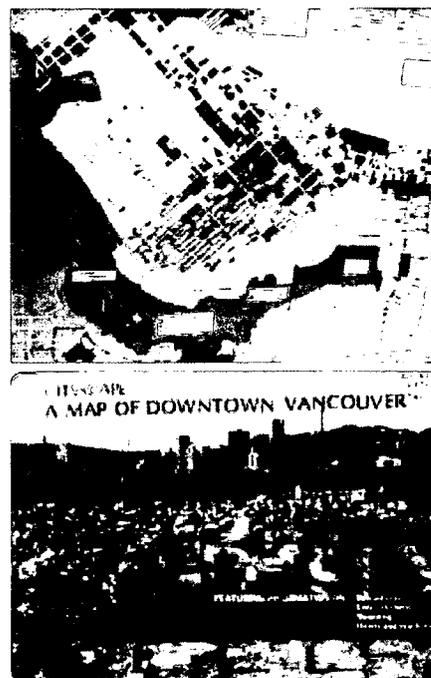


Fig. 102. “Cityscape,” Front cover.

The cover shot is a view of the downtown from False Creek South. The cobblestone paving locates this vantage point in the Heather neighbourhood.

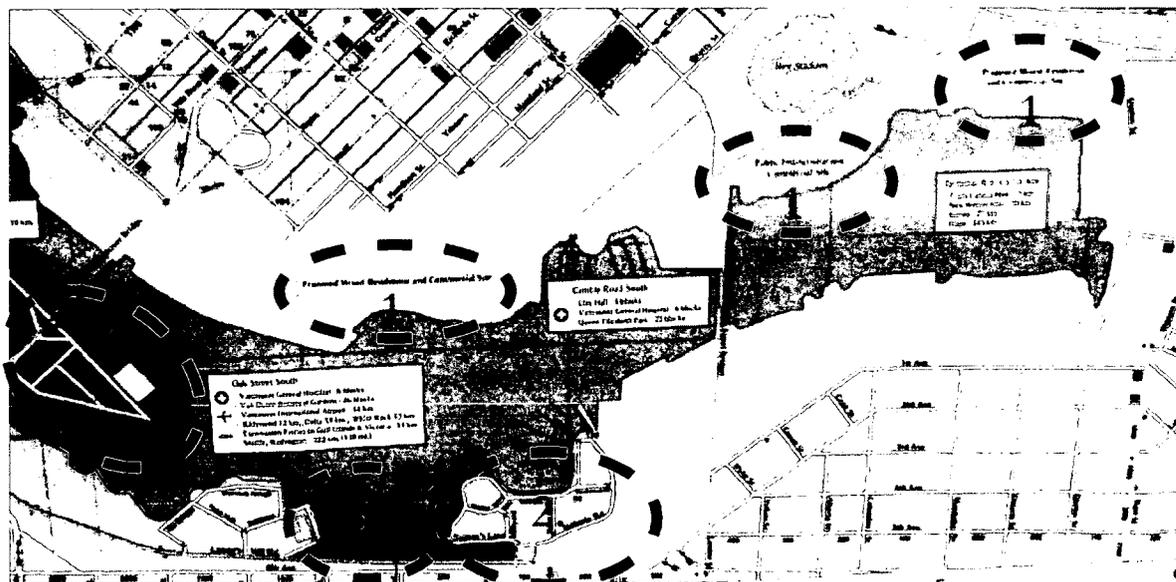
This vantage point uses the False Creek South marina to obscure the False Creek North industrial lands, which were not yet redeveloped.

Fig. 103. “Cityscape,” Detail of False Creek.

False Creek North is hatched over. “What is there” is literally covered over, in order to point out an important new site for the city’s future. Very odd for a tourist map are the labels of different zoning sites: “Proposed Mixed Residential and Commercial Site” and “Public Institutional and Commercial Site” (1).

In False Creek South, on the other hand, every private lane is drawn and named, with the same weighting as the urban street grid (2). The new seawall promenade and walking trails in Charleson Park (in reality, no more than dirt paths) are drawn in black (3).

Granville Island, recently developed with a public market, shops, and cultural facilities, is green. In fact, the island has an industrial aesthetic, with more ware-house style buildings and paved roads than gardens (4).



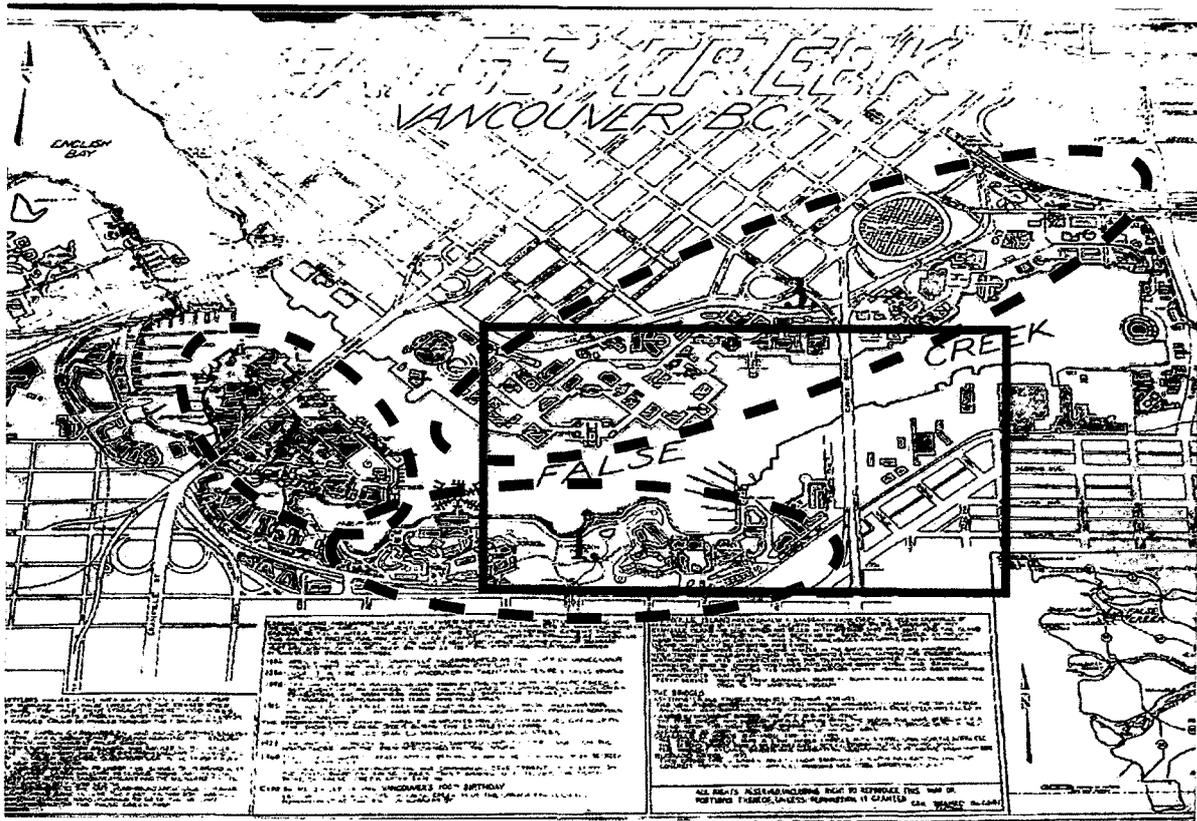


Fig. 104. Map 8, Vancouver Archives, "False Creek, Vancouver BC," 1986.

This map, produced for Expo '86 and Vancouver's 100th birthday, marks the re-entry of False Creek into the city imaginary. Residential buildings in False Creek South (1) are hatched, similarly to the new public market on Granville Island (2) and the pavilions in the Expo '86 site (3). This is particularly striking as, in the rest of the downtown, only block outlines are indicated. False Creek South is depicted as an integral part of the public realm that international visitors are invited to explore.

"1968", the year that the City consolidated 92-acres of False Creek South, is noted as one of the pivotal moments in False Creek's 100-year history.

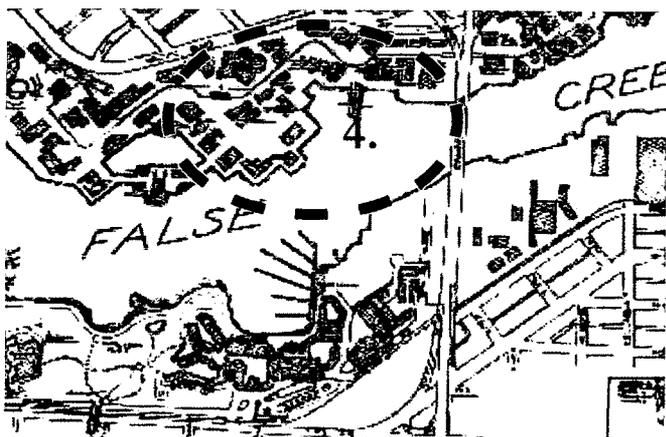


Fig. 105. "False Creek," Detail.

The north shoreline of the basin has been modified for the Expo '86 pavilions. This new shoreline will be retained in the later redevelopment of Concord Pacific Place (4).

Fig. 106. Map 9, Vancouver and Whistler Illustrated Publishing, "Downtown Vancouver," 2006.

The downtown is marked out into several distinct neighbourhoods: Entertainment district, Davie Village, Yaletown, Chinatown, and Gastown. The new Concord Pacific Place and Granville Slopes neighbourhoods on the north shore are in the foreground in most recent tourist maps of Vancouver, as they are here. South False Creek is often cut out of the frame.

The False Creek waterfront shoreline is the facade of the city, rendered with green spaces, beaches, and residential towers. (By contrast, the landlocked areas in the West End and Yaletown are a simple grid. (1)) The buildings in False Creek South are not drawn.

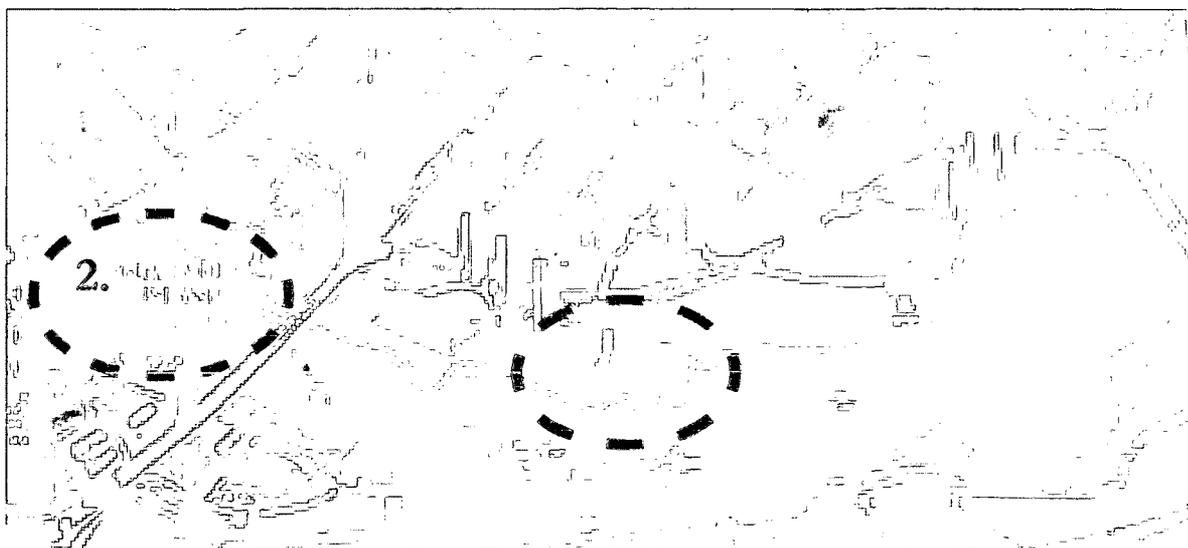
Cantonese labels (for neighbourhoods, street names, and ads) are now standard on official tourist maps, suggested the importance of this language community to the city (2).



Fig. 107. "Vancouver and Whistler," Detail of False Creek.

In 2006, the new Concord Pacific Place district was more built out than this map suggests. Landmark podium-tower projects between the street and Seawall, such as Aquarius and Crestmark (2000), are omitted.

The blank space (in yellow) between Concord Pacific Place's parks and Seawall suggest that this district and has not yet been fully absorbed into the city's public realm (3).



Chapter 4

Case Study: South False Creek

4.0 Introduction to Case Studies: South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place

South False Creek (1976-1986) and Concord Pacific Place (1990-2000) are two master-planned residential developments that straddle the south and north banks of Vancouver's False Creek (fig. 108). This chapter, together with Chapter 5, provides a historical overview of the redevelopment of the False Creek basin: how the former industrial lands became available for redevelopment; why they were developed as residential districts; and how the two mega-projects were executed. Despite their common beginning, the construction of these two sites was separated by twenty years, and so responded to different social, political and economic climates. Most critical to this study, though, is how the two projects posit alternative built forms, each intended to express Vancouver's urban imaginary.

The South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place developments can be seen as idealizations of Vancouver and, I suggest, as partial models of an ideal city. I call them "partial" models as the districts were intended to become part of the surrounding city, rather than stand as autonomous "new towns." Yet they are not typical neighbourhoods. They are exemplary districts that are, in part, products of the City of Vancouver's ambitious experimentation with housing models, public spaces, and planning approaches. Although they occupy relatively small sites in the metropolitan region, the projects reach beyond their boundaries. Concord Pacific Place, for example, was designed to hem in the central business district and re-sculpt the city's skyline. Both projects set benchmarks, as examples of mixed-use, inner-city revitalization strategies. They stake ideological claims as to what constitutes a good—or, in Vancouver's lexicon, a "livable"—city.

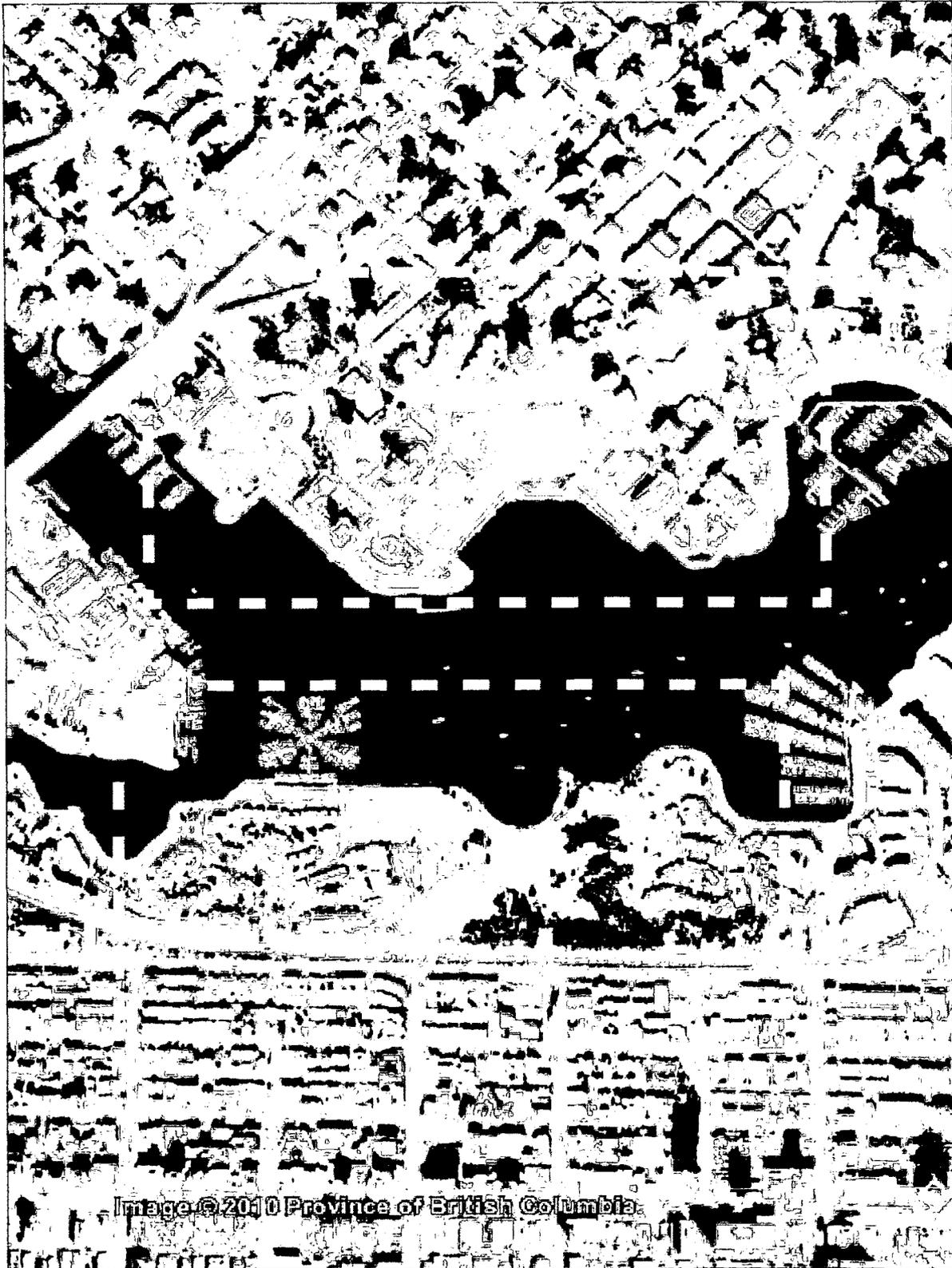


Fig. 108. Aerial of False Creek, indicating north shore site (Concord Pacific Place) and south shore site (South False Creek). Province of British Columbia, 30 Jun 2010.

Chapter 3, Part B
 Maps of Vancouver: Representations of an Urban Imaginary (*Visual Study*)



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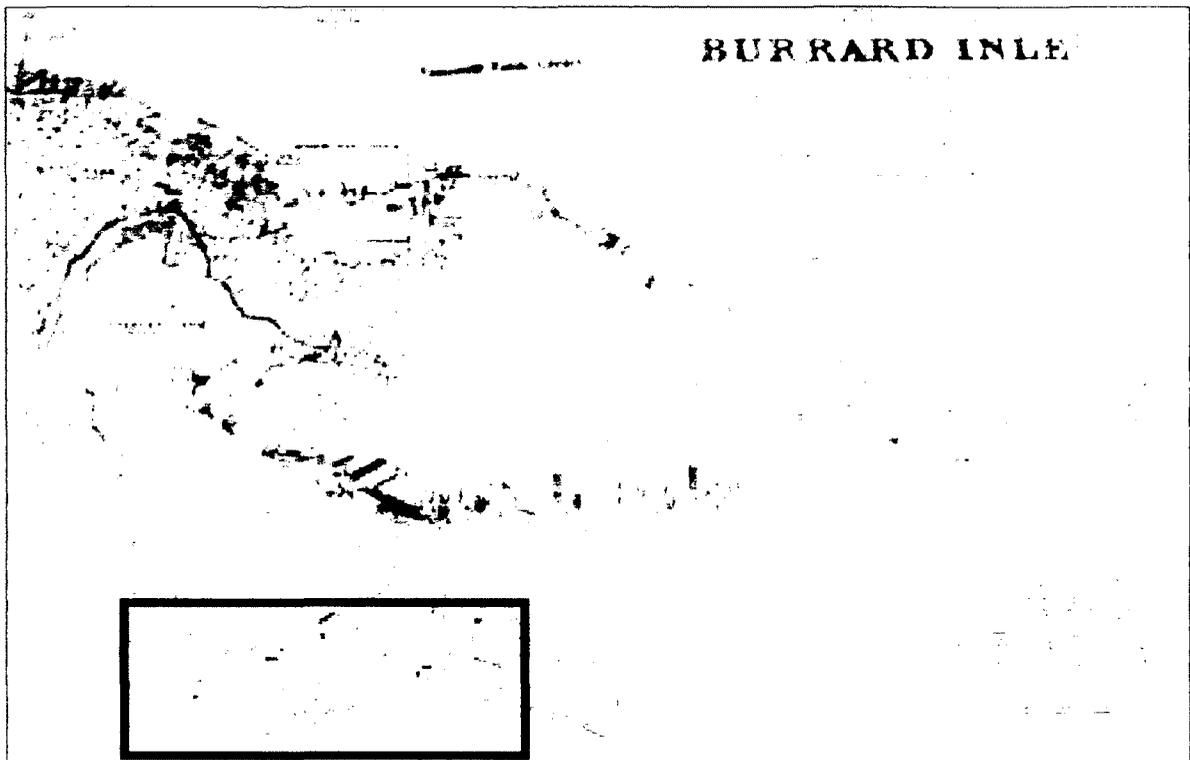


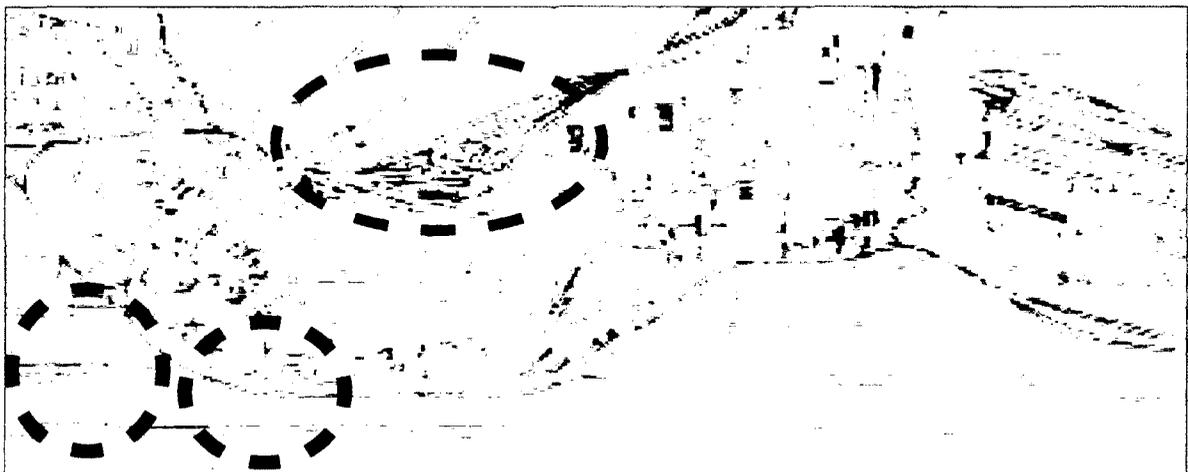
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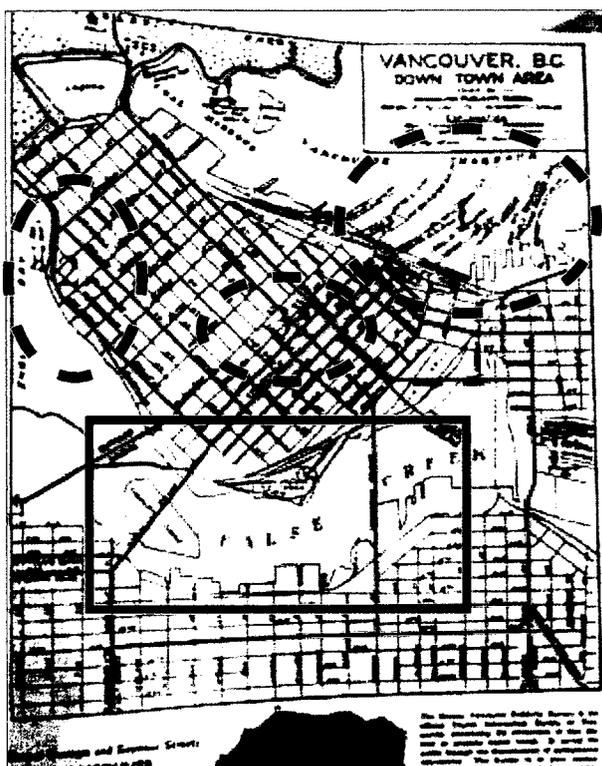


Fig. 93. Map 3, Vancouver Publicity Bureau, "Vancouver, BC Down Town Area," 1930.

This tourist map is published concurrently with the previous marine survey. Foreign shipping routes from the Burrard Inlet are drawn as lines extending from the port, and appear to extend of the city's territory (1).

In the West End, the street grid extends, inaccurately, to the water's edge, without any intervening beaches or park space (2). This representation suggests that, apart from English Bay, the waterfront of Vancouver does not yet figure sharply in the public imagination of the city.

The street hierarchy shows the clear influence of HBA's transportation plan; bold lines indicate arterials, bridges and main commercial streets (3).

Fig. 94. "Down Town Area," Detail of False Creek.

This tourist map, which gives a general impression of a natural shoreline along the north of False Creek and a series of industrial docks along the south, might have borrowed information from the marine survey (4, 5). Similar (although fewer) rail lines are shown around the C.P.R. roundhouse terminus on the north shore (6). This map shows a similarly ambiguous relationship between the industrial lands and the city grid; streets and rail lines extend to the shore; one line ends abruptly in the water (7).

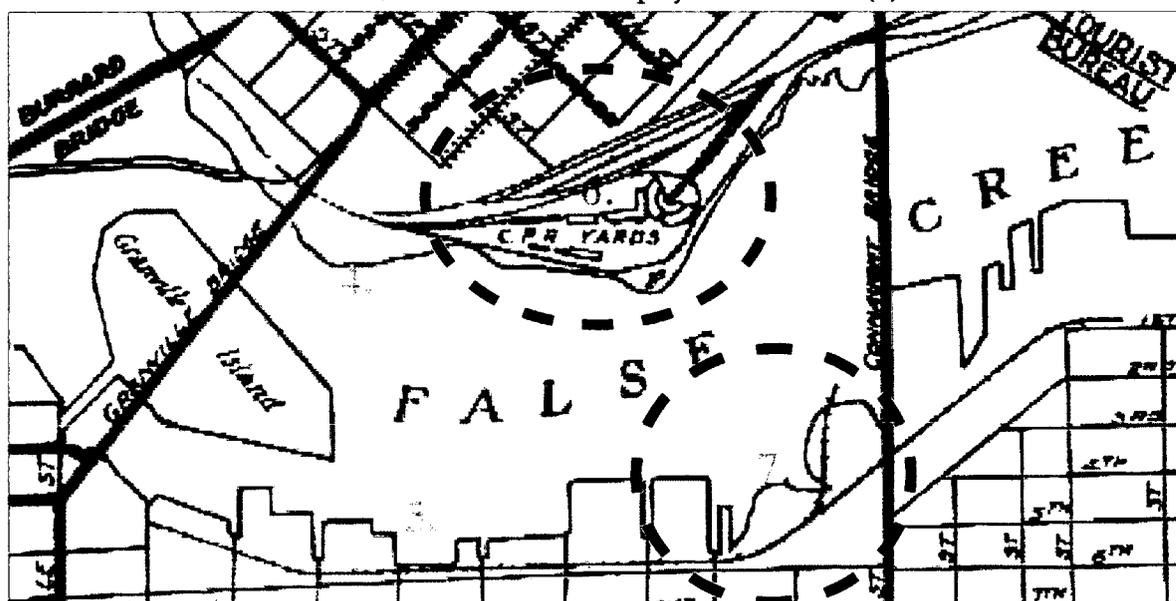




Fig. 95. Map 4, Shell, "Downtown Vancouver," 1959.

This tourist map suggests the growing prominence of the West End at the end of the 1950s, when the neighbourhood's construction boom was well underway. The "West End" label extends well into the downtown, while the downtown is not labeled at all (1). More beaches and park space appear along the waterfront to the southwest of the West End (2).

Lines of major shipping routes from the Burrard Inlet, as well as a string of piers along Coal Harbour, portray the northern edge of the peninsula as the city's true industrial zone, and "Canada's Gateway to the Pacific" (3, 4). In contrast to these shorelines, the False Creek basin is scantily detailed.

Fig. 96. "Downtown Vancouver," Detail of False Creek.

Similarly the 1930 Down Town Area tourist map (previous page), the changing shorelines to the north and south of False Creek are carefully surveyed (5). The roundhouse is shown as one of very few notable buildings in the downtown (6).

The street grid, though, is now shown as completely detached from the False Creek lands, cut off at the railway (7).

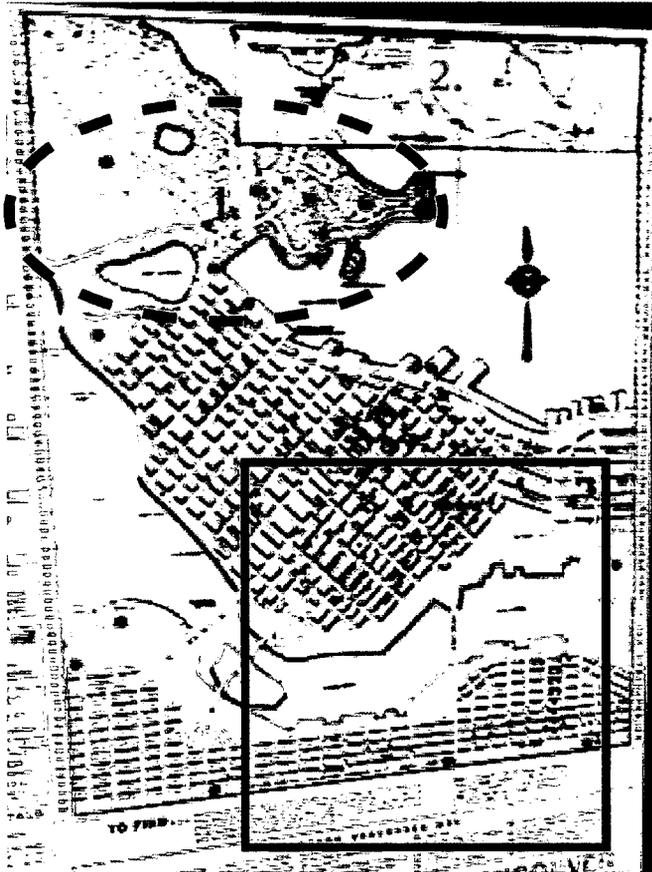


Fig. 97. Map 5, Easi-find Map of Vancouver, P.J. Mack, "Once in a World, A City Like Vancouver," 1970.

This tourist map shows Stanley Park as very prominent feature, almost equal in size and features (indicated by numbers) as the downtown (1). The vignette in the upper right shows the connection between the downtown peninsula to West Vancouver and North Vancouver, by way of the Lion's Gate Bridge (built in 19xx) (2). British Properties in West Vancouver have increasing status.

The lands around False Creek, by contrast, appear completely blank.

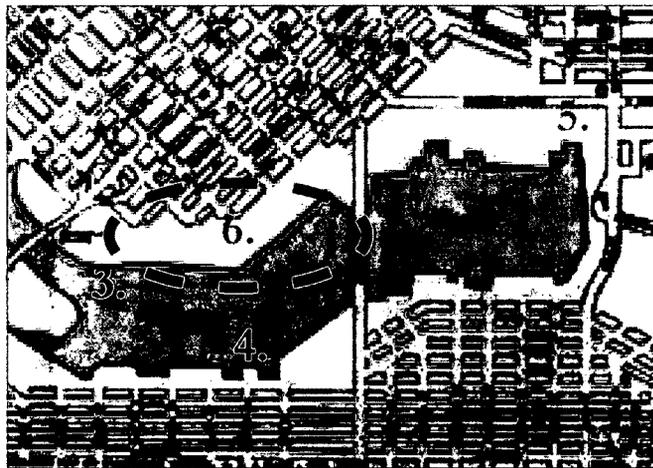
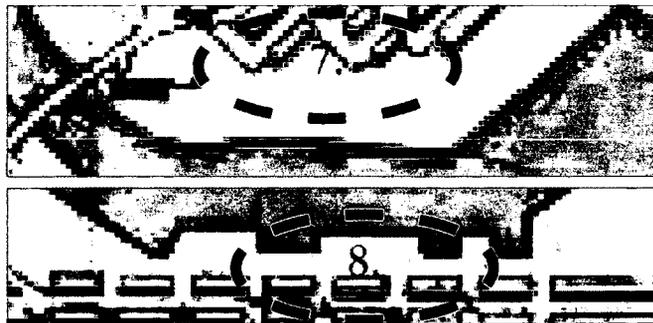


Fig. 98. "Once in a World," Detail of False Creek.

The edges of the shores have been simplified and regularized; the south shoreline is drawn without bays and docks (3,4). The extent of the water basin is reduced; for example, the arm of water that extended to the Georgia Viaduct is omitted (5).

No rail lines are shown; nor is the CPR Round House (6).



The relationship between the False Creek lands and the city fabric is notable. On the north shore, the edge of the street marks this boundary (7). On the south shore, no line is drawn, and the street grid merges into the white space of the basin (8).

The south side of False Creek is also very compressed.

Fig. 99. Map 6, City of Vancouver, "Vancouver Capriccio," 1975.

This tourist map was published in the same year that the first phase of False Creek South was completed. Vancouver is represented as an eclectic collection of buildings set in a lush gardenscape.

The perspective places the west side of the downtown in the foreground; the historic downtown in the east side recedes in the top right (1).

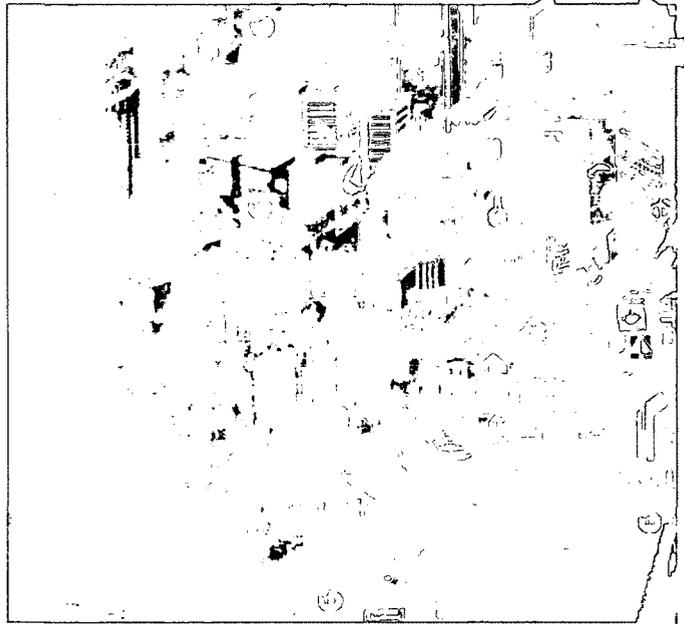


Fig. 100. "Capriccio," Detail.

The industrial north bank of False Creek is not shown at all; instead, key features of the downtown are transposed to the shoreline (2).

False Creek South is shown as a lush green space. No residential buildings appear. The area is labelled "Destination Park" (3). An old man with a walking stick is heading off for a mountain hike (4). A mix of single family homes and modernist office towers are shown in Fairview Heights, immediately to the south of False Creek South (5).

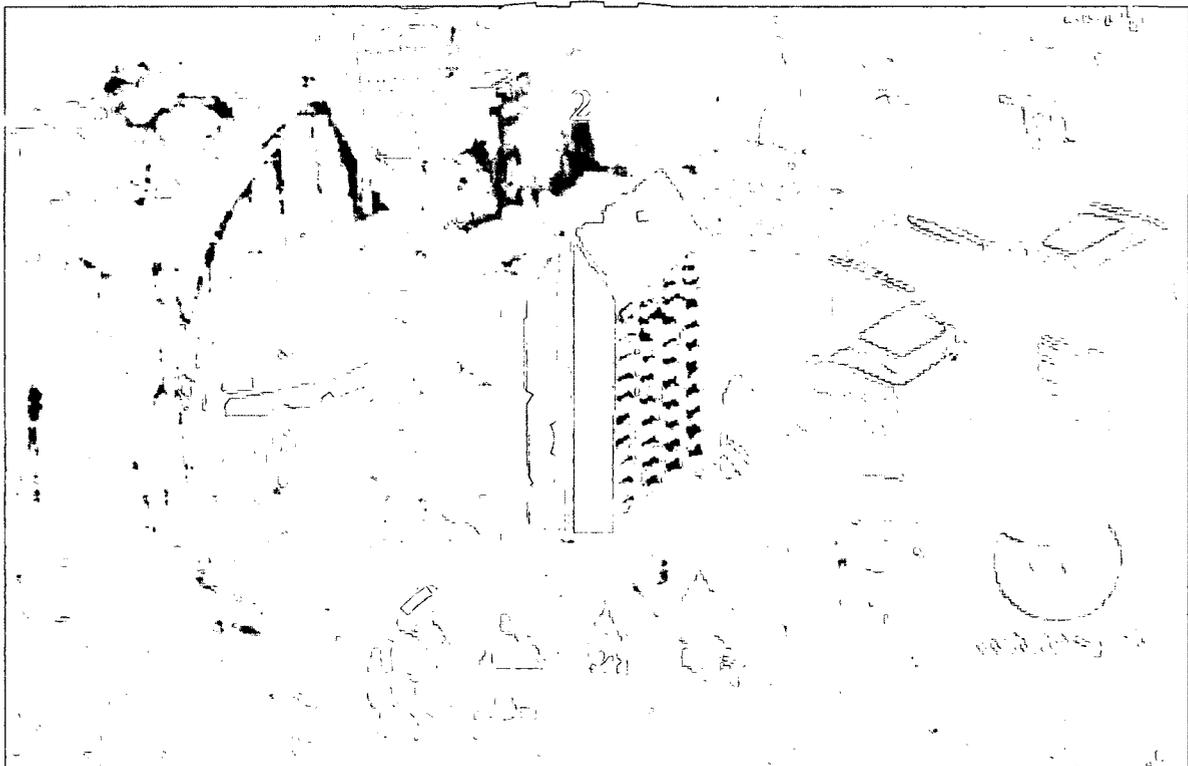


Fig. 101. Map 7, City of Vancouver, “Cityscape: A Map of Downtown Vancouver”, 1981.

This tourist map was published in 1981, when the first phases of the False Creek South were completed, and one year after CPR sold False Creek North to the Province of BC.

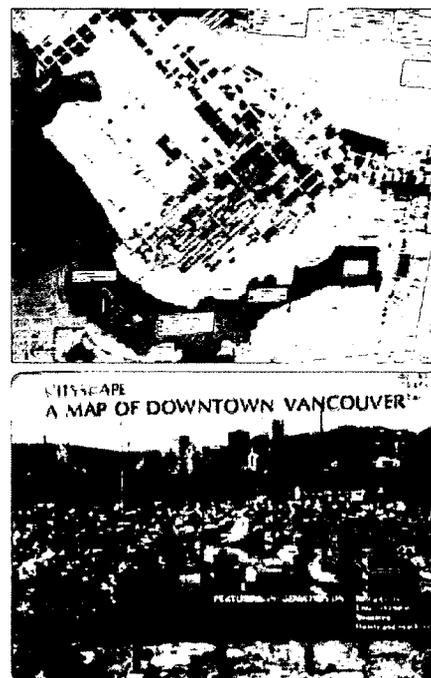


Fig. 102. “Cityscape,” Front cover.

The cover shot is a view of the downtown from False Creek South. The cobblestone paving locates this vantage point in the Heather neighbourhood.

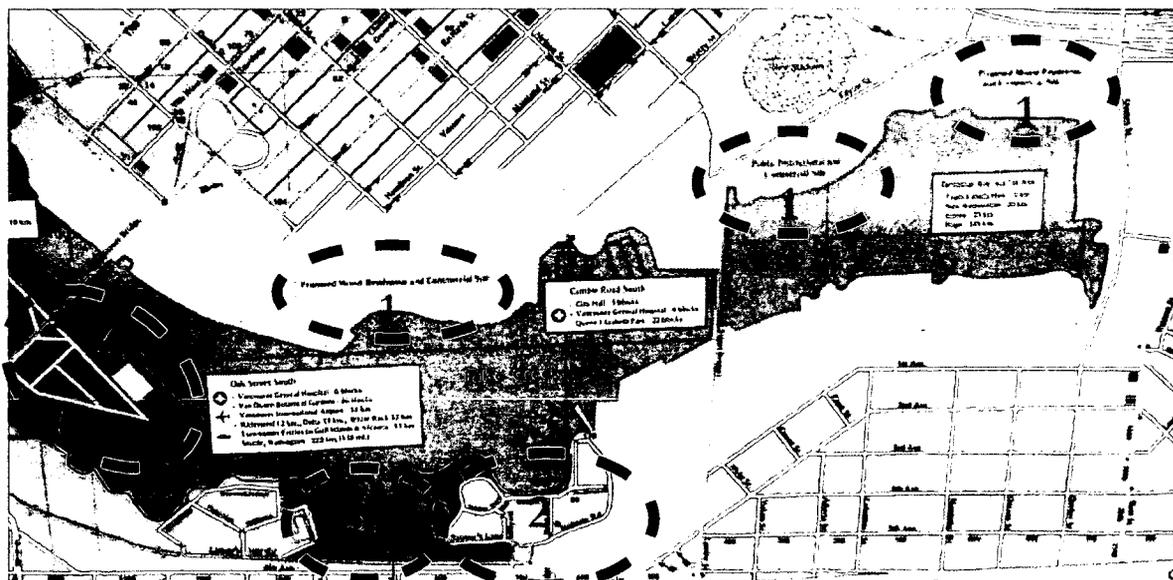
This vantage point uses the False Creek South marina to obscure the False Creek North industrial lands, which were not yet redeveloped.

Fig. 103. “Cityscape,” Detail of False Creek.

False Creek North is hatched over. “What is there” is literally covered over, in order to point out an important new site for the city’s future. Very odd for a tourist map are the labels of different zoning sites: “Proposed Mixed Residential and Commercial Site” and “Public Institutional and Commercial Site” (1).

In False Creek South, on the other hand, every private lane is drawn and named, with the same weighting as the urban street grid (2). The new seawall promenade and walking trails in Charleson Park (in reality, no more than dirt paths) are drawn in black (3).

Granville Island, recently developed with a public market, shops, and cultural facilities, is green. In fact, the island has an industrial aesthetic, with more ware-house style buildings and paved roads than gardens (4).



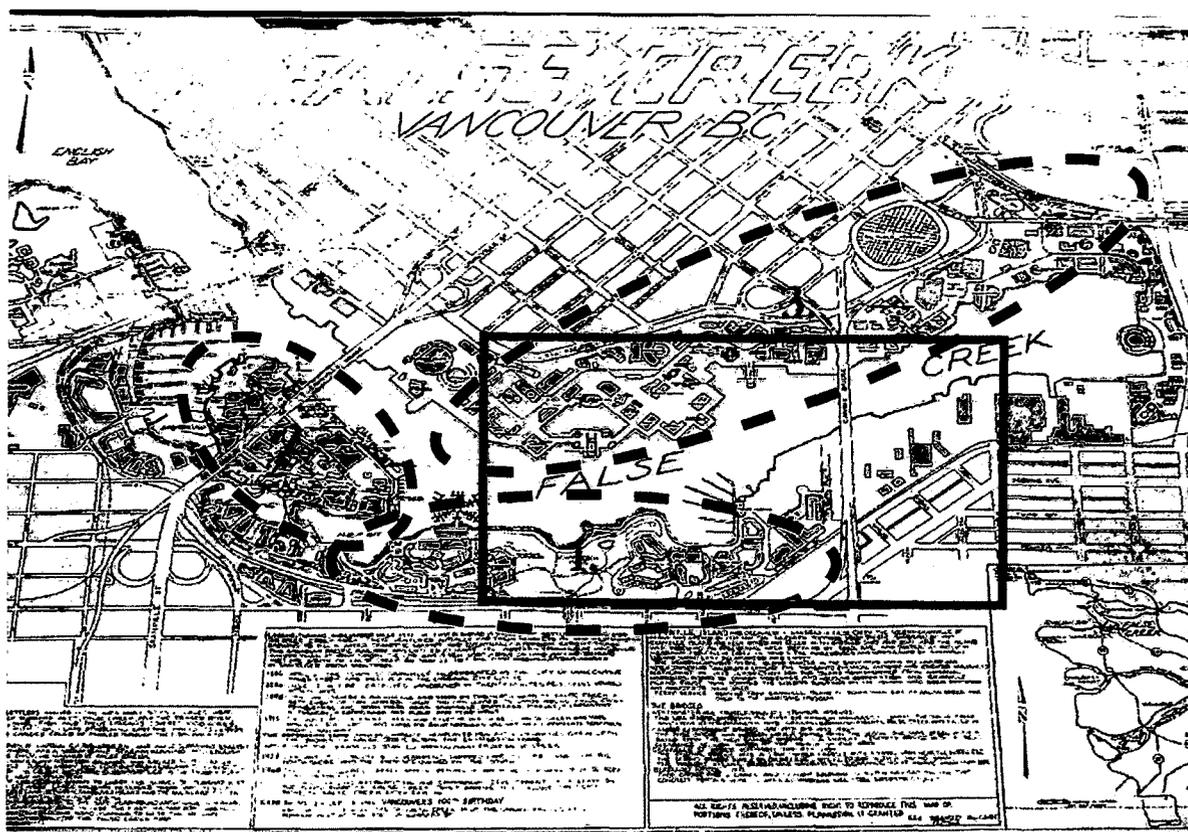


Fig. 104. Map 8, Vancouver Archives, "False Creek, Vancouver BC," 1986.

This map, produced for Expo '86 and Vancouver's 100th birthday, marks the re-entry of False Creek into the city imaginary. Residential buildings in False Creek South (1) are hatched, similarly to the new public market on Granville Island (2) and the pavilions in the Expo '86 site (3). This is particularly striking as, in the rest of the downtown, only block outlines are indicated. False Creek South is depicted as an integral part of the public realm that international visitors are invited to explore.

"1968", the year that the City consolidated 92-acres of False Creek South, is noted as one of the pivotal moments in False Creek's 100-year history.



Fig. 105. "False Creek," Detail.

The north shoreline of the basin has been modified for the Expo '86 pavilions. This new shoreline will be retained in the later redevelopment of Concord Pacific Place (4).

Fig. 106. Map 9, Vancouver and Whistler Illustrated Publishing, “Downtown Vancouver,” 2006.

The downtown is marked out into several distinct neighbourhoods: Entertainment district, Davie Village, Yaletown, Chinatown, and Gastown. The new Concord Pacific Place and Granville Slopes neighbourhoods on the north shore are in the foreground in most recent tourist maps of Vancouver, as they are here. South False Creek is often cut out of the frame.

The False Creek waterfront shoreline is the facade of the city, rendered with green spaces, beaches, and residential towers. (By contrast, the landlocked areas in the West End and Yaletown are a simple grid. (1)) The buildings in False Creek South are not drawn.

Cantonese labels (for neighbourhoods, street names, and ads) are now standard on official tourist maps, suggested the importance of this language community to the city (2).

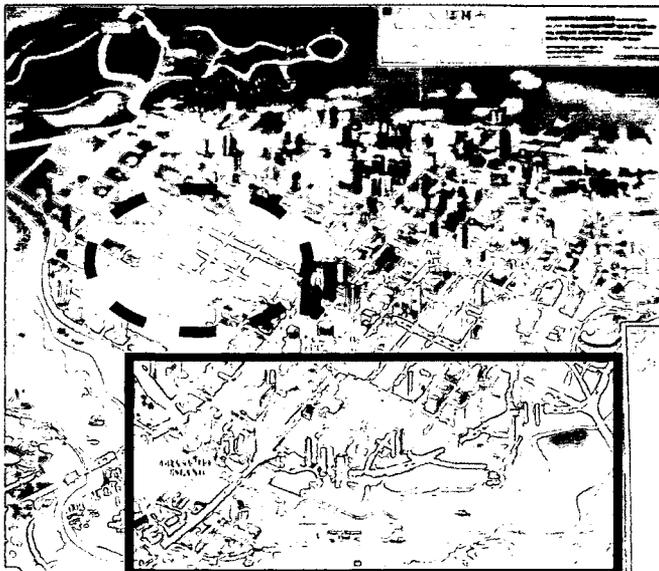


Fig. 107. “Vancouver and Whistler,” Detail of False Creek.

In 2006, the new Concord Pacific Place district was more built out than this map suggests. Landmark podium-tower projects between the street and Seawall, such as Aquarius and Crestmark (2000), are omitted.

The blank space (in yellow) between Concord Pacific Place’s parks and Seawall suggest that this district and has not yet been fully absorbed into the city’s public realm (3).





Fig. 109. View from South False Creek to Concord Pacific Place, D. Wiley, 2010.

Fig. 110. View from Concord Pacific Place to South False Creek, 2008.



At the same time, these sites can also be seen as responses to a prior model of the *modern* city. I refer to both a “general” conceptualization of the modern city by the Modern Movement, and to the particular modern city of Vancouver. In my last chapter, I argued that Harland Bartholomew’s *Plan for Vancouver* constitutes a moment in which Vancouver first sought to define itself as a modern city. Later, the West End came to represent certain advantages and failings of this urban paradigm. In these chapters, I will argue that South and North False Creek constitute critical revaluations of its modernist legacy and, as such, are part of a larger cultural project to re-define Vancouver as a contemporary city.

South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place put forward different models of a “proper” house, neighbourhood, district and city (figs. 109, 110). In these two master-planned districts, the “house” is implicated in the transformation of Vancouver’s socio-economic, political and physical structures. I hope to illustrate how ideas of the “house” were deployed not simply to revitalize a declining industrial area, but to alter the image of the city.

4.1 Making the False Creek Site

By the late 1960s, the waters in False Creek were polluted and the industrialized basin remained, as it had been at the time of Harland Bartholomew’s study, an eyesore.¹ Many mills and manufacturing operations had fallen into disuse, or were not longer perceived as appropriate uses in inner-city lands.² Because the patchwork

1 “The area (had begun) to deteriorate. Logs, sawdust, discarded materials and other forms of industrial waste were gradually turning the creek into a stagnant inlet. In the forties, considerable pressure ... to have the area cleaned up and made more attractive for residents and tourists. Little was done until the mid-sixties when the first wide-ranging discussions about the possible alternatives to the site’s industrial function took place.” False Creek Development Group, *Mosaic by the Sea: South False Creek Shore, A New Concept of Inner City Living* (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 1980) xx.

2 Refer also to J.C. Oliver, City Engineer, in consultation with E.L. Cousins, “Report on False Creek, Vancouver, B. C.: A report to His Worship the Mayor and Members of the City

of lots, mills and factories were controlled by multiple owners and tenants, the district proved particularly resistant to the City's many attempts to clean up the area (Hulchanski 104).³ Vancouver's Fire Insurance Maps from 1955, which document not only building locations but also tenancies and construction type, provide a striking image of how complex this industrial landscape had become (fig. 111). But apart from the media attention attracted by an occasional clean-up initiative, the district had fallen outside of the public eye:

(The) partially abandoned industrial and railway lands (were) largely out of sight of the public at large, hidden under the bridges the linked downtown Vancouver with residential neighbourhoods to the south (Hardwick 346).

Tourist maps from this era show that False Creek, despite its obviously central geographical location, is not really part of the city imaginary (figs. 112, 113). The area appears as a blank space, cut off from the street grids to the north and south of the basin and, in some cases, literally cropped out of the image.

Since WWII, the City had commissioned several planning studies of the basin, all of which were based on the assumption that False Creek should remain an industrial zone (Hardwick 346, Hulchanski 118) (figs. 115, 116). None of these plans had come to fruition, as the major landowners in the False Creek basin, including the provincial and federal governments, the City of Vancouver and BC Hydro, and the industrial operators like CP Rail who leased the land, could not come to any agreement. Many of the Province's and City's leaseholds were set to expire in 1971, and pressures to renew them were mounting.

In October 1967, some of the more conservative aldermen on City Council

Council," (Vancouver: City Vancouver, 1955).

³ Urban Planner J.D. Hulchanski's comprehensive study compares the South False Creek project and St. Lawrence, a downtown social housing development in Toronto. J.D. Hulchanski, "St. Lawrence & False Creek: A Review of the Planning and Development of Two New Inner City Neighbourhoods," (Vancouver: School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, 1984).

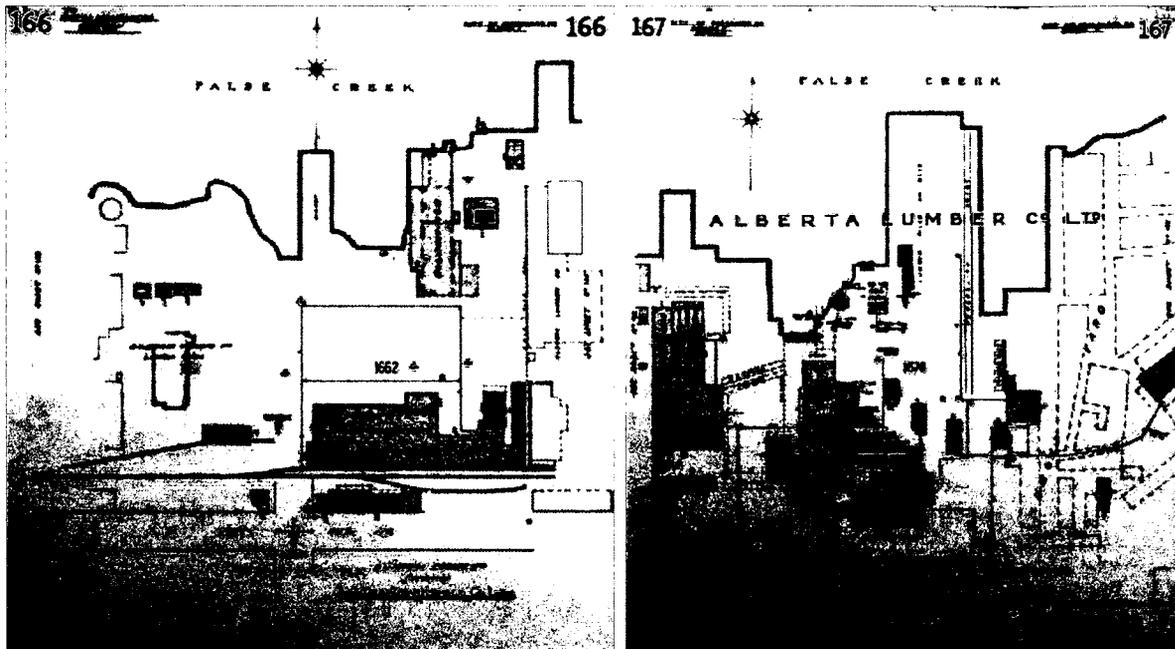
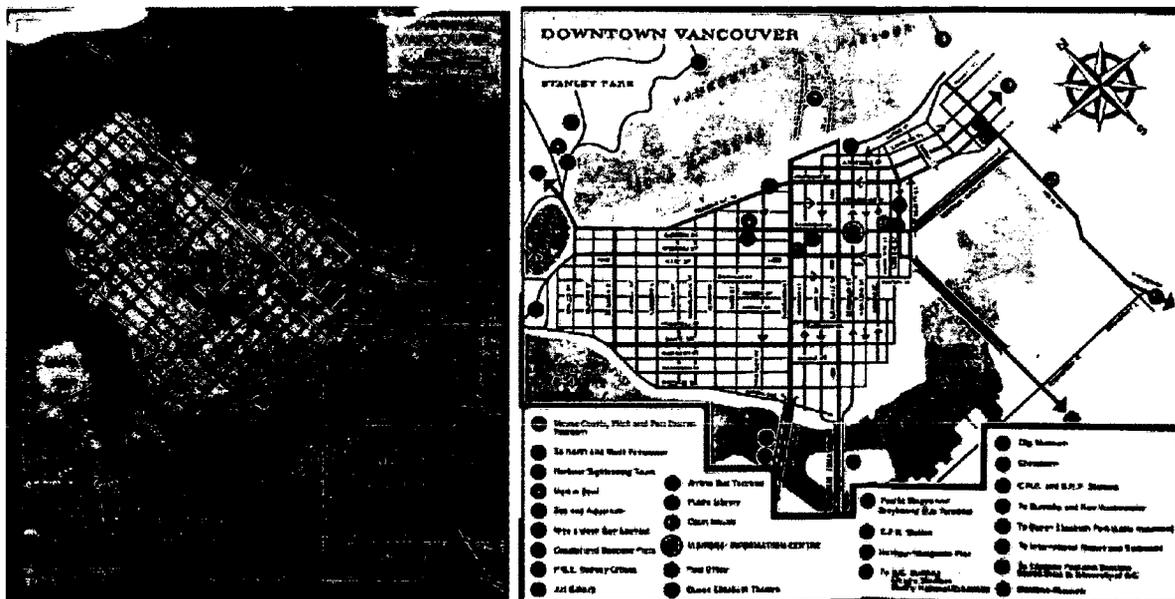


Fig. 111. Fire Insurance Plan showing the abundance of buildings, infrastructure and activities in the False Creek basin, from British Columbia Underwriters' Association, Fire Insurance Plan of Vancouver B.C., 1955.

Fig. 112. Shell, "Visitors' Map," 1950.

Fig. 113. Vancouver Tourist Bureau, "Shoppers' Map," 1961.

The False Creek basin, particularly the south bank, is shown as a blank space. On the right, it is obscured by the legend, literally cut out of the image of the downtown.



bowed to pressure from the industrial sector and put forward a motion that the City formally commit to retaining the False Creek basin as an industrial zone, and implement another clean-up (Hulchanski 118).⁴ Their motion carried. To the Council's surprise, the opposition to this demure political commitment was explosive. A seemingly sudden public interest in False Creek was roused, first, by the Parks Board who, a week after the motion, introduced a counter-proposal to create a strip of parkland around the entire basin (121) and, second, by two newly-elected aldermen who broke with the Council's position. According to Walter Hardwick, one of the two dissenters, he and his colleague were attuned to a shift in the public mood towards social and environmental activism and were thus able to swiftly mobilize a public campaign to reclaim False Creek for the public domain (Hardwick 341).⁵

The City Council's about-face was absolute. Following the 1970 election, the Council appointed a Special Committee on False Creek (SCFC), comprised of aldermen (including Hardwick as Chair), and a False Creek Study Group (FCSG), comprised of City staff and local architects, to study the area, consult the public, and define a new direction for the False Creek basin. Soon after, the Council passed a motion to rule out industrial use in the redevelopment of False Creek (Hulchanski 126).

What I'd like to emphasize is that, as certain stakeholders (in the City, the media and the public) rallied against the continuation of industry in False Creek,

4 The motion reads: "(T)he City has been advised of the concern of certain industries located on land leased in the False Creek industrial area as to the continuance of their leases; Therefore be it resolved that it is the Council's policy at this time that the land abutting False Creek be retained as an industrial area." Vancouver City Council, October 24, 1967.

5 "In 1968, two individuals were elected to the Vancouver City Council, one being the author, on a platform that reflected the social currents of the day. As 2 out of 11, they did not have the power of the majority, but through the thrust of political debate the mobilization of public support, a set of policies and programs were adopted...that substantially altered the "look" of the city and the way it was used." Walter Hardwick, "Responding to the 1960s: Designing Adaptable Communities in Vancouver," (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1984) 341.

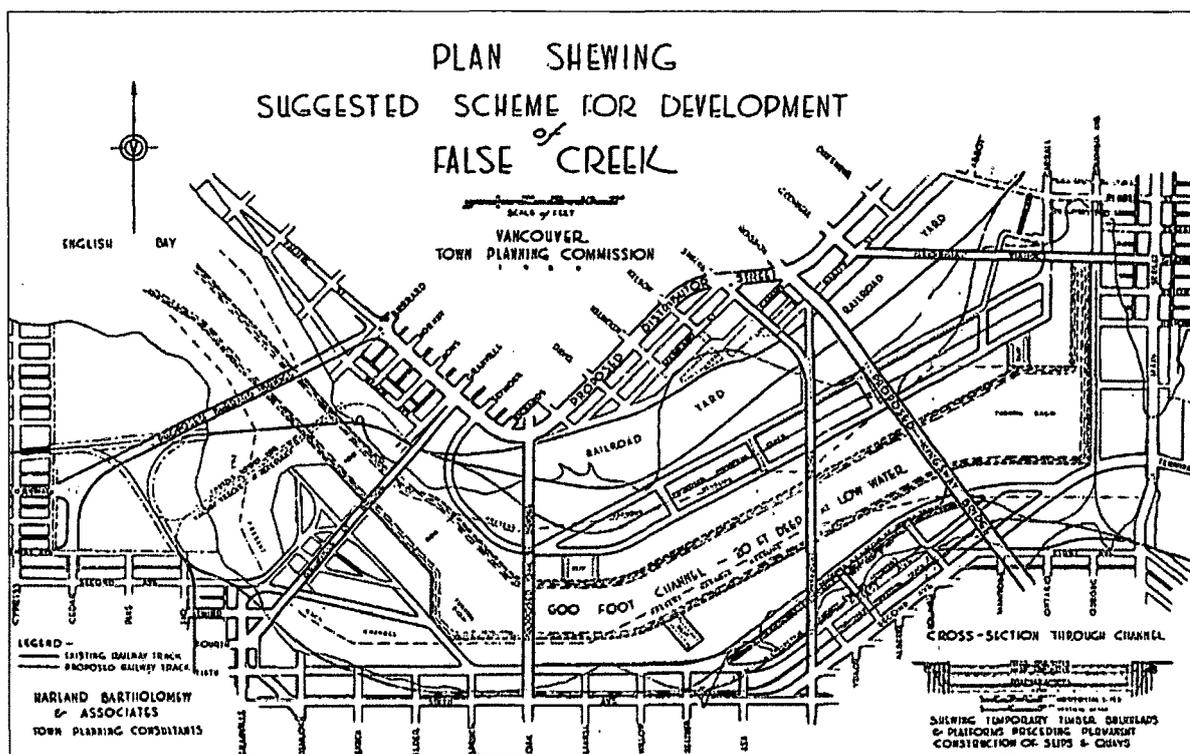


Fig. 114. Harland Bartholomew & Associates, "Plan Shewing Suggested Scheme for Development of False Creek," A Plan for the City of Vancouver, 1929.

Fig. 115. Alberta Lumber Co. mill at False Creek, Vancouver Archives, 1939.

Fig. 116. View of False Creek showing Granville Island and the Fairview waterfront, Vancouver Archives, 1945.



this marginalized area re-entered the public imagination. The False Creek basin is effectively made visible as a “site” as it is called out for redevelopment. Because the False Creek basin did not exist in the public eye as a site *per se* prior to these debates about its redevelopment, its precise boundaries were not apparent or natural. Bitter controversies surrounded the delineation of its boundaries, particularly where the industrial areas overlapped the historic neighbourhoods to the east.⁶

It is beyond my scope here to fully explore the physical, legislative and discursive processes that separated out the False Creek site and, in the same period, broke Strathcona, Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside into distinct neighbourhoods. I will only point out that this eastern border of the False Creek basin was especially hazy because of a long history of mixing—sanctioned even in HBA’s stringent zoning—of blue-collar and very low-income housing and commercial activities into the industrial fabric (fig. 114).⁷ Since its adoption in 1930, Vancouver’s zoning schedule was tiered according to the *exclusion* of uses: The top tier, single family dwelling neighbourhoods, excluded all other uses except certain neighbourhood amenities and services, while in the bottom tier, industrial zones, virtually all uses were permitted.⁸ So the False Creek flats were never, in truth, strictly industrial. To make way for new residential neighbourhoods in the False Creek basin, many low-income residents were displaced.⁹

6 *REF – controversy re: east neighbourhoods being split up and redelineated.*

7 I argued in Chapter 3, the first zoning by-law was intended to protect wealthier single family dwelling zones from infiltration of higher density uses. At the same time, working class housing was permitted in commercial and industrial zones.

8 For an account of the exclusionary approach of Vancouver’s 1930 zoning charter, see: Barbara Ann Petit, “Zoning and the Single Family-Landscape,” PhD Thesis (Vancouver: School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, 1993) 58-68.

9 This displacement would accelerate during the redevelopment of the north shore a decade later; for example, one thousand residents were displaced from the Downtown Eastside and False Creek basin for Expo 1986. For a fuller account refer to: Mike Beazley, “Public Participation in Urban Mega-Project Planning: A Case Study of Pacific Place, Vancouver, B.C.,” PhD Thesis (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1994) 124.

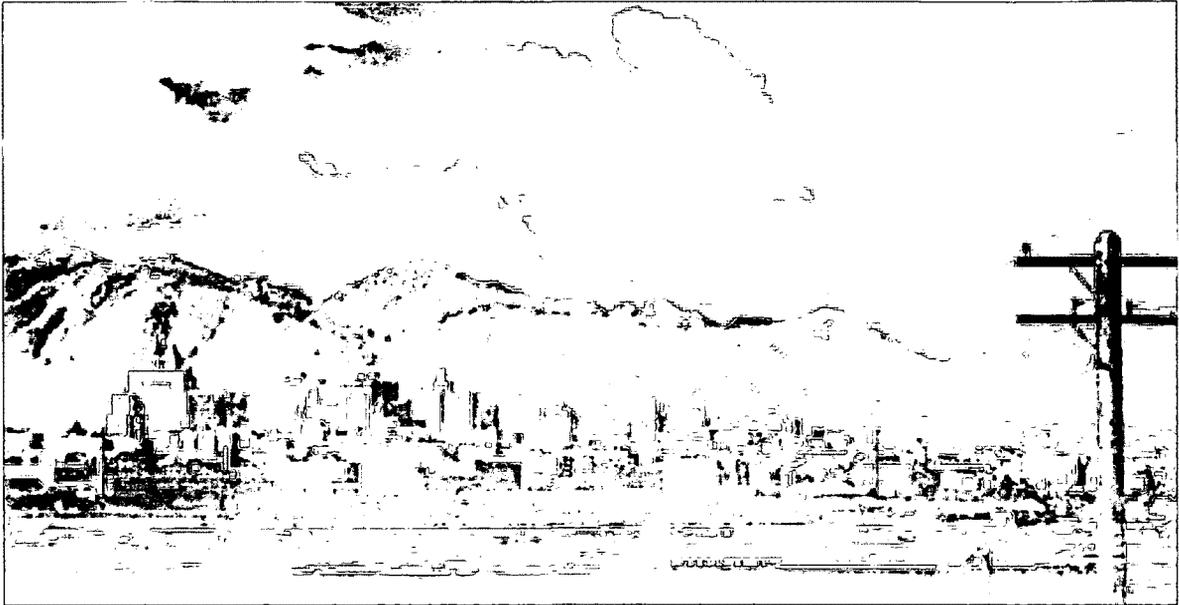
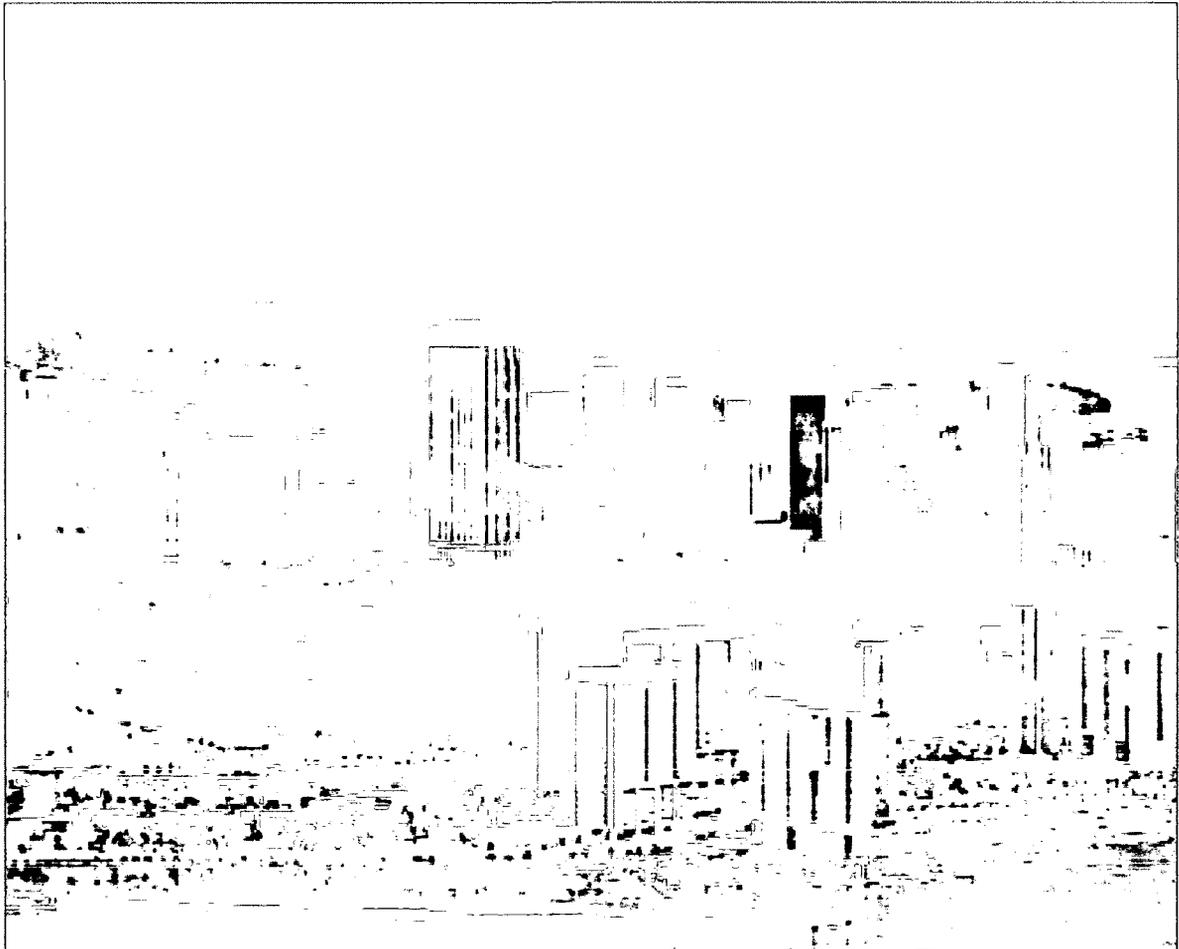


Fig. 117. View of Vancouver from Fairview, City of Vancouver Archives, 1948.

Fig. 118. Proposed development for north shore of False Creek (1960s), from Glenn Baglo.



The making of False Creek into a “site” in the late 1960s is a remarkable moment in Vancouver’s urban history, as similar, concurrent proposals to redevelop other inner-city industrial areas failed to gain traction. The south shore of the Burrard Inlet was, like False Creek, the subject of intensive design studies by local architects and community leaders, who identified the site as having great potential for redevelopment for public and residential use.¹⁰ To this day, it remains an industrial zone. The Burrard Inlet site was more resistant to redevelopment, in part, because its port is more central to the city’s evolving economy. But another partial explanation for the different trajectories of the Burrard Inlet and False Creek industrial lands is the nature of the boundaries that separate each site from the downtown. False Creek was separated from nearby commercial and residential districts by railway lines, a truncated street grid, and, perhaps, certain psycho-geographical barriers that helped to keep the area out of public view. The industrial lands along the Burrard Inlet, on the other hand, are separated from the central business district by the Downtown Eastside, which has persisted as Vancouver’s poorest district since the 1940s.¹¹ The Downtown Eastside would prove to be a much stronger barrier, keeping the northern shore of the downtown peninsula out of the image of the city.

The making of the False Creek site also closed a chapter on Vancouver’s historic identity as an industrial port city. In October 1967, the negative reaction to the Council’s proposal to renew industrial leases in False Creek marked the first time that heavy industry in the basin was seriously challenged. Only one year later, in December 1968, CPR’s announcement of a proposed \$185M residential development on its north shore “dealt a final death blow” to any serious consideration of retaining the basin purely for industrial uses (Hulchanski 121) (fig. 118). Somehow, between

10 *Erickson’s proposal.*

11 For a fuller account of the history of Downtown Eastside and local resident activism, refer to: Jeff Sommers and Nick Blomley, “The worst block in Vancouver,” in Stan Douglas, *Every Building on 100 West Hastings* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2002) 18-61.

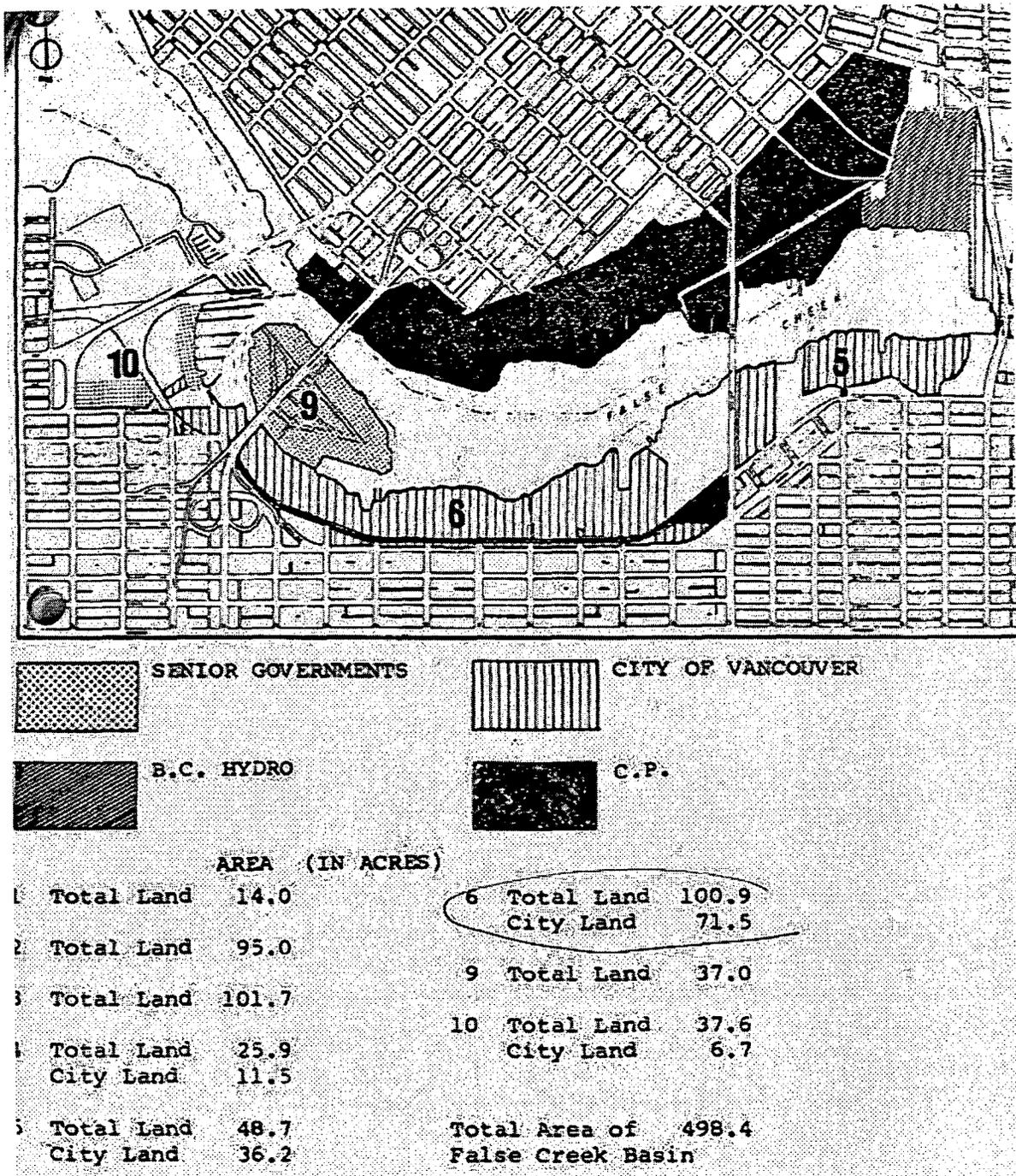


Fig. 119. Land Consolidation and Ownership in the False Creek basin, from City of Vancouver Planning Department, "False Creek Policies," 1973.

these two events, the *image* of industrialization in Vancouver's city centre becomes problematic. The False Creek lands opened the possibility of a new identity for the city.

While the basin may have been treated, politically, as a *tabula rasa*, that is, as available for development, the actual clearing of industrial activities from the basin was an attenuated process, extending to the late 2000s, when the Olympic Village was built in Southeast False Creek.¹² On the north shore, the relocation of industrial activities didn't really begin until 1985, during the preparations for Expo 86. The social and political processes involved in making the False Creek site were also far from seamless.

4.1.1 Separation of South False Creek and False Creek North

The political machinations that surrounded the renegotiation of expiring leaseholds finally resolved the fractured pattern of land and tenureships in the basin. No comprehensive change could have occurred without a process of land consolidation. CP Rail, a major landowner, also held the lease on the Province's extensive land in the basin from 1928-1971. When the 1928 lease was renegotiated, the two parties agreed to consolidate their properties into two separate parcels. CPR gained control of the north shore lands, centred on its historic railway terminus, the Roundhouse.¹³ The Province retained 85 acres on the south shore (fig. 119). The

12 Southeast False Creek, the site where the Olympic Village was built, from 2005 to 2010, falls out of the scope of this dissertation. For information on the Southeast False Creek development, refer to the City of Vancouver website, "Southeast False Creek & Olympic Village," <http://vancouver.ca/olympicvillage/officialdevplan.htm>. Accessed March 14, 2011.

13 The Vancouver Roundhouse, the western terminus of the CP Railway, was at one time the largest facility of its kind in British Columbia. When the Provincial Government purchased the CPR rail yards in 1980, they originally planned to demolish it, but was opposed by local heritage groups and residents. Refer to "History of the Roundhouse," www.roundhouse.ca/index.php?module=pagemaster&PAGE_user_op=view_page&PAGE_id=26, Accessed April 20, 2010.

Province then traded its stake in False Creek with the City of Vancouver, in exchange for 200 acres on Burnaby Mountain (Hulchanski:119).¹⁴ As public support for the redevelopment of False Creek mounted, the City of Vancouver began to relocate smaller industrial operators and landowners to the Burrard Inlet (Hulchanski xx).

These negotiations effectively split the north and south shores of False Creek into two sites. In the end, almost the entire north shore came under the private control of CPR's development arm, Marathon Development, and the south shore was returned to the public domain, *vis-a-vis* the City of Vancouver.¹⁵ This distinction in ownership would send the sites along two dramatically different trajectories. The owners had different goals for their development projects, and different accountabilities. The Marathon Development Corporation had to negotiate all aspects of its design and development plans for the north shore with the City Planning Department and, at the same time, ensure the profitability of the venture for its shareholders. The City of Vancouver, on the other hand, "was in the (unique) position of being (1) owner of most of the site, (2) the decision making authority for zoning and planning approvals and (3) the developer of the entire site" (Hulchanski 104). The City was empowered to develop the south shore more quickly and freely but, at the same time, was accountable to public opinion and its prior political mandates to provide, for example, accessible housing, substantial parkspace and other public goods.

4.2 South False Creek

The City's South False Creek site was the first to be developed. The City wanted to act quickly on certain political commitments: first, its new promise to convert

¹⁴ The Provincial Government preferred the site on Burnaby Mountain for its own major development project, Simon Fraser University.

¹⁵ Note that Marathon Development had developed the West End manor estates 70 years previously.

the False Creek industrial lands for residential and public uses and, second, a long-standing goal of increasing housing for families. There was also a growing perception that, due to certain economic and demographic shifts, the city's social body and physical form were increasingly misaligned. I mentioned earlier that resource-based industries were in recession in the 1960s and 70s, while white collar service and tourist-based industries were expanding. The business district was thriving and a young, upwardly-mobile, urban population was putting pressure on downtown housing stocks.¹⁶

Parallel to this change in the city's economic and demographic structure was a shift in public expectations of the urban environment. Prior to the City's commitment to redevelop False Creek, residential uses had been excluded from the downtown core. As housing pressures mounted, this policy, a legacy of modernist zoning, came under scrutiny. Vancouver's central business district, moreover, was increasingly perceived as an aesthetic blight. Walter Hardwick, one of the aldermen who drove the City's about-face on False Creek, recalls that:

(a) large public was emphatic in the 1960s that perpetuation of visual blight in the business and commercial areas was unacceptable... Billboards in vacant lots along commercial streets were deemed unsightly. The (modernist) 1920s plan (had) permitted business blocks in the downtown to occupy the full site with no public amenity. (343)

Unlike in residential districts, no specific design guidelines had been applied to the commercial district, an oversight that Hardwick attributes to Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) *Plan for Vancouver* of 1929, and, more generally, an ideological bias of modernist urbanism. The CBD had consequently evolved as a monotonous fabric of commercial complexes with few open squares or green spaces. Cars, not pedestrians, dominated the streetscape. According to Hardwick, negative perceptions

16 "The majority (of newcomers to the West End) were Canadians from other provinces, particularly the prairies, but a large minority were immigrants from Europe—mostly urban in origin and economically upwardly mobile" (Hardwick 345).

of Vancouver's downtown helped to frame the public's expectations and desires for the City's redevelopment of South False Creek (343).

Another local factor that helped to shape the False Creek development was the presence of the West End. Like the central business district, the West End was invoked, in this era, as an example of the failings of modernist urbanism: a concrete jungle, lacking in public amenities, built for the profit of private developers, and without public oversight or a shared community vision.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the West End served as an oblique example of the viability of a vital downtown residential district. Notwithstanding its characterization as a concrete jungle, the West End did not truly carry the "ghetto" stigma of some American inner-city neighbourhoods. By this time, 35 000 residents lived in mid- and high-rise buildings in the neighbourhood. Many

17 Roger Patillo, "The West End of Vancouver: A Social Profile." (Vancouver:City of Vancouver, 1969) xx.

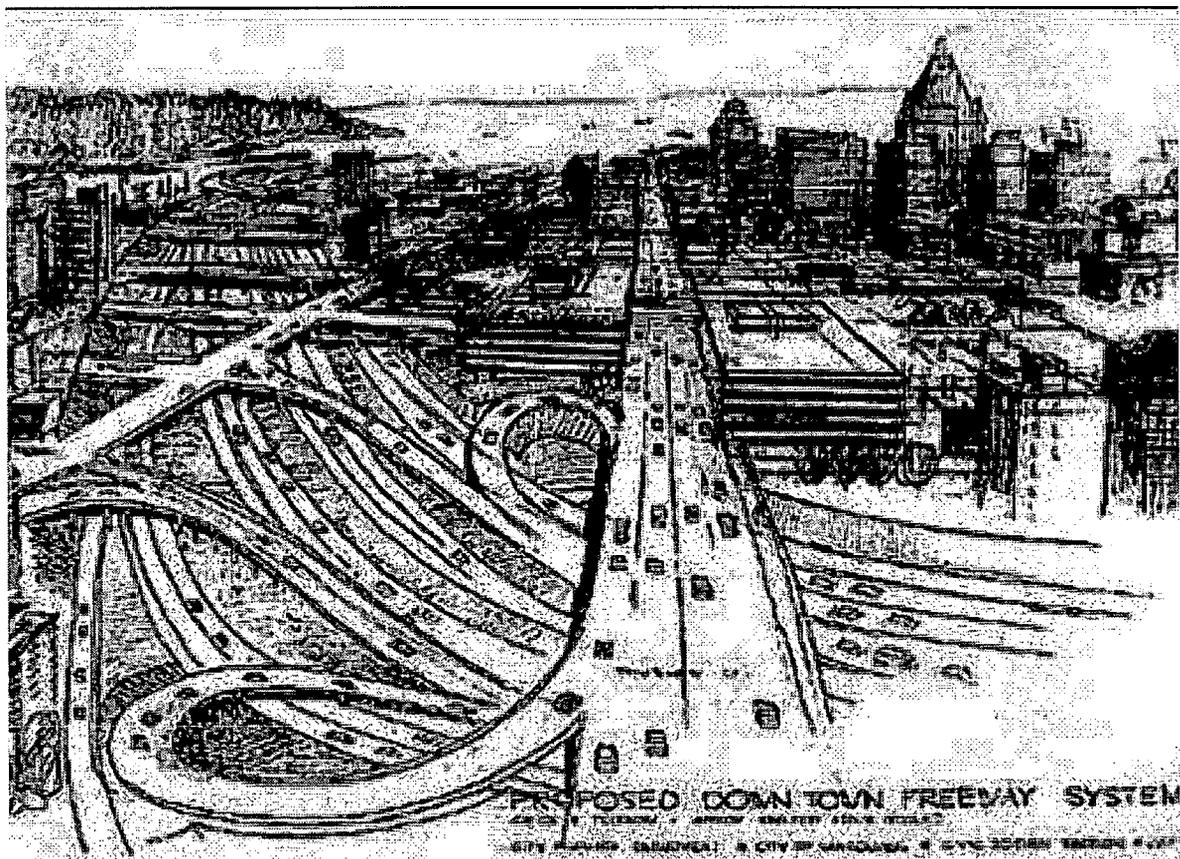


Fig. 120. City of Vancouver Archives, "Proposed Downtown Freeway System," 1966

rode transit or walked to their jobs in the business district (Hardwick 345). Their emerging urban “live-work” lifestyle appealed to the thinking of many involved in making South False Creek.

4.2.1 Social, Political and Cultural Contexts

While these specific, local factors helped to shape the South False Creek project, broader cultural ideas—about grassroots community activism, environmentalism, and the organic nature of the city—also contributed to the shift in Vancouver’s urban development. Hardwick, an accomplished urban geographer as well as a politician, frames the South False Creek project within a broader counter-cultural mood of the 1960s. In Vancouver,

the transformations of 1968 were taken seriously, and the values and sensibilities of those socially and ecologically aware became manifest in the urban design of downtown and (South False Creek). (341)¹⁸

Perceptions of what constitutes a good city or neighbourhood were shifting. Jane Jacobs had published her first book.¹⁹ Her positive revaluation of inner-city neighbourhoods, and her condemnation of the freeways that bisect them, were gaining a broad audience. Although it did not adhere to the classic model of the modern North American city, Vancouver was not exempt from the shift of public opinion against sprawling suburbs, declining inner-cities, and the congested freeways that connected them. In fact, this counter-cultural mood definitively killed the last of a series of proposals, in 1966, for a major freeway system in Vancouver (fig. 120).²⁰

Widespread criticism of the failings of the modern city and post-war suburban flight

18 “A message of the 1960s was that viable neighbourhoods need a sense of community affiliation and involvement... (and) require both boundaries and cores; public places where people can assemble, have shared experience, and communicate.” Hardwick 347.

19 Jane Jacobs, *The Life and Death of American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

20 This last major freeway project was called “Project 200”.

A PUBLIC INFORMATION REPORT...

From

THE CITY OF VANCOUVER

FALSE CREEK

OCTOBER 1972

VANCOUVER CITY HALL, 452 WEST 12TH AVENUE, VANCOUVER 12, B.C.

Guidelines for development

City Council has adopted a number of important guidelines for the development of False Creek.

- total population around the Creek (north and south sides) should not exceed 30,000. Population in the 65 acres the City owns between Granville and Cambie bridges would be about 6,000.
- the population should be mixed, providing accommodation and facilities for people of all ages and varying incomes.
- ample public open space for parks, community areas etc. should be provided, to the City a 65 acres, 35 acres would be public parklands. Open water, marinas and school play grounds would provide additional public recreational areas.
- all developers will be required to donate 2 acres for public use for every 1,000 people in their projects.
- the waterfront around the entire Creek

- should be public property with easy access provided for pedestrians.
- the total water area of the Creek existing at January 1972 - 240 acres - should be maintained. If the shoreline is changed in some places by filling an equal area should be excavated. If filling and excavation does take place it will be to create a more interesting shoreline, with small bays, "water parks" and marinas.
- residential buildings may include other uses, small community shops and facilities such as day care centres.
- there should be continuous pedestrian walkways throughout the area and vehicles should be restricted. There should be no through streets.
- viewpoints and view corridors should be provided.
- industries east of Cambie bridge may continue in operation providing they do not adversely affect the new developments west of the bridge.

The Waterfront

"Even a beautiful and fortunate feature such as a waterfront walk can be spoiled and made unattractive if it is without variety and interest."

"Create a variety of experiences along the waterfront walk by varying the treatment of the water's edge, by changing the walk's direction, width and elevation, by pulling the walk back from the water occasionally and by changing vistas along it. Encourage a variety of facilities and activities."

"... walking or sitting along the water's edge on a sunny day is a pastime enjoyed by many people of all ages. When buildings cast lengthy shadows over waterfront walks much of this pleasure is destroyed."

"Pull back buildings far enough so their mid-winter shadows fall short of the walk. At frequent intervals along the walk create sunny pockets of varying sizes where people may sit and linger in the sun and overlook the water."

"... people do not like to use outdoor seats that are exposed to wind and overlooking nothing in particular. Place outdoor seating where the sun shines, protected from winter winds and overlooking areas of activity or with a pleasant view."

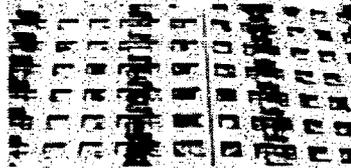
(Study Group report)

Small Residential Communities

The recommended plan prepared by the Study Group calls for creation of a number of small residential communities on the City lands surrounded by parkways. Each would focus on a mini-park and landscaped pedestrian areas where people can meet, sit and talk or just watch the people go by. Each community would be generally circular in shape rather than long and narrow.

A Place for Living

The Study Group reported that the willingness of people to live in False Creek is strongly related to how well the City plans and ensures that the area will be an attractive residential development.



Residential structures should be designed to ensure privacy and maximum natural light and units in multiple housing should have their own character. Avoid apartment slabs with cell-like windows. Most should not exceed three storeys.

Life on a Rooftop

On flat roofs, gardens, natural vegetation, decks and colorful awnings should be encouraged. Views of the immediate community and of the distant mountains or sea should be provided for residents.

A Place for Wheels

To reduce accidents, create T-junctions; to improve amenities in areas where cars are allowed, provide local roads that form loops; prohibit through streets.

Most parking would be underground. Buses and new types of transit services would connect False Creek with downtown. Special routes should be provided for bicycle riders.

A Place for Feet

This would be a development where the pedestrian, not the automobile, dominates. A network of pedestrian streets or walkways would link the communities along the Creek.

No cold and lifeless concrete plazas. Instead, open areas where nearly half the space could be in trees, grass, land sculpting or its natural state. Make it possible for small children to reach each other to play, without crossing a street.

A Place for Shops

A local convenience store, where you can buy a loaf of bread, a quart of milk, an ice cream cone, should be located within 1,500 feet of all residential units. Ideally, they should be situated at points of greatest pedestrian traffic... as a corner on a pedestrian walkway. Larger commercial facilities, like supermarkets should be controlled and designed to blend into the rest of the neighborhood. Some marine-oriented commerce would be encouraged.

Special zones for bicycles!



A PLACE FOR PEOPLE

Fig. 121. "False Creek: A Public Information Report from the City of Vancouver," City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1972.

brought a new level of attention to the impact of urbanization on the environment.²¹ Likely, in Vancouver, this environmentalist sentiment amplified negative perceptions of “dirty” industry, especially in a downtown area like False Creek. Often, increased public interest in environmentalism translates into a popular demand for more green space; this would prove to be the case in South False Creek, where more than one third of the site was dedicated to public parks.

Another aspect of this paradigmatic shift was a broader re-conceptualization, in both academia and a general public, of the city as an eco-system. Hardwick, a strong proponent of this “organicist” paradigm, viewed South False Creek project as part of a larger corrective of the modernist theorization of the city as a machine (356). HBA’s *Plan for Vancouver* certainly belonged to this modernist paradigm. For Hardwick, the modernist understanding of cities as “entities of production... that could be (scientifically) managed”—that is, the prevailing perspective of HBA’s Plan—had distorted the design and governance of Vancouver’s built environment for decades (356). Instead, South False Creek would be conceived as an “adaptable subdivision,” with a flexible infrastructure and diverse housing forms, to ensure that the neighbourhood would remain viable even as its social character changed (358). In this light, the South False Creek development can be understood not only as a response to social and economic trends, but also as a conscious, polemical departure from a machinic, modern city model.

4.2.2 Implementation

In April 1970, after ruling out industrial use in future developments in False Creek, the City launched an intense consultation process, to define a vision for the basin and, in particular, for its site on the south shore. (Marathon, in the meantime,

21 Hardwick xx.

was developing its own proposals for the north bank.) I mentioned earlier that the City would execute their South False Creek development through its own working committees. The False Creek Study Group (FCSG), composed of Planning staff and expert consultants, most notably architects Thompson Berwick Pratt & Partners (TBP&P), was responsible for studying the area and developing design concepts. The False Creek Planning Group created a framework for planning approvals. The Special Committee on False Creek, composed of aldermen, oversaw the project on behalf of City Council. The City also sponsored public visioning sessions, where citizens collaged images of activities, places and spatial qualities that they hoped to see in a future False Creek neighbourhood.²² The City published informational brochures partly to solicit public input, but also to promote the urban design ideas already firmly entrenched in the FCSG's conceptual plans (fig. 121).²³

In 1970, the City Planning Department staff summarized this public feedback, in 12 “Considerations” for the South False Creek development.²⁴ The public submissions highlighted emerging ideas of a “good” city and neighbourhood. The first consideration from the public submissions, for example, asserts that industry is not compatible with positive urban redevelopment in the basin.²⁵ The public feedback, however, further mandates that the planning of the basin should be based on the needs of “all the people”—unlike other neighbourhoods, namely, the West End:

Redevelopment (of False Creek) should provide accommodation for different income groups, age levels and household types... False Creek *must not become another West End*. The social, recreational, entertainment and aesthetic needs of the residents must be fulfilled. (Report on Submissions 3, italics by author)

22 For documentation of public imaging sessions, refer to: Mary Zagoudakis et al., “False Creek Image Survey,” (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 1973).

23 False Creek Public Information Brochure, 1972, reproduced in Hulchanski 128.

24 “Report on Submissions – False Creek Brochure,” (Vancouver: City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1970).

25 “Phasing out of industry is necessary to encourage redevelopment.” Ibid. 3.

The summary of the public submissions further suggests that attaining social equity and aesthetic quality in a neighbourhood requires a new way of thinking about the city and regulating urban development. “Proper controls” for urban development ...will require a radical departure from neatly-separated land uses and necessitate a new form of thinking and legislation. (3)

This “new way” of thinking about the city should place importance on social inclusiveness, on the human need for leisure as well as habitation and work, and, finally, on the health and appearance of the environment. Notably, the report suggests that a healthful aesthetic of the built environment is achieved by concealing the ugliness of modern urban infrastructure, such as industrial activities, arterial streets and parking:

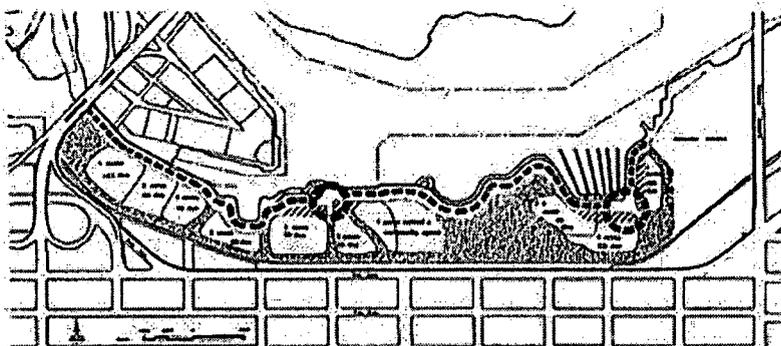
A new street pattern, in harmony with the topography, should be devised... The automobile ... must not be allowed to dominate the environment of False Creek. There should be a much smaller percentage of land taken up in streets than there is now in the City. All parking should be covered or underground. (4)

This reproach of the street grid and car, both potent symbols of the modern city, targets not only modernist urban planning practices, but also a foundational, modernist concept of progress, which ties urban development to economic profitability:

Redevelopment of False Creek must not be based on primarily short-range financial considerations, but rather on the long-range environment impact upon itself and the region. (4)

According to the Council, the public’s feedback—at least as it was interpreted and summarized by the City Planning Department—“formed the general framework” for planning and designing South False Creek (Hulchanski 117). To my mind, the report also confirms the shifting attitudes about the city’s form and social character suggested by Alderman Hardwick. The city model inferred by these “Considerations” puts value on social inclusivity, leisure, environmental sensitivity and a green,

development alternative 2



THE SECOND SCHEME - family residential with a significant open space - is a modification of the first which attempts to overcome its shortcomings. The opportunity for family housing is retained. It will however, be recognized that the total number of housing units etc. will be reduced as a result of giving over some of the limited acreage to open space.

- estimated population 2,450
- total housing units 1,450
- estimated family households 350

With Scheme 2 the existence of the major open space tends to make all of the lesser open spaces in and around the housing schemes more meaningful. It provides a focus to the whole neighbourhood. This focus is related to the other important events of the plan such as the marina and the school.

The implications to the other surrounding areas arising from Scheme 2 are essentially the same as for the first scheme. However, there is an added advantage that development opportunities in the Fairview Slopes are improved. The open space provides a broad view corridor to the water. The Fairview Slopes essentially become a part of the False Creek Basin through this means.

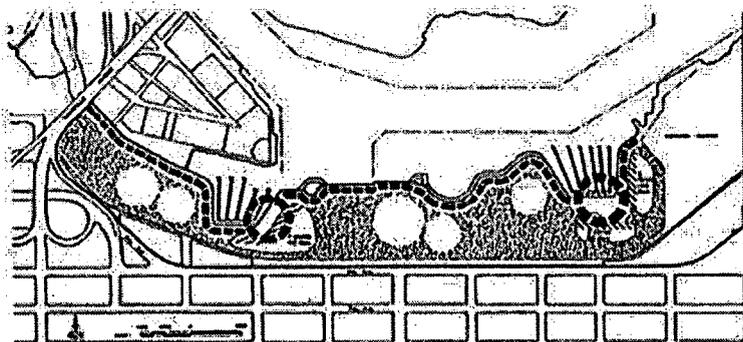
There remains the need in Scheme 2 for a physical connection to the Fairview Slopes. The need for costly treatment of 6th Avenue may be reduced by virtue of the careful placement of housing areas and by design controls.

Scheme 2 still contains a sufficient number of family households to justify the inclusion of related facilities. This will be the same so, to the extent that families are accommodated in the Fairview Slopes and in Area 10.

Two important factors must be recognized. First, development will demand careful attention to detail and to quality standards. Second, the scheme is still subject to financial and other tests.

Source: City of Vancouver Planning Department (1973) Area Six: The Development Opportunity, November.

development alternative 4



THE FOURTH SCHEME - Civic Developments in a major open space - represents a complete break from City Council's intent as described earlier in this report. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored for many of the briefs and submissions received suggest that it is desirable.

The fact that the priority for the City owned lands is illustrated as green space with Civic Developments does not deny the possibility for some housing. However, housing content would not be significant to the overall concept.

It would be wrong to view Scheme 4 as a "do nothing" alternative. The marina is virtually committed and other developments would soon follow. A second marina is in fact a major possibility with this alternative. The full development of Scheme 4 would however, probably take longer than the three residential schemes to complete, although the achievement of a public open space could be quickly obtained.

There are a number of advantages which should be recognized. Waterfront land elsewhere in the city is recognized for the high amenity value that it has. Most of Vancouver's available waterfront lands are publicly held as parkland. If citizens place a high priority on open space usage, then False Creek's south shore is well located in relation to Vancouver's dense population areas. Furthermore, taking the long term view the City will have more difficulties over the next 20 years, maintaining its open space quota than it will have providing sites for housing.

Scheme 4 will, if pursued, provide less incentive for the other proposed residential developments elsewhere in False Creek, to proceed. Will Granville Island become a "public place" without housing in Area 6? Will Area 10 housing be too isolated without complementary developments in Area 6? These and other questions arise. The Fairview Slopes might also be subjected to increased pressures for higher density zoning and more commercial content.

There is a question of cost with Scheme 4. Funds are not now available for the development of up to 70 acres of parkland, or for appropriate other civic uses. It will be assumed that these would be forthcoming.

Assuming that one recognizes the opportunity of False Creek, both as a place to be in and a place to live in, then something will be lost if there are no houses.

Figs. 122, 123. Two of the four development alternatives for South False Creek. "Alternative 2" was selected. From City of Vancouver Planning Department, "Area Six: The Development Opportunity," 1973.

suburban, aesthetic, paired with a hostility towards the visible signs of modernist production and “progress”, such as heavy industry and transportation infrastructure.

While the public submissions reflects a certain zeitgeist that surrounded the South False Creek project, the design itself was advanced through a series of studies by Thompson Berwick Pratt & Partners (TBP&P), the architects commissioned in the False Creek Study Group.²⁶ Their work culminated in a publication, in November 1973, of “Area 6: The Development Opportunity,” which presented four alternative development schemes (figs. 122, 123). The options were: 1) mid-to-low rise family housing throughout the site; 2) less family housing but with the addition of a park; 3) a larger amount of green space with compact, high-density (that is, non-family) housing; 4) a major city park with some civic buildings. The selected Scheme 2, the “Family Housing Development Option”, provided sufficient housing to support a viable, family-oriented neighbourhood, a local school and a public park.

While the process of defining the land use goals for the False Creek basin had been long and controversial, the implementation of the South False Creek project was swift. In November 1973, the City Council formally resolved to redevelop South False Creek for residential and parkland uses, although this vision had long been all but decided. In the same meeting, it approved a very advanced conceptual plan for the central area of the South False Creek site, called Area 6, Phase 1 (Hutchinson 136). The remaining the south shore lands were included in the City’s broader development scheme, but were broken into distinct sites to be executed in later phases (fig. 124). I will focus my study on this first phase of the South False Creek development in Area 6.

A limited, 3-team design competition was staged to put forward detailed design

26 An earlier, pivotal publication of the FCSG was the “False Creek Proposals” report of April 1972, presented 14 redevelopment recommendations spanning a wide range of issues, from the site’s connection to regional transit corridors, to urban noise, to the placement of community facilities, open space and commercial nodes.

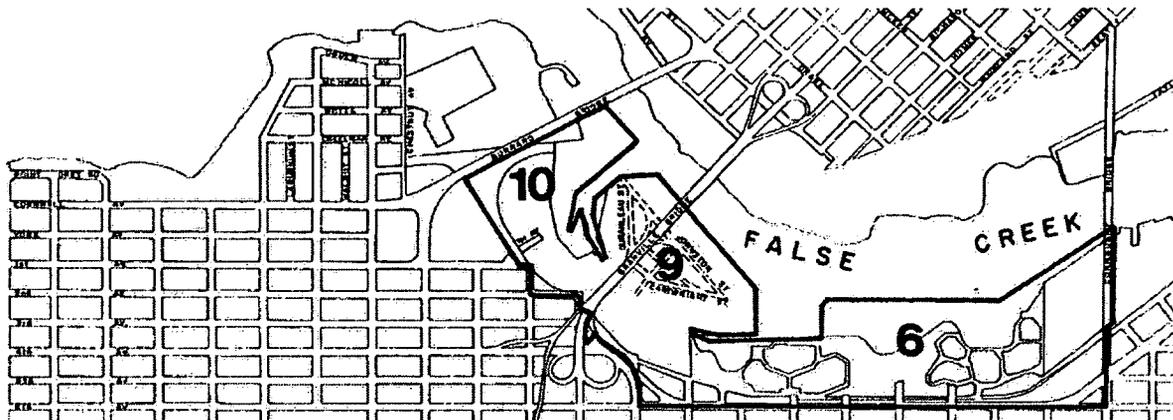
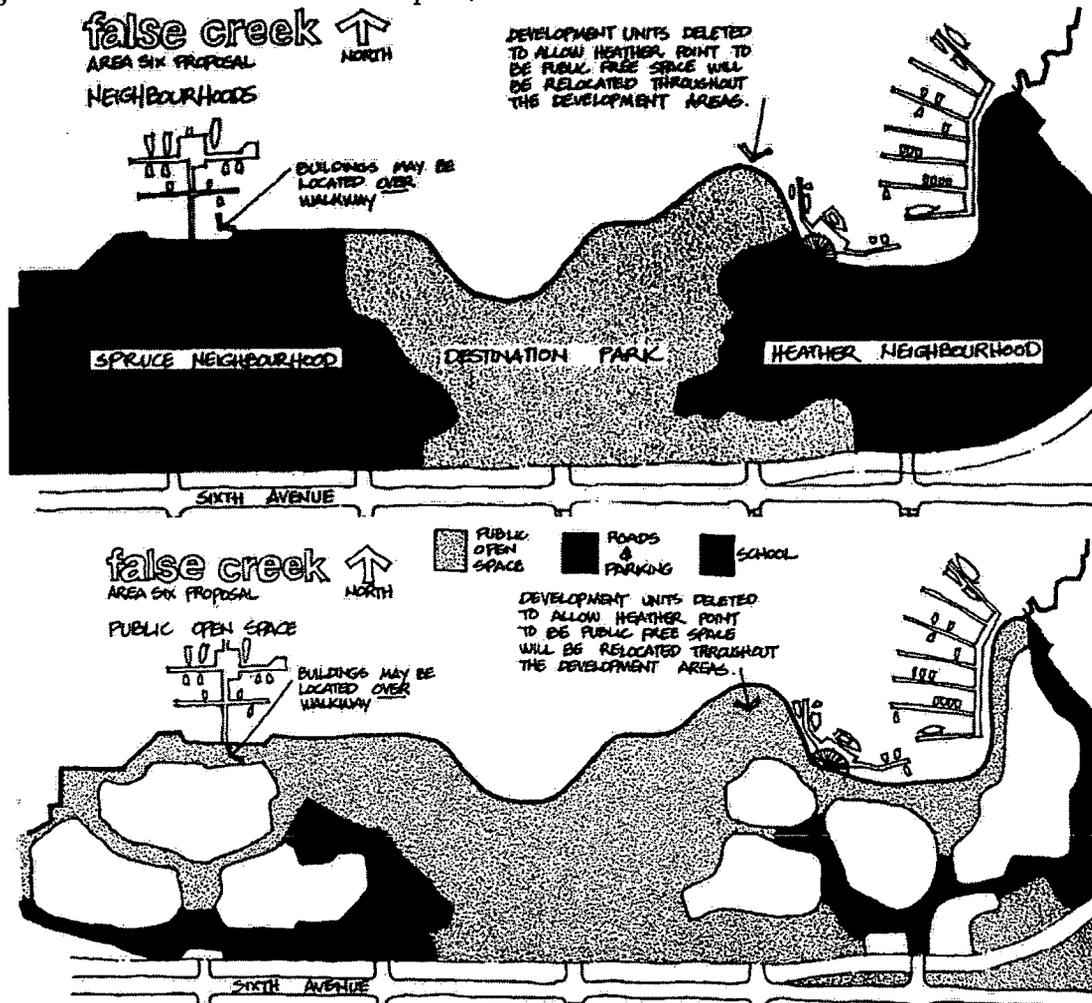


Fig. 124. Area 6, Phase 2, lies between Phase 1 and the Granville Bridge. Area 10A and 10b lie on the opposite side of the Granville Bridge, to the west. Area 6, Phase 3, to the west of the Cambie Bridge, was the last site be constructed from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 125. Schematic Plan of neighbourhoods and park, Ibid.

Fig. 126. Schematic Plan of Public Space, Ibid.



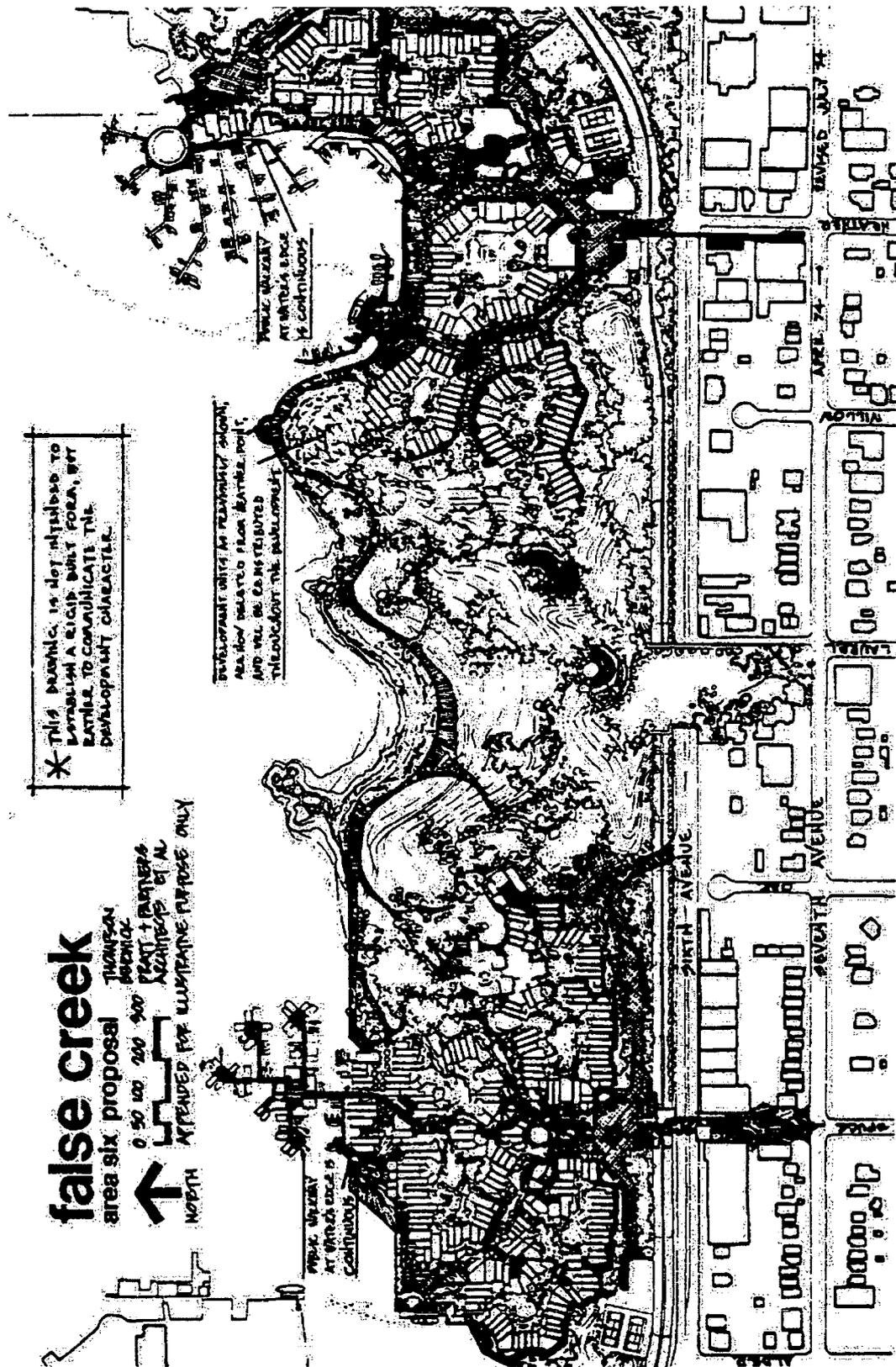


Fig. 127. TBP&P's "False Creek Area Six Proposal." The caption reads, "This drawing is not intended to illustrate a rigid built form, but rather to communicate the development character." From City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

proposals for Area 6, based on the approved conceptual scheme. Unsurprisingly, the competition winner was TBP&P who, working directly with the City Planning Department in its False Creek Study Group, had authored its preliminary conceptual plan and, moreover, had been independently studying the area since the early 1960s.²⁷ TBP&P were commissioned to design the final masterplan for Area 6 and to act as coordinating architects for the sub-projects within the site, including individual housing complexes and the public park.

4.2.3 Area 6: Planning and Design

TBP&P's final conceptual plan places a large park between two residential neighbourhoods (fig. 125). The neighbourhoods and the undulating, naturalistic Charleson Park all are roughly the same size (19-, 17- and 16-acres respectively) (fig. 125). The site was designed for a maximum of 900 housing units, and a population of roughly 1600.²⁸ The easterly, "Heather" neighbourhood contains a higher density of housing: two-thirds are 3-to-10 storey, concrete buildings, while the remaining third are 2-storey wood-frame townhouses.²⁹ The Heather neighbourhood contains most of the site's modest allotment of commercial space, placed around the perimeter of Leg-in-Boot Square. Housing in the western, "Spruce" neighbourhood, consists entirely of townhouses, with the exception of one multi-storey building for the disabled. The Spruce neighbourhood has an elementary school, a marina, and Sitka Square, but only a single corner store (fig. 128).³⁰

TBP&P's conceptual plan was accompanied by 17 "patterns", illustrating the

27 According to this author's conversations with Paul Merrick and Joe Wai.

28 "Area Development Plan," (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 1974) xx. Note that 851 housing units were eventually built.

29 The net density on the Heather site was 538 housing units on 19.1 acres, or 54.5 units/acre, with an FSR of 1.4 (ADP 147).

30 The net density on the Spruce site was 323 housing units on 16.2 acres, or 37.6 unites/acre (ADP 148).

desired character of the South False Creek neighbourhood in short texts, hand-drawn vignettes and photos. (These pattern-based urban design guidelines represent an early application of Pattern Language Theory, then being developed by Christopher Alexander's Centre for Environmental Structure at Berkeley University, and brought to TBP&P by Berkeley alumnus Ronald Walker. Put very simply, pattern language theory seeks to establish principles of architectural and urban design based on the observation of people's interactions with and experiences of different built environments.) The patterns identify spatial or formal traits which distinguish, for example, a vibrant gathering place from a disused public space.³¹ TBP&Ps conceptual plan and patterns aimed to describe the material qualities and a basic formal arrangement of the South False Creek development in *general* terms, while leaving the specific resolution of buildings and open spaces to the architects and builders who would later execute the individual projects (fig. 127). These documents were meant to replace a more conventional master plan, based on zoning by-laws, which would, for example, prescribe particular land uses, lot patterns, a street system, building massing, and even architectural features.

Because of the special social and urbanistic objectives of the South False Creek development, and because of its unusual ownership structure (with the City of Vancouver acting the overall owner-client, with multiple sponsor groups as sub-clients), the City opted to by-pass its zoning by-law and invoke, for the first time, the Development Plans section of the Vancouver Charter (Section 512). A traditional zoning by-law essentially regulates development by negative exclusion, prescribing what one cannot do. It does not describe, for example, a desirable building character or the kinds of social interactions that an open space should aim to encourage.³²

31 The seminal text on pattern language theory is Christopher Alexander et al, *A Pattern Language: Town, Buildings, Construction* (Oxford University Press, 1977). See also www.patternlanguage.com,

32 Traditional zoning bylaws "are negative in character—they are very good at specifying—
Chapter 4: Case Study - South False Creek

False Creek Area 6, Phase 1 - Overall Statistics

1. Total Land Area	Approximately 52.4 acres
2. Development Area	20.28 acres (including all residential and non-residential areas)
3. Public Areas	
a. Neighbourhood Park	9.11 acres
b. School	2.0 acres
c. Circulation	5.51 acres
d. Destination Park	15.5 acres
4. Total Number of Residential Units	Not to exceed 900 units
5a. Commercial Floor Space	Not to exceed 88,000 gross square feet (which may be located in either Heather or Spruce Neighbourhood or partially in each)
5b. Community Space	In addition, community space including the proposed elementary school may be provided; the amount, location and type of community space shall be to the satisfaction of the Development Permit Board
6. Average Net Density (units per development acre--as in [2] above)	Not to exceed 45 units per acre
7. Population	Approximately 1,600

Area 6 Neighbourhoods - Phase 1 - Heather**Land Use**

The Heather Neighbourhood is planned as a mixed life-style residential area. Non-residential uses are planned to include a marina, community facilities and some commercial facilities.

1. Neighbourhood Area	19.18 acres
2. Development Area	10.96 acres
3. Public Areas	
a. Neighbourhood Park	5.15 acres
b. Circulation	3.07 acres
4. Number of Residential Units	Not to exceed 650 units
5. Average Net Density (units per development acre as defined in [2] above)	Not to exceed 60 units per acre.
6. Number of Buildings Above 8 Storeys	Three buildings at ten storeys or less
7. Site Coverage in Development Areas (landscaped decks at lower levels to be considered open space)	Not to exceed 65 percent
8. Site Coverage in Development Areas Above Three Storey Height	9 percent

Area 6 Neighbourhoods - Phase 1 - Spruce**Land Use**

The Spruce Neighbourhood is planned as a predominantly family residential area. Non-residential uses are planned to include the school, community facilities and some commercial facilities.

1. Neighbourhood Area	17.72 acres
2. Development Area	9.32 acres
3. Public Areas	
a. Neighbourhood Park	3.96 acres
b. School	2.0 acres
c. Circulation	2.44 acres
4. Number of Residential Units	Not to exceed 330 units
5. Average Net Density (units per development acre as defined in [2] above)	Not to exceed 36 units per acre
6. Number of Buildings Above Three Storeys	None
7. Site Coverage in Development Areas (landscaped decks at lower levels to be considered open space)	Not to exceed 60 percent
8. Site Coverage in Development Areas Above Three Storey Height	Not applicable

Fig. 128. Area 6, Phase 1 Development Statistics, from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

An Official Development Plan (O.D.P.), by contrast, allowed the City Planning Department to tailor its design and development regulations to this specific project, and create “a more flexible, incentive-oriented approach” (151). The O.D.P. that evolved out of this new planning approach was very much the product of the participatory, experimental design process of TBP&P and the FCSG. It integrates most of the pattern-based principles of TBP&P’s conceptual proposal and, in some cases, incorporates their hand-drawn illustrations, photos and texts verbatim. Finalized in June 1974, the O.D.P. is remarkable document in itself, as evidence of how these qualitative, performance-based regulations, as well as the theoretical underpinnings of a pattern language approach, were absorbed into the City Planning Department’s development procedures.

Although the City originally envisioned multiple builders for the various parts of South False Creek, only one developer took the risk of bidding on such an unorthodox project, Frank Stanzl (Hulchanski 135). Once Stanzl was brought into the City’s planning process, the City moved the project forward quickly. The developer went through a two-stage approval procedure, submitting Area Development Plans (ADPs) and Development Permit Applications for each sub-area of the site.³³ In a single year, a detailed site plan for Area 6 was prepared, the zoning bylaw was amended, and a construction and management process was worked out (Hulchanski 136). Construction began on Area 6 in 1975. Phases 2 and 3, to the east and west of Area 6, began construction in October 1976 and October 1978 respectively (154). The first phase of housing in Area 6 was completed in 1976; the final buildings in the

ing what ought not to happen on a site... From the beginning it was recognized (by the City) that a traditional zoning bylaw would hinder, if not prevent, the unique site planning and development potential of the site” (Hulchanski xx).

33 In illustration of the speed at which the South False Creek development moved through the City of Vancouver’s approval process, the Official Development for Area 6 passed on Nov 4, 1974 and the Area Development Plan for Area 6, Phase 1 passed only 8 days later (Hulchanski xx).

City's South False Creek project were completed in 1990.

4.3 South False Creek as a City Model: Founding Documents

Beyond providing a chronology and context for the False Creek basin projects, my goal in this chapter is to argue how these urban developments reflect changing notions of the city and city-making. In my architectural study in Chapter 6, I will analyze how these paradigmatic shifts are manifest materially in the built environments of South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place. But here, I want to more closely consider the City's and the designers' development policies and design proposals as a remarkable material history in themselves. In the South False Creek project, TBP&P's original conceptual design and the City's Official Development Plan illustrate how both the architects and City planners sought alternatives to modernist planning and urban design techniques. They both refocus the criteria of urban development from economical land use to spatial quality, phenomenological experience, and "lifestyle". The documents reveal their authors' concept of the city, of public and domestic life, and the role of city makers.

4.3.1 The Inclusive City

How is the city made? Who is it for? TBP&P aimed to establish a flexible planning framework to create an adaptable community, and used experientially-oriented "patterns" to encourage the development a materially and socially rich environment. The City, for their part, hoped to ensure a socially diverse environment by mandating diversity in the residents' age, income and household type.

The City was determined that the social structure of South False Creek site should mirror that of the greater city of Vancouver, containing a high proportion of

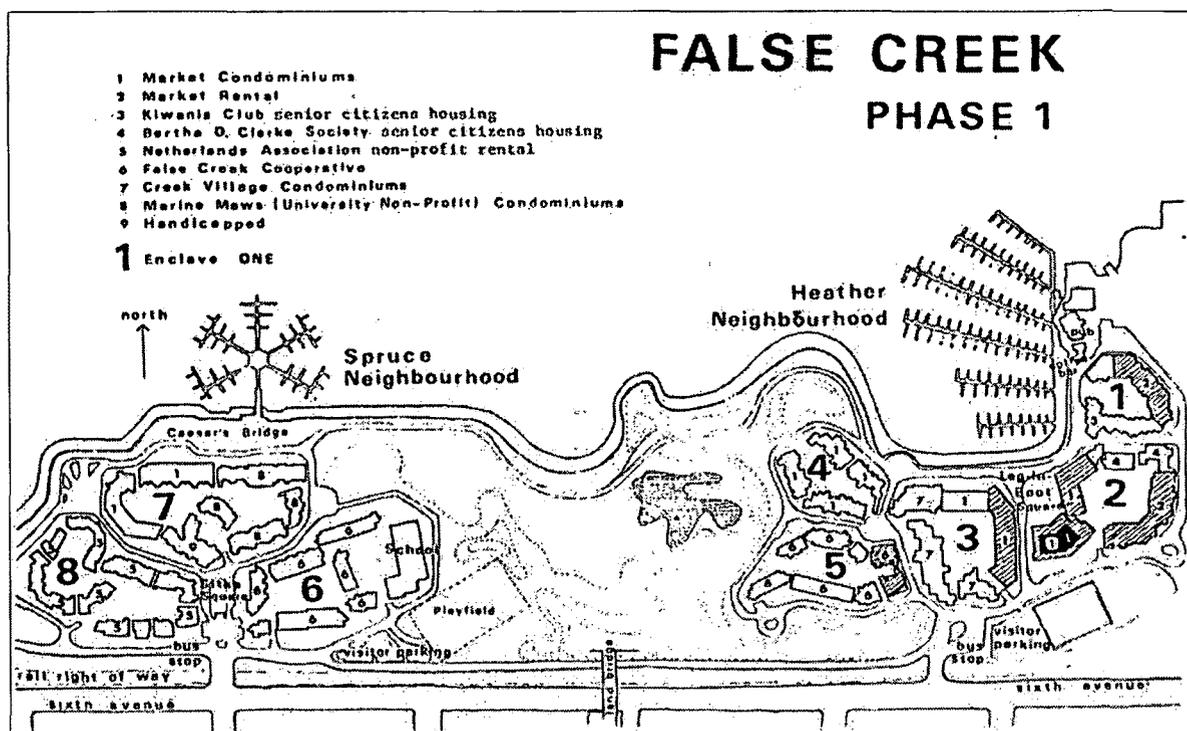


Fig. 129. Ownership and tenureship structures in South False Creek Housing, from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

False Creek South - Social Mix Targets	
Families with Children	25%
Couples (young and mature)	25%
Singles	25%
Elderly	15%

Table 1: Social Mix Targets; Tenureship Structure. Source: V.S. Planners (tables by author).

"Official Development Plan", City of Vancouver, 1974.

False Creek South - Tenureship Structure		
Freehold Market Condominiums	166	20%
Leasehold Market Condominiums*	106	12%
Co-operative Ownership	170	20%
Market Rental	151	18%
Low-income & Supportive Rental**	257	30%
Total	850	

*City of Vancouver retains ownership of land.

**Seniors and persons with physical disabilities. "Post-occupancy Evaluation", Vischer Skaburskis Planners, 1980.

families with children (25%), as well young and mature couples, singles and elderly (O.D.P. 15).³⁴ To achieve this mix, the City imposed various tenureship types on the housing, including market-rate condominiums, market-rate rental, subsidized and supportive rental, and co-operative ownership (fig. 129).³⁵ The City solicited community-based organizations to sponsor non-market housing complexes. Each sponsor group hired its own architect, who coordinated their housing project with TBP&P's overall conceptual plan.

By mandating a particular social mix, the City of Vancouver made the South False Creek site representative, at least from a demographic perspective, of the city at large. In this very literal sense, the district was conceived as a microcosm of the city. Moreover, by positioning this initiative in South False Creek as a corrective for the social imbalances of other inner-city districts—such as the West End, where mid-income, two-person households were predominant—the City makes a pointed argument that inclusiveness is a critical feature of the city. The notion of inclusiveness was reflected in the planning process: the City invited the public to participate in imaging sessions; they published brochures and reports on the project's development; they tasked community-based groups to steward the housing enclaves. The message—one that continues to be espoused by the City of Vancouver—is that the city is made by and for its diverse residents. An underlying assumption of the City's mandate for public involvement is that an inclusive approach to urban planning will produce a more socially-inclusive city.

The architects of South False Creek were similarly committed to integrating multiple voices into their design process. At TBP&P, the earliest work on the False Creek site was initiated long before its appointment to the False Creek Study Group,

34 "False Creek Policies," (Vancouver: City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1973).

35 Vischer Skaburskis Planners, False Creek Area 6 Phase 1: Post-Occupancy Evaluation (Vancouver: Vischer Skaburskis Planners, 1980) 4.

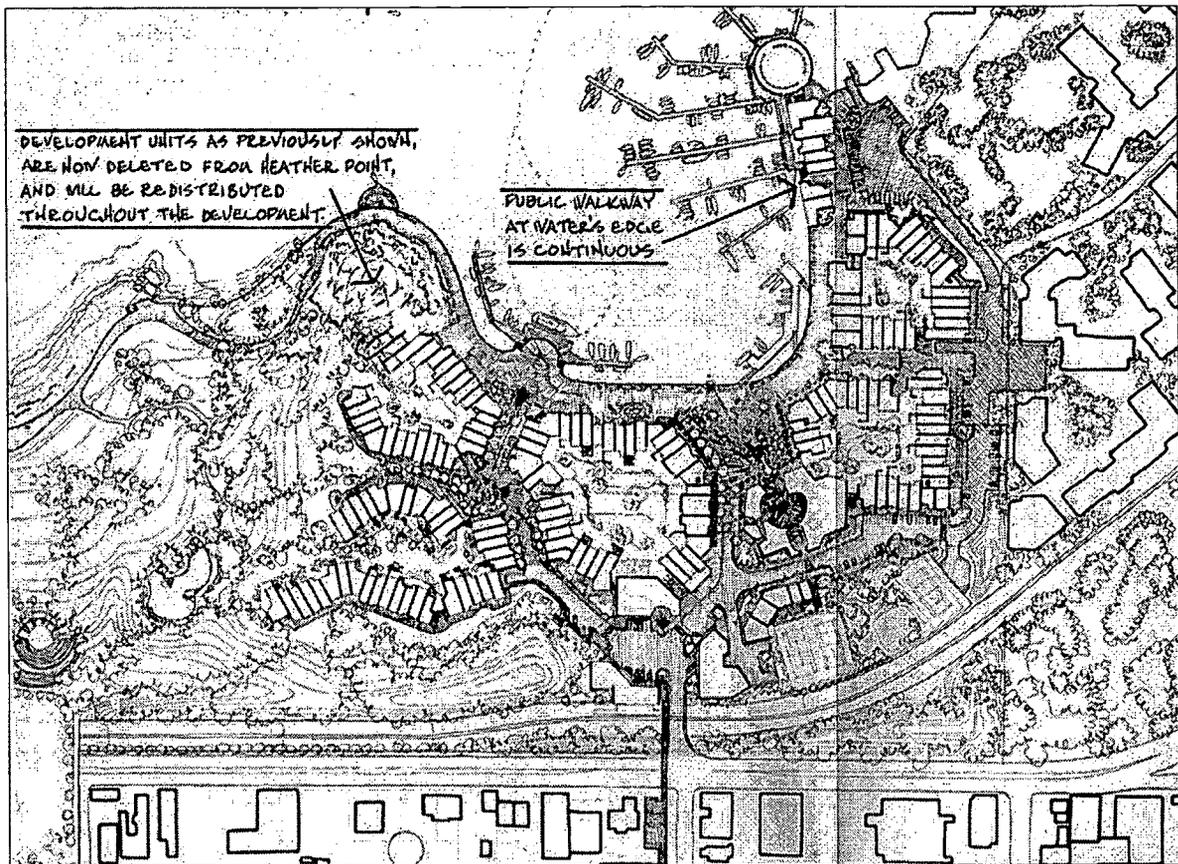


Fig. 130. A portion of TBP&P's Concept Plan, showing the "complex, minutely designed landscape," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 131. A vignette, likely drawn by TBP&P, illustrating a pattern for public space, "Nature in Every Square," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.



by junior architects holding late-night design charettes. As the project proceeded, drawings were left out for many different designers to revise, elaborate, and annotate with vignettes.³⁶ Cory Verbauwehede, the son of one of TBP&P's architects, interviewed his late father's colleagues about the unique design process for South False Creek:

Novel techniques were used to increase creativity and avoid one approach from dominating the whole development... A gigantic roll of paper was laid out on the floor in the office, and the architects would take turns working on different sections. In the morning, one person would draw in a desired pattern, only to have it changed with eraser and pencil by someone else in the afternoon (198).

In this way, the final design proposal was built up as a complex patchwork, rather than as a masterplan of a singular, dominant vision (fig. 131). This unorthodox design strategy was intended to produce a more egalitarian and complex master plan; qualities which, presumably, would become embedded in the South False Creek neighbourhood.

The net result was a complex, minutely designed landscape, notable for its seamless juxtaposition of multiple design strains... My father claims that for every minute that you walk along its windy streets, there is a unique vista to greet you. This was planning on a human scale (198).

Related to this concern for inclusiveness is the belief, shared by the City and the design team, that the criteria for urban design and development should be based on the subjective, embodied experience of an inhabitant (figs. 130, 131). Many of TBP&P's urban design "patterns" describe a desired social situation rather than a built form. One of the patterns describing "Housing", for example, features a simple diagram illustrating how a person feels happy in a mid-sized group of people, and unhappy in a group that is too small or too large (fig. 133). An adjacent diagram shows houses facing a larger main street, and others on a narrow side street; the

³⁶ Joe Wai, in conversation with this author, noted that Paul Merrick earned a reputation for such vignettes, part of his substantial contribution to the design.

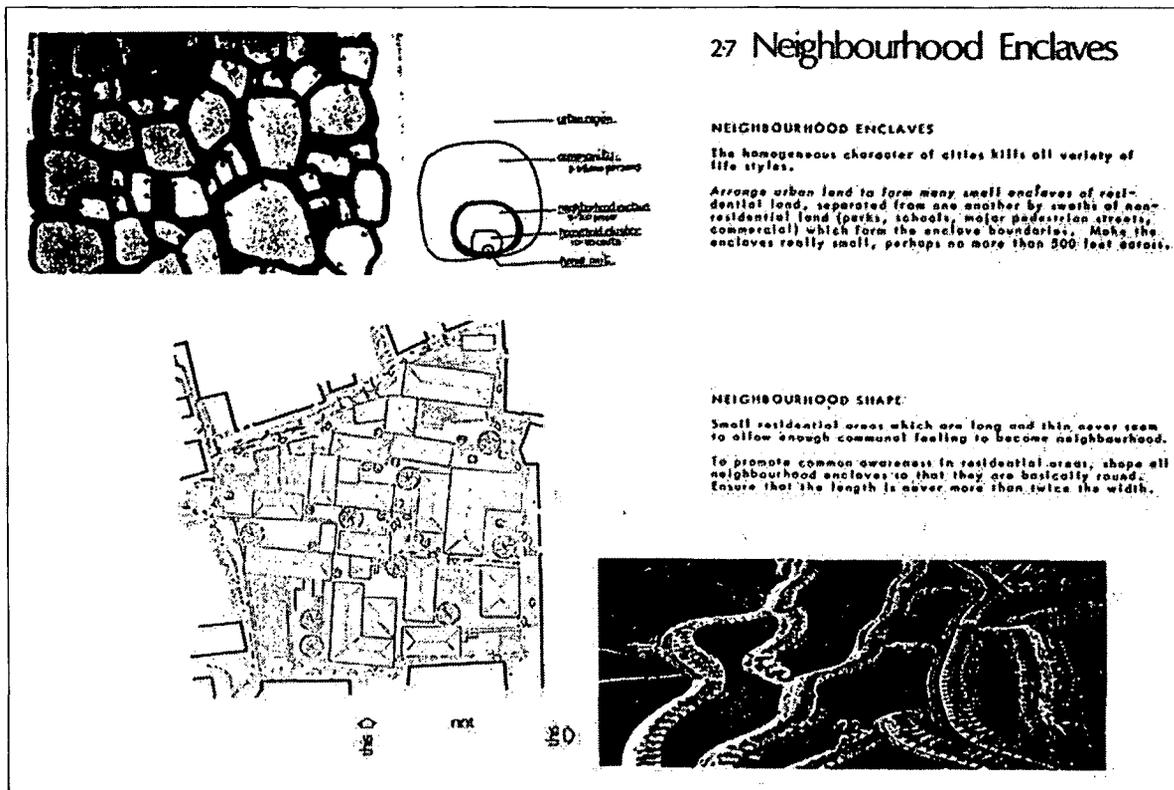
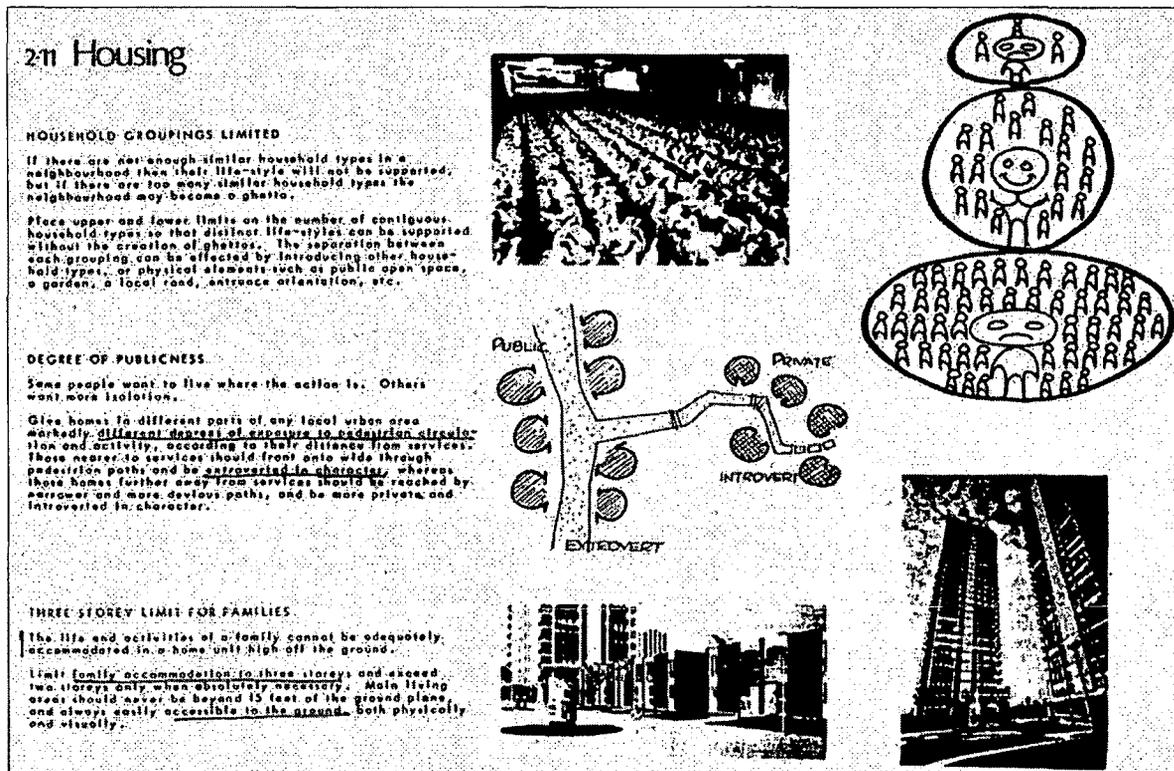


Fig. 132. TBP&P, "Neighbourhood Enclaves," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 133. TBP&P, "Housing," Ibid.



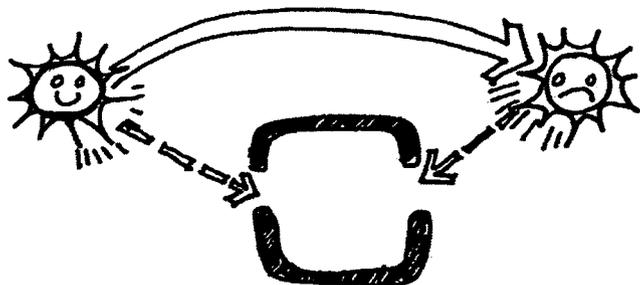


Fig. 134. "Sunny Main Rooms," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.



Fig. 135. "Rooftops Are for Living," Ibid.

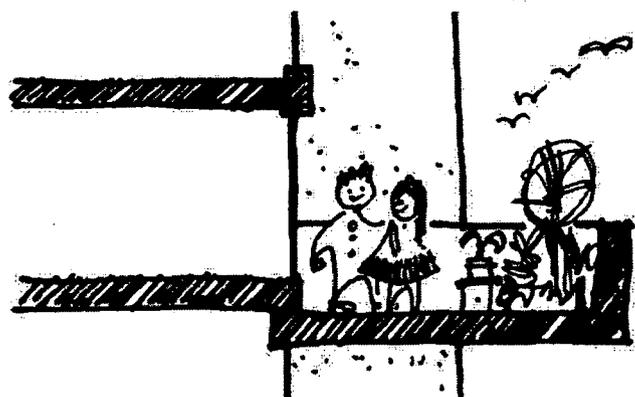


Fig. 136. "Earth Balconies," Ibid.

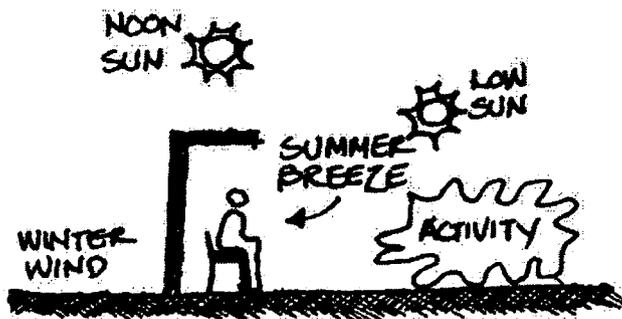


Fig. 137. "Outdoor Seats," Ibid.

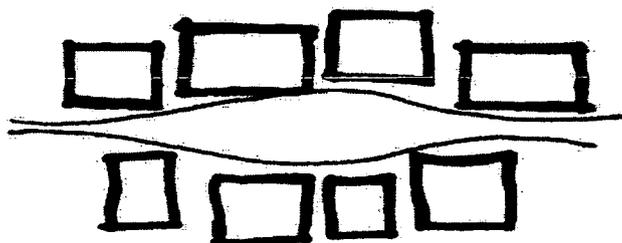


Fig. 138. "Streets to Stay In," Ibid.

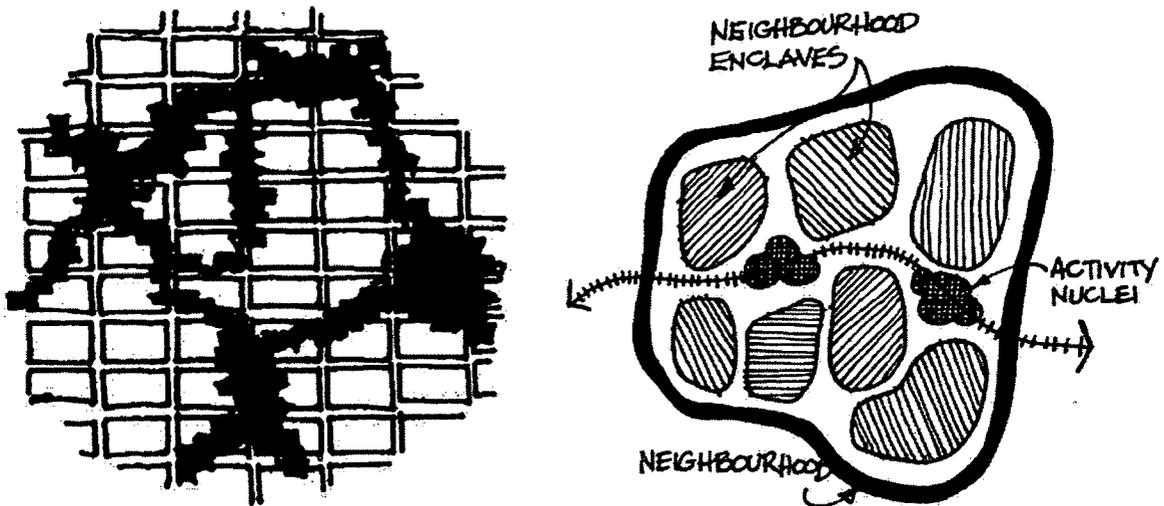
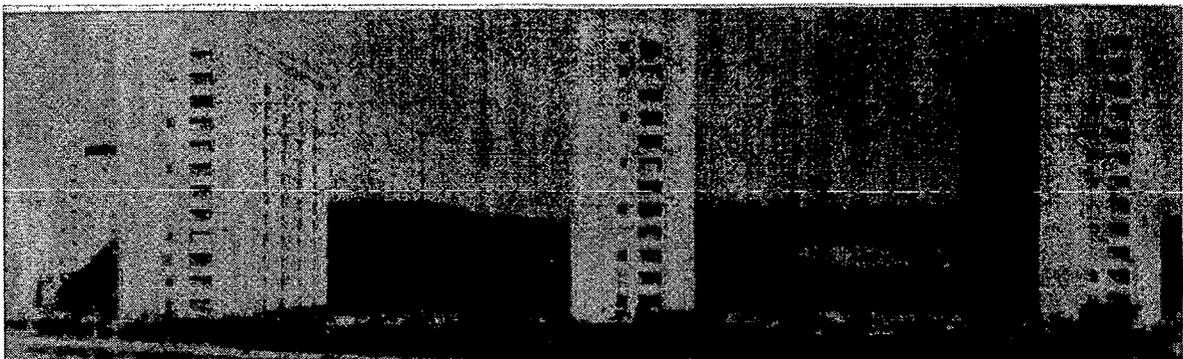
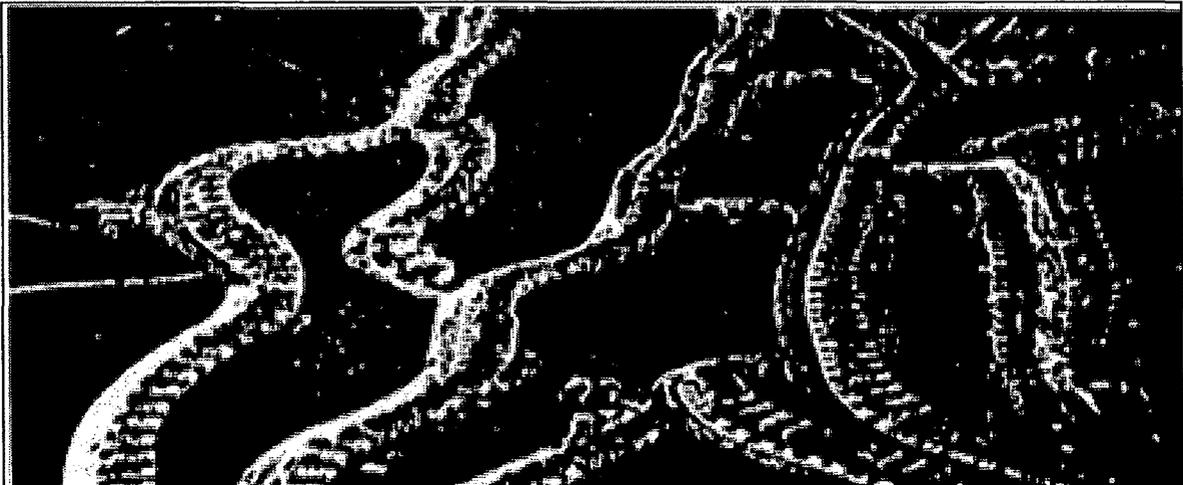


Fig. 139. Cellular and biological imagery in the pattern illustrations. "Pedestrian Web Connects Urban Nuclei," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 140. "Neighbourhood Enclaves," Ibid.

Figs. 141, 142. Illustrations of incorrect forms of housing. (Top) Long, linear tracts of suburban houses. (Bottom) High-rises with "tacked-on balconies". Ibid.



caption claims that extraverted people seek out houses of a more public nature, while introverts prefer houses farther from the public realm. (Note that this pattern recommends that housing options should accommodate individual personality; a more conventional development plan might specify housing for different household types or incomes.) The imagined experience of a resident also informs the patterns for “Local Parks”: As “(p)eople feel more comfortable if they can move from a small space to a large space easily,” the design guideline calls for smaller, more private gardens around the housing complexes to lead out and connect to larger, more public parks.³⁷

By integrating TBP&P’s conceptual plan and patterns into its Official Development Plan, the City embraced the architects’ quite radical approach of using ephemeral spatial qualities and experiences as regulatory criteria for urban development. Under the requirements for “Residential Use”, the South False Creek O.D.P. declares “No Floor Space Ratio: The criteria set forth in the Official Development Plan shall be used for density and bulk controls instead of traditional floor space ratios” (O.D.P. 14).³⁸ Instead, the guidelines lay out qualitative criteria for housing forms: including “Sunny Main Rooms” (17), “Roof Tops Are for Living” (16), and “Earth Balcony” (18) (figs. 134-36).³⁹ Similarly, experiential, qualitative criteria are applied to the public realm. Instead of using overall site plans to describe a rational system of land uses, building massing, traffic patterns and open spaces, the South False Creek O.D.P. uses vignettes of spatial moments within the public domain, such as “Outdoor Seats”, which should receive sunshine but remain protected from the wind (O.D.P. 27), or “Streets to Stay In”, which swell to accommodate lingering

37 Note that, where a more conventional masterplan would allocate park spaces in a residential development, it would not prescribe the relationship between them in terms of an imagined resident’s embodied experience.

38 For each major category of urban development criteria, the O.D.P. stipulates a set of mandatory requirements, interpretive requirements and design guidelines.

39 “Taming Tall Buildings” specifies that taller buildings should be stepped back and provide canopies and other forms of visual interest for pedestrians (O.D.P. 16).

(From top to bottom)

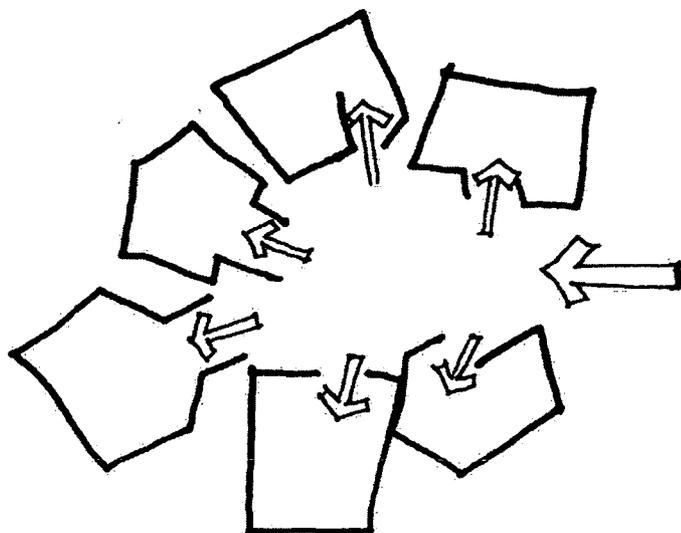
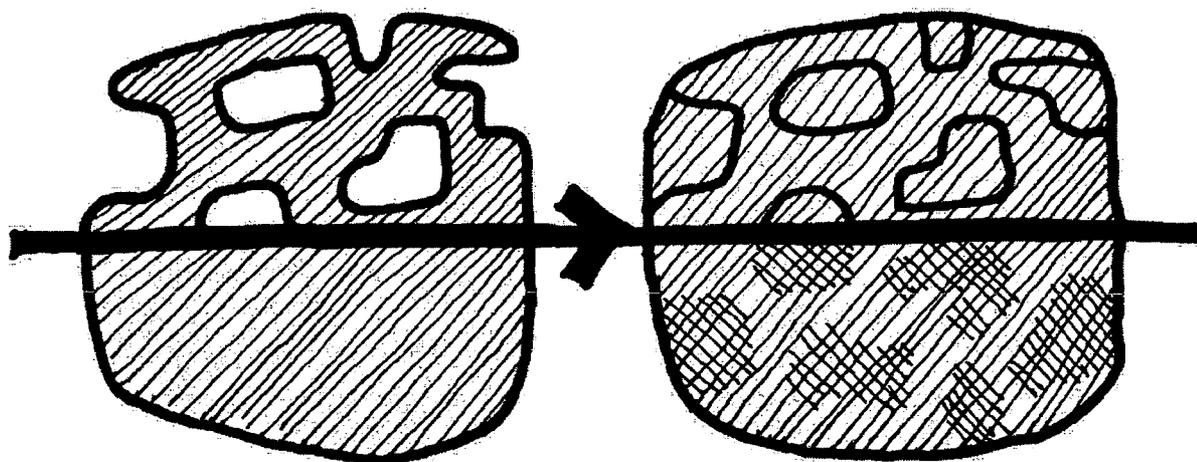
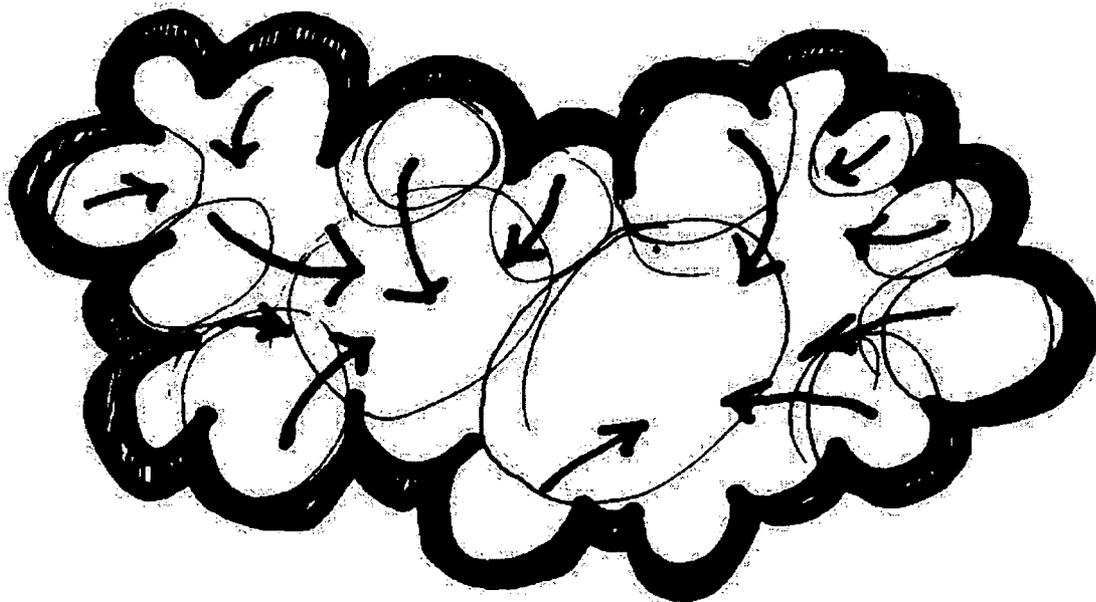


Fig. 143. "Identifiable Front Entrances," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 144. "Hierarchy of Open Spaces," Ibid.

Fig. 145. "Adaptable Communities," Ibid.



pedestrians (12) (figs. 137, 138).

It is not accidental that many of these design guidelines focus on intimate urban and domestic spaces. The City and their consultants on the South False Creek project concurred that “the physical environment ‘close at hand’ (is) key” to a viable neighbourhood and “livable city” (Hardwick 347). A City of Vancouver report published in 1971 reads: “Too often small scale needs are sacrificed to the efforts of providing large scale facility and amenity.”⁴⁰ Only a decade later, the Planning Department would take the opposite position on the Concord Pacific Place project.

4.3.2 The Adaptable City

Certain assumptions about the nature of the city come through in the design and planning documents for South False Creek. The built environment that appears in these documents is adaptable, self-organizing and evolving.

The deliberate vagueness of TBP&P’s conceptual plan was meant to allow the design to evolve during its implementation and construction, through the contributions of other architects, developers, and resident groups. Another goal of their patterns was to create mechanisms for change. It was expected, for example, that residents would modify their environment over time. A pattern about “Neighbourhood Parks” calls for an un-designed open space in the centre of each enclave, so that its final character and use would be determined by the people living there. The residents’ individualization of their housing units is seen as a morphological force in the built environment. “Identifiable Front Entrances” requires that the front entrance of every home “be capable of becoming distinctly different from its neighbours” (O.D.P. 19) (fig. 144). Such processes of differentiation were meant to allow a community to develop a distinct identity, which would strengthen

40 Cited in Hardwick 347.

and evolve.⁴¹

The Council's Special Committee for False Creek, for their part, "made it very clear from the onset that the objective was not to develop an 'end state' plan, but to develop an 'operating framework' capable of encouraging the emergence of healthy communities" that could remain viable over the long term (Hardwick 347). According to Hardwick, this approach aimed to redress the rigidity of earlier modernist planning techniques and the urban districts that resulted from them, which were seemingly incapable of evolving into "livable" neighbourhoods. A planning process based on an "operating framework," rather than prescriptive zoning and design regulations, also implies a different role for city governance. Similarly to the architectural team, the City considered how specific mechanisms of change could be integrated into the Official Development Plan and its own approval procedures.

Intriguingly, low-density housing types in an inner-city context were perceived, by the City, as one such mechanism of change. The concept is that a sparser building fabric leaves blank spaces that can be filled. The design guidelines for "Adaptable Communities" describes how unbuilt and low-density areas actually facilitate change from within, as the communities will infill these spaces with new buildings and programs, as "future needs are manifested" (O.D.P. 8) (fig. 146).⁴² This seemingly simple concept is quite provocative in light of the high-rise building boom in the West End only a few years earlier, and the ultra-dense development in False Creek North which would immediately follow.

This belief in the mutability of the urban environment, and corresponding concern with enabling "natural" processes of change, stem from the broader

41 Hardwick's notion of the "evolving" identity of a neighbourhood draws from both Alexander's pattern language and Jane Jacobs' urban theory.

42 Another aspect in the City's strategy of creating a "performative" guidelines for the South False Creek development was to organize the O.D.P. into "Mandatory Requirements," "Interpretive Requirements" and "Design Guidelines," rather than use prescriptive regulations.

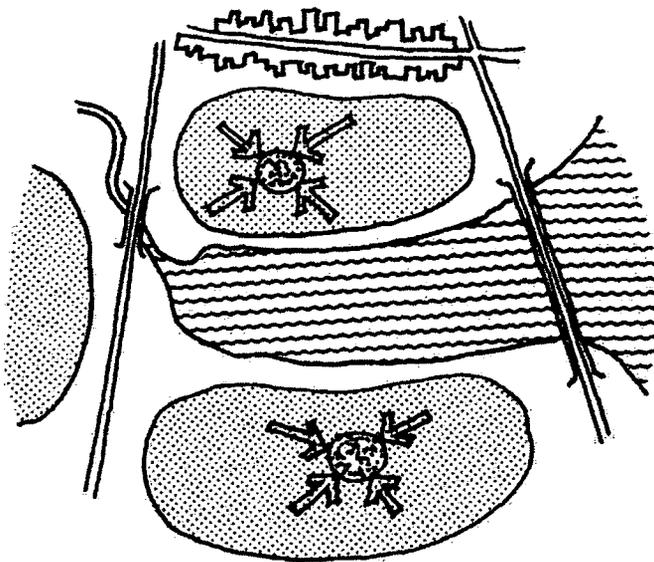


Fig. 146. "Neighbourhood." The nodes inside the neighbourhood enclaves (with arrows) represent local forums or gathering places. Note how strong barrier zones (such as water, white space, major roads and bridges) separate the enclaves.
From City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

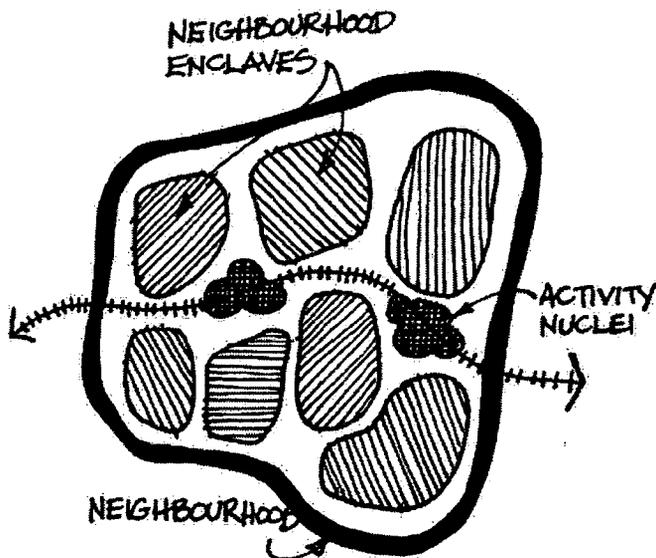


Fig. 147. "Neighbourhood Enclaves," showing thick boundaries around housing enclaves and the district as a whole. Ibid.

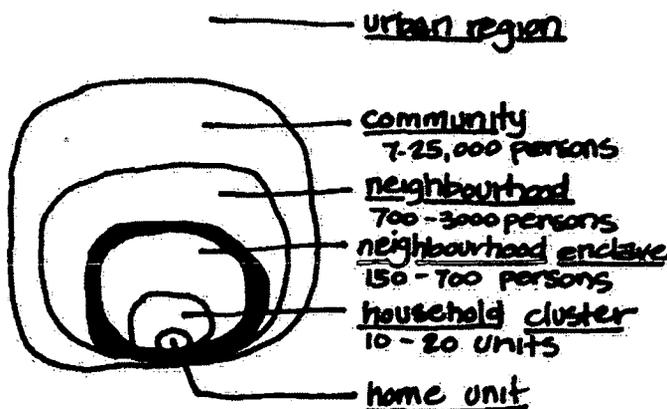


Fig. 148. This diagram illustrates the nested structure of the urban environment. Note how the scale of urban components is controlled, by number of residents or housing units. Ibid.

conceptualization of the “city as ecosystem” that I discussed earlier. If a city is a self-organizing system, its development might be *guided* by the planning process, but never wholly controlled.⁴³ The understanding of the city as an organic entity is manifest in the biological imagery of the architects’ and City’s plans. Consider, for example, a pattern entitled “Pedestrian Web Connects Urban Nuclei”, and the cellular imagery in the “Neighbourhood Enclaves” diagram (O.D.P. 24, TBP&P 122) (figs. 139, 140).

The city model suggested by the South False Creek documents is an organic entity that is, at the same time, socially malleable and “naturally” self-determining. The design guidelines, where they take a macro-view of the district, aim to describe an open framework of urban systems: streets and pathways, building massing, public amenities, and a range of public, semi-public and private open spaces. In an effort to break with the modern spatial grid and infrastructure of the existing city, the South False Creek project introduces experimental and innovative approaches to the configuration of the public realm: including its fast-to-slow gradient of traffic flow; its break with the standard street grid and block pattern; and the shaping of public and semi-public open spaces around “donut-shaped” building masses. But this facilitative, innovative approach to city-making comes into conflict with the design guidelines for urban elements at a closer scale. This is particularly true of the design of the house, which retains markedly traditional traits. The implication, perhaps, is that the “house” cannot be so freely re-imagined.

4.3.3 South False Creek as a “House” Model

In the conceptual plan and O.D.P., housing in South False Creek is conceived as small clusters of row-houses and mid-rises, organized into “donuts”, containing

43 “Although cities are self-organizing systems, their physical structure and governance must incorporate mechanisms to accommodate change.” Hardwick 356.

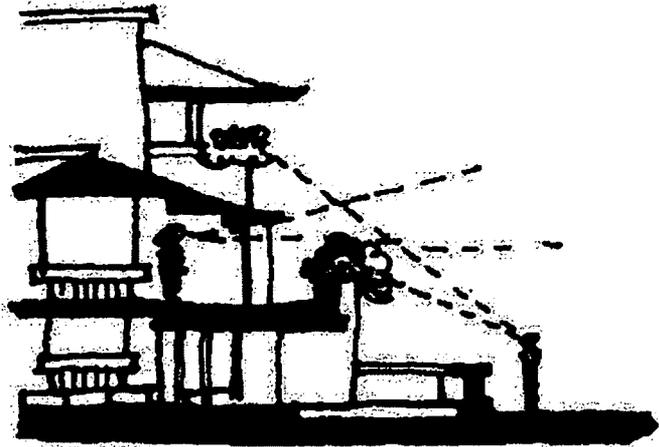
pockets of shared gardens, and surrounded by public parks, community facilities and pedestrian streets. The “patterns” for the design of the housing enclaves regulate scale, configuration, materiality, and formal arrangement. In particular, *formal diversity* in housing is claimed to contribute to a healthy community—that is, diverse housing forms prevent the “homogeneous character of (modern) cities (that) kills all variety of life styles” (TBP&P 122).

Many of these patterns attribute prior failings of the modern city to incorrect scale or form. The guidelines state that neighbourhood enclaves should be round, as residential areas “which are long and thin never seem to allow enough communal feeling to become a neighbourhood” (122). They should be “really small, perhaps no more than 500 feet across”, to promote common awareness (122). An accompanying photo of tracts of modern suburban housing infers that long, linear housing fabrics contribute to a sense of alienation and lack of community (fig. 141). Likewise, the high-density housing forms typical of modern, inner-city neighbourhoods are expressly rejected, particularly for family-oriented dwellings:

The life and activities of a family cannot be adequately accommodated in a home unit high off the ground. Limit family accommodations to three storeys and exceed two storeys only when absolutely necessary. (TBP&P 125) ⁴⁴

An accompanying photo of a modernist high-rise illustrates the incorrect house form for a family (fig. 142). The notion of a proper scale and configuration applies to the social mix, as well as the form, of the neighbourhood. TBP&P’s pattern on “Household Groupings Limited,” for example, explains that too many households of the same type can make a ghetto; too few undermines the possibility of community (125).

⁴⁴ The guidelines for Phase 2 restricted housing for families to wood-frame buildings of a maximum of 4-storeys, with a similar argument: “Density – Scale: This scale is meant to accommodate lifestyles inherent in the more traditional forms of family life...” Downs/Archambault & Partners, David/Johnston Architects, Frank Stanzl Construction. “False Creek, Area Six, Phase 2: A Design Handbook,” (Vancouver: City of Vancouver, 1977).

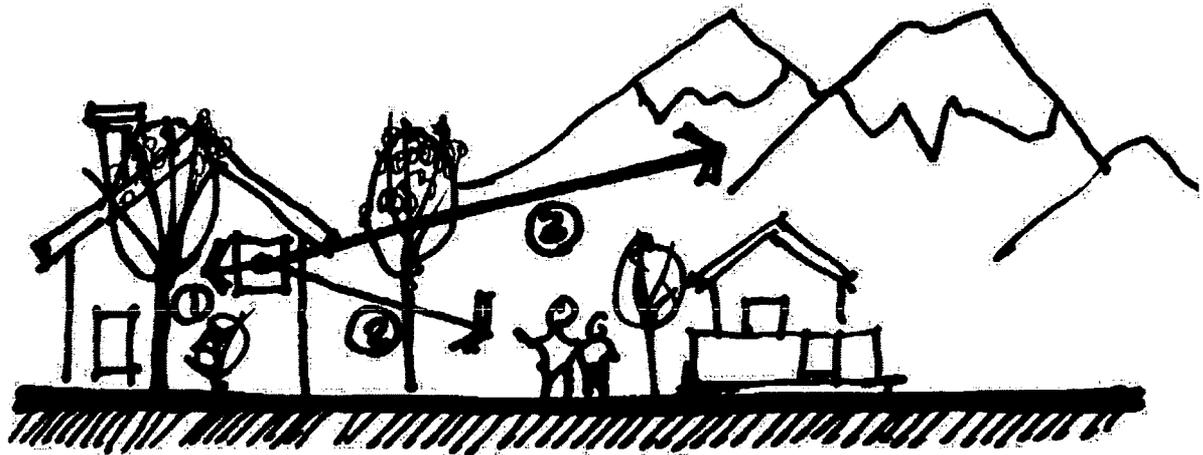
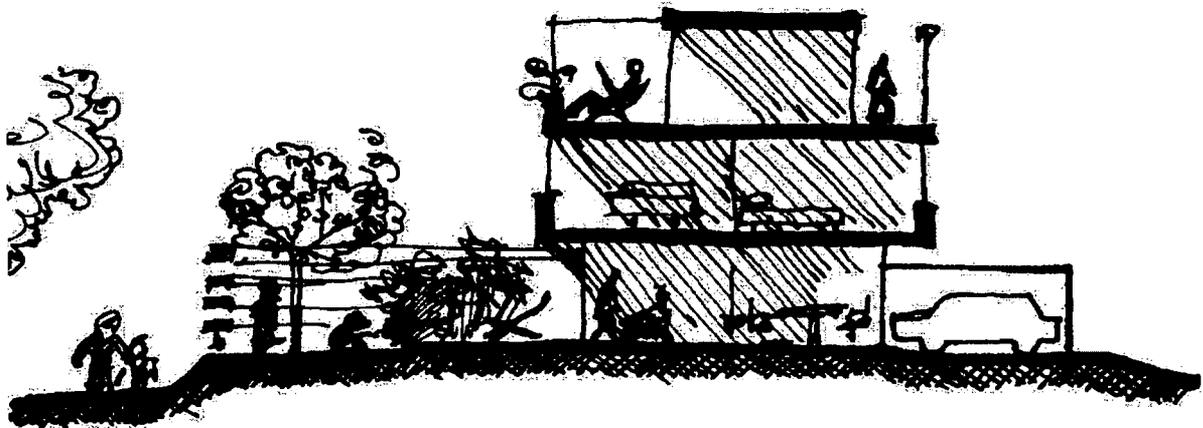


(Top to Bottom)

Fig. 149. "Privacy in the Home," from City of Vancouver, "Official Development Plan," 1973.

Fig. 150. "Privacy in the Home (b)" Ibid.

Fig. 151. "Three Kinds of View."



compatible wall finishes

Utilize a limited vocabulary of materials and finishes to provide a rich yet subtle and harmonious architectural setting. Front buildings shall be finished in integral stucco, painted stucco or brick cladding compatible with paving materials and vegetation. Polychromatic color schemes should be explored, compatible with adjacent building finishes, paving materials and vegetation. Fine walls where exposed shall be parged and painted or clad in brick. Concrete buildings shall have integral color or be painted. Use of large brick surfaces or bearing brick walls are encouraged.

flat roof termination

Make rooftops accessible and attractive. Utilize planting, decks, greenhouses and wood pergolas and screens where possible. Rooftops are visible from one building to another, such treatment is mandatory on at least 50% of the roof surface. Of the remainder, 50% of the roofs must be treated.

roof projections

Air conditioning, ventilating or other mechanical equipment shall be screened in such a manner as to harmonize with building form, color and materials.

rooftop expansion

Provide opportunity for roof expansions (bay windows or greenhouses) in stepped roof situations or where building heights and codes allow. Maximum protrusion to be 7' by 17' in width. Roof extensions other than bay windows must be gabled at their extremity - approximately 50% of the total roof and wall surfaces - to approval.

end unit treatment

Consider light penetration, views, form modulation of all end walls to enhance the building's aesthetic and to provide appropriate scale elements. These elements could involve sloping (at 4% to 12%) the roof over end units (frame buildings), bay window projections, openings to balconies or rooms and expression of stairs or chimney mass. End units must be planned in order to take advantage of their exposure and to minimize potential bulk.

see through railings

Design railings of open balconies, decks wood or of glass/plastic infill to allow vistas through. All top horizontal rails to be maximum 3" x 6" timber (fire-treated), timber railings set 3 ft. from decks with additional 6" metal (or other) above - to approval.

humane parking garages

Ensure natural light and ventilation in all parking garages wherever possible. Where light wells or where parking is exposed to Lacey Way, provide open masonry or tile screens. Where garages face park, provide openings for view and light. For deep parking provide planted light wells in central locations.

front entrance character

Unit identity can be achieved through variations in materials, front-door finish, overhangs, column elements, etc. Provide uniqueness in front entrance place utilizing the above and the timber structure described under Building Form - Ground Level Features.

enclave gateway

Where noted, provide 10" x 10" or 4" x 10" timber or brick (to match paving) entrance ways. The use of sloping walls, planted arches, open gates, etc. are encouraged to define territory at public and semi-private interfaces.

rooftop terraces

Provide 10" x 10" or 4" x 10" timber framework (fire-treated) on 50% or more of all roofs. Set timber slats, grillage or canvas as required for sunscreening. Provide planters for vine growth.

upper unit decks and balconies

Provide at least one deck or balcony of at least 60 sq. ft. on all above grade units. Decks or balconies shall have no inside dimension less than 3'-6" clear except on approval.

wheelchair access

Slope all walks no more than 1 in 10 to allow for wheelchair use. Where steps are planned, provide adjacent ramp or alternative access route.

corridor & stairway expression

Utilize stairway and corridors as unifying elements to help articulate building form and provide scale.



Fig. 152. (Above) "Phase 2 Built Form Guidelines." These guidelines are similar to those for Phase 1. From Downs Archambault, "False Creek South Design Handbook," 1977.

Fig. 153. (Right) View of dwelling entrances, False Creek Co-op. D. Wiley, 2010.



(Top to Bottom)

Fig. 154. View from Seawall towards Leg-in-Boot Square, which has the majority of the commercial space in the district, D. Wiley, 2010.

Fig. 155. Interior, semi-public garden within a donut-shaped housing enclave. Millhouse Housing Co-op, Ibid.

Fig. 156. "Domestic" porch and front door. False Creek Housing Co-op, Ibid.

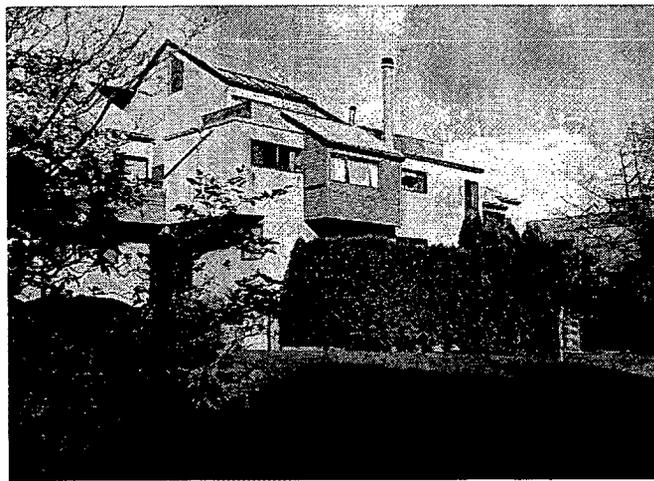
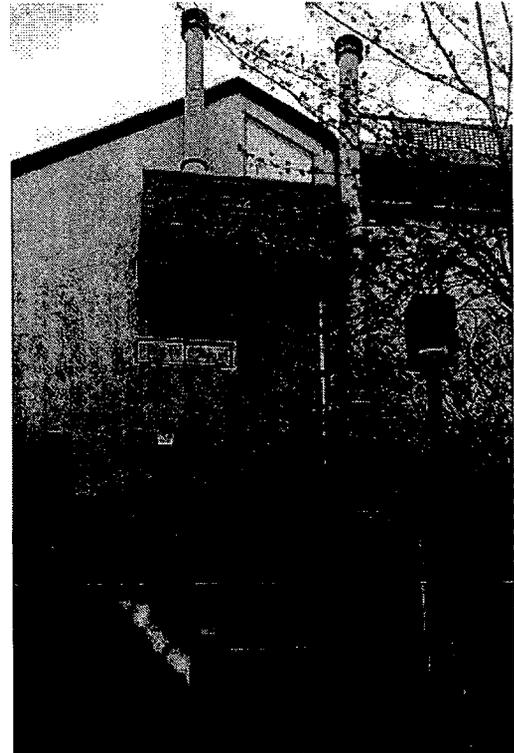
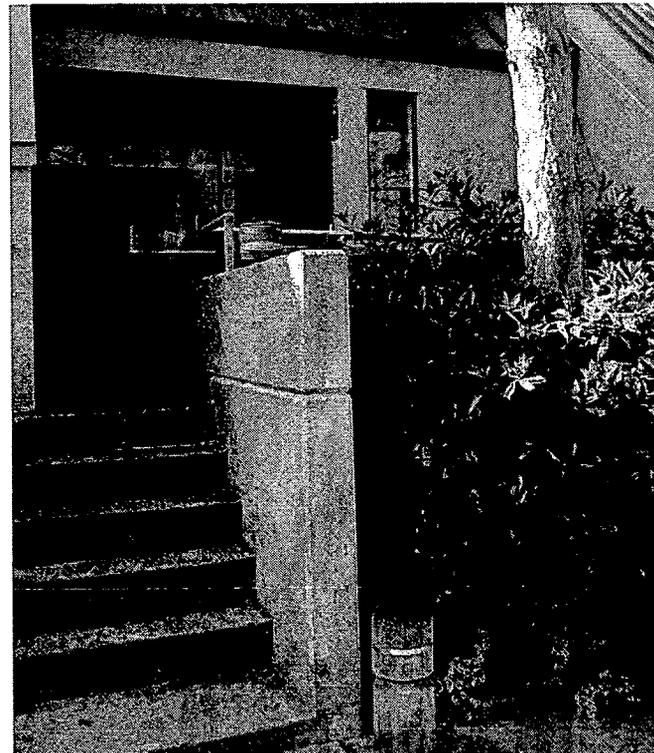


Fig. 157. "Domestic" materials and construction. Millhouse Housing Co-op, Ibid.



In the spirit of pattern language, the precise locations, heights, architectural features and style of the “house” are not prescribed by the design guidelines. The guidelines do aim to control, however, building type, the relationship of buildings to semi-public and public realms, and aesthetic character. Acceptable building types for the “house” are low and mid-rise, “including townhouses, garden apartments and multi-storey buildings” (O.D.P. 15). Each house should have an inhabitable outdoor space of a least 6 square feet; “earth balconies” or balconies deeply recessed into the building are preferred (8) (fig. 136). This latter guideline is a critique of the “tacked-on” balconies that were typical in the West End. Each home should have “Three Kinds of View”, that is, each house should have an intimate view of a private garden, a middle-ground view of the community realm, and a long view of the city and natural horizon (7) (fig. 151). Each home should have “Two Sides”, with back and front entrances.⁴⁵ The construction method and materiality of the family house is also specified: “(Wood) frame buildings shall be finished in ... stucco or brick cladding compatible with paving materials and vegetation” (Downs et al. xx) (fig. 152)⁴⁶

The unconventional urban design concepts in South False Creek—such as the winding configuration of streets and the use of green spaces as boundary zones—seem at odds with the conservative regulations for its housing. The guidelines pick up the markers of a typical North American, single-family detached dwelling: an average 2 ½-storey height; wood-frame construction; traditionally “domestic” exterior materials; an individualized front door; a semi-public outdoor space in front (ie. a front yard); a second, more private outdoor space (ie. a back yard or, in this case, a patio or balcony); and distinct front and back façades. (figs. 153-157) In Chapter 6, I will explore some of the actual housing projects produced under these design

45 Cited in VS Planners 194.

46 This citation is taken from the Site Planning Guidelines for Phase 2, but equally to Phase 1.

guidelines. What I want to emphasize here is that, while the planners aimed to create an open framework for architectural design of the housing, they nonetheless retained the structural characteristics and embedded values of the modern suburban house. Unsurprisingly, the three entries for the South False Creek architectural design competition failed to produce the innovative housing solutions that the City had hoped for.⁴⁷

4.3.4 A Suburban Urbanism

South False Creek was conceived in part as a reproach of suburbia and in part as its substitute.⁴⁸ Its authors recognized that a new inner-city neighbourhood would need to compete with the benefits and freedoms, whether perceived or actual, of the mid-century, North American suburban lifestyle. In order to attract families with children, distinctive features of the suburban landscape are picked up and re-contextualized. One “suburban” feature in South False Creek is the interpretation of Vancouver’s typical single family homes, in formal structure and style, into multi-family housing complexes. Another feature is the district’s low density. Although a neighbourhood of 90 000 inhabitants was first envisioned for South False Creek, the FCSG ultimately capped its population at 30 000 (VS Planners: 3). The effort to re-create a suburban atmosphere is also evident in the way the site’s urban setting is concealed: parking lots are buried; arterial streets are separated by wooded berms; and wide bands of vegetation separate the district from the surrounding city.

Another widely recognized tenet of North American suburbanism is the valuation of individualism and privacy, both personal and familial. I want to suggest the design of South False Creek reflects a tension in the urban imaginary,

⁴⁷ The jurors of the competition expressed disappointment in the lack of innovation, in the submitted design proposals entries, in housing models (Hulchanski xx).

⁴⁸ One goal of the False Creek project “was to attract families to the inner city. It was to offer families with children an ‘alternative to suburban living’.” VS Planners 3.

between achieving a more fulsome community, and maintaining this highly-prized individualism. This tension is manifest in the different, seemingly contradictory approaches to the district (that is, the “city” model), versus the house.

Many patterns and guidelines in the South False Creek O.D.P. assure that the privacy and autonomy of the household will be protected within a relatively compressed residential fabric. “Privacy in the Home,” for example, describes how views into the home should be blocked by terraces and landscaping (O.D.P. 13) (figs. 149, 150). At the same time, the expectation of privacy must be reconciled with “a sense of community affiliation and involvement,” which is, at the root, the ideological basis of the new neighbourhood (Hardwick 347). The “Three Kinds of Views” link the house to a group of households, a local community and the city beyond (347). These views *from* the home express the family’s relatedness to multi-dimensional social realm

Guidelines for the composition of neighbourhood show this same concern with balancing privacy and autonomy against community affiliation. “Neighbourhood Enclaves” calls for strong boundary zones around groupings of households, in order to allow each group to develop an autonomous identity (figs. 146, 147). The concept behind this guideline is that large areas of homogeneous housing will dominate and assimilate adjacent neighbourhoods.⁴⁹ Interstitial areas of parks, schools or commercial fabric remediate this problem by insulating the housing enclaves from each other: “Each enclave is then free to take on its own lifestyle and people can intensify their own particular way of life, unharassed by neighbouring cultures” (FCDP 1976:9). This concept recurs at the district scale: in diagrams, a strong boundary is also drawn around the South False Creek district as a whole, separating it from adjacent districts (fig. 146). On the one hand, the very form of the South

⁴⁹ This concept, that an over-large group of housing group will subsume its neighbours, is also borrowed from Alexander’s pattern language theory.

False Creek district is intended to materially express a closeness of community; on the other, the built environment will be characterized by individual groups acting autonomously.

The bold line drawn around the enclaves in the patterns' abstract diagrams is prescient of the built reality of South False Creek today: a district that is isolated from the surrounding city by a wooded berm, an arterial, rail lines and, in particular, its discontinuous street system.⁵⁰ South False Creek's design guidelines suggest a radical revision to the size, form, and function of local streets. The pattern for a "slow-fast gradient" prescribes a transition from the gridded streets of the city-at-large to the unique, pedestrian-oriented pathways of the new neighbourhood. In effect—and in intention—the "slow-fast gradient" detaches the neighbourhood from the city. "Discontinuous arterials" and T-junctions aim to literally interrupt the modern city fabric. Streets in South False Creek streets are, wherever possible, reduced to a width that prohibits vehicles. Where car traffic is permitted, curb height is increased to physically separate the pedestrian realm. Parking is consolidated into lots at the district perimeter.

Other innovative urban design strategies used in South False Creek, intended to free the district from some of the problematic aspects of the "modern" city around it, have further inhibited the neighbourhood from being fully absorbed into the city fabric. The density of housing, for example, proved to be too low to support adequate urban infrastructure, such as transit or commercial space. The lack of workplaces in the district, which aimed to redress an over-emphasis on work and industry in the modern downtown, has resulted in most residents commuting elsewhere—ironically, by car. These factors explain, in part, why South False Creek failed to be taken up as a model for other master-planned neighbourhoods that followed.

50 I will discuss these boundaries in more detail in my next chapter.

4.4 South False Creek: Making a “New Urban Landscape”

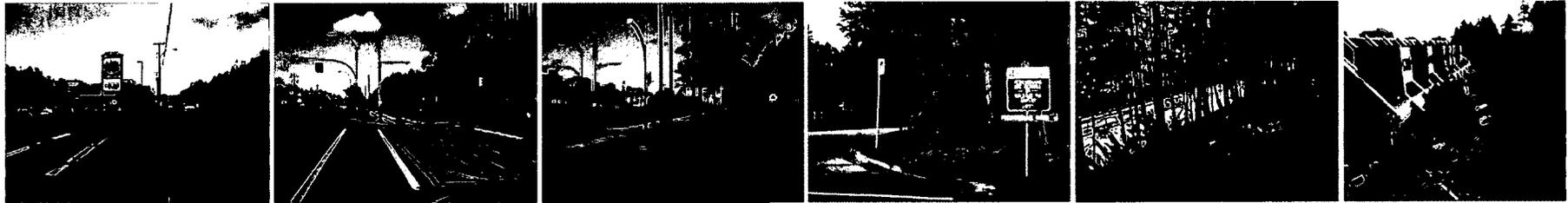
The design and planning documents for South False Creek nonetheless describe a critical turning point in Vancouver’s urban development, one which is often overlooked. The project reflects a moment in the early 1970s when, “(u)nlike in nearly any other city in North America, (in Vancouver) there was a political will to create a new type of urban landscape” (Hardwick 351). This “new urban landscape” would evolve over the long term, in tandem with changing social structures. As such, it required new tools of city-making, as well as different urban forms. The City planners and design team sought alternatives to the zoning by-law and conventional master planning approach. The South False Creek Official Development Plan, based on 17 socio-spatial patterns, eschews the macro-scale, rationalist planning approach of modernist urbanism. In place of encompassing aerial views, site plans and land use regulations, the South False Creek project is developed from intimate vignettes and diagrams of desired social situations.

South False Creek is presented as an alternative to two “homogeneous” modern urban fabrics: first, the expansive, curving tracts of suburban housing that ringed many North American cities; second, the high-rise downtown, where the street grid (and, by extension, the car) is a principle organizing element.⁵¹ Both of these precedents are seen to be socially alienating and physically out of scale. Instead, South False Creek unfolds as a hierarchical urban structure, in which part is fitted into whole. Streets fall into a “fast-slow” gradient, transitioning from the adjacent city grid, to local streets, to the waterfront promenade. In the web of pedestrian routes, wider, so-called “extraverted” streets branch off onto narrower, “introverted” paths. Smaller, more private open spaces lead to larger, more public ones. One house

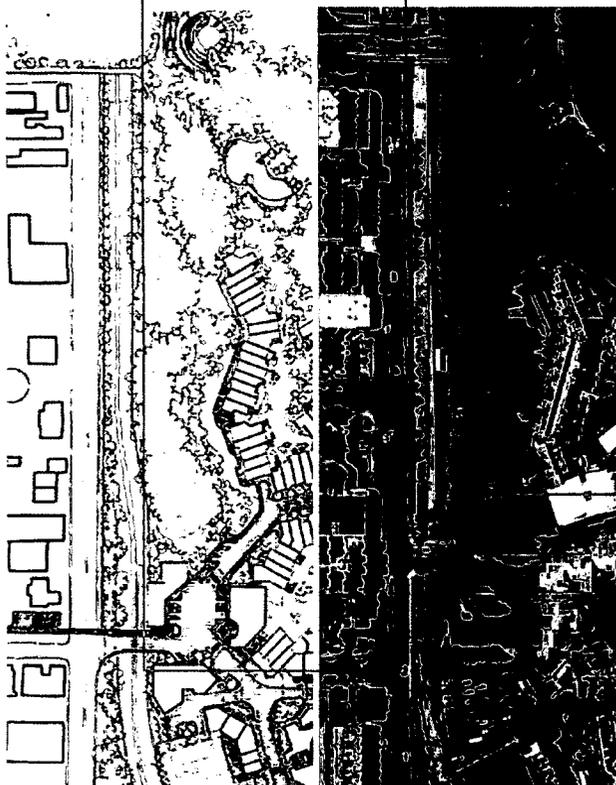
51 According to Hardwick, the West End was commonly perceived, in the late 1960s and 70s, as a monotonous, car-dominated residential fabric, at least in part because of its grid-ded street system (xx).

faces onto a cluster of similar houses; this enclave is sited in a neighbourhood, which in turn is fitted into district and city (fig. 148).

I've suggested that, in the South False Creek documents, the "house" is imagined more conservatively, while the guidelines for the district, or "city", point to a substantial break from the established patterns of Vancouver's urban fabric. I want to argue, nonetheless, that the guidelines for the house and district reflect similar values, and together infer a city imaginary. They exhibit a shared concern with controlling scale, by stringently limiting the size of district, neighbourhood, enclave, housing complex, and the house itself. The diagrammatic patterns for both district and house assume that a nested *urban* structure (city, district, house) mirrors a nested *social* structure (community, household). They both reveal a tension between creating stronger community affiliations, while putting up barriers that enable the autonomous identities of residents and community groups to flourish. They reflect a belief in the organic, ecological nature of the urban environment, but at the same time posit the presence of people as a morphological force. Both the district and house are defined by graduated thresholds between public, semi-public and private spaces, all bounded within an inwardly-focused urban realm.



1. 6th Ave Arterial (south side, looking west) 2. 6th Ave & Rail (north side) 3. Entry to South False Creek 4. Perimeter road around S.F.C 5. Berm at perimeter of S.F.C. 6. Enclave, berm beyond



Site Boundaries

South False Creek is separated from the surrounding city by a multi-layered boundary zone.

Boundaries:

- Commercial frontage
- 6th Ave (6-lane arterial)
- Forested berm
- Lowered rail line
- Perimeter service road

Crossings:

- Laurel St Pedestrian Bridge: Landscaped footbridge, connecting Charleson Park to a residential parkette.
- Moberly Rd Intersection: Vehicle entrance, offset to city grid, leading to perimeter parking lots.

This boundary condition was designed to “protect” South False Creek from being absorbed into the downtown – seen as dominated by car traffic and the rigid geometry of the grid.

But it’s also impeded South False Creek from becoming an “adaptable community”; it remains relatively unchanged, compared to the transformed city centre. Its low visibility from all sides except the seawall to the north, limits the vitality of its commercial and community spaces.

Fig. 158. A-1: South False Creek (False Creek Co-op Housing): Site Context



1. Location Plan: Enclave 5

False Creek Co-operative Housing

Dwelling Units	170	
Parking Stalls	170	Open air, covered
Enclave 5	82 units	Mid-rise, Rowhouses, Common, Office, Laundry
Enclave 6	88 units	Rowhouses, Common Room, Playground

Enclave 5	Rowhouses	Mid-rise
Year Built	1977	
No. of Storeys	3	5
No. of Units	50	32
Total Area		

Enclave 5 - Mid-Rise Apartment

Townhomes	Bach	*1-Bed	2-Bed	3-Bed	Total
No. of Units	0	25	5	2	32
Ave. Area (sqft)		1065	1495	1710	
(sqm)		100	140	160	

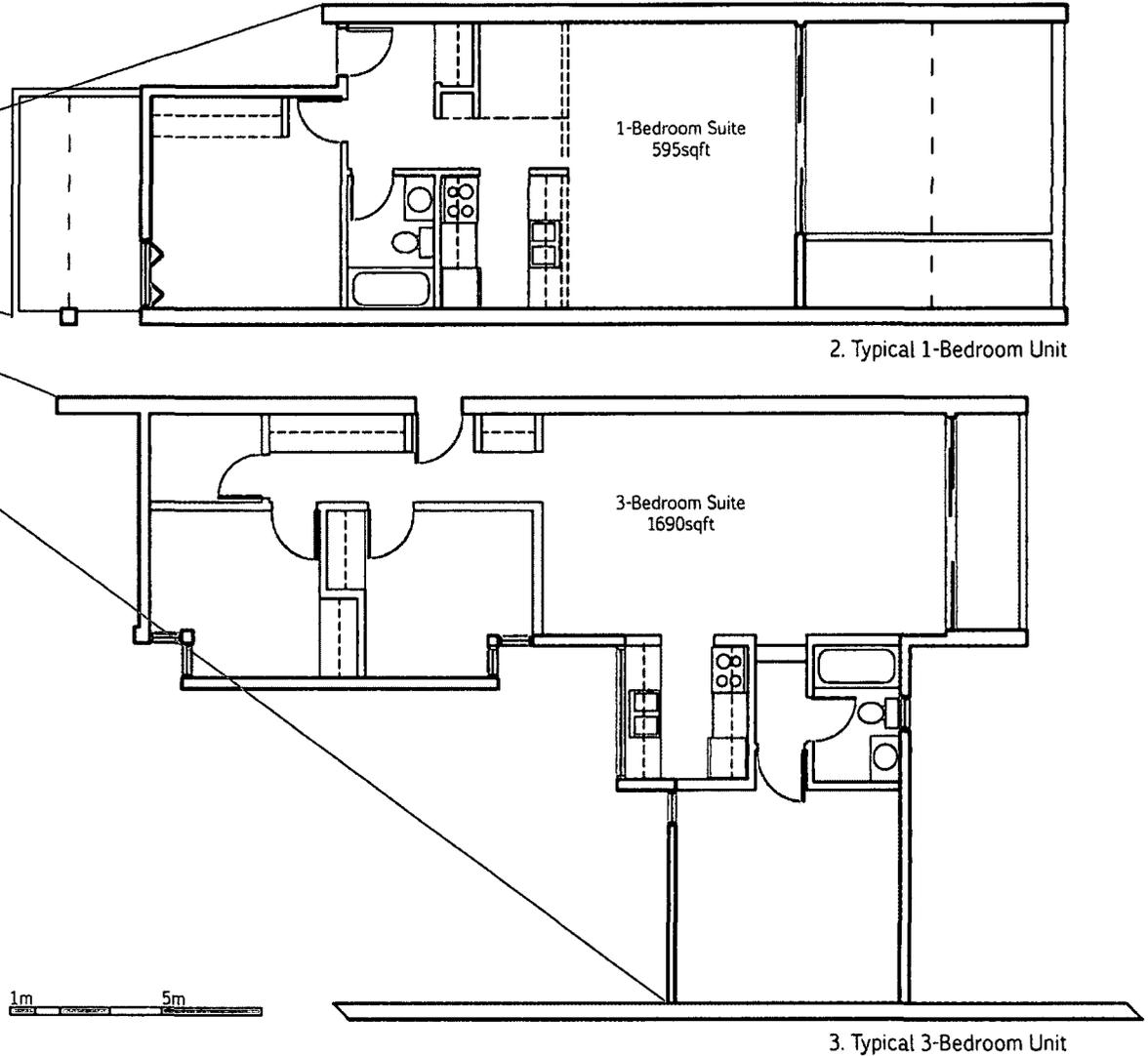
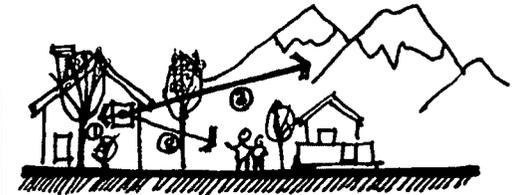


Fig. 159. A-2: False Creek Co-op Housing: Dwelling Unit Statistics and Typical Unit Plans



The House and its Site: Views

The “three views” stipulated in the regulations for South False Creek housing describe a multi-dimensional relationship between the house and the outside realm. These views also relate to a particular conception of social relationships: between a household, neighbourhood, and urban community.



“Every dwelling unit should have access to three kinds of view; an intimate view containing nature just outside the unit--a neighbourhood glimpse into the life of the surrounding community--and a vista that encompasses distant natural elements that remain ‘constant’ such as the sea or mountains.”

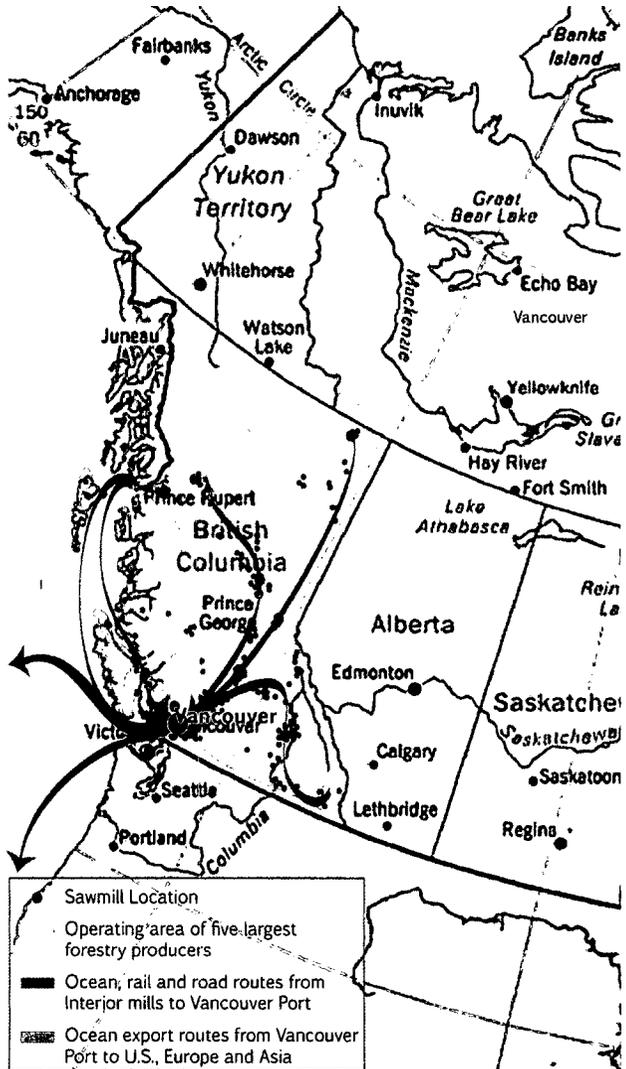
(O.D.P. 1974: 17)



1. Middleground: “Neighbourhood view” of courtyard
2. Foreground: “Intimate view” of private terrace

3. Aerial of Enclave 5: “Three Kinds of Views from Every Home”

4. Background: “Vista” of False Creek and city skyline (north)

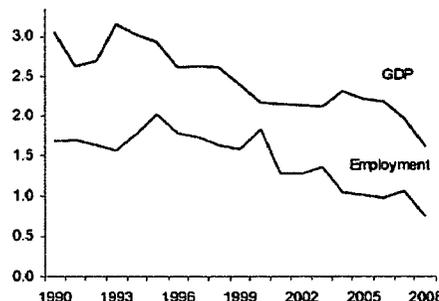


BC Lumber Industry: Local and International Exports
Sources: BC Stats, TheCanadianEncyclopedia.com

BC Forestry Industry - Early History
 - 1858: Commercial logging on the BC Mainland.
 - BC lumber production expands after WWI, as the **Panama Canal** opens up American and European markets.
 - **Logging** is concentrated on the north coast, and **processing** in the south (near Vancouver).
 - 1956: **90% of BC exports** are natural resources.

Inner-city Industry, 1960s to 1980s
 - 1963: Vancouver is Canada's top port. Of all North American cities, **natural resource processing**—including mills in Coal Harbour and False Creek— plays the largest role in the city's **local economy**.
 - 1976: Lumber accounts for almost **50% of provincial exports**.
 - Large-scale, centralized mills become dominant.
 - 1980s: New technologies make smaller sawmills **obsolescent**. Mills **along the Georgia Strait and False Creek disappear**.

BC Forestry in a Globalizing Economy
 - 1990s: Forest products account for a **dwindling share** of BC's international exports.
 - Global demand for diverse, second-stage products **reduces role of forestry** in BC economy.
 - The forest sector faces challenges: a downturn in US housing; lowering prices; a softwood lumber dispute with the US; and a pine beetle epidemic.



Forestry & logging as % of total economy
Sources: A Guide to BC's Economy, Statistics Canada



Above: Low-rise, peak-roofed, wood-frame housing, seen from semi-public gardens in Heather Place, Enclave 5. Left: Semi-public decks and walkways, False Creek Housing Co-op, Enclave 5. Right: Entrance to dwelling unit, FCHC.

“(Wood) frame buildings shall be finished in integral stucco, painted **stucco** or **brick cladding** compatible with paving materials and vegetation. Polychromatic color schemes should be explored...”

(South False Creek Design Guidelines 1974)

“(H)ousing is almost synonymous with **wood-frame construction.**”

(Canada Wood Council 2008)

Chapter 5

Case Study: False Creek North (Concord Pacific Place)

(Concord Pacific Place) is where charm, variety and convenience truly come together... It's the urban waterfront lifestyle you've dreamed about... Residential towers will be interspersed with gardens and greenery, lagoons and other water features, tree-lined walkways and public plazas. And the entire shorefront will be a place of leisure activities, dining, relaxation and scenic delight.

(Living Magazine 1997: 1) (fig. 163)

The popular impression that recent urban planning and design in Vancouver has achieved something important is widespread... But the Vancouver model is socially and politically regressive, promoting a suburban homogeneity, complacency and torpor that threatens the capacity of cities to function as sites that support vitality, difference and invention.

(Soules 2010: 2)

5.1 Making False Creek North

In 20 years, the development of False Creek North has brought 20 000 new residents to Vancouver's downtown. The site has set key precedents for urban development in the city, setting, for example, a standard 300' height limit for downtown lots and introducing a new, now predominant, building type, the podium-point tower. The transformation of False Creek North has also altered the public's imagination of their city, and has put an international spotlight on Vancouver's urban design and planning practices. False Creek North has eclipsed the earlier development of the south shore of the basin which, while remaining a vibrant, local community, is all but absent from discussions of the "Vancouver model" of urbanism. Today, the two districts on the opposite shores of False Creek seem to have little to do with one another. South False Creek's row houses are barely visible between heavily treed gardens and the rising slope of Downtown South (fig 165). False Creek North

FUTUREVILLE

BY CHARLES MONTGOMERY

It's raining on Vancouver's downtown peninsula. The rain drifts in curtains, streams along windshields and storefronts, cascades from umbrellas, rashes in swaths down the Macdonald pavement. The 1100 block of Alberni Street glimmers with reflected neon streaks, traffic-light green, bicycle tail lights. The cars are backed up, idling, steaming — some damn thing is blocking the intersection up at Burr Street.

If you were behind the wheel on this night, you might feel as though you were living the same gridlock nightmare experienced by rush-hour commuters this time of day in cities across North America. You would be wrong. The intersection is congested not by suburb-bound SUVs but by people on foot, great thick columns of them spilling across the crosswalk like dachas, unconcerned that you might have a bitter hour to go before you make it home to your supper.

These pedestrians are part of the greatest urban experiment to take place in Canada in half a century, one that has made Vancouver the envy of city planners across the continent. Within the five square kilometres that surround this corner, more than 80,000 people are doing what was once considered unthinkable: living in the downtown core without private backyard, lawn, two-car garage, basement rec rooms or junk-filled attic without the sheer square footage of living space that so many North Americans have come to expect as a birthright. Tens of thousands of Vancouver's downtown residents will walk, cycle or take public transit home from work on this neon-lit night, while their commuter counterparts sit in their cars, drumming dashboards, cursing the traffic and pondering the cost of gas and the endless parade of big-beer outlets, parking lots and fast-food joints that will mark their path all the way to suburbia.

Now, if you weren't driving tonight, if you were, say, realtor Bob Rennie, you would be positively giddy about this scene as you shook the rain from your umbrella at the corner of Alberni and Bute. Not a day goes by that Rennie doesn't give thanks for the fact that back in the 1970s, the citizens of Vancouver rejected proposals to punch a freeway through the city. Congestion, he says, is his best friend. That and high gas prices. Together, they make it much easier to convince people that their lives would be richer if they traded their

Vancouver has the fastest-growing downtown core in North America and is becoming a showcase for the greatest urban experiment since the 1950s



A forest of high-rise condos is sprouting across Vancouver's downtown peninsula, turning the city core into a cluster of vibrant neighbourhoods, unlike many urban centres that fill with office workers in the morning and become empty street scenes in the evenings.

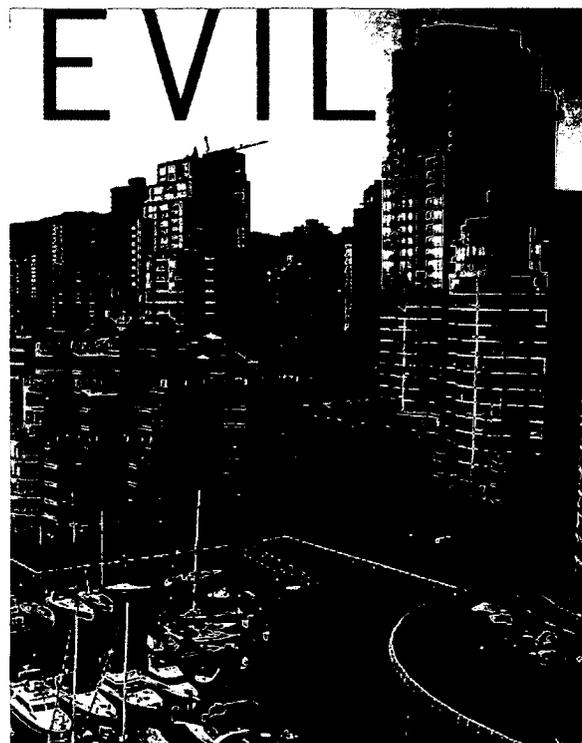


Fig. 163. Magazine spread with image of False Creek North, from Charles Montgomery, "Futureville," Canadian Geographic, 2006.

Fig. 164. Homepage for City of Vancouver website, from City of Vancouver, 2010.

Fig. 165. View of South False Creek from Concord Pacific Place, from City of Vancouver, xx.



provides Vancouver's most famous perspective, featured in countless tourist brochures and even the City of Vancouver's website banner: a striking string of towers set among wide parks, and reflected in the water (fig 164).

How did this change in the morphology the city's inner-city neighbourhoods occur? In this chapter, I will discuss the development of False Creek North and its largest single project, Concord Pacific Place. As in my study of South False Creek, I will concentrate on the City's Official Development Plan, its neighbourhood Design guidelines, and the developers' design proposals. (A later chapter will look more closely at individual, built projects.) My goal is to show how the planning approach and design criteria applied in Concord Pacific Place, when compared to South False Creek, reflect a changing conceptualization of the built environment, and an evolving city imaginary.

5.2 False Creek North: Defining a Context of Urban Development

Preliminary planning for the north and south shores of False Creek began at roughly the same time, but the two developments were ultimately realized in different social, political and economic contexts. In my previous chapter, I discussed how the planning of South False Creek was influenced by the grassroots environmental and community activism of the early 1970s. Against this cultural backdrop, local factors helped to shape the project: a strengthening service-based economy in downtown Vancouver; a concurrent decline of resource-based industrial activities; a growing, inner-city population of young professionals and European immigrants; and the election of a left-leaning Council. Championed by government and community groups, South False Creek was executed over a compressed time span, from preliminary planning in the late 1960s to ground-breaking in 1973. False Creek North, on the other hand, exchanged hands several times and went through

many planning and design iterations over 25 years. Several critical events during this 25-year span would alter the course of the False Creek North development. Among them: the recession of the early 1980s; Expo '86; major reversals in the provincial government's economic and land development strategies; and the initiation of pro-Asian immigration and investment policies by local Canadian governments.¹

Urban geographer Thomas Hutton also breaks this span of Vancouver's recent urban history into two periods, which he correlates to broader socio-economic and cultural paradigms: post-industrialism and post-modernism.² While these paradigms are usually defined in terms of the "big forces" of globalization and post-industrial capitalism, Hutton focuses on the *local* experience of these forces, and how they shape Vancouver's urban environment. His work tracks how both a local socio-economic context and transnational dynamics impact the City's urban planning policy, which in turn shapes the developments on the north and south shores of False Creek. Nonetheless, I use his periodization with caveats. My own research suggests that these two "periods" in Vancouver's urban development were not wholly distinct. Neither can South False Creek and False Creek North be so easily categorized as manifestations of a "post-industrial" or a "post-modern" city. Hutton also tends to impose certain *theoretical* features of a post-industrial or a post-modern city – such as a heterogeneous "post-modern" urban fabric – onto the built fabric of Vancouver, even where they contradict the actual reality. So while I provisionally treat the False Creek North development as occurring over two phases, I will point to some of the nuances and problems in this history.

5.2.1 The 1970s: Post-industrial Urbanism

The 1970s marked a steep decline in Vancouver's natural resource and

1 *Asian investment initiatives: Ref*

2 Hutton's time brackets are slightly different: he identifies the phases as 1965-90, and 1990 to present.

manufacturing industries, and a growth in high-level service sectors. Hutton's study shows that this reorientation of the city's economy, away from heavy industry and towards office sectors, corresponds to a "respatialization" of the downtown core (154). The post-industrial city is characterized by a *disinvestment* in fringe areas (ie. the abandonment of industry in the False Creek basin) and a concurrent *investment* in the central business district (figs 166, 167). The "house" is the mechanism for redeveloping the fringe, the office tower transforms the city centre.³

The early redevelopment proposals for the False Creek basin represent a break with the city's historic, industrial identity. The early housing developments proposed for both South False Creek and False Creek North are a key part of the process of defining a new urban imaginary. The "house", as such, expresses the emerging values of what Hutton refers to as a "post-industrial" paradigm, including: the obsolescence of the industrial inner-city and the re-colonizing of this landscape for suburban domesticity and leisure.⁴ In this same period, Vancouver's downtown office sector was in rapid ascent, as the number of businesses and professional firms increased by 140% and rentable office floor space doubled.⁵ This post-industrial "re-spatialization" extends beyond the urban fabric of the downtown, to the positioning of the city itself. As the political economy turns away from natural resource industries, the city's links to the resource hinterland in BC's interior are weakened (Boddy 1994: 27). Embracing high-sector services, the city turns outward towards national and

3 For Hutton, the boom of office towers in the central business district is symbolic of the late modern city, a "maturation of the long-running hyper-specialization of the metropolitan core and its 'monocultural economy' of office industries" (1926).

4 "South False Creek constituted a decisive expression of post-industrial policy values, imposed environmental order (in places almost of a suburban character) on an obsolescent industrial landscape, and established housing as the preferred mode of redevelopment in the (downtown) core" (Hutton 1923).

5 In the downtown, business and professional service firms increased by a "remarkable 140 per cent" between 1966 and 1980 (City of Vancouver 1982). While most other service industries (retail, wholesale trade, education) declined, rentable office space in the downtown more than doubled between 1966 and 1982 (Hutton 1929).

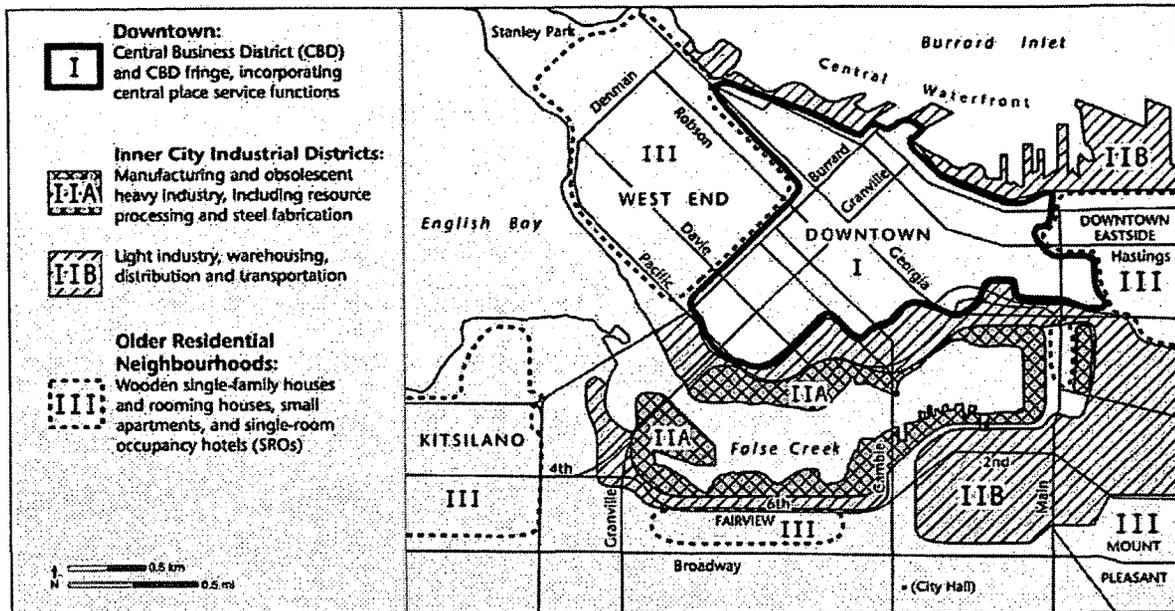
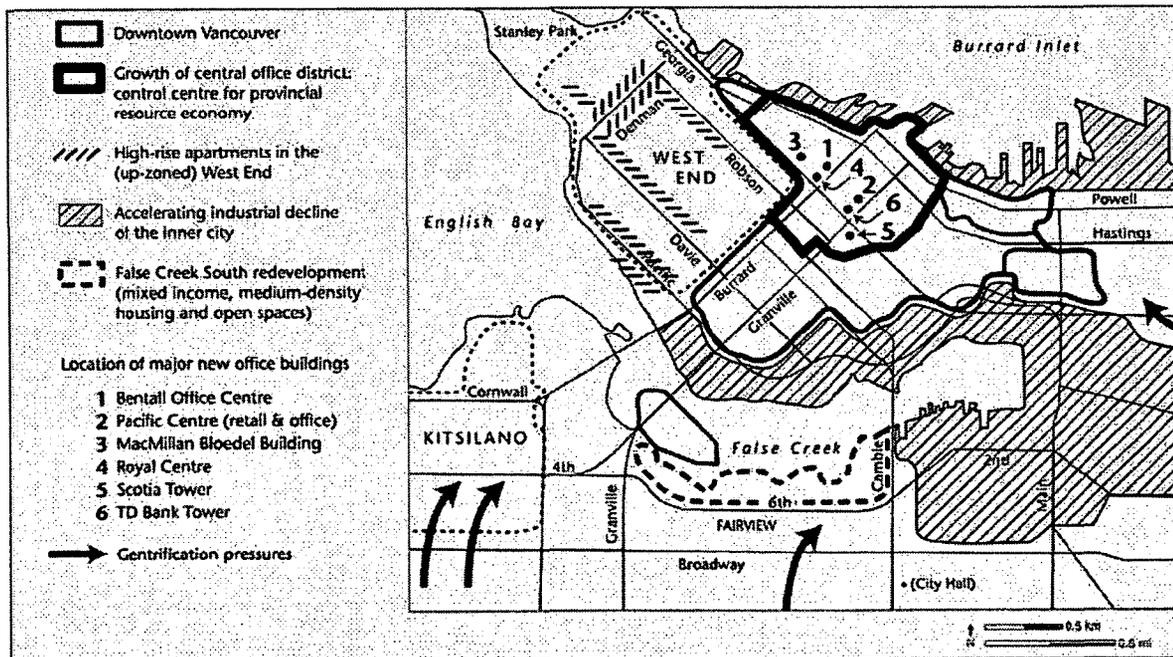


Fig. 166. “Post-Industrial” Urban Development in Downtown Vancouver (1970s), from Thomas Hutton, “Post-industrialism, Post-modernism and the Reproduction of Vancouver’s Central Area,” 2004.

Fig. 167. “Respatialization” of Downtown Vancouver (1980s), showing disinvestment in “fringe areas” such as False Creek and investment in the Central Business District, from Thomas Hutton, *Ibid.*



international headquarter cities and, eventually, the Pacific Rim.⁶

The rise of the office district is reflected in changes to Vancouver's social and class structure. Jobs in manufacturing, traditional industries and tertiary services are shed, while a "new middle class" of urbanites working as office-based managers and professionals establishes itself as the new dominant social cohort (Ley 1994). With the appearance of this class of prosperous urbanites in the mid-1970s and 80s, the grassroots, counter-cultural mood of the previous decade fades. Instead, this social cohort carries an image of Vancouver as a cosmopolitan, ascendant city. It is this social cohort that CPR's Marathon Development would try to target, in their proposed development for False Creek North.

Marathon's proposal for a new district in False Creek North is presented, like South False Creek, as a desirable alternative to suburbia—but the nature of the inner-city neighbourhood begins to shift. Rather than a communitarian and environmental imperative, "downtown living" is represented as a sophisticated lifestyle choice. Some of the proposed residential areas retain a more conservative, romantic image of low-density homes and gardens. Others are portrayed as intensely urban and are organized around consumption opportunities (such as restaurants, boutiques and markets) and cultural amenities (theatres and art). Caught between two urban paradigms, Marathon's False Creek North points to contradictory conceptions of the family home, inner-city life, and the future form of the city of Vancouver.

5.2.2 CPR/Marathon's False Creek North Proposal (1974)

CPR first announced its plans to build a \$185 million residential neighbourhood on the north shore of False Creek in December 1968 (Hulchanski 119). CPR's Marathon Development then submitted its first development proposal to

⁶ Note that industries in the False Creek basin were primarily oriented to locally-consumed products, whereas the Burrard port was, and is, the focus of Vancouver's international trade sectors.

the City in 1969.⁷ Marathon's 1969 proposal describes a 190-acre, purely residential development for 20 000 people, with a marina—a much taller, compressed building fabric than the development that was then being constructed in South False Creek (fig. 168).⁸ That Marathon would push for greater density is not surprising: its project would be private and, unlike its publically-sponsored counterpart on the south shore, profit-driven. Marathon's site was also much closer to the central business district. But the proposal (which, ironically, was quite modest in comparison to the development that would eventually be built) was knocked back by the City.

Marathon's second proposal in 1974 is smaller in scale and more mixed-use. The site is reduced to 89-acre sites, with mid- and high-rise housing for 8000 people, and 1.5 million square feet of commercial, institutional, and recreational space (Marathon 1974: 10). Notably, this second proposal takes many cues from South False Creek. Its 89-acre site mirrors the 91-acre site in Area 6. Like South False Creek, the site is further broken down into four smaller neighbourhoods, to be built over phases, each with its own parks, commercial space and community amenities (fig. 169). At the same time, several urban design strategies in Marathon's proposal aim to correct problems that had already become evident in South False Creek: its failing commercial and retail space; the overly private atmosphere of many of its gardens; and its disconnection from nearby neighbourhoods. Marathon's proposal, by contrast, emphasizes the benefits of mixed land uses, accessible open spaces, and intra-urban linkages:

The excitement and convenience of mixing many land uses in each neighbourhood has much support. The wise use of open space, to maximize its

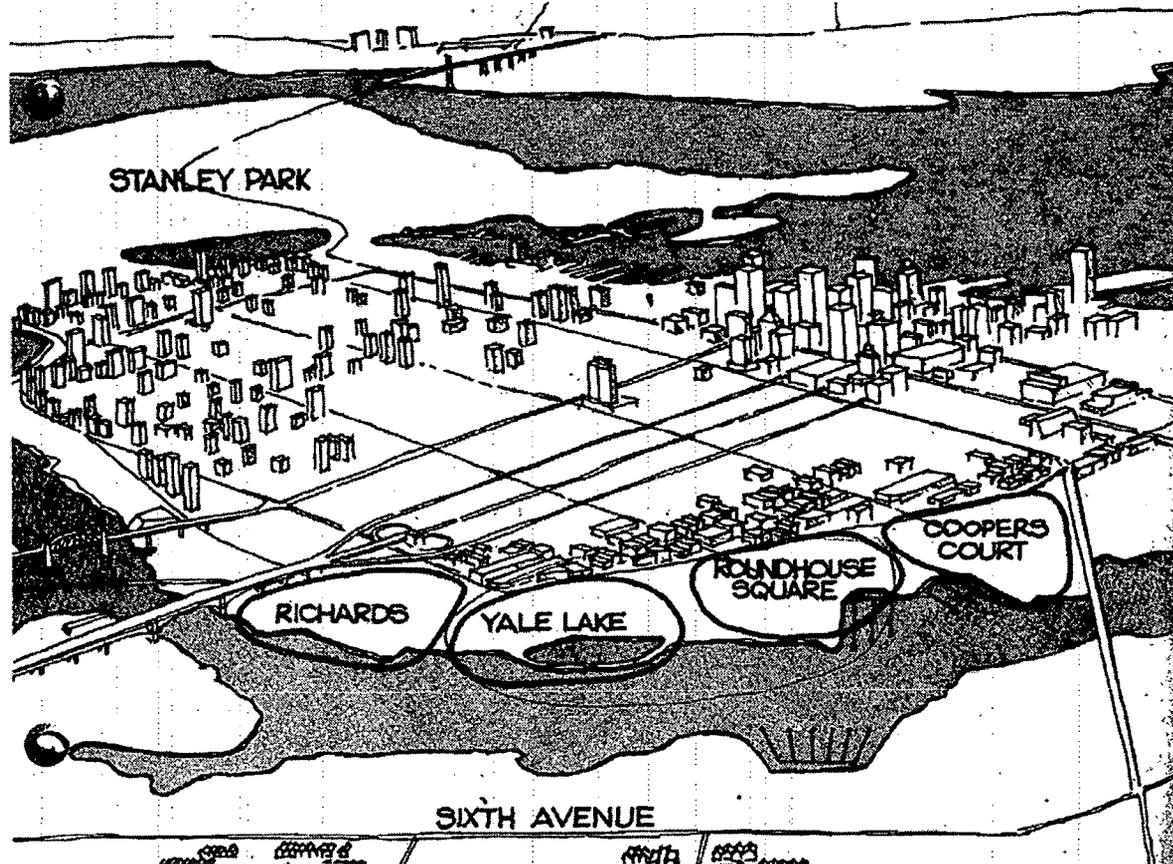
⁷ Marathon's announcement of its plans for north shore "dealt a final death blow ... to serious consideration of retaining purely industrial uses" around False Creek, spurring the City Council to embrace a different future for the entire basin (Hulchanski 119).

⁸ Marathon's proposal of April 1969 comprised a 190-acre residential development for 20 000 people, plus a marina, and was projected to cost \$250 million. The April 1974 proposal comprised a mixed residential/commercial proposal for an 89-acre parcel of the site, and was projected to cost \$150 million (Beazley 118).



Fig. 168. Marathon's first scheme for high-rise development on False Creek North, from Marathon Realty Co. Ltd., 1969.

Fig. 169. Four neighbourhoods along False Creek North. Note that South False Creek is left blank, while the West End is populated with towers. From Marathon Realty Co. Ltd., "False Creek Housing: A Development Proposal for the North Side of False Creek," 1974.



great benefits for many and not just the few... The need for connections around the downtown peninsula as well as directly into the core has become evident... (Marathon 1974: 2)

The “character” concepts for the four neighbourhoods in Marathon’s proposal point to an ambivalence towards the urban model on the opposite shore. Yale Lake, “a quiet family environment” of 2- to 4-storey townhouses set in a garden, is a clear imitator of South False Creek (7). Roundhouse Square, on the other hand, is envisioned as a lively and “urbane downtown environment,” housing three times as many residents in residential towers up to 30-storeys, and incorporating “retail, services and entertainment facilities...a waterfront tourist hotel and a live theatre-cabaret complex...tiles plazas and squares...transit, taxis and other vehicles, as well as convenient walkways,” and a multi-storey commercial street (6).⁹ The conflicting urban ideals in Marathon’s proposal results in a conflict of form and scale—between a romantic parkscape and an urbane downtown, between townhouse and tower. For this reason, I think, the form of the “house” remains unresolved. In the vignettes of the neighbourhoods, residential buildings recede to the background. In a scene of Yale Lake, the family housing that is the *raison d’être* of the neighbourhood is almost fully screened by its garden setting (fig. 170). Likewise, non-residential elements come to the foreground in the other neighbourhoods: a civic plaza in Roundhouse Square, and an open-air market in Richards (fig. 171).

This same ambivalence is evident in Marathon’s site plan. The four neighbourhoods, drawn as a string of rounded “organisms” with bold outlines, bear a striking resemblance to drawings of South False Creek’s enclaves which, in their original design, were idealized and non-site specific (fig. 172). But, even in this diagrammatic site plan, the street grid is used as an ordering device for the False

9 In these profit-driven, multi-site developments, bonus density in one neighbourhood is expected to subsidize lesser densities and/or public amenities in another.

Fig. 170. Yale Lake, from
Marathon Realty Co. Ltd.,
"False Creek Housing: A De-
velopment Proposal for the
North Side of False Creek,"
1974.

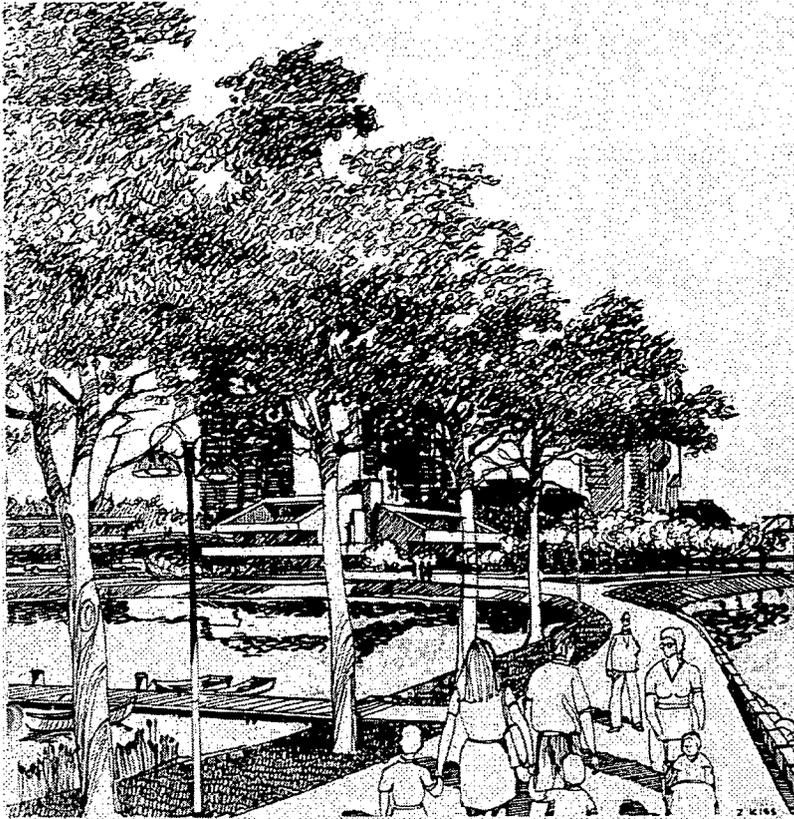
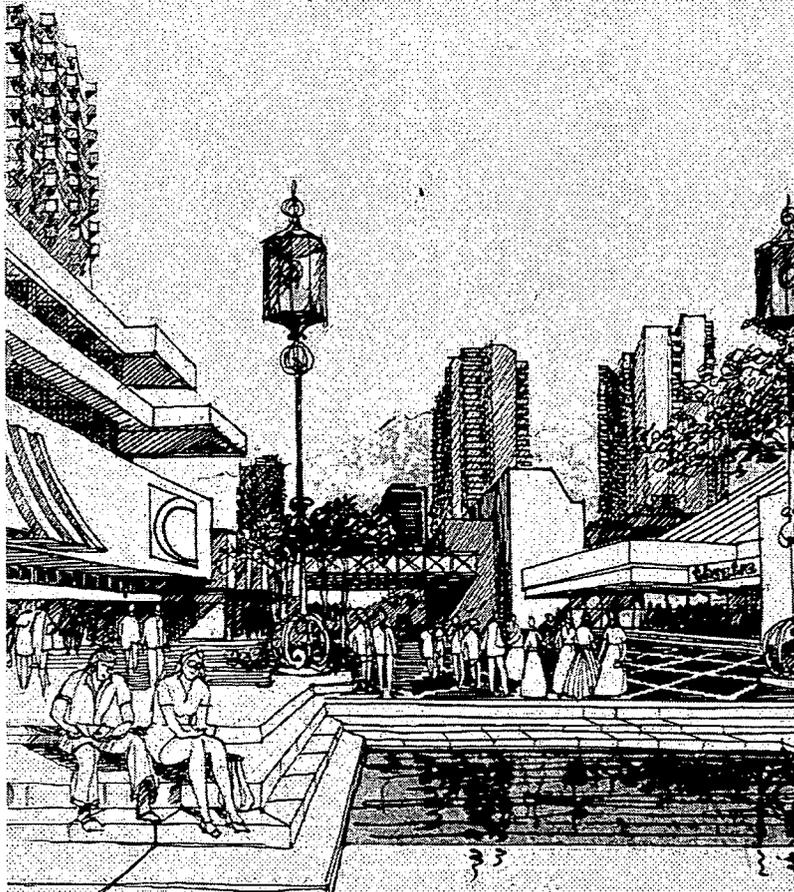


Fig. 171. Roundhouse, Ibid.



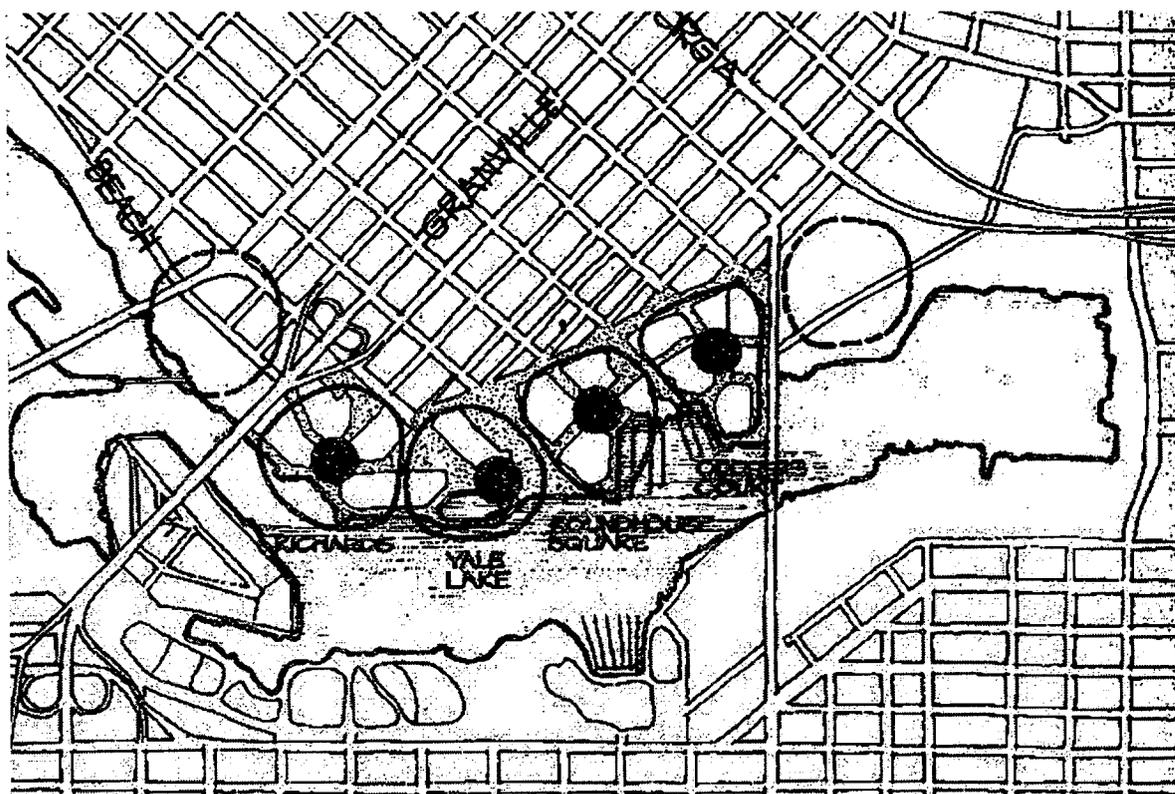


Fig. 172. The key plan for Marathon's proposed False Creek development represents the neighbourhoods as "organic" clusters. From Marathon Realty Co. Ltd., "False Creek Housing: A Development Proposal for the North Side of False Creek," 1974.

development statistics

	COOPERS COURT	BUNNHOUSE SQUARE	YALE LAKE	RICHARDS SQUARE	TOTALS
NEIGHBOURHOOD AREA	26.5 ACRES	26.8 ACRES	17.0 ACRES	23.7 ACRES	94.0 ACRES
DEVELOPMENT AREA	15.0 ACRES	14.0 ACRES	7.5 ACRES	14.5 ACRES	51.0 ACRES
PUBLIC OPEN SPACE	5.5 ACRES	9.0 ACRES	7.0 ACRES	6.5 ACRES	28.0 ACRES
ROADS	6.0 ACRES	3.8 ACRES	2.5 ACRES	2.7 ACRES	15.0 ACRES
NUMBER OF UNITS	1000	1800	300	1400	4500
NON RESIDENTIAL SPACE (SQ. FT.)	500,000	250,000	100,000	650,000	1,800,000
NEIGHBOURHOOD DENSITY (GRDS/ACRE)	38 UNITS/ACRE	67 UNITS/ACRE	18 UNITS/ACRE	59 UNITS/ACRE	42 UNITS/ACRE
AVERAGE NET DENSITY	100 UNITS/ACRE	140 UNITS/ACRE	40 UNITS/ACRE	100 UNITS/ACRE	100 UNITS/ACRE
POPULATION	1750	2700	1000	2450	7900
MAXIMUM BUILDING HEIGHT	20 STOREYS	30 STOREYS	6 STOREYS	30 STOREYS	
NUMBER OF BLDGS. OVER 8 STOREYS	0	9	0	7	
MAXIMUM SITE COVERAGE	60%	65%	70%	65%	

Fig. 173. Development Statistics, showing relative densities of the four neighbourhoods, Ibid.

Creek North development, anchoring the neighbourhoods to the existing city. So while the place of the “house” in the urban structure is ambiguous, the connection of the new district to the city is clear. Each neighbourhood extends the physical form and social patterns of its surroundings:

Roundhouse Square extends the hustle and bustle of Davie Street to the Creek’s edge. Coopers Court reflects the cultural flavour of the nearby (theatre district) and connects it to the water. The Yale Lake section strongly relates to the openness of the creek itself... (Marathon 1974:9)

What is notable about this urban design strategy is its local sensibility. This early version of False Creek North aims to locate itself within the existing city, and is addressed to a local audience. Beyond the European flavour¹⁰ of the Richards open-air market, False Creek North remains a provincial place. It has not yet been imagined, as it later will be, as a “global high-tech village,” nor as “an international model of ...a new urban paradigm.”¹¹

5.2.3 The 1980s: Privatization, Polarization and Internationalism

The 1974 proposal progressed as far as re-zoning, but failed when Marathon’s financing and negotiations with the City’s Planning Department collapsed (ref). Plans for redeveloping the north shore stalled for several years. In 1980, CPR sold the land back to the Province of BC. (As the land was now zoned for mixed-use development, its value had increased by more than a tenfold, resulting in a cash windfall for CPR.¹²)

10 Marathon’s proposal describes the Richards neighbourhoods as having “a predominant marketplace aspect...(with a) European street environment” (1974: 8).

11 Media coverage and critical reviews of early proposals for Marinavista and Pacific Place frequently refer to the future site as a “high tech village;” see, for example, Frank O’Brien, “Pacific Place will Revitalize Vancouver,” *Canadian Building Magazine*, June 1988. A 2005 City of Vancouver promotional brochures refers to False Creek North as an “international model of inner city revitalization” (City of Vancouver 2005: 7).

12 CPR sold the land for \$30 million in cash and a further \$30 million in downtown property. “Before rezoning, the land had been worth between \$33 000 and \$43 000 per acre; after rezoning the land was valued at around \$500 000 per acre” (Beazley 119). Beazley cites Gutstein, 1975, and the Trade Union Research Bureau, 1989.

This purchase was part of the provincial government's economic stimulus strategy; in this period, the NDP government was actively engaging in major building and land development projects throughout British Columbia (ref). Upon buying False Creek North, the Province announced two mega-projects for the site. The Province would host Expo '86, a world exposition on transportation that promised to put Vancouver at the forefront of technology and urban infrastructure. The exposition would be a primer for a more lasting redevelopment in the False Creek basin (Beazley 119). After Expo, the Province proposed to develop B.C. Place, a new neighbourhood with thousands of residential units, millions of square feet of office and retail space, and major stadium (119). The Province created BC Place Ltd, a crown corporation, to plan and execute the project.¹³

Expo '86 has come to occupy a deeply symbolic place in Vancouver's imagination. The event is remembered as a moment in which Vancouver became conscious of its presence (whether real or perceived) on a world stage (fig. 176). Even at the time, Expo '86 was an explicit bid to make Vancouver's reputation as a "world class city":

Internationalization was the explicit intent of the fair with marketing slogans such as: 'An invitation to the world' and 'What your world is coming to in 1986'. (Ley, Hiebert and Pratt 239)

Expo '86 declared a new direction for BC's economy and a new identity for the city as a hub of technology, culture, and tourism. Although fleeting, the event had a substantial impact on Vancouver's built environment. The 60 000-seat stadium and its surrounding parking lots, the first Sky-train line, and the alteration of the naturalistic line of the north shore into a hard geometry of bays and points, all belong to the physical legacy of Expo '86.

The event also gave the Province leverage to finally displace the remaining

¹³ According to Beazley, BC Place and the City's Planning Department never agreed on an approach to the development of the north shore (120).

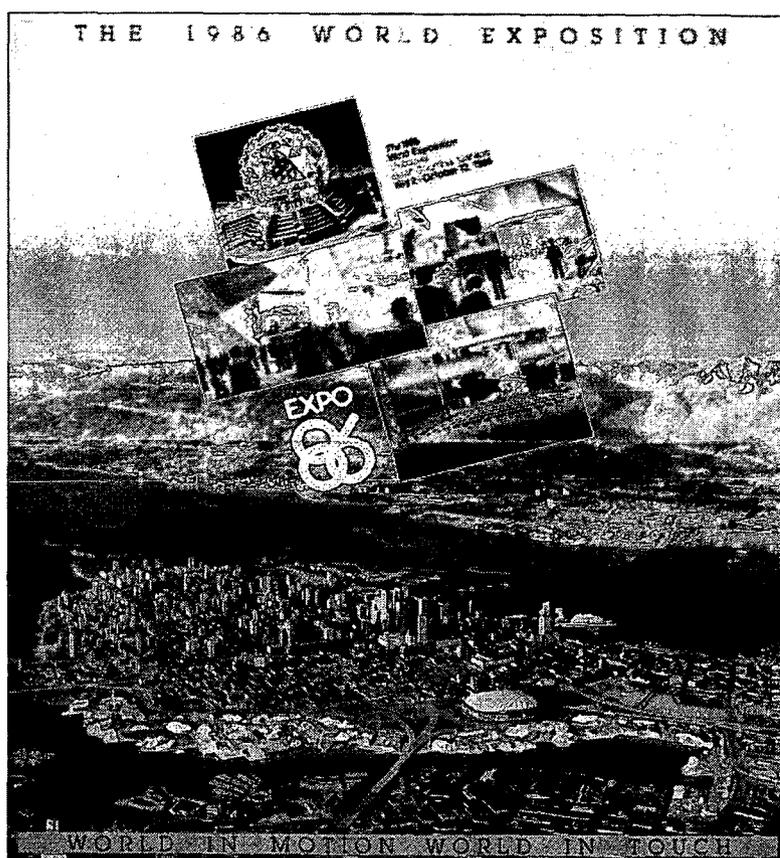
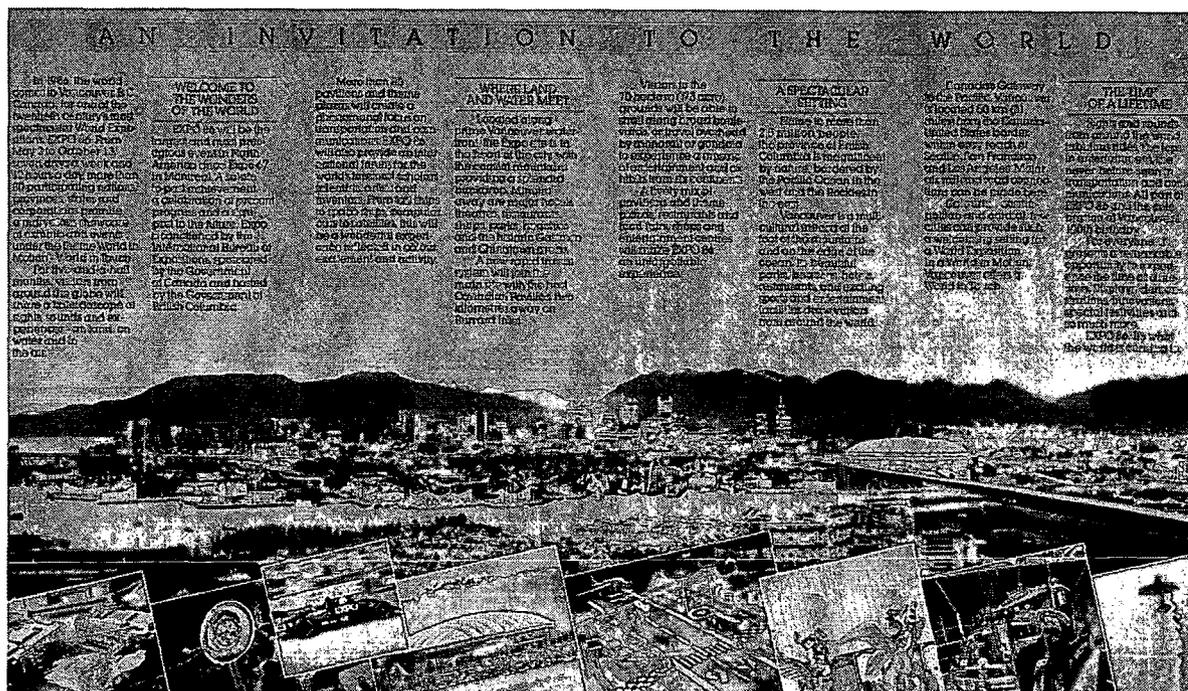


Fig. 174. "World in Touch," Expo '86 Brochure, from xx, 1986.

Fig. 175. "World in Motion, World in Touch," Ibid.

Fig. 176. "An Invitation to the World," Ibid.



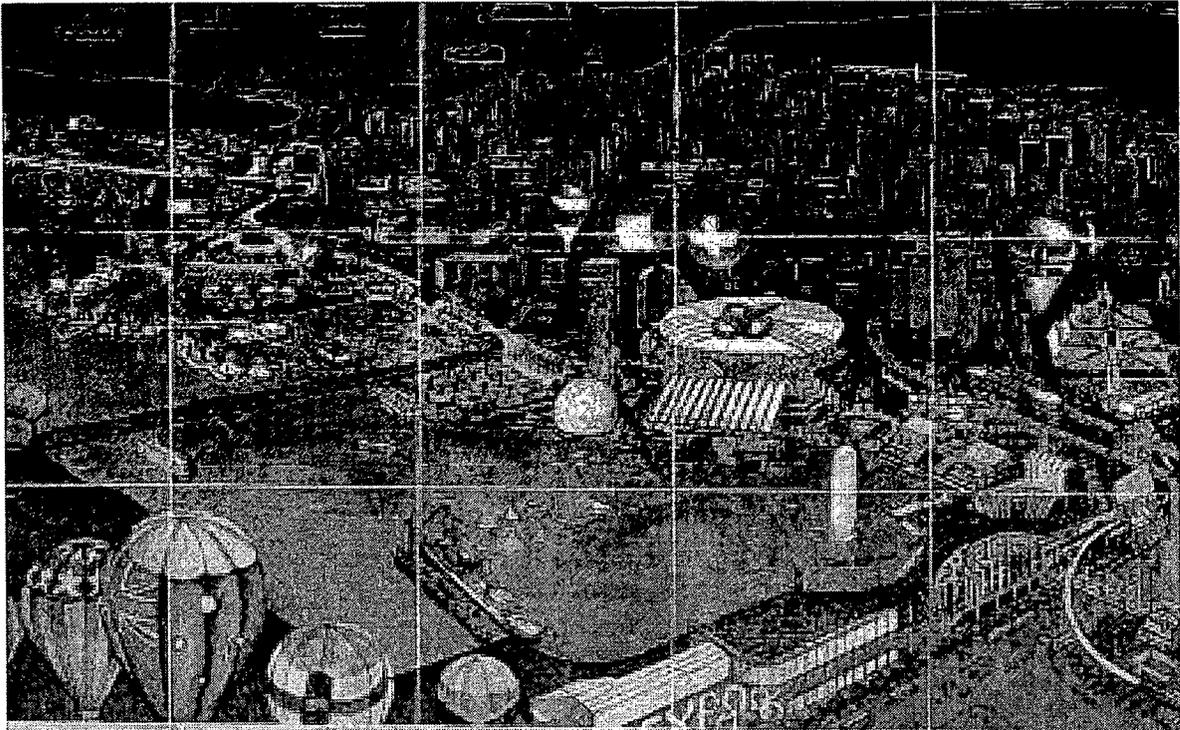


Fig. 177. Rendered View of Expo site, from City of Vancouver Archives, artist, 1986.

Fig. 178. Aerial photo, showing Expo site, from City of Vancouver Archives, 1986.



industries from the basin and raise the north shore (figs. 177, 178).¹⁴ In so doing, Expo '86 brought the idea of a "post-industrial" Vancouver closer to a reality.

This displacement, which occurred as late as the mid-80s, also belies earlier characterizations of the False Creek site as a *tabula rasa*. In fact, preparations for Expo '86 and the construction of BC Place stadium required

a rather sudden disruption of industrial activity and established transport systems... (V)irtually all industrial establishments on the north shore of False Creek will have to relocate: this would involve rail yards and warehouses, freight forwarding and trucking operations, and a sawmill... as well as smaller operations. (Hutton 1961)¹⁵

Other, less material effects of the event were at least as impactful: the displacement of industrial labour and low-income residents; the growing role of corporations in executing major city projects; and, finally, a heightened political and public attention to the city's international relationships. According to cultural geographer David Ley, Expo '86 captured the social and political mood of the era: "Expo' 86 exemplified central themes of the 1980s: privatization, polarization and internationalization" (Ley, Hiebert and Pratt 239). These themes also cast light on the new social and political realities surrounding the redevelopment of False Creek North.

During preparations for Expo '86, B.C. Place Ltd continued to work on their proposal for a permanent, mixed-use neighbourhood for the north shore site.¹⁶ For two years, B.C. Place collaborated with the City's Planning Department on the North Park Plan, a 75-acre development proposal for the central area of the north shore

14 "The Expo Board awarded building contracts to non-union companies, (despite) the high level of union membership in the building trades. Polarization was particularly evident in off-site impacts on (low-income housing) in the surrounding districts. In the Downtown Eastside, between 500 and 850 long-term residents were evicted as hotels prepared themselves for a flood of tourists" (Beazley 123).

15 On this point, Hutton cites City of Vancouver, 1982b, p55.

16 Note history conflicting ideas of BC Place and City, between BC Place's first 1982 proposal and their post-Expo negotiations (Beazley 120). By 1986, BC Place had managed to rezone Southeast Granville Slopes (SEGS Official Development Plan) (124).

(Beazely 125).¹⁷ In the meantime, a deep recession hit the province.¹⁸ In its wake, the provincial government changed its economic strategy, and began to extricate itself from major building projects.¹⁹ When Expo' 86 ended, the North Park project was shelved. In 1987, the Province announced its intention to sell False Creek North (Beazely 129).

I want to point to three critical issues in this land sale which, I argue, altered the framework for urban development in Vancouver and, moreover, marked a pivotal moment in the city imaginary. First, the Province, believing that its own crown corporation's development project would not be economically viable, opted to hand it over to a private corporation.²⁰ The government's faith in privatization as a more effective vehicle for urban redevelopment marks a complete turnaround from the City's stance in the South False Creek.²¹ In South False Creek, the City went to great lengths to retain the land in the public domain and to develop it in the public's interests.²² The City planners had once hoped for a similar approach to the redevelopment of the rest of the basin, declaring in 1964, before the Province gave ownership of the north shore over to CPR, that "(t)he provincial land is public land, and the provincial government, when the leases are renegotiated, should see that the

17 BC Place and City Planning Department clashed over earlier designs. North Park Plan – land parcel between Beatty St, Pender St, Quebec and False Creek. 1985-86 (125).

18 The worst of the recession hit Vancouver in 1982-83 (Beazely 125).

19 Beazley writes of the Province's wider privatization plans: "The British Columbia Enterprise Corporation (BCEC) was set up in March 1987 to wind up the Province's land development activities and to dispose of over half a billion dollars worth of public land and buildings, including the Expo lands" (127).

20 The Province's stated reason for the sale was that "the Province did not believe that the (North Park Proposal) would be economically viable. It was felt that private development would produce a better return" (Beazley 126). Beazley cites McMartin 1987, and Cox 1988.

21 Note that South False Creek was intended, by the City, to be a "break-even", rather than profit-driven, development.

22 For example, after construction, the City retained most of the south shore under leasehold, in order to ensure that its social objectives for the neighbourhood would be met over the long term.

land is handled in the best interests of the public.”²³ The sale of False Creek North in 1987 marks a changed zeitgeist. Privatization would have a profound impact on the built form of False Creek North, and on the City’s approach to city-making. From this point, the City would need to secure supportive housing and other public goods through public-private negotiations and partnerships. In this climate of private-public partnership, a neighbourhood would now be expected to be profitable as well as habitable.²⁴

Second, the Province resolved to sell the 204-acre parcel to a single developer (Beazley 127). A staggering one sixth of the downtown peninsula would come under the control of a single corporation. This decision was supported by the City planners who, having worked through the many, complex phases of South False Creek, preferred the streamlined process of dealing with one developer (128).²⁵ They argued that a greater public good – that is, more amenities such as green spaces and community facilities – could be extracted from a single developer working through one comprehensive master plan, rather than a collage of smaller projects by multiple developers.²⁶ Precisely the opposite position was taken in South False Creek, where it was argued that small-scale places and individual experiences of the urban environment should not be sacrificed for large-scale public projects.²⁷ The government’s decision to place the north shore as a single parcel in the hands of one

23 Vancouver Sun, April 3, 1964. Cited in Hulchanski 118.

24 Hulchanski writes that “False Creek North would belong a new era of public-private partnerships,” (118).

25 The City gave their support despite objections by the public and the BC Real Estate Board: “The Vancouver Real Estate Board, among many others, was critical of this decision (to sell the site in one piece), arguing that a much better and more lucrative development package could have been developed if the land was sold in smaller parcels” (Beazley 127).

26 At least two City of Vancouver Councilors, Gordon Price and Taylor, as well as Larry Beasley, Associate Director of Planning, were quoted as claiming that, with the site owned by one developer, it was possible to ensure a larger package of public benefits (Beazley 129).

27 A City of Vancouver’s 1971 report reads: “Too often small scale needs are sacrificed to the efforts of providing large scale facility and amenity.” Cited in Hardwick (347).

developer marks a radical departure from South False Creek's "planning at a human scale."²⁸ This master-planning approach, and the prioritization of large-scale public amenities, would produce a more homogenous, larger-grained urban fabric in False Creek North than in South False Creek, or even the West End. From this point forward, development projects in Vancouver could be imagined on a grander scale.²⁹

Third, the Province courted a foreign bidder. As BC's economy remained mired in a recession, local developers seemed too risky.³⁰ The Province found the prospect of an Asian developer particularly alluring, and the Economic Development Minister personally traveled to Hong Kong to meet with prospective bidders (127). With the impending 1997 handover of Hong Kong to China, Hong Kong entrepreneurs were looking for foreign investment projects to shelter their capital. Many in the business class were also looking to emigrate. All Canadian cities attempted to attract these Asian émigrés, but Vancouver, with its established, historic Asian communities, had a particular advantage:

(T)he proactive immigration programmes on federal, provincial and municipal levels (were) designed to attract economic immigrants, skilled workers and foreign investment from East Asia, with much of the flow of capital and population coming out of Hong Kong and effectively ending up in Vancouver... in 'the closest global city windfall on the American continent'. (Ming Wai Jim 334)³¹

The sale of the False Creek North lands to a Hong-Kong based developer would have profound implications for Vancouver's urban form and identity. Soon after the sale, stories of "Hongcouver" began to circulate in the media (Ming Wai Jim 337). This

28 The term is from Verbauwhede (198).

29 Later mega-projects have included the Olympic Village in Southeast False Creek (2010), the Vancouver Convention Centre in Coal Harbour (2009), and the Woodward/W2 development in the Downtown Eastside (2009).

30 A local development group did submit a bid: Vancouver Land Corporation, a consortium of Vancouver businessmen including Jack Poole, Edgar Kaiser, Jim Pattison and Charles Woodward (Beazley 129).

31 Alice Ming Wai Jim cites Ley and Kobayashi 2005:113.

wave of xenophobia was perhaps only one manifestation of the public's anxiety in the wake of Vancouver's debut on the "world stage" in Expo '86. Nonetheless, this sale marks an important evolution in the city imaginary, as Vancouver's local identity begins to be situated *in relation to* global dynamics.

In 1988, real estate magnate Li Ka-shing, of the Hong Kong-based Concord Pacific Corporation, was awarded the bid, over two local bidders (Beazley 130). Li paid \$320 million for 204-acres of land, and the right to develop 12.2 million square feet of residential and commercial development.³² Concord Pacific also assumed responsibility for building roads and other urban infrastructure, as well as Vancouver's largest-ever public amenities "package", including schools, a community centre, parks, gardens and public art (137).

5.2.4 The 1990s: "Post-modern" Urbanism

Before looking at Concord Pacific's development proposal in detail, I'd like to point out the changing climate of the late 1980s and 1990s, during which False Creek North was re-designed and built as Concord Pacific Place. The staging of Expo

32 Li Ka-shing's bid of \$320 million included \$145 million as a list price, plus a further \$175 million in interest revenue. After a down payment of \$50 million in 1988, further payments were to be phased until 2003 (Beazley 131). Given the anticipated density of the proposed development at the time, Ka-shing's winning bid worked out to roughly \$10 per buildable square foot (Gutstein 1990:137). It falls outside of my scope to interrogate the financial details of Concord Pacific's winning bid. I only note that, according to the popular media, economists, and other developers, in both Vancouver and Hong Kong, Li Ka-shing had negotiated "one of the sweetest deals in history":

"By the time the (Official Development Plan for Concord Pacific Place) was approved, prices in the downtown core had nearly doubled and Li's 91 acres were worth more than \$700 million. True, Li has to put in roads, sidewalks and sewers... And he has to pay for parks, a walkway, community centre, library, eight day care centre and other community facilities (which will make the property even more valuable). But he has already earned a paper profit of nearly \$500 million, probably much more since there is nothing stopping Li from asking for, and receiving, higher densities down the road..." (Gutstein 1990, 137, cited in Beazley 132).

The Province, on the other hand, did not make a profit on the sale of the Expo lands; rather, they lost between \$150 and \$290 million in carrying charges, construction and clean-up costs (Beazley 135).

'86, the recession, and the subsequent sale of the north shore lands, produced a very different economic, political and social context than the one that had surrounded South False Creek or even Marathon's proposal.

This phase roughly corresponds to what Hutton describes as Vancouver's "post-modern period", distinct from the post-industrial paradigm of previous decades. According to Hutton, Vancouver's post-modern urban development is characterized by a disinvestment in the central business district and a re-investment in the fringe areas like False Creek North (figs. 179, 180). That South False Creek, also in the CBD fringe, was developed during Vancouver's so-called post-industrial period suggests, to me, that Hutton's periodization is over-simplified. But the recession did bring office district boom to a grinding halt (Hutton 1960). The city's hardest-hit industries were manufacturing and natural resources, whose decline was accelerated by the "post-industrial" economic policies of the 1970s (Hutton 1960). Emerging high-tech, cultural, tourism and service industries, on the other hand, were seen by federal and local governments as a way forward from the recession (Hutton 1961). These industries were integral to the City's vision for Vancouver's future economic and urban development—and, in particular, for the proposed False Creek North district. The change in the city's economy was accompanied by the emergence of a cohort of younger, urban professionals working in high-tech, creative and secondary service sectors.³³ The injection of billions of dollars and thousands of immigrants and visitors from the Asia-Pacific³⁴ contributed to what Hutton refers to as "an accelerated globalization experience" in Vancouver (1963).³⁵

33 This 1990s cohort is distinct, according to Hutton and David Ley, from the "new middle class" of business and finance professionals in the 1970s.

34 This "injection" was due, in part, to the False Creek North project, but also to government-sponsored immigration and tourism incentive programs. Investment capital and immigrants from Hong Kong, mainland China, Taiwan and other areas of the Asia-Pacific were targeted (Beazley xx).

35 Hutton: One process in the "major external reorientation of the city's economy" was "...an accelerated globalization experience, which included the stimulus of the 1986 inter-

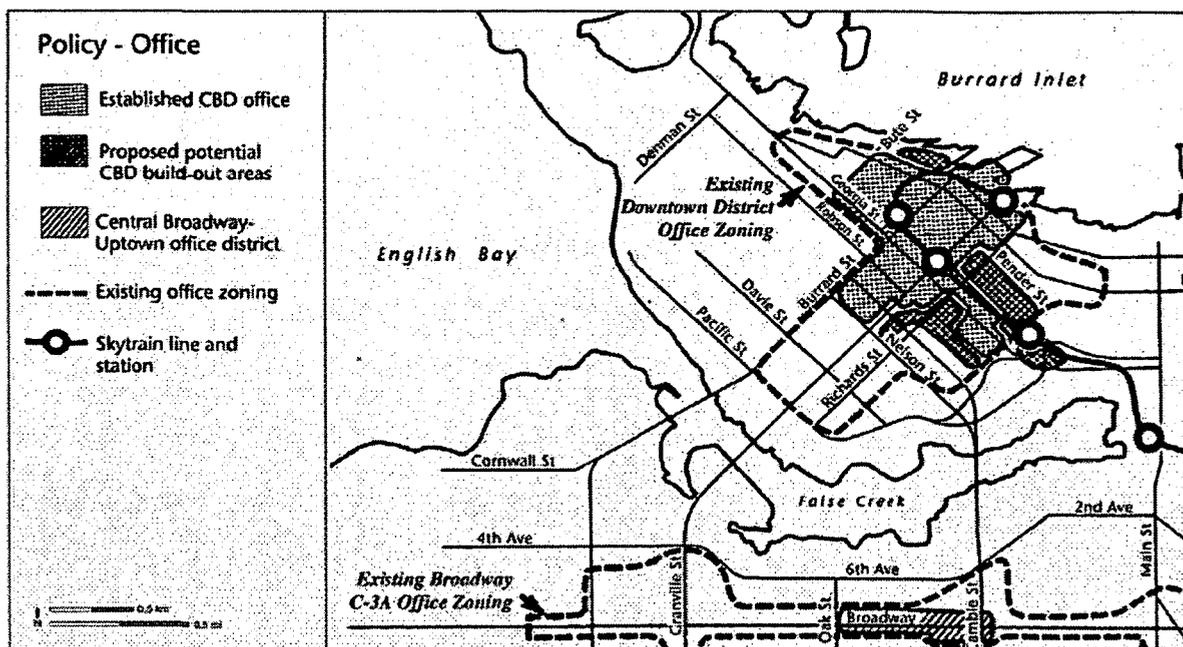
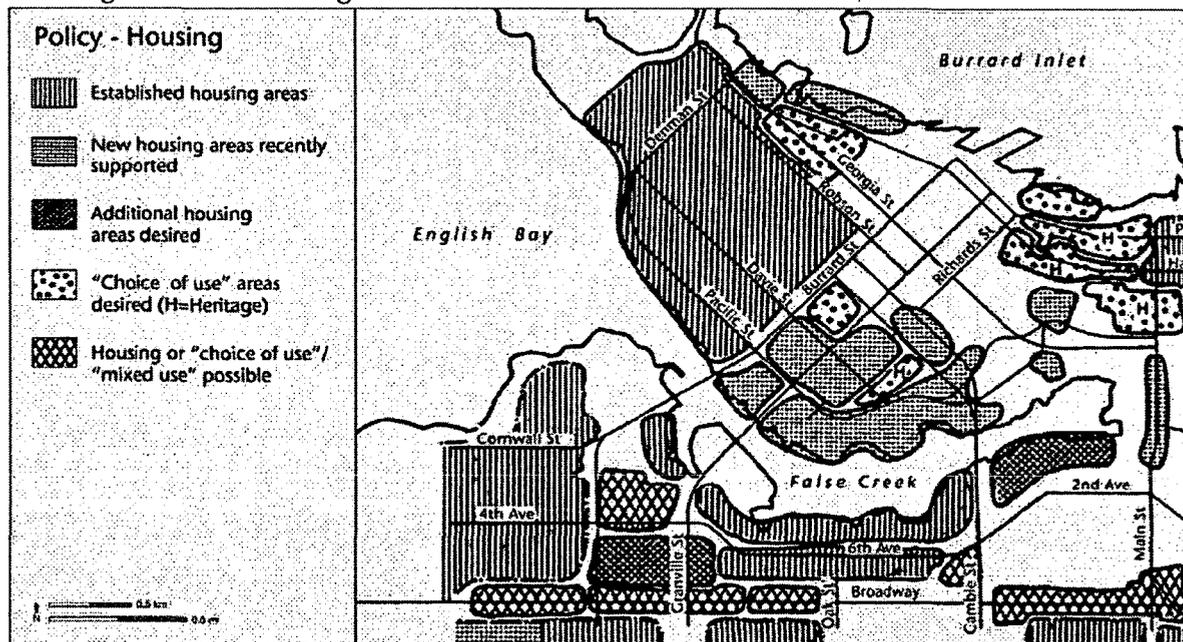


Fig. 179. “Post-Modern” Urban Development of Downtown Vancouver (1980 and 90s), showing a limited amount of Office and Commercial construction, from Thomas Hutton, “Post-industrialism, Post-modernism and the Reproduction of Vancouver’s Central Area,” 2004.

Fig. 180. “Post-Modern” Urban Development of Downtown Vancouver (1980 and 90s), showing extensive Housing construction, Ibid.



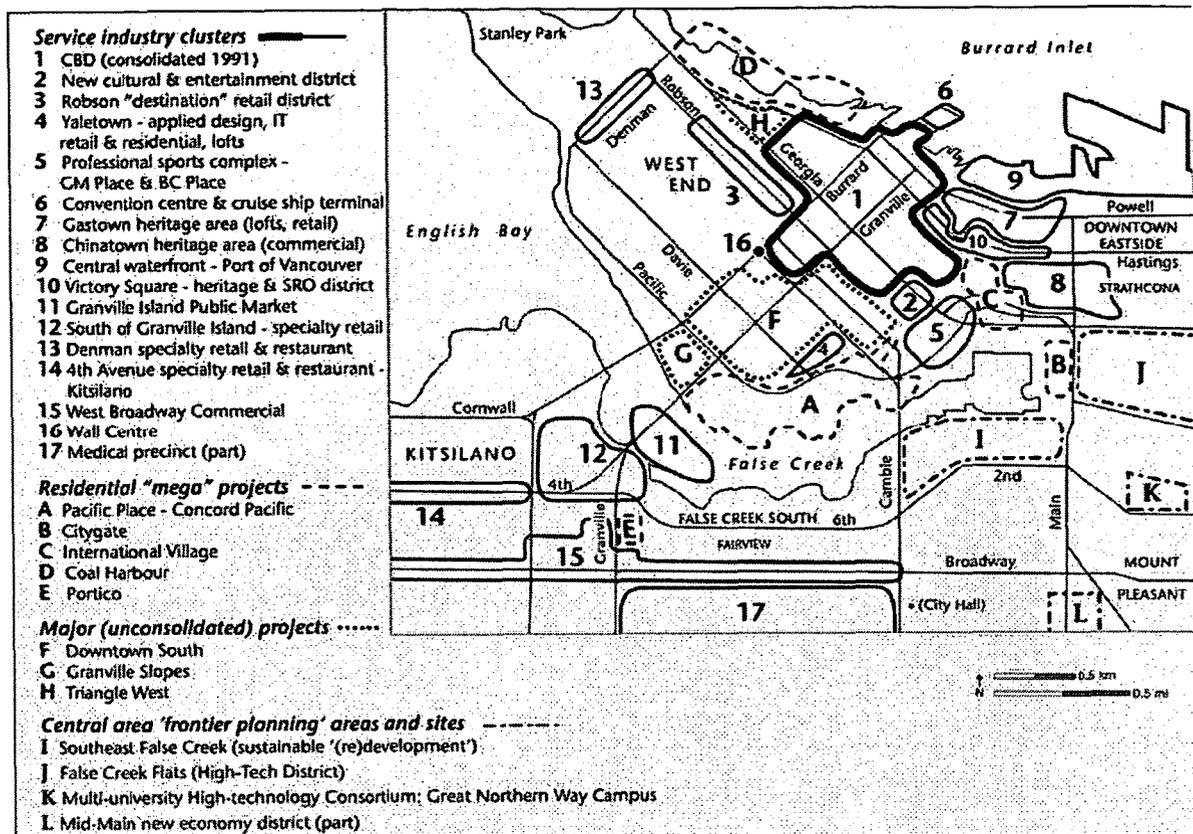


Fig. 181. "Respatialization" of Industry, Residential Mega-projects, and Mixed-Use Comprehensive Developments, in the "Post-Modern" Urban Development of Downtown Vancouver (1980 and 90s), from Thomas Hutton, "Post-industrialism, Post-modernism and the Reproduction of Vancouver's Central Area," 2004.

Hutton's study shows that Vancouver's "postmodern" transformation is not staged in the central business district, but in "fringe" areas like False Creek North. The "house" remains the preferred mechanism for urban redevelopment but, now, is used to consolidate and reduce the central business district (fig. 181).³⁶ According to former planning director Larry Beasley, in the late 1980s and 1990s, the City "converted about 8 million square feet of excess office space capacity (in

national exposition, increased Asian-Pacific investment in the central area's property market and a major upturn in international immigration, especially from Asia-Pacific societies. These inflows implied redefining functional and symbolic transformations ... and a new growth stimulus..." (Hutton 1963).

36 For Hutton, this trend has a symbolic dimension, as the office district, as an icon of late-modernism, is hemmed in and given a new, less dominant, role within the "landscapes of production, housing and amenity in Vancouver's post-modern metropolitan core" (1968).

the) downtown to residential capacity” (Beasley and McAfee 5).³⁷ Residential mixed-use projects in Granville Slopes, Gastown, Coal Harbour and, of course, False Creek North, surrounded the central business district and, by 2005, not a single new office building project was underway in downtown Vancouver (Boddy 2005: 18)³⁸ For Hutton, this process has an added symbolic dimension, as the iconic, modernist office district takes on a weaker position in the “landscapes of production, housing and amenity in Vancouver’s post-modern metropolitan core” (1968). Hutton’s theory becomes problematic, however, when he maps the typical, aesthetic features of post-modernism onto the built environment. His suggestion that False Creek North and other new districts manifest the heterogeneity, fragmentation, and physical and ethnic diversity of a “post-modern” urban fabric contradict the evident trend of residential mega-projects in downtown Vancouver.

Critic Matthew Soules reads Concord Pacific Place differently, as a manifestation not of a post-modern, but of a “post-political”, paradigm (2010: 142).³⁹ Soules points to the planning approach taken in Concord Pacific Place, in which the competing interests of the City, a general public, community interest groups, and a private developer, who in turn carries the interests of financiers and investors, are all fed into a process of negotiation and consensus-building.⁴⁰ These interests are

37 Albert Watson interviews former Director of Planning Larry Beasley: “(I)nitially, we converted about 8 million square feet of excess office capacity downtown to residential capacity. Having said that, we recreated much of that capacity in more suitable forms and locations in the 90’s through a constellation of new high-tech zoning that fits the contemporary growth potential of our economy.” (Watson 84).

38 Boddy writes “...disturbingly, (Planning Director) Beasley recently confirmed there is no downtown office building under construction or at any stage of planning review or negotiation”, Places 16.2.

39 Soules borrows these terms from cultural theorist Slavoj Zizek.

40 “In fact, if there’s one thing that I have to say about Vancouver—the thing that’s been fascinating for me in practice here—is that, in the design community, in the planning community, among many politicians, and among many informed citizens, there has been a strong consensus about the vision of the city, about trying to pursue an urban future...in support of density. There’s been an almost intuitive consensus that tall buildings were not bad but that they had to be well designed.” Larry Beasley cited in Grant (362).

then absorbed into an encompassing urban model. The “post-political” paradigm is a culture of negotiated compromise (3) (fig. 195). Differences in the body politic are represented in the public sphere, but are subsumed and neutralized within a greater hegemonic framework—the framework, in this case, being the rigidly designed and highly controlled built environment of Concord Pacific Place. (One might Soules’ characterization of Concord Pacific Place to South False Creek, which was intended, by its designers, to be an organic and flexible environment, adaptive to the changing needs of its inhabitants.)

Whether post-modern, or post-political, this second “re-spatialization” of Vancouver’s downtown has been driven, in part, by a shift in the City’s planning process and city-making *ethos*. As inner-city industry and a mono-functional office core had both proven to be unviable urban models, the City sought an alternative direction (Grant: 362).⁴¹ The vision of a mixed-use, housing-oriented, “livable” downtown, which had first been formulated in the South False Creek project, was embraced as a long-term urban development strategy. The City has since honed its vision of a “livable” urban environment in major public consultation and policy studies, including the “Livable Region Plan” (1976, 1986) and the Inner-City “Living First” Strategy (1987).⁴² The False Creek North project was expected, from the onset, to define and represent the City’s vision of a “livable city”.

Concord Pacific’s early design proposals participate in this broader project

41 Larry Beasley interviewed by Grant: “I took over the planning of the downtown a few weeks after the close of Expo ’86, in January of 1987. We knew that we were going to face the planning of that huge area. The office market had essentially collapsed, as it had everywhere in North America, roughly in 1982–83. So we were in the position that we needed to rethink the city at that point. What was going to be our economic driver? What was going to be the shape of the city? We had vast areas for redevelopment” (362).

42 The Livable Region Strategic Plan (LRSP) is “Greater Vancouver’s regional growth strategy, it was adopted ... in 1996....The primary goal of the plan is to help maintain regional livability and protect the environment in the face of anticipated growth” (GVRD 1996). Vancouver adopted its “Living First” policy in the 1987 to facilitate residential growth downtown and guide the redevelopment of waterfront land following the dismantling of the Expo ’86 fairgrounds (Beasley, 2000).

of re-defining the urban imaginary. Early marketing of False Creek North as a “high-tech, global village” points to desired traits in Vancouver’s future identity: technologically progressive, multi-cultural, internationally relevant, and, yet, retaining a strong local character.⁴³ I will argue that the False Creek North project would also absorb the internal tensions of the “livable city” imaginary: between social inclusiveness and corporate profitability; between a humanly-scaled and ultra-dense environment; and between developing a distinctly local language and acting as an international model.

5.2.5 Concord Pacific’s Marinavista

Concord Pacific’s first design proposal, “Marinavista,” was submitted as part of its winning bid to the Province. Marinavista is a series of residential islands, linked by lagoons and canals, between Granville and Cambie bridges (figs. 182, 183).⁴⁴ In addition to these clusters of residential towers, a proposed Financial Centre contained office towers up to 45-storeys.⁴⁵ In all, the \$2 billion proposal included 10 000 residential units, 3 million square feet of commercial space, 50-million acres of parks, a hotel, parking and a marina (Beazley 136).

The proposal wooed the media, who lauded the design as a “West Coast Venice” (fig. 184).⁴⁶ The City was more skeptical. City planners feared that the channels of water between the new development and the existing downtown would

43 Hubgretse describes how, in its early phases of the project, Concord Pacific: “promoted and marketed its neighbourhood as ‘North America’s first fibre optic community,’ ‘a high-tech village of the 21st century,’ and a ‘global village’” (2001: 24). He also argues that CP’s branding emphasis on the “local”, “high-tech” and “village” aspects of the development, rather than on globalism or multi-culturalism, can be seen, in part, a response to the popular fear of Vancouver’s Asianization.

44 Other components of the proposal – A “Gateway” on either side of the Cambie bridge, a “futuristic” Financial Centre with office towers up to 45-storeys (Beazley 136).

45 According to one of the architects of the project, the Marinavista proposal “contains some science fiction elements.” Vancouver Sun, Sept 8, 1988.

46 (Beazley 136) Beazley cites Hamilton, 1988b.

effectively privatize the False Creek waterfront for local residents (Beazley 137). Playing off of the fluid shoreline of False Creek, the clusters of towers and open spaces in Marinavista bore some similarity, in plan, to South False Creek enclaves which were, by now, broadly criticized for their isolation from the existing city. The 45-storey towers were seen as too aggressive, in light of the City's policy development for "livable" communities and family housing.⁴⁷

Marinavista was rejected. This first proposal looks little like the development that was eventually built. Nonetheless, its combination of seemingly disparate, low- and high-density urban fabrics set the stage for Concord Pacific Place. Concord Pacific's principle planner, Stanley Kwok⁴⁸, a Vancouver-based, Shanghai-trained architect who practiced in Hong Kong for many years, describes the mixed origins of Marinavista: Hong Kong small-plate towers, a familiar building type for the design team, and tropical resort architecture from the 1970s.⁴⁹ By combining high-density towers with the leisure-oriented amenities associated with a resort, the proposal could appeal to different, competing, sensibilities. The essential two-sidedness of Marinavista is prescient.

5.3 Concord Pacific Place: A Planning Framework

Once the Province sold the False Creek North lands, the City seized its new

47 ODP: "Twenty-five percent of the total number of dwelling units shall be suitable for families with small children, as defined in Guidelines for High Density Housing for Families with Children adopted by City Council May 30, 1989." (ODP 1989: 8)

48 Kwok, a well-established planner and development broker in Vancouver, had been president of BC Place Ltd, resigning after the collapse of BC Place's North Park project (Beazley 130).

49 "Kwok said his original concept for Vancouver's Concord Pacific development came out of 1970s tropical resorts, combined with the tall, thin towers of Hong Kong he knew well from working there. To these distant sources was added something already established in Vancouver's South False Creek — a commitment to mixing social classes and building community and wealth for all through public amenities like parks, day-care centres and arts facilities." (Trevor Boddy, Vancouver Sun, 7 Feb 2004).



Fig.182. Marinavista, view of model, from Concord Pacific, 1988.



Fig.183. Marinavista, aerial view of model, from Concord Pacific, 1988.

Design/Frank O'Brien

Pacific Place will revitalize Vancouver

The announcement that Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-shing has bought the 203-acre former Expo '86 site in Vancouver comes as no surprise. Even the \$320 million purchase price is close to the rumours that had been circulating for months.

Few were prepared, however, when the veil was finally lifted on Li's futuristic, multi-billion dollar design vision.

"It is breathtaking," says Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell.

Breathtaking indeed—and a model of how Li Ka-shing has become one of the wealthiest men in the world. Through a subsidiary, Concord Pacific Developments Ltd., Vancouver, Li has acquired one of the best parcels of urban real estate in North America. And, through skillful recruiting, Li has drawn together a team of architects and planners who have created a development concept that has stunned, surprised and delighted Vancouverites.

Concord Pacific is managed by architect and planner Stanley Kwok, the former president of the B.C. Place Corporation, who drafted a detailed plan for the Expo site prior to the world's fair opening.

"Kwok knows the property better than anyone in the world," notes Michael Geller, president of the Urban Development Institute of Canada and a former Kwok consultant.

Kwok, in turn, hired three of Vancouver's top architects to put the Concord proposal in place. "We wanted something exciting that would reflect Vancouver's past and potential," Kwok says.

First to be hired was Richard Hulbert, head of The Hulbert Group. Hulbert was named chief architect because of his experience on large-scale projects, such as the 2,000-acre Coves Beach community in Australia. Working in concert with Hulbert are architects John Davidson, respected for his work in social housing with the Davidson Yuen partnership; and Barry Downs, of Downs Archambault, the architectural mastermind behind the development of the south shore of False Creek.

Hulbert admits he was challenged by the demands of Li Ka-shing's expansive vision.

"In straight dollar value, I had never



All 1,400 apartments will have waterfront view in proposed Pacific Place project by Concord Pacific Developments Ltd., Vancouver.

worked on a larger project," Hulbert says, "and the time frame was daunting."

The magnitude of Concord's \$2 billion Pacific concept would be impressive in any market. In Vancouver it is staggering. Pacific Place is:

- 10,000 units of housing for a population of at least 20,000 people.
- 1.7 million sq ft of office space, including a super-smart International Finance Centre linked by satellite to world markets 24 hr a day.
- More than one million sq ft of retail space, most in a 700,000 sq ft international village market.

- Two man-made islands linked by canals and bridges to the north shore of False Creek, including a large tidal lagoon.

- Forty acres of parks and open space with nearly three miles of public waterfront walkways.

- A 400-room hotel and adjacent entertainment complex.

- A 640-berth marina.

- A total development that could spin \$8 billion into the Vancouver economy and provide 28,000 person years of employment.

Li's choice of architects paid off in public relations.

Fig. 184. Magazine spread, from Frank O'Brien, "Pacific Place will revitalize Vancouver," Canadian Building Magazine, June 1988.

role as public arbiter for the privately-driven development. The Province had been heavily criticized for its unilateral approach to developing the site, and the secrecy surrounding the bidding process and sale.⁵⁰ Once again a major player, the City redoubled its mandate to articulate a clear vision for False Creek North to the public and the developer, and to create a transparent planning process. Here, I want to discuss how the City's handling of the project reflects their changing approach to city-making. I will discuss, first, the overall administrative procedure for False Creek North, at that time the largest master-planned project in Vancouver's history, and, second, the key documents that were used to shape the project.

5.3.1 The City of Vancouver's Planning Policy

The City recognized that a new regulatory and approval framework would be needed to manage the massive impact of Concord Pacific's development. The City planners invented a process that drew on their experience from South False Creek. Again, they used the Development Plans section of the Charter, rather than the conventional zoning by-law, and, again, they implemented a multi-stage process of design development and approval. But because the project would be executed by a private developer rather than by the City's own committees, more stages of review and political "buy-in" were required.

The process moved through five stages, from large-scale, conceptual issues to detailed design. First, a planning concept for the entire basin was laid out in "Policy Broadsheets". Then, an "Official Development Plan" was written, to describe a development framework for the Concord Pacific site. At the ODP stage, a 166-acre area, in the centre of Concord Pacific's 204-acre land parcel, was defined as the

50 "The sale of the Expo lands was shrouded in controversy and secrecy...Little information was produced by the Province about the bids and the bidding process itself was tied up in complex legal confidentiality clauses" (Beazley 132).

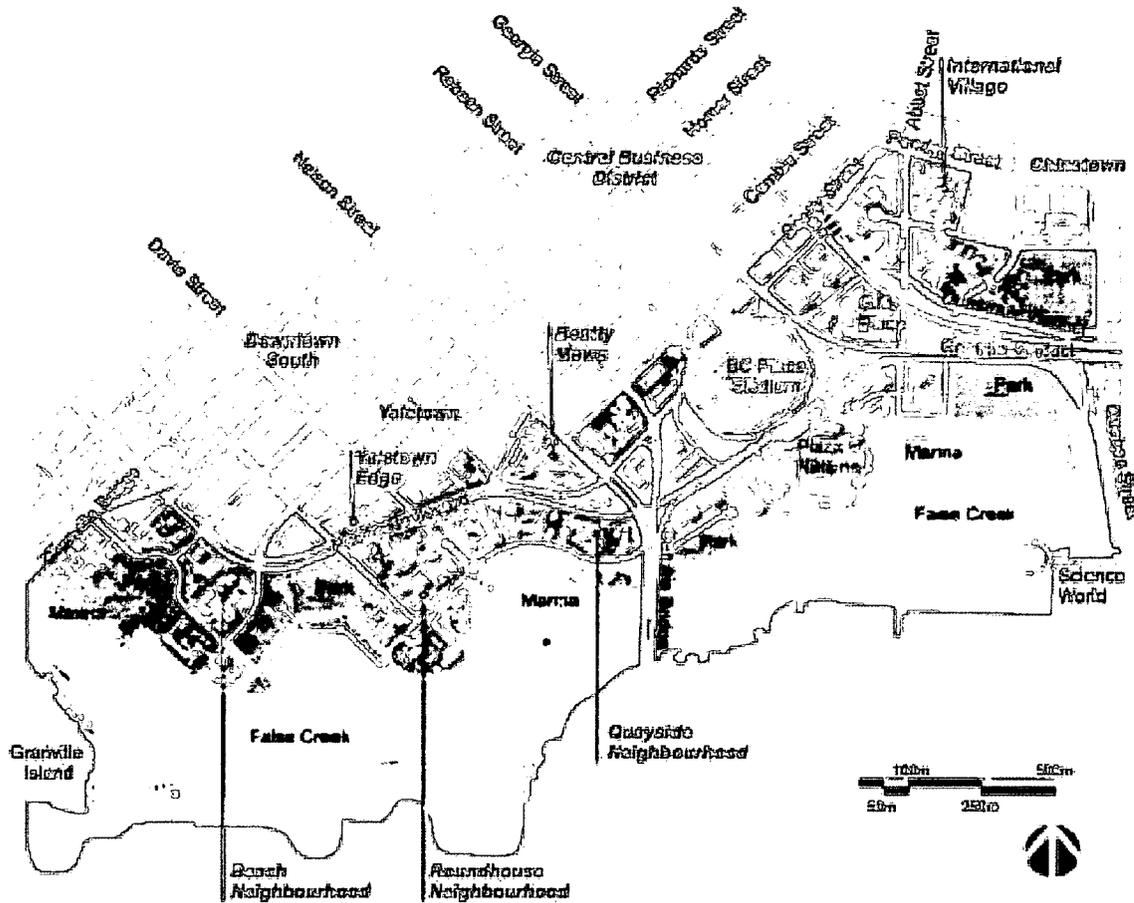
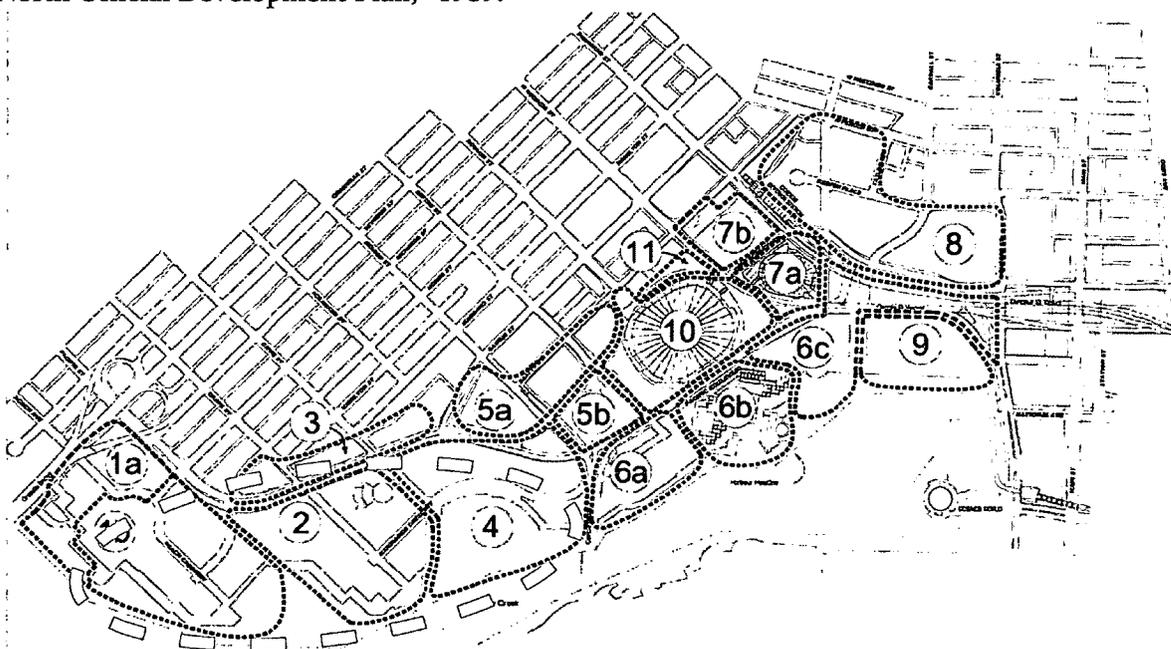


Fig.185. Rendered site plan, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

Fig.186. Key plan showing development sub-areas, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.



Concord Pacific Place Overall Development Statistics

Area:

Gross area: 166 acres (67 ha)

Parks/Open Space: 42 acres (17ha)

Residential Population:

Population: 20 000 (when completed), 13 000 (2003)

Density (upa): 50

Housing Units: 9843 (when completed), 7800 (2003)

Non-market Units: 1380

Land Uses:

Housing Floorspace: 918 248 sqm

Office Floorspace: 145 872 sqm (inc. some retail)

Retail & Services: 55 948 sqm

Wholesale: 13 619 sqm

Cultural Amenities:

- one K-7 school, inc. 370 sqm of community space, 560 sqm gymnasium;
- one K-7 school;
- one community centre plus gymnasium, 4180 sqm;
- eight day cares, 3000 to 3500 sqm;
- one multi-purpose room, 190 sqm;
- one library , 460 sqm;
- one field house, 200 sqm.

** False Creek North Official Development Plan, City of Vancouver, Oct 2008*

Table 2. Concord Place Overall Development Statistics, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

Concord Pacific Place site. Concord Pacific Place was further subdivided into sub-areas and neighbourhoods (figs. 185, 186). “Design guidelines” were then established for each neighbourhood within the larger development. The developer then applied for re-zoning for each neighbourhood. Finally, these smaller projects went through the City’s standard permitting process. Each stage required participation by the developer, city staff, City Council and the public. For the “development framework” stage, for example, City staff and the developer would first sit down together to work out a schematic development plan, which would then be debated in public workshops and council hearings. Only after receiving formal Council approval would the project move to the next stage.

I want to emphasize that the process invented for False Creek North changed the *means* of city-making in Vancouver. Their laborious, but innovative, 5-stage process created a powerful new role for the City planners. Because each stage of the process required public consultation and formal affirmation by Council, consensus was built incrementally and a record of transparency was ensured.⁵¹ Acting with this political and public endorsement, the planners had real teeth in negotiating with Concord Pacific. The City leveraged its largest-ever “public benefits package” from the Concord Pacific Place project, including “parks, the continuous waterfront walkway, shoreline improvements, circulation and utility systems, a community centre, eight daycare centres, a library, community meetings rooms, a field house, public art facilities and bus shelters” (Beazely 137). This package of public goods was granted in exchange for almost one million square feet of market-rate condominium units, recalling Soules’ reading of Concord Pacific Place as part of a culture of “negotiated compromise.”⁵²

51 Worked with “broad public” and then more direct stakeholder, as they moved through detailed design stages.

52 The Official Development Plan permitted up to a maximum of 9,843 dwelling units, having a total floor area up to a maximum of 918 248 square metres, with allowance for a further 10% increase (ODP 1986).

Since the Concord Pacific Place project, leveraging has become a powerful tool of urban development in Vancouver, as City planners negotiate wish-lists of infrastructure and amenities from a given development. Concord Pacific Place was instrumental to developing this approach of city-making:

...(I)t was within the particular characteristics of the (Concord Pacific Place) mega-project that the Planning Department could leverage foreign capital into the density/amenity model that is at the core of Vancouverism (Roehr et al. 72).

Density—as a quantity of saleable floorspace and a form of currency—is indispensable in this approach to city making. Additional storeys on towers are swapped for heritage restoration projects, parks, arts and cultural facilities, and supportive housing. The practice of density/amenity swapping has created a surprising geography of urban development, as public amenities and the condominium towers that sponsor them are decoupled and dispersed in different parts of the city.⁵³ The density/amenity model has also contributed to the dramatic change in the grain of Vancouver’s urban fabric, leading the City to engage in larger projects, as a developer must be granted a certain quantity of buildable space to deliver a substantial public good. The density/amenity model has also contributed to dramatic changes in the grain of Vancouver’s urban fabric, as the City engages in larger projects in order to leverage substantial public goods.

5.3.2 Planning and Design: “Founding” Documents

The City’s key planning and design documents for the Concord Pacific Place project help to illustrate how changing ideas of the district and the house are translated into planning principles and, eventually, into built form.

The “*False Creek Policy Broadsheets*”, published in June 1989, outline a planning concept for the entire False Creek basin. They locate the basin in the

53 Cite UBC masters thesis.

FALSE CREEK NORTH OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

(Adopted by By-law No. 6650, April 10, 1990)

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Fig. 187. Table of Contents, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

physical fabric of the downtown and within a vision of the city's future. The Broadsheets are divided into major site planning categories: the shoreline; residential development; community facilities; commercial development; industry; and roads and transportation. For each category, a Broadsheet provides a snapshot of key issues, past policy and new policy principles. As the past policies are drawn from South False Creek, Marathon's proposal and BC Place's North Park, these earlier projects serve as a datum for the City's new planning approach. The Broadsheets anticipate the more analytical strategies that the City would adopt in the Concord Pacific Place project. They also lay a foundation for denser, more differentiated residential building fabrics.

The Broadsheets return to quantitative measurement as a basis for planning policy. This is particularly true in Broadsheets pertaining to housing. In the "Residential Location and Density" Broadsheet, comparable densities for South False Creek and the West End are given in terms of housing units per acre (UPA) and floor space ratio (FSR) (fig. 188).⁵⁴ These same quantitative criteria are used to set targets for future development in the basin. Housing is quantified, as it was not in South False Creek, and increased. The Broadsheet doubles the allowable density of housing for families with children (9).⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ (Almost four times the number of dwellings would eventually be allocated to the Beach, Roundhouse and Quayside neighbourhoods, compared to Area 6, a similar-sized area in South False Creek.) The Broadsheets suggest that, while the City's mandate to provide housing for families with children

54 The densities were also compared to Granville Slopes, another high-rise residential district under construction at the time.

55 This is double the UPA of some of the family-oriented housing enclaves in South False Creek, with the possibility left open for even greater densities.

56 The targets set in the Broadsheets translate into numbers of dwelling units in the Official Development Plan. The ODP permits 9843 dwelling units in the False Creek North development, with provision for a possible 10% increase (ODP 8). If one considers only the Beach, Roundhouse and Quayside neighbourhoods, which together are comparable to Area 6 in South False Creek, the ODP's allocation of 3156 dwelling units is almost four times housing density in South False Creek.

remains, the acceptable form of the family “house” is changing.

At the same time, the Broadsheets contain qualitative statements, to create a more nuanced vision of how denser building forms can be achieved within a “livable” downtown.⁵⁷ One policy principle reads:

Density is only one measure of community character. Other aspects ... (of) residential communities include the creation of areas of distinctive character, appropriate integration of community and commercial services, linkages, (and) open space character...(City 1989:8)

A low-density fabric of single-family dwellings is no longer perceived as a guarantor of a “livable” community. Instead, relationships within and between the new neighbourhoods and the downtown are equally, if not more, important.⁵⁸ The City’s new policy suggests a “diversity of densities,” to produce a variegated urban fabric that responds to “neighbouring characters, area-specific characteristics and household mix” (9) (fig. 189). Form and density are seen as a flexible instrument to knit the False Creek basin into the existing city. Much more than in the South False Creek Guidelines, the Broadsheets consider the new district in the context of the “whole” city.

In the same year that it published its False Creek Policy Broadsheets, the Planning Department completed its “*Official Development Plan for False Creek North*,” which deals directly with the Concord Pacific Place project. The ODP is organized into three major parts. First, seven “Organizing Principles” lay out a conceptual design approach for the district: Integrate with the City; Build on the (site’s) Setting; Maintain the Sense of a Substantial Water Basin; Use Streets as an Organizing Device; Create Lively Places Having Strong Imagability; Create Neighbourhoods; and Plan for All Age Groups (ODP 1989: 4-7) (fig. 190). The second section contains site planning guidelines, including building heights and area allocations for residential, commercial,

57 Quote: the basin “as a place to live”.

58 Have they set specific objective of “complete” urban community yet?

4. RESIDENTIAL - LOCATION AND DENSITY

ISSUES

- Different densities contribute to different neighbourhood characters. What characters are appropriate in the False Creek basin?
- What densities are suitable for households with children? For households without children?
- The West End has an overall density of about 150 upa and 2 - 3 FSR. Kitsilano has an overall density of about 80 upa and 1.5 - 2.0 FSR. The proposed zoning for Downtown South envisions densities up to 250 upa and 5 FSR.

FACTS

- Residential development in the basin can accommodate people close to downtown jobs, reducing commuting costs.
- There is an imbalance between commercial and residential development potentials in the city.
- Most areas of the basin are desirable places to live. Less desirable areas are around the bridgeheads, viaducts and stadium.
- It is useful when planning a residential community to distinguish between households with and without children because of their varying housing and community needs.
- South False Creek maintains an overall density of 57 units per acre (upa). Individual projects with high components of households with children include:

Alder Bay Co-op	40 upa / 0.9 FSR; 90% family units.
Wellington	93 upa / 1.9 FSR; 50% family units.
Twin Rainbows	102 upa / 2.2 FSR; 60% family units.
Marina Co-op	128 upa / 2.7 FSR; 80% family units

- Recent, adult-oriented, downtown projects range from 190-300 upa at 5.0 FSR (floor space ratio).
- Nearby projects in Southeast Granville Slopes include: - Admiralty - 110 upa / 3.5 FSR - Seawalk - 160 upa / 4.2 FSR.

PAST POLICY

- 1972-73 - family 20-40 upa; non-family 40-150 upa; maximum 150 upa.
- 1981-82 - 7500 + units; family 40-50 upa; non-family 40-150 upa; average 110 upa.
- 1983 (Staff Response to B.C.Place) - 8551 units; family 110 upa average; non-family 160 upa average; 144 upa average.
- North Park - 2600 units; family 110 upa maximum; non-family 150 upa maximum; 137.5 upa average; 3.0 FSR.

POLICY - PRINCIPLES

- The False Creek basin should develop as a predominantly residential area to achieve regional and City objectives and recognize the special amenity of the basin as a place to live. Other land uses could be considered in those areas environmentally unsuited to a residential community, to extend existing land use patterns and to add diversity and serve basin residents. Areas of residential suitability are mapped below.
- Density is only one measure of community character. Other aspects that will be considered in evaluating residential communities include the creation of areas of distinctive character, appropriate integration of community and commercial services, linkages, open space character and other good site planning principles.

Fig. 188. "Residential – Location and Density," from City of Vancouver, "False Creek Policy Broadsheets," 1989.

Fig. 189. "Urban Design," Ibid.

16. URBAN DESIGN

ISSUES

- Views: Development could frame and preserve or obliterate views of water, landmarks and mountains from residences, public spaces, bridges and streets throughout the basin. A carefully conceived mixture of high and low building forms will achieve more views than large areas of uniform building height.
- Sunlight: Unless development forms are carefully conceived, sunlight on public and private open spaces and for residences could be lost.
- Water: Different forms of development can enhance the sense of openness of the water basin. Tall buildings closely spaced along the shoreline could reduce the apparent width of the water basin.
- Integration: New communities could be seen as separate entities or could be integrated into the city and be responsive to the characters of neighbouring areas.
- Imageability: Development can have variety without being chaotic and unity without being monotonous. Design guidelines could achieve an overall unifying theme which gives False Creek a strong image while accommodating responses to local influences.
- Public Realm: Standard street furniture, planting, sidewalk treatments and paving could be installed throughout the basin or alternatives could be considered to achieve areas of distinctive character.

FACTS

- Vancouver residents and tourists value views of mountains and water as evidenced by real estate values, the Goals for Vancouver survey and postcard images of the city.
- Council has instructed the Planning Department to comprehensively assess views and the development implications of their retention. This review is underway.
- The north and south shores have differing orientations to water views and the sun.
- There is a diversity of areas with distinctive characters around the developing portion of the basin. These include Southeast Granville Slopes, Downtown South, Yaletown, Beatty Street, Gastown, Chinatown, and Mount Pleasant.
- The existing street grid can be extended into the basin without promoting through-traffic.
- A sidewalk of interlocking pavers costs 70-100% more than a standard concrete walkway. A sidewalk of exposed aggregate costs 20-30% more. Maintenance costs are comparable for standard concrete and exposed aggregate. Pavers are about 50% more expensive to maintain.

park spaces and other programmed spaces. Finally, a series of diagrammatic site plans illustrate land use patterns for the neighbourhood (figs. 192, 193).⁵⁹ The ODP builds on the principles in the Broadsheets, describing a district that: is designed from the macro-perspective of a masterplan; is conceived as a complete “urban part”, integrated into a larger “whole”; and assigns new forms of buildings and urban spaces to families and communities.

The ODP reinforces the shift, already suggested by the Broadsheets, towards prescriptive planning. The second section, which sets out site planning regulations, is titled “Overall Patterns.” In the South False Creek ODP, “patterns” were understood as open, generic principles that could generate a variety of design solutions. The use of a “pattern language” ensured that mechanisms for change would be integrated into the built environment, enabling the neighbourhood to evolve over time. In False Creek North, the term “pattern” is understood in the more conventional sense of modernist zoning and land use. Specific floor areas are allocated for each program element (ie. residential, offices, daycares, etc.). Tower heights and locations are given, as are building orientations, the location and size of major parks, and even the number of parking spots. Particular focal points for the public realm, such as view corridors and a waterfront drive, are identified (fig. 207). The ODP suggests that conceptualization of the neighbourhood, and the city, as self-organizing, adaptive organisms has faded. Instead, urban form is to be described in advance, managed and controlled.

Another directive of the Broadsheets that is further clarified in the ODP is how the basin should be reconnected to the city. In South False Creek, a *tabula rasa* site was treated as an opportunity to create an idealized, protected—and consequently

59 such as: the locations of residential, office and institutional developments; park spaces; marinas; vehicular, pedestrian and bicycle routes; views to and from the site; and phasing for construction

Section 2 Planning Principles

2.1 Policies for the False Creek Basin

This ODP reflects the overall City policies governing the development of the entire False Creek Basin as contained in the publication: False Creek Policy Broadsheets approved by City Council on August 30, 1988.

2.2 Organizing Principles for False Creek North

Within the framework of the policies set out in the False Creek Policy Broadsheets, seven major organizing design principles guide the development of False Creek North. These principles deal with the overall patterns of development, the quality of neighbourhoods, and the special opportunities of the location. They are set out below.

2.2.1 Integrate With the City

False Creek North should not be a self-contained new town in the city, but an integral part of Vancouver. To integrate well with the city, the following should be addressed:

- key elements of the street grid should be extended as streets, pedestrian routes, or vistas;
- the built form, block and land use patterns of the nearby areas should be extended or logically completed;
- the waterfront walkway system should be completed to a finished standard and include several clear linkages to Pacific Boulevard to connect to existing pedestrian routes;
- strong visual and physical connections should be established through the area from Pacific Boulevard to the shoreline through the public open space system;
- land uses, built form, and circulation patterns should encourage non-residents to visit the area and move through its various sub-areas; and
- important views should be maintained and attractive new views should be created by development.

2.2.2 Build On the Setting

The special characteristics of this setting should be used as a basis for development. In particular, the following should be considered:

- southerly aspect;
- water oriented land uses and activity settings;
- visual, physical and functional linkages between the water and the land;
- walking distance to employment, cultural and entertainment opportunities of downtown;
- history of the place;

Fig. 190. The City's intention, in False Creek North, was that it be more integrated into the existing city fabric than South False Creek, particularly by extending its street grid. "Planning Principles," from City of Vancouver, "False Creek Policy Broadsheets," 1989.

Area - Neighbourhood		Affordable		Market		Total Units	Floor Area		per
		non-family	family	non-family	family		m2	sq. ft.	
1 Beach	Units	177	255	1,522	312	2,266	230,446	2,480,582	CD-1
	%	7.8	11.3	67.1	13.8				
2 Roundhouse	Units	74	137	594	230	1,035	114,247	1,229,785	CD-1
	%	7.1	13.2	57.4	22.2				
3 Yaletown Edge	Units	60	72	452	122	706	84,379	908,278	CD-1
	%	8.5	10.2	64	17.3				
4 Quayside	Units	98	86	1,114	117	1,415	137,281	1,477,729	CD-1
	%	6.9	6.1	78.7	8.3				
5A Cambie-Beatty	Units	52	52	972	80	1,156	83,902	903,143	CD-1
	%	4.5	4.5	84.1	6.9				
6A Coopers Park	Units	38	83	458	155	714	70,558	759,500	CD-1
	%	5.3	8.8	64.1	21.7				
6C Abbott-Carrall	Units	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	ODP
	%								
7B Vladucts	Units	0	0	865	288	1,153	83,331	897,000	CD-1
	%	0	0	75	25				
8 International Village	Units	96	12	1,080	210	1,398	114,205	1,229,290	CD-1
	%	6.9	0.9	77.3	15				
Total						8,843	918,349	9,885,307	

Fig. 191. The first four Areas correspond closely to the neighbourhood's first proposed in Marathon's 1974 design, but with considerably increased densities, Ibid.

isolated—neighbourhood. The first “Organizing Principle” in the ODP, “Integrate with the City”, states that False Creek North “should not be a self-contained new town in the city, but an integral part of Vancouver” (ODP 5). The development should extend the city’s street pattern, but also the logic of “the built form, block and land use patterns of nearby areas” (5). As the closest area is the CBD, this principle anticipates that False Creek North will take cues, in terms of building type, block-pattern, density and materiality, from the office district.⁶⁰ Connections to the city’s natural site (ie. “Build on the Setting”) is as important as its integration into the urban fabric.⁶¹ Each neighbourhood is understood as complete unto itself, as a “complete, mixed community (with a) coherent urban structure”, but also as part of a whole, “integrated with the surrounding city context” (City 2003:1-2).⁶²

These notions, that the district is designed and managed, and that it plays a role in the city structure, are reinforced by the site plan drawings in the last section of the ODP. The diagrammatic site plans describe the project in layers: land use zones; building footprints and tower locations; green spaces; routes for vehicles, pedestrians, and bikes; and views to and from the site. This systems-approach to planning locates the district within larger urban patterns. It sharply contrasts the “planning on a human scale” of South False Creek, which was largely communicated through vignettes of individual places. Many of the plans’ spatial strategies operate on a city-

60 Connections to adjacent seawall walkway (through pedestrian routes) and to the natural setting (through views) are also prioritized, showing the city’s strengthening orientation towards its waterfront and horizon.

61 The emphasis in the ODP on pedestrian routes and views underscores the city’s strengthening orientation towards its waterfront and mountainous horizon.

62 The False Creek North neighbourhoods are promoted in a City of Vancouver promotional brochure City as: “...complete, mixed communities with housing density and choice, social diversity..., artful urban design, coherent urban structure and all the necessary commercial and public amenities” (City 1999: i). At the same time, they are part of a whole: “A key urban design principle involves extending the fabric, patterns and character of the existing city into new areas, ensuring that its new neighbourhoods integrate with the surrounding city context” (City 1999: 2).

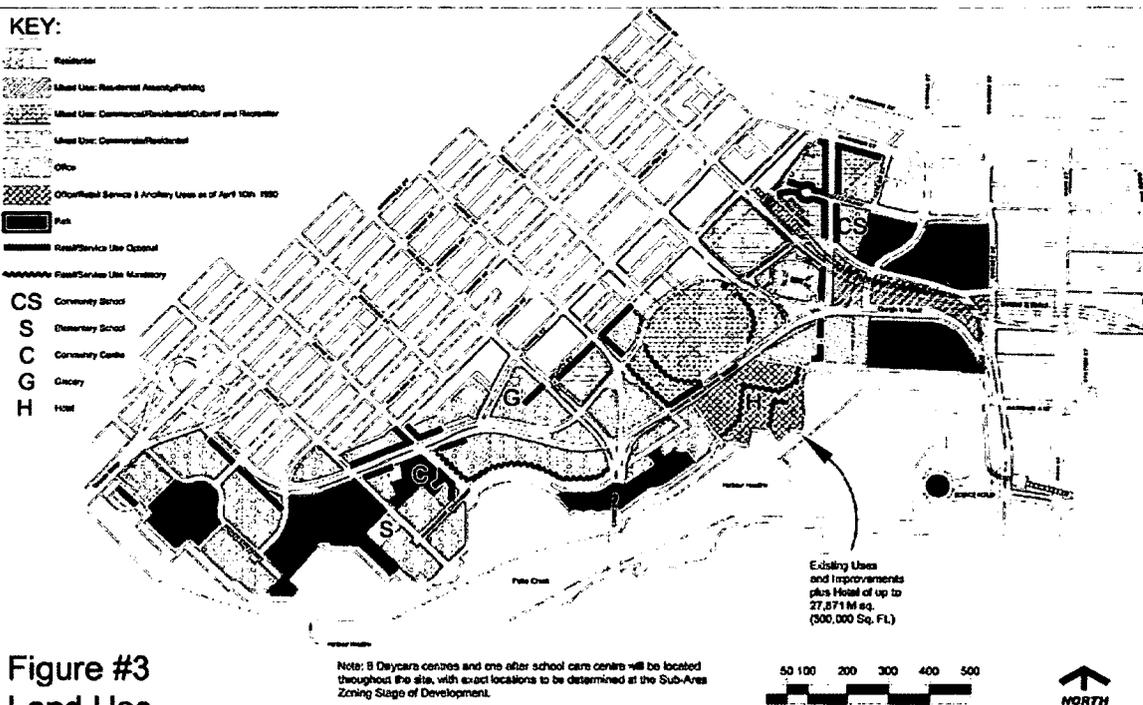


Figure #3
Land Use

Fig. 192. Large, actively programmed parks are interspersed in high-density, mixed-used development. Residential fabric predominates. "Land Use," from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

Fig. 193. Multi-modal movement through the district, including cars, bikes and transit. "Movement," Ibid.

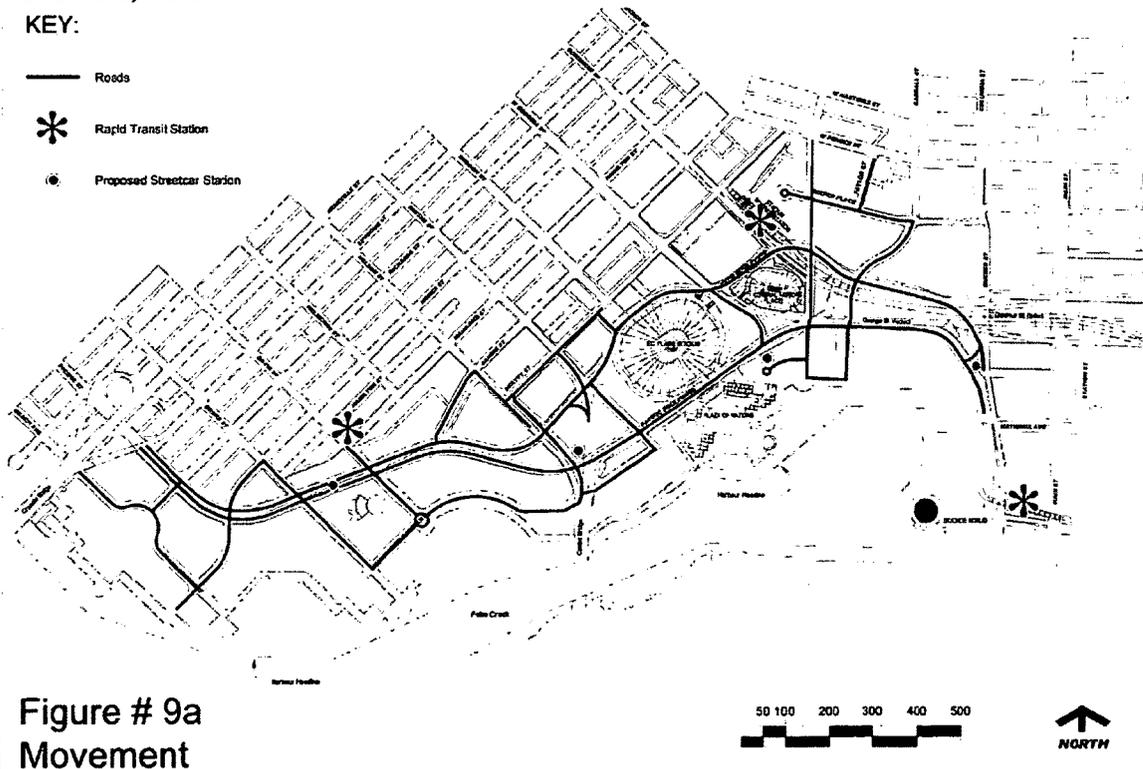


Figure # 9a
Movement

scale: the completion of the seawall walkway around the downtown peninsula; the extension of the city street grid to the waterfront (sometimes in the form of gardens); and the orchestration of major views across the downtown. This City's macro-approach shows how the making of a single district is, at the same time, a tool to achieve a larger urbanistic vision.

5.4 Vancouver's "New Urban Paradigm"

Indeed, Concord Pacific Place extends beyond its immediate site. A brochure on "Vancouver's New Neighbourhoods: Achievements in Planning and Urban Design", published by the City's Planning Department in 2003, declares that the redevelopment of False Creek over the 20 years following Expo 86 "is responsible for Vancouver becoming an international model of inner city revitalization" (City 2003:14) (fig. 194). Notably, this time frame excludes South False Creek from the narrative of Vancouver's transformation. Concord Pacific Place, on the other hand, "is making a major contribution to the emergence in Vancouver of a new urban paradigm" (14).

What is this "new urban paradigm"? One way in which Concord Pacific Place extends beyond its site is in the academic and professional discourse that debates this question. The model of a "livable" city that Concord Pacific Place represents –labeled, by some critics, as "Vancouverism"⁶³ – has been summarized as a formula: density + amenity + green space:

The criteria (of livability) include views to nature, a public waterfront, ample green space and access to public amenities. Together with density, these criteria have produced an urbanistic kit of parts whose sum is Vancouverism (Roehr et al. 72).

⁶³ Roehr et al define Vancouverism as "(t)he podium tower/green space/public amenity triumvirate has proven livable as residents enjoy privacy, order, and ample space for recreation in the city centre" (76).

The reality is of course not as simple as the formula. According to the City's brochure, the *ethos* of this urban paradigm is to bring people's living spaces closer to their workplace, in a compact, vibrant, and walkable city (City 2003: 14).⁶⁴ But the "livable" downtown is also an expression of the new engines of the city's economy, including the domestic and foreign property markets and building construction sectors.⁶⁵

It is beyond my scope to discuss the Vancouverism discourse at length. Instead, I want to concentrate on the model of the "city" produced within the particular built environment of Concord Pacific Place. I will argue that the morphology of this district, which has come to represent Vancouver's "new urban paradigm", was created, to a great degree, in the False Creek North planning and design guidelines (fig. 196). (In light of the City's 5-stage planning process, the documents should be understood as a co-operative, multi-authored endeavour.) I will then describe how this morphology is entwined with a new model of the "house" – the podium-point tower.

5.5 Concord Pacific Place as a City Model

Critics have argued that Concord Pacific Place fails as a city model because, in reality, it occupies a single site within a metropolitan region, housing only "five per cent of the city's two million inhabitants" (de Roehr et al 77). It lacks workplaces and industries to support its population, and caters to a narrow segment of the population in terms of age, social and economic class, and ethnicity. (The more

64 This brochure claims that False Creek North has an "inherent sustainability advantage that comes from bringing people and their place of work close together: more and more people are walking, cycling or using public transit on the downtown peninsula."

65 Kris Olds discusses this idea at length in "Developing the Trans-Pacific Property Market: Tales from Vancouver Via Hong Kong," 1996.

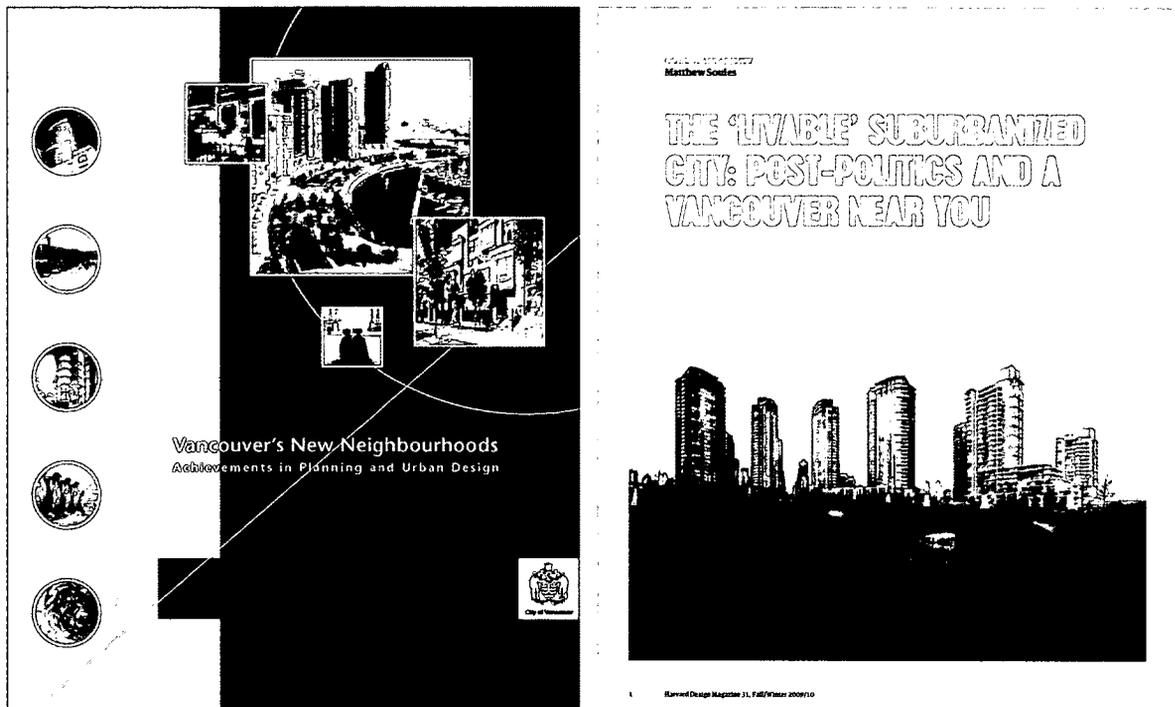
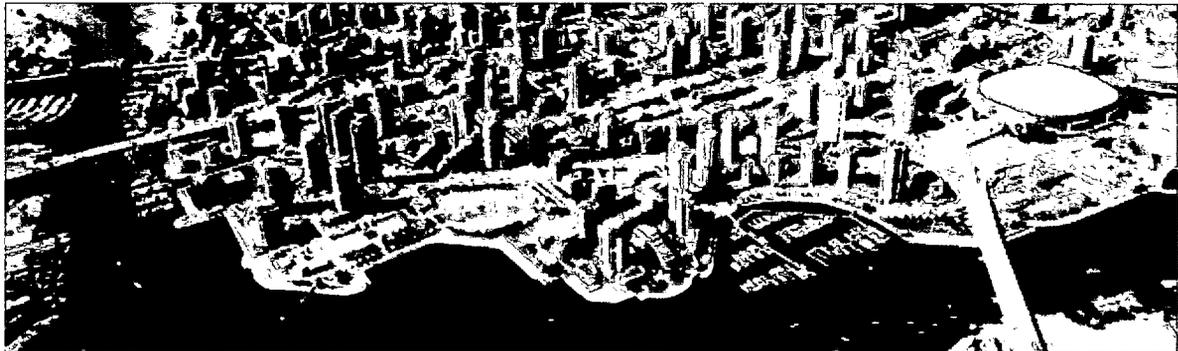


Fig. 194. Cover for City of Vancouver brochure on urban planning, from City of Vancouver, “Vancouver’s New Neighbourhoods: Achievements in Planning and Urban Design,” 2003.

Fig. 195. Magazine spread, from Matthew Soules, “The ‘Livable’ Suburbanized City: Post-Politics and a Vancouver Near You,” *Harvard Design Magazine*, 2010.

Fig. 196. Aerial View of False Creek North, from City of Vancouver, date.



general model of Vancouverism is faulted for these same omissions.⁶⁶) Certainly, the City’s planning and design guidelines conceive Concord Pacific Place as a single district, interconnected with and reliant upon adjacent neighbourhoods. A literal interpretation of Concord Pacific Place “as” a city—for example, breaking it into programmatic components such as industry, commerce, residential, transportation,

66 Vancouverism “fails to seriously address the full spectrum of urban life. Indeed, one is tempted to think that it is outright hostile to work (in) its tenacious emphasis on livability” (de Roehr et al 77).

etc. —would be of limited use. Nonetheless the City promotes Concord Pacific Place as an “international model” and its neighbourhoods as “complete urban communities.” Other studies have presented this model as a global product, exported as far as Washington, Malaysia and Dubai (Boddy 1995, de Roehr et al, 2007, and Soules 2010). Concord Pacific Place is a model, if not of a city, then of a brand of urbanism and an ideology of city-making. My goal here is to show how the defining features of Concord Pacific Place, laid out in the planning and design guidelines, re-imagine of the city.

5.5.1 Scale and Density

The illustrative site plans in the Official Development Plan show towers ranging from 17 to 38 storeys in height strung along Pacific Boulevard, the main arterial that connects the False Creek North to the downtown. Residential buildings are not only permitted to be taller, but also to occupy larger footprints, often half a block in size.⁶⁷ Very complex massing is required to integrate these tall towers and expansive mid-rise buildings within a coherent urban fabric. The neighbourhood design guidelines for Concord Pacific Place aim to control the height, orientation and step-backs of each component of these building complexes, to tailor each façade to its site. (I will focus on to the guidelines for Roundhouse, the first neighbourhood to be built, although the similar guidelines for the Beach and Quayside neighbourhoods would serve as well.) Consider for example, one of the earlier Roundhouse buildings, the “Crestmark”: a 22-storey tower sits atop a 6-storey podium at the north end of the site, facing the downtown; a bank of 4-storey townhouses faces the waterfront; and a 10- to 6-storey terraced building addresses the residential street to the south. Compare this range of form, achieved in a single architectural project, to the

67 The “Crestmark”, for example, was eventually built on an 85 090 square-foot site (*ref*

consistent environment of 4-storey row-houses and mid-rise terraced buildings in South False Creek.

The space between buildings is also increased. The False Creek North ODP shows seven major parks, ranging from 2 to 10 acres, interspersed between major building sites (ODP 23) (fig. 200). The shift in the scale of buildings between South False Creek and False Creek North is matched by an increasing spaciousness in the public realm. The cover illustration of the “Roundhouse Neighbourhood Guidelines” anticipates the highly variegated, complex urban fabric that will be produced by the planning and design guidelines for Concord Pacific Place (Roundhouse 1993: i) (fig. 197).

5.5.2 Landscape

Far from being simply larger, green spaces are an essential component of the “livable” urban environment. Landscape is given a powerful role in the City’s planning and design guidelines, as “a major factor in the creation of livable, healthy and environmentally responsible community...” (Roundhouse 12). The design guidelines assign particular functions to different kinds of green spaces. First, landscape contributes to the city reputation, by enhancing “the image of Vancouver as a ‘green’ city” (12). Second, landscape acts as an interface with the existing city: “Landscape is to be used as a unifying element, linking areas of the neighbourhood with adjacent streetscapes” (12). Third, and somewhat contradictorily, landscape should define and uphold boundaries: “Landscape is to be used to separate public, semi-public and private space...(and) to distinguish residential areas from public space” (12).

South False Creek was organized in subtle gradients of public, semi-public, semi-private, and private outdoor spaces. The clusters of buildings and gardens were

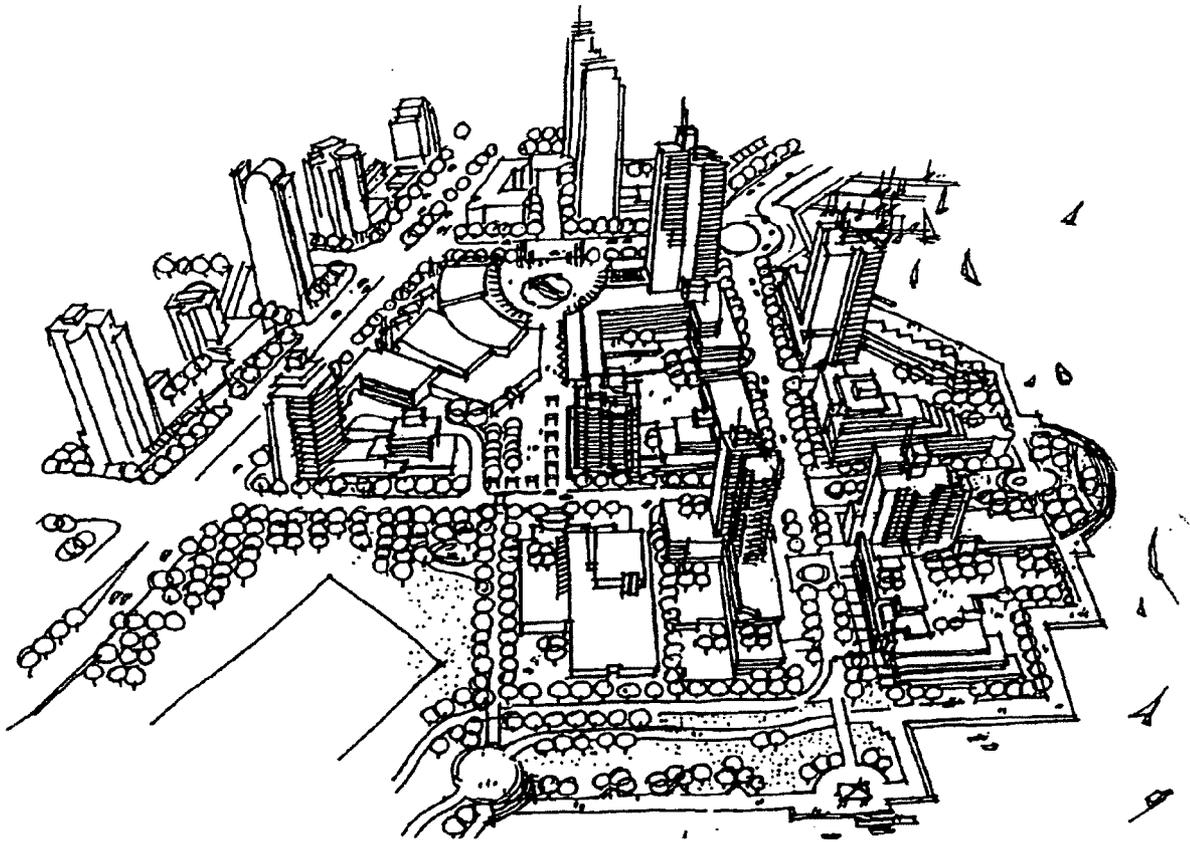


Fig. 197. Vignette of anticipated massing of Roundhouse Neighbourhood, from City of Vancouver, "Roundhouse Neighbourhood Cd-1 Guidelines," 1993.



Fig. 198. Aerial view of the Roundhouse, from xx, date.



Fig. 199. View of the Roundhouse, from xx, date.

designed to appear as though they had evolved over time. The ODP and Design guidelines for Concord Pacific Place show a greater concern with firmly defining the boundaries between the public and private realms. Landscape is seen as critical to creating a sense of order and security in the built environment. Public parks should “be designed to promote safety and security, through the provision of visual observation from surrounding areas...” (12).⁶⁸ They are to be larger, more actively programmed, and visually open. These green spaces inevitably take on a greater degree of public-ness; compare, for example, the pastoral Charleson Park and the intimate gardens enclosed by in the South False Creek’s housing enclaves, to the vast lawns of David Lam and George Wainborn parks in Concord Pacific Place (figs. 201, 205). The guidelines specify how landscape should mediate between these public parks and more private outdoor spaces. Boundaries “should be given strongly defined...edges and grade changes, to facilitate use and security, and to clearly distinguish between (them)” (12). For residential zones, the guidelines are even more emphatic about the use of landscape to “enhance security” (12).⁶⁹ “Fortress-like” architecture, such as obtrusive gates or windowless walls, is not permitted. Instead, gardens and water features should act as more subtle barriers, such as the threshold between a resident’s porch and a passerby on the Seawall. That is, they should function as a security mechanism without appearing to do so. Finally, a waterfront walkway creates a kind of meta-order in the district, as the buildings and green spaces are all “neatly wrapped up in a ribbon of public waterfront walkways that is affectionately known as the ‘Seawall’” (Roehr et al. 74).

The guidelines suggest a dualistic conception of the landscape. It must bind and separate. It must express an open appearance in the public realm and a sense of

68 These green spaces inevitably take on a greater degree of public-ness, compared to the enclosed gardens in the South False Creek enclaves.

69 A key criterion of “Residential Livability” is that “(l)andscaping and lighting should enhance security” (Roundhouse 12).

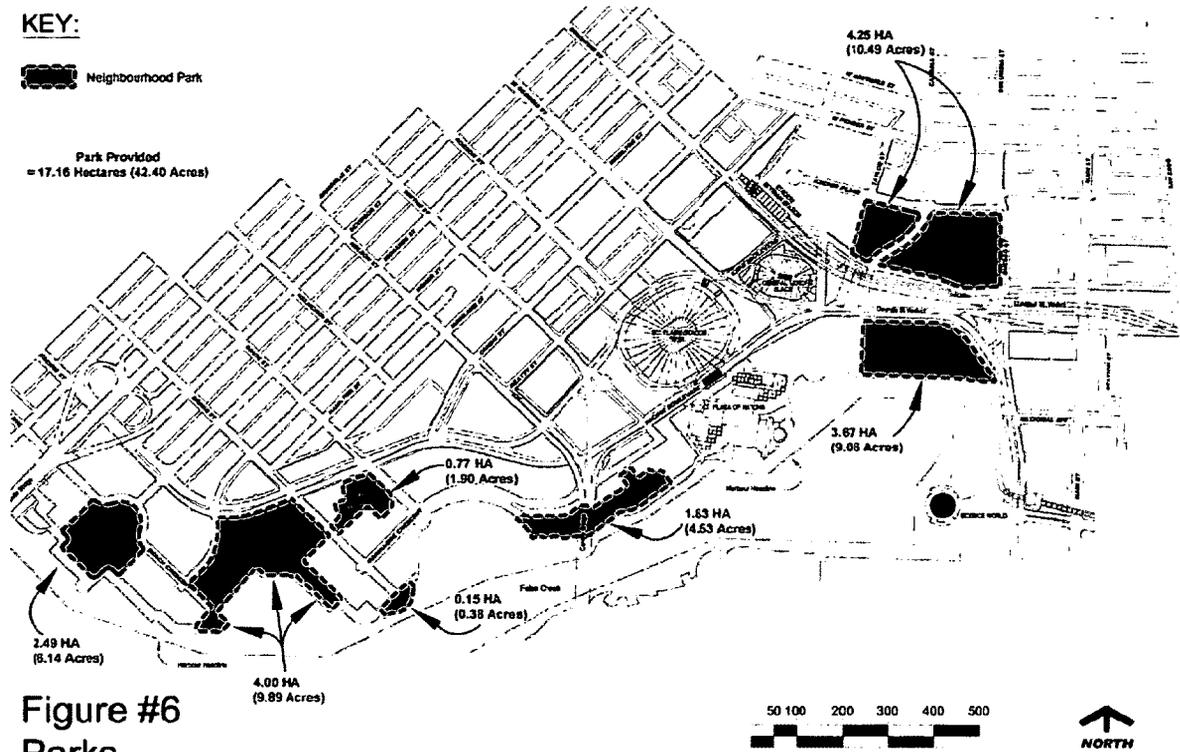
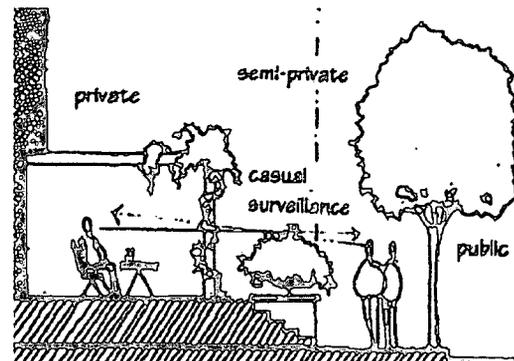
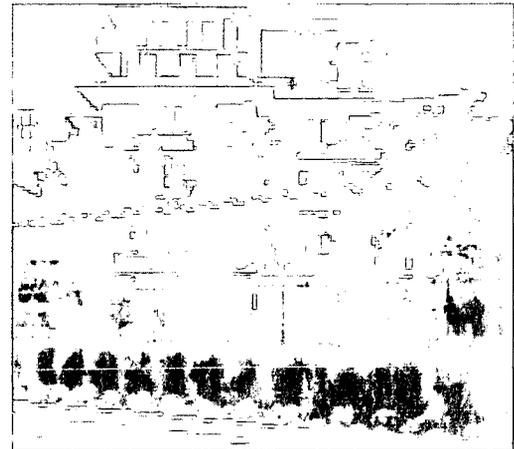
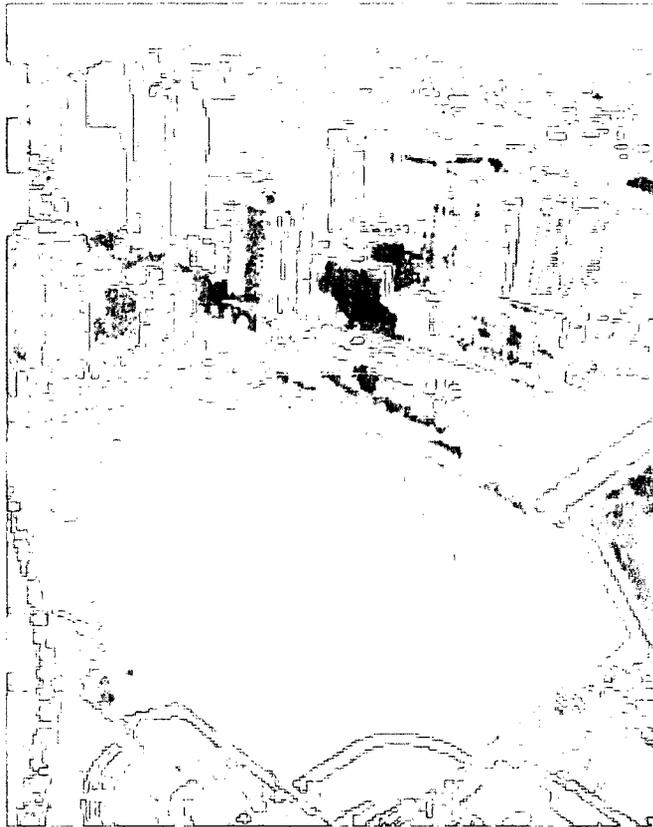


Fig. 200. "Parks," from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

security in the private realm. It must function in different roles at the micro-scale of the pedestrian environment, and at the macro-scale of the "image" of the city. The harder line between the public and private realms is manifested in a polarized environment of open "mega-lawns" and lush, un-occupied gardens around the residential buildings. Later, I will explore in more detail how this duality is echoed in the architecture of the podium-point tower.

5.5.3 Visuality

The notion that landscape should contribute to Vancouver's image as a "green city" ties into a broader concern with the visual character of the urban environment. I want to argue that the *visuality* of Concord Pacific Place, as described by the City's planning and design documents, is a vital component of Vancouver's "new urban paradigm". The *visuality* of South False Creek was defined primarily by



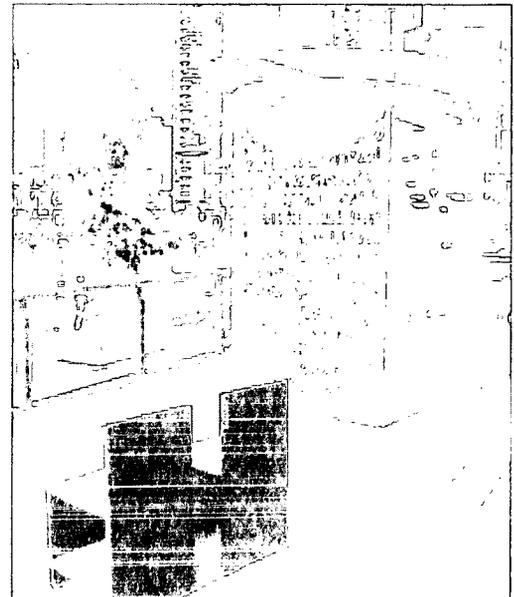
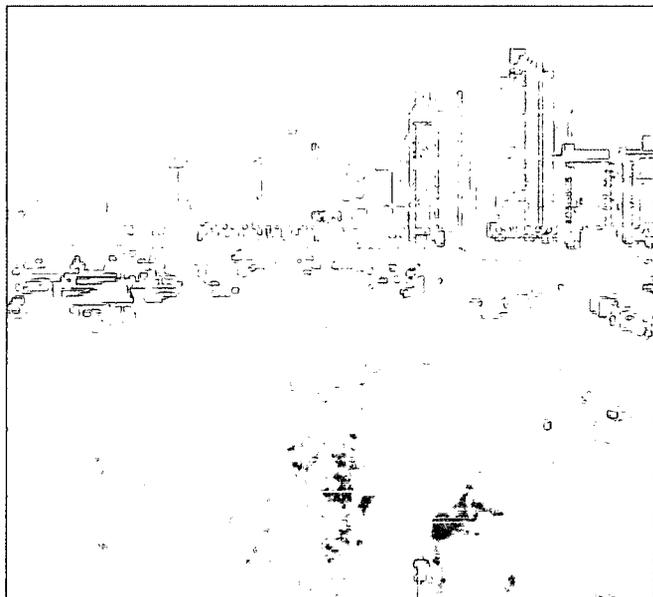
Clockwise: Fig. 201. View of David Lam Park with residential towers beyond, from City of Vancouver, "Vancouver's New Neighbourhoods," 2003.

Fig. 202. View of landscape buffer between public and semi-public space, Ibid.

Fig. 203. Sectional study of semi-private residential terrace and public sidewalk, from Elizabeth MacDonald, "Street-Facing Dwelling Units and Livability," 2003.

Fig. 204. Public art on Seawall, from "Vancouver's New Neighbourhoods," 2003.

Fig. 205. View of Seawall, park and pedestrian promenade, with towers beyond, Ibid.



intimate views within the enclaves and shared gardens. It was circumscribed by an understanding of the neighbourhood as a communal artifact, a shared environment that evolves through the residents' practices, behaviours and experiences. I suggest that the visual character of Concord Pacific Place, on the other hand, is conceived within another urban model, and tied to the notion of "imagability."

The term "imagability" takes on nuanced meanings in the planning and design documents. One of the seven planning principles in False Creek North ODP is to "Create Lively Places Having Strong Imagability" (pp). Here, "imagability" refers to focal points in the public realm, such as plazas and waterfront drives. This notion of imagability is close to Kevin Lynch's; places should have a distinctive appearance that will be memorable for the passerby. On the other hand, when the Roundhouse Design guidelines point out that landscape contributes to the "image of Vancouver as a 'green' city", "image" refers to the city's reputation (ie. for environmental responsibility). "Image" also refers to a visual representation of that reputation, such as a broad expanse of waterfront parks and gardens. These two ideas of an imagable urban space—one distinctive and close-at-hand; the other, impressionistic and distant—reinforce the dualistic city model of Concord Pacific Place.⁷⁰

Views contribute another important aspect of the visual character of Concord Pacific Place and the "urban paradigm" of Vancouver. Three kinds of views are described in the ODP and Design guidelines, each with their own scale and character. Together, these views might give a fuller sense of what I mean by Concord Pacific Place's "imagability". First, there are the intra-urban views. One inclusion in the False Creek North ODP that had no precedent in South False Creek or in Marathon's proposal is a study of view cones. The ODP's two site diagrams regarding views

⁷⁰ These dualities were anticipated even in Marathon's 1974 proposal, which ranged from a pastoral landscape of Yale Lake to a higher-density urbanism in the Roundhouse neighbourhood. Certainly, they were present in Concord Pacific's first Marinavista proposal, which featured a lush, resort-inspired ground realm, studded with = high-rises.

represent the City's first systematic use of view cones as a major criterion of urban development (fig. 207).⁷¹ The view study shows a new concern with the city's appearance, as it were, from the "outside". It composes views to (and through) Concord Pacific Place from various points: from Cambie Street (a major corridor from the airport and major municipalities to the south), from Charleson Park, and from the Heather and Alder neighbourhoods in South False Creek. I suggest that this changed understanding of urban form as a framing device for views explains, in part, how False Creek North comes to be imagined as a façade for the city (fig. 206).

The second set of views in Concord Pacific Place is circumscribed by "the "neighbourly human scale (of) the streetscape" (Roundhouse 12). The Guidelines dictate that the mid-rise buildings that define this ground-related realm of streets, sidewalks and semi-private gardens "emphasize views up and down the street rather than focusing directly across it" (Roundhouse 10). The architecture should have "a generally horizontal emphasis", to draw the eye towards a distant view and "dramatize...the neighbourhood's waterfront promontory setting" (10). The use of buildings to visually lengthen urban space and direct it towards distinct focal points stands in sharp contradistinction to the "donut-shaped" enclaves of South False Creek, with their interior garden scenes.

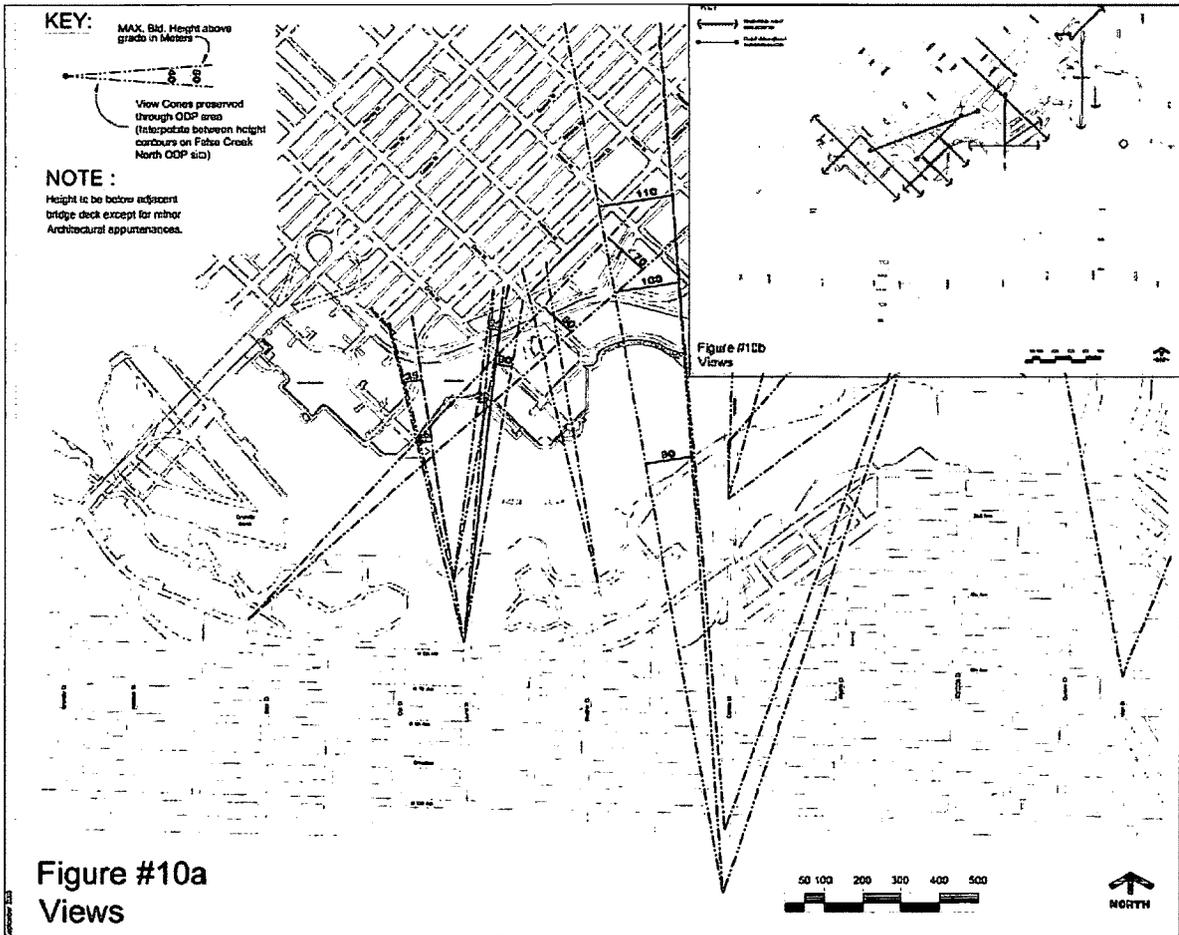
Third, there are the views afforded from the housing units, which are treated, in the Design guidelines, as a key criterion for "Residential Livability." The Guidelines the Roundhouse Neighbourhood specify that "(u)nits should have one unobstructed view of a minimum length of 25.m and should be oriented to longer views where these exist" (12). Each home is guaranteed a single view that it is as

71 In December 1989, a few months after the ODP for False Creek North, the City published its first "View Protection Guidelines." All of the designated views in the downtown originate in the False Creek basin; ten of the fourteen look towards the False Creek North development to the North Shore mountains. Since Concord Pacific Place, view cones have become an increasingly important tool in shaping urban form in the downtown peninsula.



Fig. 206. View corridor from Charleson Park in South False Creek, from City of Vancouver, 1990.

Fig. 207. Mapping of proposed View Corridors from south of False Creek to False Creek North, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.



distant as possible. Consider, by contrast, the “Three Kinds of Views” from the home that were recommended in South False Creek. These three views—which connect the house to a domestic garden, to a local pedestrian realm, and to an urban or natural horizon—assumed a multi-dimensional visual realm around the home. Together, they express subtle, gradual relationships between the private, public and natural realms. The view from the dwelling unit in Concord Pacific Place, on the other hand, implies an elongation and flattening of urban space. This singular view represents a radical simplification of the relationship between the private and public realms.

5.5.4 Livability

I have described the qualities and tensions that seem to resonate in the urban structure of Concord Pacific Place, in its massing, landscape and visuality. These elements operate differently at the micro- and macro-scales of the urban environment. They express a schism between their appearance and other functions. They point to an urban environment that is, on the one hand, more streamlined and consistent, and, on the other, more polarized.⁷²

These tensions help to illuminate the evolving meaning of the “livable” in Vancouver’. It’s often forgotten that the concept of a livable city was first introduced in the community visioning and planning studies in the 1960s, and was originally intended as a reevaluation of the “modern city” of Vancouver that had grown out of Harland Bartholomew’s Plan for Vancouver of 1929.⁷³ This concept was tested in South False Creek. There, the livability was understood to depend upon the small-scale enjoyment of “the physical environment ‘close at hand’” and a “sense of

72 I refer, for example, its sharper distinctions between ground realm and tower, or between a public park and private terrace.

73 “In 1969, the GVRD hired planner Harry Lash and began a public consultation process that resulted in a plan for a ‘livable region’. Livability became a watchword for the region at that time, and has remained so” (Grant 358).

community affiliation and involvement” in a neighbourhood (Hardwick 348).

Since Concord Pacific Place, the concept of “livability” is discussed almost exclusively in relationship to False Creek North and the urban model of Vancouverism. In this context, livability has come to be defined in terms of the individual’s right-of-access to “amenities” —not only community centres and schools, but also the waterfront, air, light, spaciousness and views—within a densely-built, inner-city environment (fig. 208).

5.6 Concord Pacific as a “House” Model

Like the district, the house suggests a particular imaginary of the “livable” city. I refer to the “house” as the entire podium-point tower complex and as the individual dwelling unit, as similar formal logics are refracted at both of these scales. (Here, I will focus on the house as a type, created, in part, by the City’s Design Guidelines; in my next chapter, I will look at the actual residential projects built in this new district.)

I’ll return, for a moment, to the “house” in South False Creek. The South False Creek planning and design guidelines describe housing, for the most part, through its relationship to a public and a semi-public realm. Planning and design “patterns” for the house consider, for example: the views that link the home to the public domain; generous terraces, balconies and rooftops; and the distinction of front and back facades and doorways. These patterns express the household’s place within an intimate, urban community and a natural environment. While the South False Creek guidelines prescribe spatial relationships, material qualities and human experiences that are seen as essential to a proper house, they leave the question of architectural form open.⁷⁴ In the Design guidelines for Concord Pacific Place, on the other hand, a precise form for residential buildings is prescribed (figs. 209, 210).

74 In fact, the explicit aim was to generate diverse housing solutions.

Living 8
Living 7
Living 6
Living 5
Living 4
Living 3
Living 2
Living 1

Living Magazine Volume1 Issue6 January 1997

INTRODUCING MARINA CRESCENT!

Vancouver's newest waterfront neighbourhood transforms the heart of Concord Pacific Place



You're sipping an espresso and gazing across a tree-lined seawall walkway to where a cabin cruiser moves lazily seaward... and you think: this is the place for me. * Here, where Vancouver's finest waterfront setting is enhanced by a superb choice of oceanview residences... stylish new shops and restaurants... new walks and gardens... major new public art creations... new choices in active fun.

Articles

- [Introducing Marina Crescent](#)
- [A New Wave of Urban Living](#)
- [Patterns of Growth](#)
- [Vancouver's Finest Recreational Waterway](#)
- [Canada's Greatest Community Centre](#)
- [Presentation Centre Barges](#)
- [Ahead](#)
- [Community Update](#)

* Here, at Marina Crescent: the newest neighbourhood in Concord Pacific Place. *

This is where charm, variety and convenience truly come together. Everything you need for carefree daily living is near at hand, right within your neighbourhood. It's the urban waterfront lifestyle you've dreamed about... and it's happening right here in the heart of Concord Pacific Place! Extending from Davie Street to the Cambie Bridge, Marina Crescent will create a magnificent new urban neighbourhood along a grand sweep of False Creek waterfront. Residential towers will be interspersed with gardens and greenery, lagoons and other water features, tree-lined walkways and public plazas.

And the entire shorefront will be a place of leisure activities, dining, relaxation and scenic delight. Marina Crescent will be a neighbourhood which caters fully to the needs and interests of both residents and visitors to the area. Aquarius, the first phase, will feature a shopping district, including a major supermarket, restaurants, a bank, medical and dental offices, and many other services... and all of it only steps from your home.



Your Marina Crescent home will offer a sense of privacy and charm... yet it's still within easy reach of the excitement and bustle of street-level activities.

Residential towers will open onto a landscaped inner courtyard, where lawns and gardens surround a peaceful lagoon. Many will offer unobstructed water views... and all will include a fully integrated security system and other high tech features.

For fitness and socializing, Aquarius residents will have access to a three-level amenity centre which will include a business centre with meeting rooms and an "in-home" theatre lounge, a swimming pool, whirlpool, saunas, steam room and exercise rooms plus a social lounge and sunning terrace.

The Best in Urban Waterfront Living

Fig. 208. Article from Concord Pacific's online magazine, marketing its residential developments. "Introducing Marina Crescent," from Concord Pacific, "Living Magazine," Jan 1997.

5.6.1 The Podium

The “house” is composed of two parts: the podium and the point tower. The podium most strongly defines the street and the ground-related urban realm.⁷⁵ Often half a city block in size, the podium contains row houses and apartments in mid-rise and terraced buildings. According to the Roundhouse design guidelines, podiums should range from 2- to 8-storeys—similar to building heights found in South False Creek (pp). Their form and orientation is entirely different.

In South False Creek, the garden-facing enclaves were a rejection of the city street grid and the overly rational space of the modern city. The Design guidelines for Concord Pacific Place re-affirm the importance of the street as an organizing device, requiring that “(l)ower buildings (be) parallel to the adjacent street and shoreline” (Roundhouse 4) (fig 212). This alignment roots the new district in the existing urban fabric. As such, the house is used as a tool to re-attach the False Creek basin, which had been isolated for decades, to the downtown. The alignment of the podium buildings also contributes to the same, highly-visible order that permeates the district’s landscaping and green space.

The podium is also meant to create a sense of comfortable enclosure in the streetscape (fig. 213). The Design guidelines require that the podium facades be highly articulated to avoid the monotony of block-long buildings.⁷⁶

Changes in material and fenestration, scale, and cornice lines should be used to achieve a comfortable pedestrian scale. Higher quality materials such as brick or masonry, decorative detailing and lighting should be used to enhance the ‘close-up view’ for the pedestrian. (Roundhouse 6)

⁷⁵ “Low-rise buildings, ranging from a minimum of two to a maximum of eight storeys, should strongly define the street” (Roundhouse 6).

⁷⁶ The City planners’ original guideline that “(b)lank facades should be avoided” later becomes a more emphatic motto of Director of Planning Larry Beasley: “We don’t tolerate blank walls: we force doors and porches and stoops and windows and almost any fascinating detail down at eye level” (qtd. in Watson 2006: 10). Beasley further asserts that “our architecture is about grass” (McAfee and Beasley 2002).

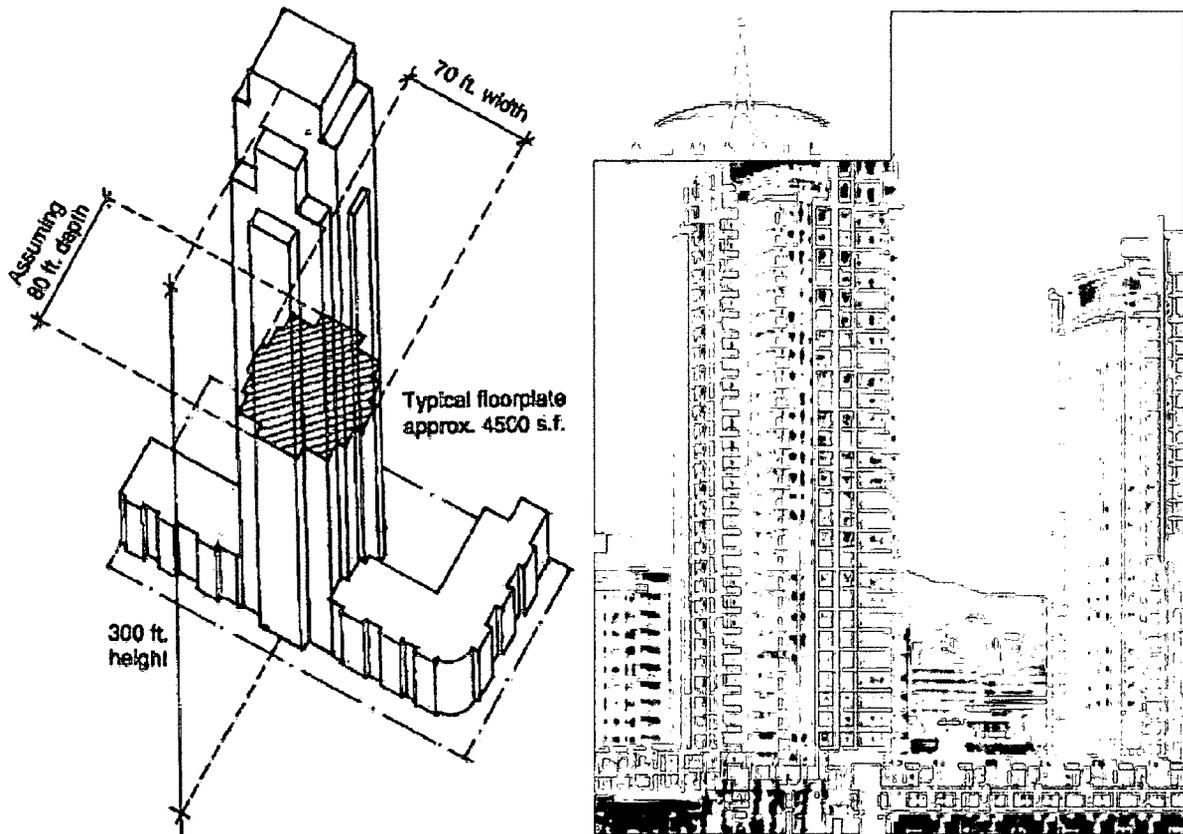
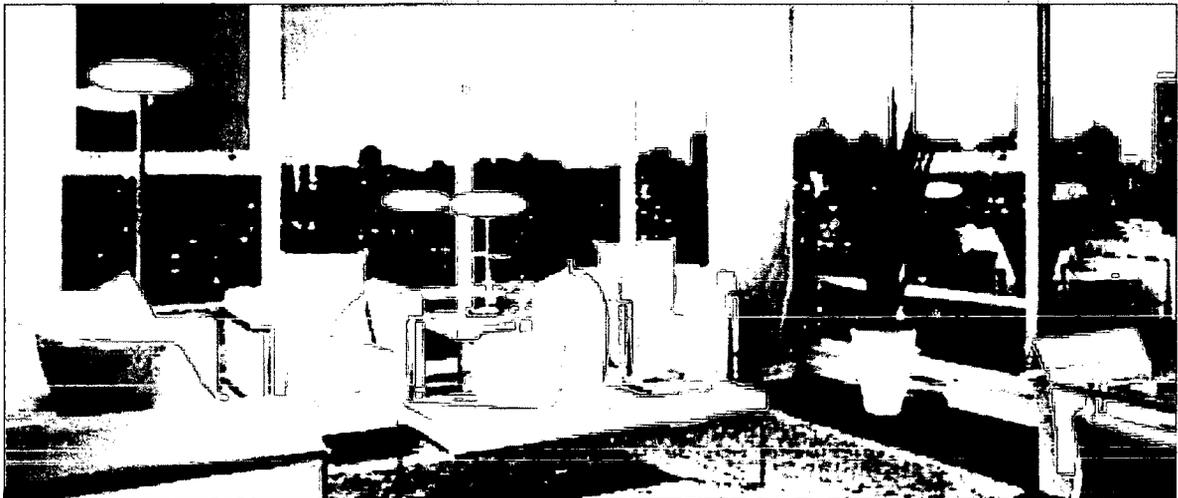


Fig. 209. Diagram of podium-point tower massing regulations, showing the approvable size of floor plate and height, from City of Vancouver, "Roundhouse Neighbourhood Cd-1 Guidelines," 1993.

Fig. 210. View of Aquarius Towers, one of the first major developments in Concord Pacific Place to be completed, from Concord Pacific Place, 1999.

Fig. 211. Marketing image of an interior of a tower suite with a view of the city, from Concord Pacific Place, 2003.



The guidelines' emphasis on architectural ornament is a reaction, in part, to the stripped down, International Style towers and slab buildings in the West End and central business district.⁷⁷ South False Creek addressed this same concern by returning to small-scale buildings. Concord Pacific Place, which re-introduces very large buildings, uses ornament to soften a large-grained urban structure and introduce a "human scale" to the residential streetscape (fig. 214). Openings through the podium break down the massing, and "provide public views to private landscaped courtyards" (6). Like the landscape of the district, the podium buildings maintain the privacy of the residents, while appearing porous.

The guidelines for the podium aim to ensure a familiar, residential character to the street. Despite its vast footprint, the podium incorporates many markers of the single family home. The predominantly horizontal expression of the podium is "punctuated by vertical elements (to) demark individual units"(6). Where possible, units "should have individual entrances from the street" (or, in some cases, from the public waterfront walkway), a raised "entry court" and bay windows.⁷⁸ The guidelines recommend that two-storey units be located at street level, with more public rooms on the ground, and bedrooms on the second floor (12). (These street-facing dwellings in the podia aim to reproduce the "eyes on the street" that the City's planners, drawing on the work of Jane Jacobs, argue is a positive characteristic of historic, inner-city neighbourhoods). Landscaping, including "the use of elements such as low walls, steps, special paving, and special planting features", further helps to articulate the ground-related units as individual dwellings (6). The podium, as described by the Design Guidelines, presents itself as a row of single-family homes,

77 As Director Beasley declared, "no slab buildings allowed," (McAfee and Beasley 2002).

78 One principle that is retained from South False Creek is the provision of outdoor space for each dwelling unit—although, at four square metres, the outdoor space required by the Roundhouse guidelines is half the size of the outdoor space called for in South False Creek (Roundhouse 11).

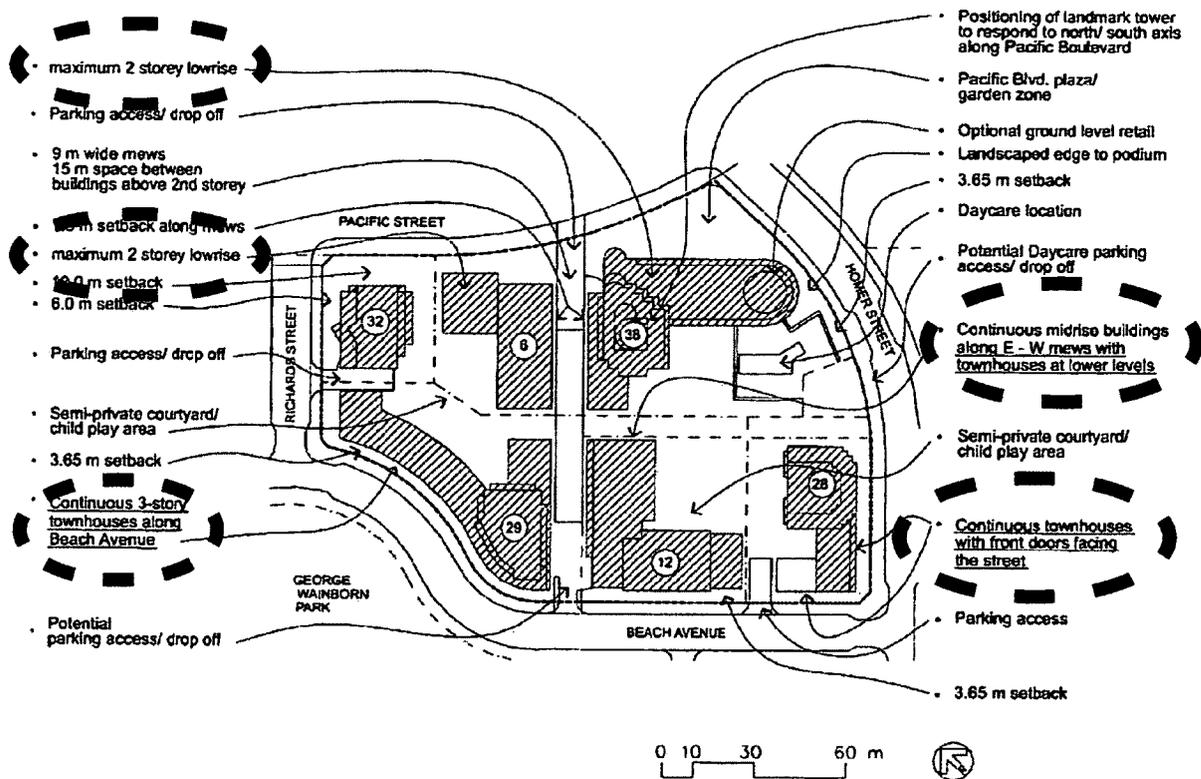
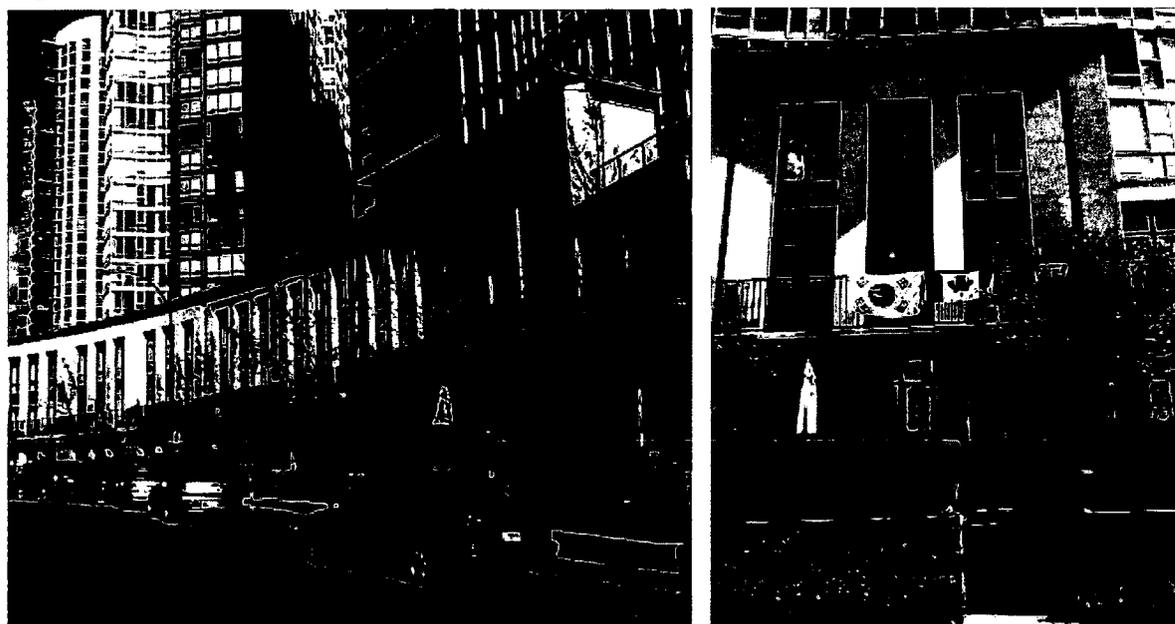


Fig. 212. Diagram of allowable massing for the Roundhouse neighbourhood, indicating location and orientation of podia and point towers, from City of Vancouver, "Roundhouse Neighbourhood Cd-1 Guidelines," 1993.

Fig. 213. View of podium, facing George Wainborn Park. D. Wiley, 2010.
 Fig. 214. View of townhouse entry in podium, Ibid.



each with a front porch, a kitchen or living room facing the street, and a bedroom overlooking from above, with perhaps a balcony.

The podium has a distinctly suburban sensibility—not only in its appearance as a row of individual houses, but also in the way it upholds spatial boundaries between the domestic and public realms. Front doors are raised to ensure the “privacy and security of both the unit and private outdoor space” (6) (figs. 215, 216). On private terraces, “(landscaping) should permit reasonable customization by residents”, enabling them to impress their “individuality and identity” on the building (11). The entry courts, display gardens and tiered hedges that mediate between the sidewalk and the podium fulfill the same role as a suburban front yard: they create a symbolic, predominantly visual space “that exerts its power through its resistance to use”.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the setback for the podium building is 3.7m or 12’, the same front yard setback as the West End’s standard lot (figs. 217, 218). (Historically, this setback was for single family houses, but the first Zoning By-law in 1929 retained this dimension for multi-storey buildings.)⁸⁰ Other critics have noted this urban/suburban tension in the podium-point tower, arguing that landscaping is used to “systematically separates (the podiums) from the street and sidewalk” and “effectively disengages the buildings from the city” (de Roehr 77). If we accept this argument, the “house” in Concord Pacific Place is not merely suburban, but *extra*-urban.

It is perhaps ironic, then, that the special role of the podium in Vancouver’s urban model is to foster street life. A key assumption in the ODP and Design guidelines is that a *visually* stimulating building façade will create a *socially* vibrant urban realm:

(D)esign elements such as individual entrances and porches facing the street...

⁷⁹ Roehr et al. 77. This citation refers to False Creek North’s “mega-lawns,” such as David Lam Park, rather than the green space between the podium and sidewalk, but I suggest that their function is similar.

⁸⁰ Note that many residential buildings in South False Creek have a 0’ front yard setback, in order to maximize interior garden of housing enclaves.

(and a) complexity of architectural detail should be provided (to) enhance the potential for casual social interaction between resident and passerby... (Roundhouse10).

This design principle, that the street-facing dwellings of the podium will create a lively street life, is heavily promoted by the City's planners.⁸¹ Yet the historical experience of North American suburbs and inner-city neighbourhoods which, after all, are also structured around rows of ground-related dwelling units, suggests the opposite. This notion is also contradicted by observational studies of Concord Pacific Place, which document the scarcity of activity along its residential streets, the most predominant being cars entering and exiting the underground parking (MacDonald 2005: 27).⁸²

5.6.2 The Point Tower

The second component of the "house" of False Creek North is the tower. The City's planning and design guidelines take the point tower type, originally proposed in Marinavista and based on a Hong Kong model, and tailor it to local urban sensibilities and planning priorities. Part of the appeal of the original Hong Kong tower type was its slenderness. In Hong Kong's ultra-dense, high-rise, fabric, the small-plate tower affords glimpses of the waterfront, however narrow, to the largest number of dwellings (Boddy 2004: 16). The guidelines for Concord Pacific Place borrow from this precedent, adopting its typical floor plate of 5600 square feet, but diffusing the urban structure of the Hong Kong model. Concord Pacific Place introduces a minimum of 80' airspace between the towers (fig. 219).⁸³ This spacing

81 The "Vancouver's New Neighbourhoods" brochure underline's the City's "insistence on the priority of the street as the centre point of neighbourhood activity and socializing" (City 2005:2).

82 My next chapter further explores this disconnect, between the rhetoric of "liveliness" in Vancouver's "new urban paradigm" and the actual experience of these neighbourhoods.

83 Note that this 80' spacing was first tried in the Granville Slopes housing developments, constructed a few years before Concord Pacific Place.



Fig. 215. View of townhouse entries in podium of Aquarius II, Ibid.



Fig. 216. View of "domestic-scaled" stair and front porch entry, Ibid.

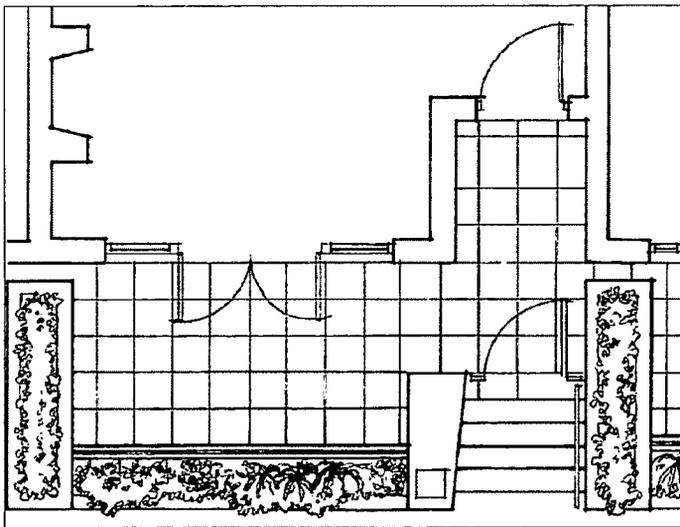


Fig. 217. Plan diagram of "domestic" front entry and porch of a typical townhouse unit, from Elizabeth MacDonald, "Street-Facing Dwelling Units and Livability," 2003.

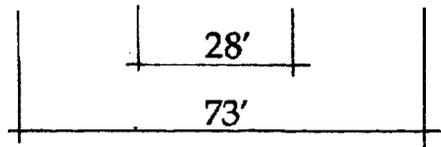
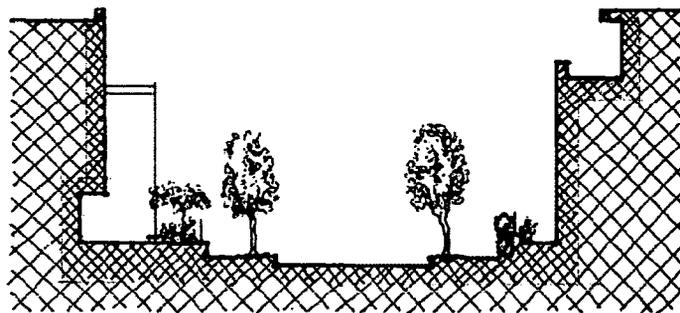


Fig. 218. Street section diagram, showing articulations to podium massing, to create residential entrances and streetscape, Ibid.

ensures two features that were absent from the Hong Kong model: first, the residents' in the tower have privacy from each other; second, the public realm on the ground has access to light, air and views. The guidelines require that the towers taper in plan and present their narrowest frontage to the water "to maximize the view for each dwelling unit and the view corridors through the downtown" (7). The impact of private and public sightlines on the form of the towers emphasizes the visual character of Vancouver's urban model.

The guidelines adopt the towers as a tool to shape important aspects of the public realm, including the city's skyline and street grid (fig. 220). The ODP's "Illustrative Plan" locates an array of towers along the bank of the north shore, up to 300' in height, which entirely refigure the skyline from the main corridors into the city from the south. For this reason, the tops of towers assume a particular importance. The guidelines require that they step back at the uppermost storeys, "especially on the south and west facades facing the water, to reduce overall massing, create architectural interest, and to add a distinctively identifiable skyline" (ODP 1989: 7).⁸⁴ The city's new skyline is designed, rather than evolved.⁸⁵ While in the podium individual dwellings are articulated to break down the building's massing, the tower is expressed as a coherent, iconic form. Its design should emphasize its "verticality and slenderness, (and) be articulated with distinct vertical planes" (7). The tallest towers act as gateways at major intersections, amplifying the urban order of the city grid (fig. 222).

84 To further sculpt this skyline, "(c)hanges in massing, fenestration and/or shape and materials (should) emphasize the top of each tower" (7).

85 Through the course of the construction of Concord Pacific Place, the City concluded that the 300' height limit was creating a "flat" skyline. In 2010, they engaged in a skyline study, which resulted in increasing the height limit in key locations to 450' (fig. 221). In February 2011, amended the "View Protection Guidelines" (City 2011). In the process, the skyline comes to be explicitly designed, rather than organically evolved.



Fig. 219. View of George Wainborn Park, D. Wiley, 2010.

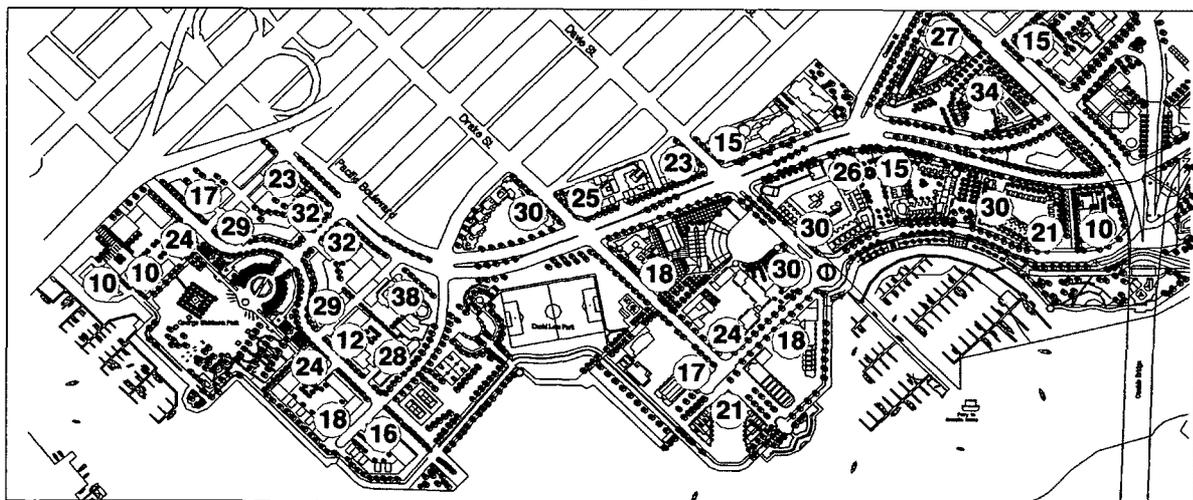
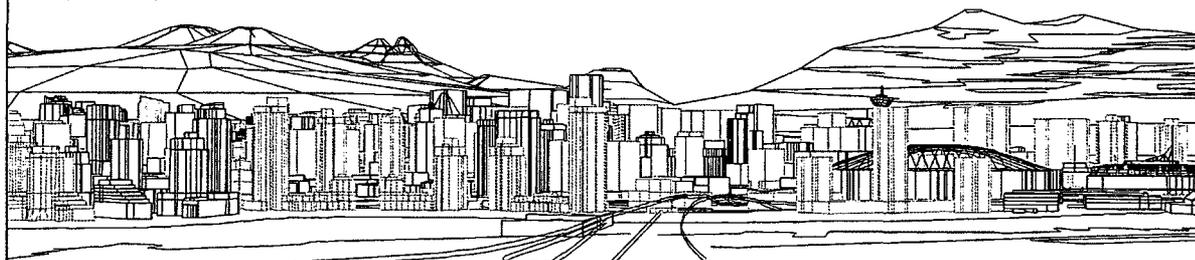


Fig. 220. Key plan showing locations and heights of point towers, to preserve View Corridors, from City of Vancouver, "False Creek North Official Development Plan," 1989.

Fig. 221. Schematic 3-D model of Skyline, from City of Vancouver, "View Corridor Guidelines," 1989, 2010.



5.6.3 The Podium-Point Tower

The podium-point tower was invented to address different, sometimes conflicting objectives in Vancouver’s “livable city” paradigm. The podium presents a familiar residential facade to the public realm. The towers help to shape the larger order of the city. They also accommodate an ultra-high density of marketable dwelling units; a density which, according to City planners, is necessary to procure a generous, but compact, public realm of pedestrian streets, green spaces and community buildings.⁸⁶ I’ve discussed the podium and the point tower as separate elements, to show how they fit differently into the urban structure. But I also want to consider the podium-point tower as a single building, as the “house” around which the Concord Pacific Place district is organized.

The planning and design guidelines ensure that the podium-point tower will present a unified appearance, despite the complexity of its massing. A common material palette binds the highly-modulated podiums to the streamlined point towers. Unlike the traditionally “domestic” material palette of South False Creek, the dominant materials of the house in Concord Pacific Place “should be concrete and glass, combined with brick, pre-cast concrete, stone cladding or metal framework” (10). Wood siding or stucco—the most familiar materials of traditional Vancouver neighbourhoods, and claddings which were expressly required in South False Creek—“should not be a principle building material” (10).⁸⁷ Certainly, the increased scale of the “house”, from rowhouses to tower complexes, requires different construction methods. But the guidelines suggest that a familiar domestic material palette is

⁸⁶ Concord Pacific Place, together with adjacent districts which are also based on the podium-point tower type, have transformed Vancouver’s downtown peninsula into the second densest area in North America, after Manhattan (Boddy 2004: 16:). This density is composed almost exclusively of housing.

⁸⁷ In South False Creek, however, the use of traditional residential construction methods and materials backfired. Wood-frame construction, with wood siding and stucco cladding, proved to be inappropriate for this scale of development, and led to massive building envelope failures.

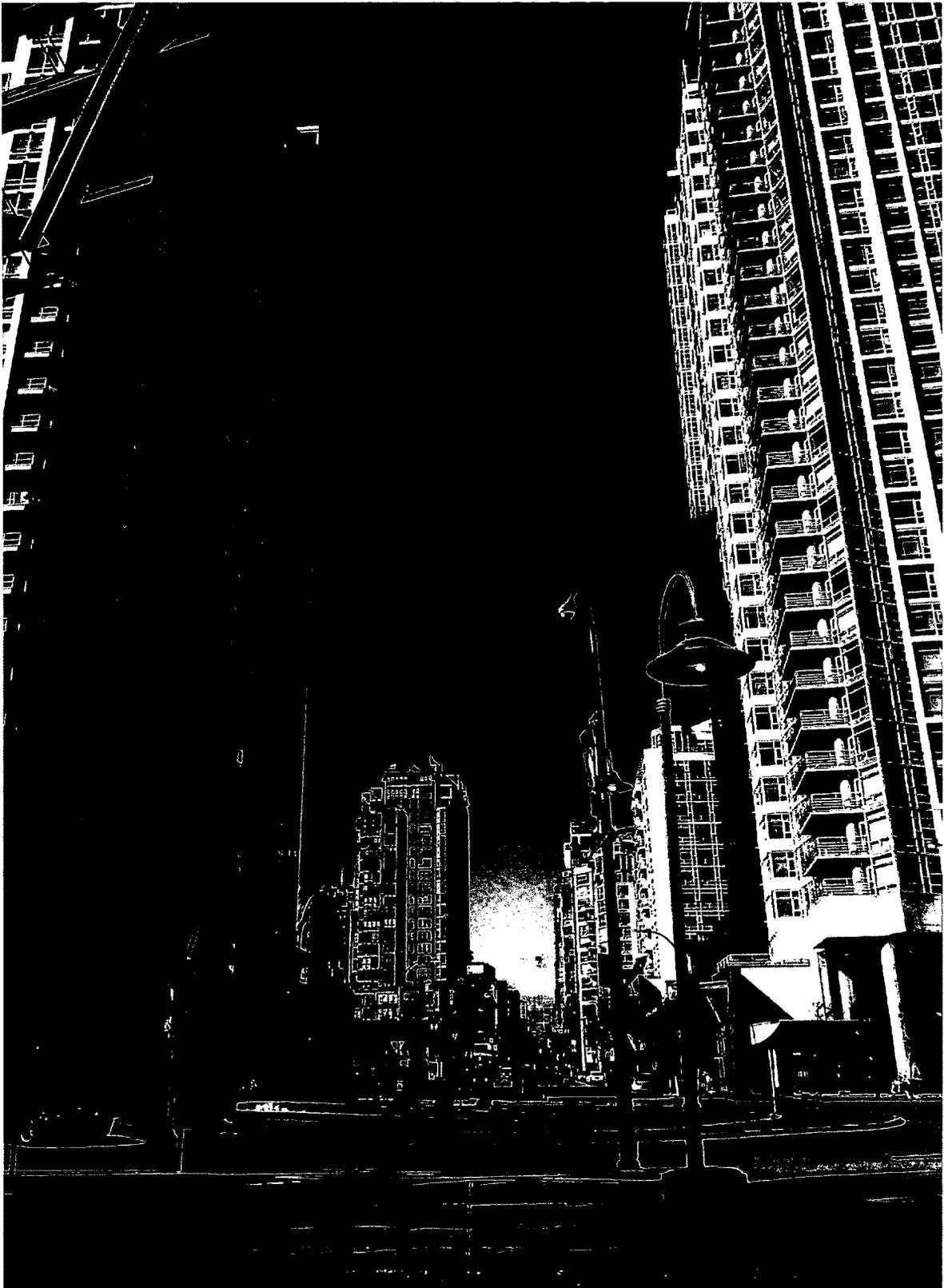


Fig. 222. View Corridor from Concord Pacific Place, up Davie St (looking north to mountains), D. Wiley, 2010.

unnecessary to the expression of the podium-point tower “as” a house. The choice of concrete and glass reflects the greater priority of integrating this new house form into the fabric of the adjacent business district. While the dominant program in the “livable downtown” is residential, its architectural language mimes the corporate or institutional—symbolic, I think, of the role that the “house” plays in the city’s primary economic sectors of foreign investment and real estate.

The household, too, must fit into this framework. In Concord Pacific Place, the City retains its mandate to plan inner-city neighbourhoods “with a Special Emphasis on Families with Children” (ODP 7). But, tellingly, the criteria of what constitutes a family house have changed. The Design guidelines require that families with children be located within “six storeys of grade, or higher where units have access to an appropriate above-grade outdoor play area” (11).⁸⁸ In South False Creek, the tower was considered an unacceptable form of housing children. The common gardens in South False Creek’s enclaves are reinvented on the podium rooftops, fully detached from the public, ground-related realm. The guideline also re-opens the possibility of families living in towers. In Concord Pacific Place, it is not assumed, as it was in South False Creek, that a family should live in a house that looks like a traditional house, or that occupies a similar place in the urban structure. The change infers, perhaps, an expectation of more flexible households and living patterns.

Accommodating a broad social spectrum was an imperative in the South False Creek project.⁸⁹ Despite the rhetoric its public inclusiveness, the False Creek North ODP and Design guidelines show a narrowing definition of social diversity. The

88 The “city homes” in the podium were originally expected to contain the bulk of family-oriented housing, but have since become too expensive for the middle- or upper middle-class families to which they were first marketed. Note that Vancouver is the second most “unaffordable” city in the world, after Hong Kong (Demographia 2012).

89 It has been observed, however, that the “full” social spectrum in fact excluded some, namely, ethnically diverse communities. See Vischer Skaburskis Planners, “False Creek Area 6 Phase 1: Post-Occupancy Evaluation,” 1980.



Fig. 223. Typical building envelope of residential tower in Concord Pacific Place, D. Wiley, 2010.

ODP requires that 25% and 20% of dwelling units be allocated to family-oriented and affordable housing (and only about 17% of the latter was achieved). Compared to the community-driven housing projects in South False Creek, these statistical targets are a simplistic mechanism for shaping a neighbourhood's socio-economic mix.⁹⁰ The targets also represent a lowering standard, for example, from 25% supportive housing in South False Creek. The False Creek North ODP doesn't set targets for households of singles, couples, or age or cultural groups. Instead, the mix of unit types is determined by the developer. Arguably, the social mix of the district is profoundly affected by Concord Pacific's promotional campaigns, which rely heavily on market research to target a particular group of potential buyers for its residential projects.

Concord Pacific Place was conceived with a broadening market of foreign and local investors in mind. The development would have to accommodate a different range living patterns, as well as different expectations of domestic and urban spaces. (South False Creek, by contrast, had attracted residents primarily from Vancouver.) It's been argued, for example, that the architecture and public art in Concord Pacific Place was designed to covertly cater to Asian preferences while, at the same time, repressing overtly "Chinese" imagery to ward off local xenophobia (Hubregtse 2001, Ming Wai Jim 2007). In my next chapter, I will look more closely at the impact of target marketing on the form of the "house" (for example, more 1 and 2-bedroom units; high-quality interior finishes and smaller floor areas) and on the social structure of False Creek North (such as smaller, older, and higher-income households; concentrations of particular ethnic communities; and a high owner-vacancy rate).⁹¹

90 Many of South False Creek's housing complexes, which were sponsored by community and resident groups, were tailored to seniors, couples, families with children, and people of different socio-economic class and physical ability.

91 Kris Olds observes that one side effect of the strong ties of this local housing type to the Asia-Pacific property markets is a high rate of owner-vacancy, which likely contributes to the quiet sidewalks and terraces of Vancouver's new neighbourhoods. See "Developing the Trans-Pacific Property Market: Tales from Vancouver Via Hong Kong," (1996)

As the task for building new residential neighbourhoods is placed under the power of a corporation, the role of the “house” in the city’s economic structure becomes more overt. The condominium unit becomes more recognizable as a unit of economic exchange. The “house” in Concord Pacific Place fits a set of investment criteria, as much as the City’s livability criteria.

5.7 The Podium-Point Tower as an Urban Paradigm

This house form conveys the tensions of its nascent city model. An iconic skyline must be resolved with a human-scaled, highly articulated ground realm. The promises of suburbia, such as spaciousness, privacy and individuality, must be retained in a compact, inner-city environment. A generous, open public realm is carved out of residential properties and hemmed with zealous controls over privacy and security. The district is expected, according to its planning objectives, to accommodate families with children, even while the ideas of a proper family home and the make-up of households in an urban community are shifting. The house, a literal assemblage of privately owned, stratified condominium units, is as powerful a mechanism of economic development as of urban development.

Yet, in Concord Pacific Place, these tensions are resolved into a seemingly harmonious environment. This seamlessness points to another of its contradictions. The planning and neighbourhood design guidelines aim, on the one hand, to create a cohesive urban structure. On the other, they aim to create a “distinctive” character for Vancouver’s urban environment at many scales: the overall skyline and city “image”; each sub-neighbourhood of the Concord Pacific Place district; each tower (recall, for example, the requirement for a cap or point); and, finally, each dwelling unit, which must be articulated in the building façade. The makers of South False Creek were also concerned with the formal expression of the individuality of

households and the communities.⁹² The difference is in how this individualization is conceived. In South False Creek, green spaces in the housing enclaves were left un-designed, allowing residents to determine their use and appearance. Dwelling entrances were to be “capable of becoming distinctly different from (their) neighbours,” not through *a priori* design, but through the inhabitants’ acts of personalization (FCS ODP 19). These were seen as important processes in allowing the character of a neighbourhood to emerge and evolve. In Concord Pacific Place, the neighbourhood, the residential building and the home are designed, in advance, to “have” character. The expression of individual dwelling units—through a rhythm of vertical elements, bay windows and balconies across the podium façade—is built into the architecture. Landscape, which is meant express of the district’s overall character and the city’s “image”, is designed in a more or less permanent form.⁹³ The *appearance* of individuality, rather than the process of individualization, is emphasized.

While the ODP notes that the neighbourhoods of Concord Pacific Place should have “a sense of history, time and incremental growth”, neither the planning principles nor the design guidelines articulate how aging and growth could occur, or how city planning might enable it (ODP 7). And while the different “neighbourhoods” of Concord Pacific Place were intended to be distinct, the design guidelines instead have produced a highly coherent environment spanning the entire north bank of the False Creek. Its sense of orderliness is a success and a fault, noted even in the City’s brochures:

If there is a criticism of Concord Pacific Place it may be that it suffers to a degree from its own success. So much new development has happened so fast that it does convey a somewhat immutable, untouchable quality, almost too

92 Arguably, the use of the house to imprint individualism on the built environment is an essential precept of North American cities.

93 Planner Elizabeth MacDonald notes that even the modest opportunity for personalizing terraces “may well be constrained over time” (2005:37).



Fig. 224. Marketing image for Aquarius, from Concord Pacific Place, 2003.

Fig. 225. "Living Big," Ibid.

Fig. 226. "Big Garage," Ibid.

pristine. All great city neighbourhoods develop, over time, a patina reflecting the full diversity of human endeavour and creativity, and this has yet to take hold in Concord Pacific Place. But in the grand scheme of city building this is barely the beginning of time for this major sector of the downtown.

This raises an important question of how this highly-regulated and cohesive urban structure might come to accommodate the “full diversity” of urban life, and how, in the future, it will absorb change.

Concord Pacific Place presents obstacles to creating a truly adaptable built environment. The fragmented ownership of stratified condominiums facilitates one mode of change in the neighbourhood, in that the units can change ownership and tenancies quite freely. But the podium point tower, as a housing type, seems resistant to physical change. A detached house can be readily repaired, torn down, added to and adapted, allowing neighbourhood to change over time. In Concord Pacific Place, a single building is controlled by hundreds of property-owners who must agree to a major repair, let alone a substantial redevelopment. This fragmented ownership may create a powerful inertia. At the same time, the towers themselves – given their technologically complex building envelopes and systems – may not be easily amenable to being repaired, added onto, or aging.

In this sense, there may be a rift between the district’s *social* (ie. tenureship) structure—which is highly fragmented—and its *morphological* structure—which is a highly coherent and, arguably, inflexible urban realm.

A house model doesn’t simply represent an urban imaginary, it also plays a large part in the city’s morphological development. I’ve shown that, historically, a house model can constrain or enable the transformation of the city time. The single family house has been so fundamental and enduring in the structure of our cities, in part, because a regular pattern of lots with individually-owned, detached buildings, bound in a framework of public streets and infrastructure, is so amenable



Fig. 227. View of children playing by David Lam Park, from City of Vancouver, "Vancouver's New Neighbourhoods: Achievements in Planning and Urban Design," 2003.



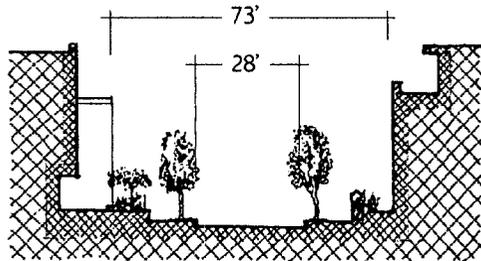
Fig. 228. Semi-private gardens on top of podium. Marketing image for Aquarius, from Concord Pacific Place, 2003.



Fig. 229. View of semi-private terraces and townhouse entries along the public Seawall, D. Wiley, 2010.

to incremental change. Interestingly, this critique is made of South False Creek; that, because of its physical form and ownership structure, the district is resistance to change. I've argued that this lack of adaptability (despite being conceived as an "adaptive" neighbourhood) has caused South False Creek to be left out of the city imaginary. One wonders if a similar fate could befall False Creek North. So the question of how, or if, the podium-point tower, and False Creek North's neighbourhoods, can evolve over time is an important one, given the ubiquity of this urban development model in Vancouver and elsewhere.⁹⁴

94 By "evolve," I mean not only "densification", but also the incorporation of new uses, programs, ownership and occupancy structures, and spatial demands.



1. Residential Street

Ground-related units in the podium typically front onto new side streets, such as Marina-side Crescent and Aquarius Mews. A street section shows how proportions are carefully controlled to create a familiar atmosphere of “doors-on-the-street”:

- ☒ Two traffic lanes (14' each);
- ☒ Grass strip with street trees (3.5')
- ☒ Sidewalk (7');
- ☒ “Front yard,” with landscape and porch (12', standard West End setback);
- ☒ Façade height of approximately 45', or 60% of street width)

Illustrations (from top, left to right)

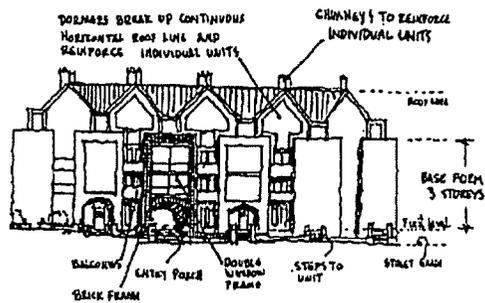
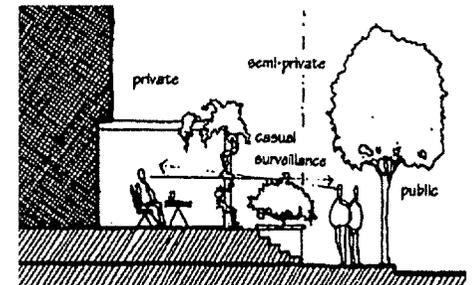
1. Typical Street Section (McDonald)
2. Typical Entrance Plan (McDonald)
3. View of Townhouse Entry
4. View of Townhouse Entry
5. Front Entrance Section (McDonald)
6. Typical Podium Elevation (McDonald)
7. View of Townhouse Entry
8. View of Podium, Interior Garden



2. Front Porch

Individual front entries in the podium are set about 5 to 7 risers above the sidewalk, creating a similar relationship to the street as a typical detached house.

This grade change detaches a semi-private patio from the sidewalk, and creates an atmosphere of “eyes-on-the-street.” Projecting canopies over the front door evoke a covered porch. Doors are often recessed, and made of wood with sidelites.



3. Bay Window

Podium facades are required to be animated with elements at a pedestrian scale and within eye level.

These elements draw from the traits of traditional residential architecture: foundation plantings, wall sconces by the door, Juliette balconies and bay windows.



The Tower as “House” Model – Views

The zoning and design regulations for Concord Pacific Place require that the towers are shaped, first, to maximize views from the dwelling units and, second, to frame views in the public realm.

A “maximized” (or most desirable) view is understood in a precise way; it is the longest and most unobstructed.

“...Towers should present their narrowest frontage and taper in plan towards the water to maximize the view for each dwelling unit...”

“...(ii) Units should have one unobstructed view of a minimum length of 25.0 m and should be oriented to longer views where these exist.”
 (Roundhouse Guidelines 1993: 9,17)



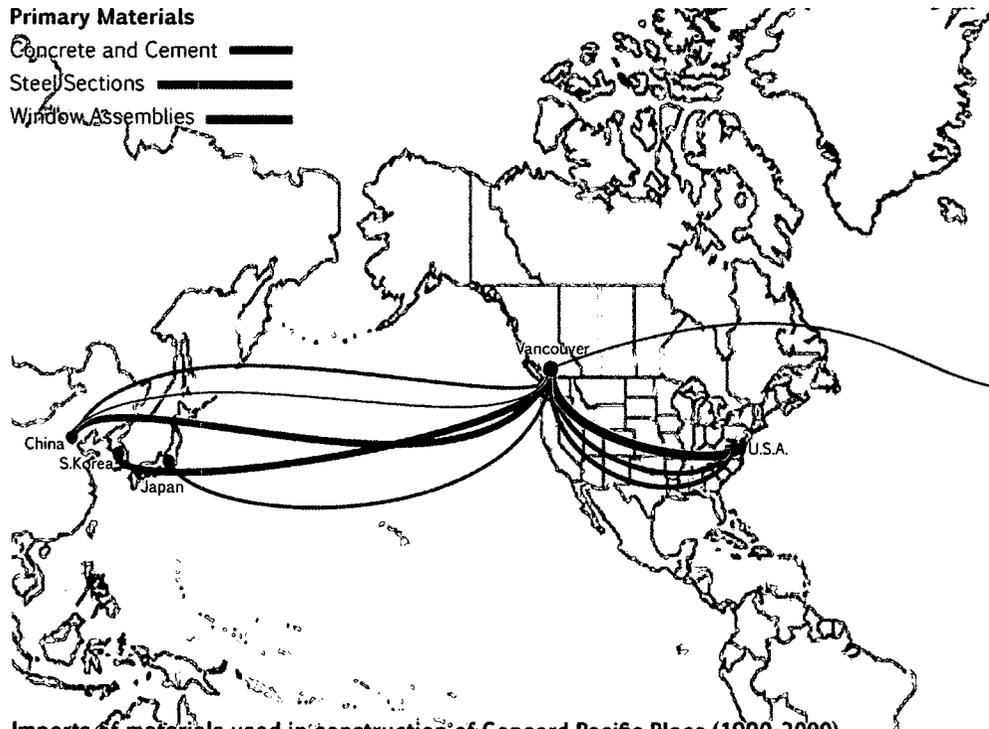
1. View looking south-west across False Creek (South False Creek in distance)



2. Aerial view of Aquarius Village: “Maximize the (length of) view for each dwelling”



3. View looking east, towards East Vancouver
 4. View to podium roof-top garden, towards False Creek
 5. View looking south-east, towards Cambie Bridge

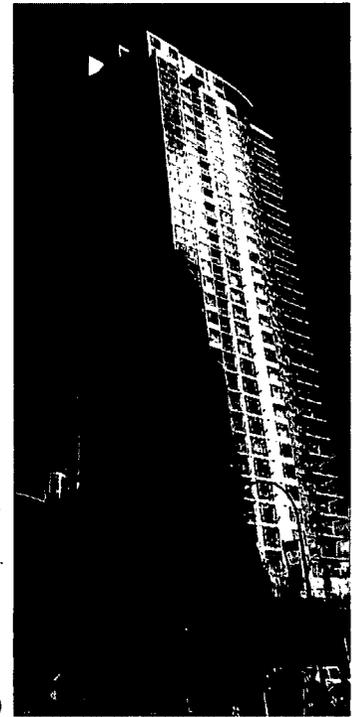


The change in scale of the "house" necessitates a shift in materials - from wood and stucco to steel, concrete and glass. These materials are more related to Vancouver's office towers than to its historic housing. The dominant glazing infers a growing emphasis on light and views.

These materials show how this house model is embedded in Vancouver's changing social economy. They are second-stage products, imported from Europe, the U.S. and Asia, and require complex construction practices.

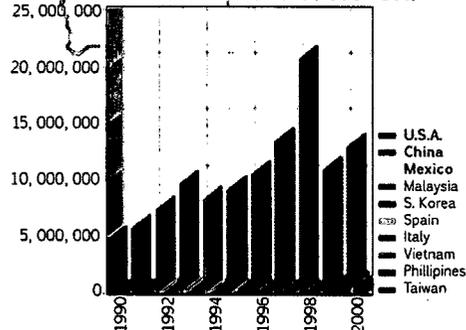
"Dominant materials (are) concrete and glass, combined with brick, stone cladding or metal framework. Stucco should not be a principal material.

(The brightness associated with the shoreline setting should be expressed in the soft, light colours of the walls..." (R.D.G. 1993:10)

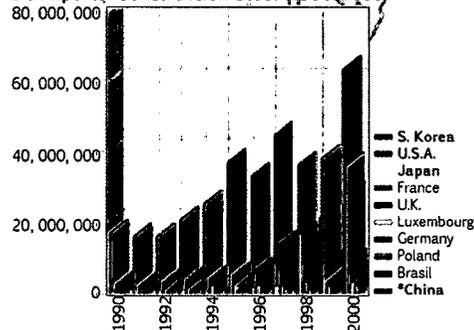


Imports of materials used in construction of Concord Pacific Place (1990-2000)

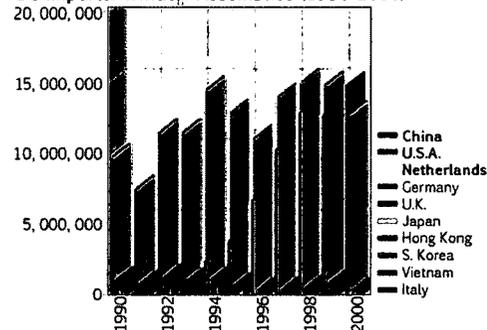
BC Imports: Concrete and Cement (1990-2000)



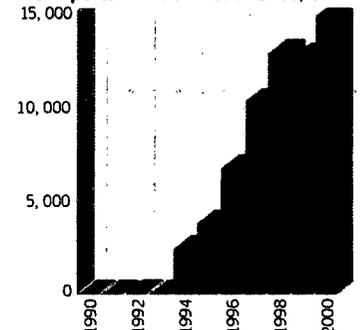
BC Imports: Construction Steel (1990-2000)



BC Imports: Window Assemblies (1990-2000)



BC Imports: Window Assemblies, China (1990-2000)



Source for BC Imports: Industry Canada, Trade and Investment, www.ic.gc.ca

Fig. 233. A-8: Concord Pacific Place: Material Study



1. "Big Living," Promotional image for The Concord (Concord Pacific, 2003)

One-Bedroom Suite (Tower):

A typical, 1-bedroom suite in the point tower is oriented towards a single view. Living space and the bedroom are pushed against the highly-glazed exterior wall.

Three-Bed Townhouse (Podium):

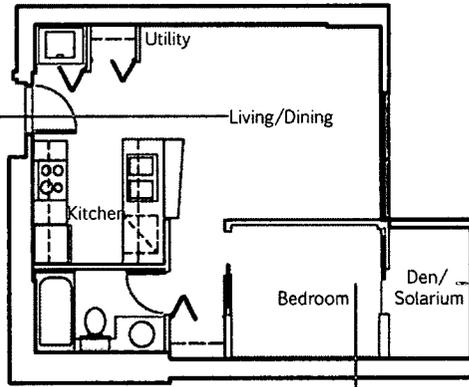
In a typical 2-storey townhouses in the podium, the most prized views are not street-facing, but at the rear, overlooking public parks and the landscape beyond. Living spaces are pushed to the back of the house, while office, utility space, and bedrooms are located towards the front.



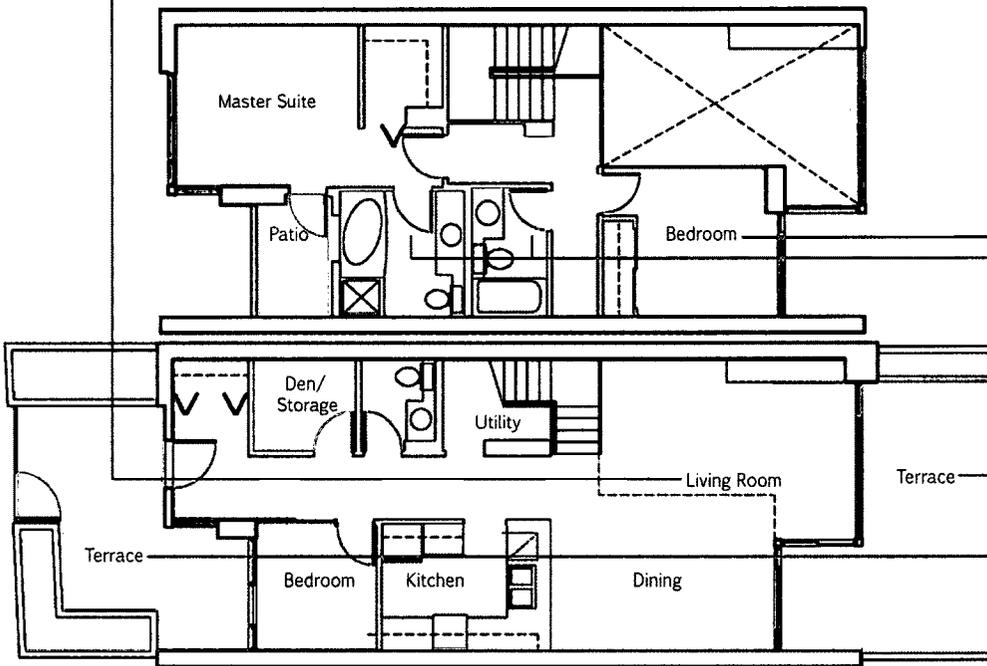
Floor Plan Legend

- Living, Dining, Kitchen (Public)
- Bedroom, Bath (Private)
- Office (Work)
- Terrace, Balcony (Outdoor)

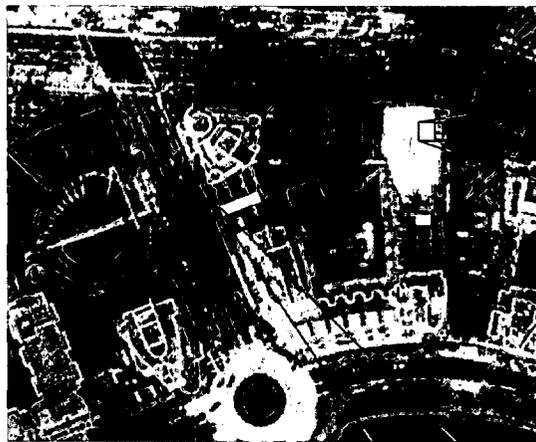
2. One-Bedroom Tower Unit



3. Three-Bed Townhouse (Upper & Lower Levels)

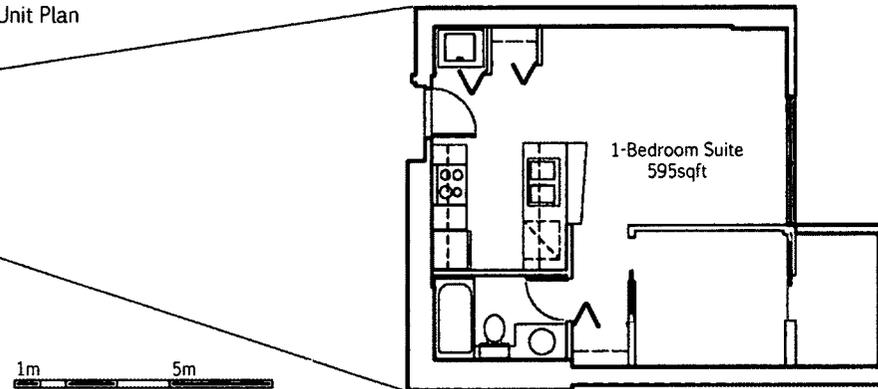


4. Podium Rooftop, Promo image (CP 2003)
 5. Bedroom, Promo image (CP 2009)
 6. Master Bath, Promo image (CP 2003)
 7. Rooftop Garden, Promo image (CP 2003)

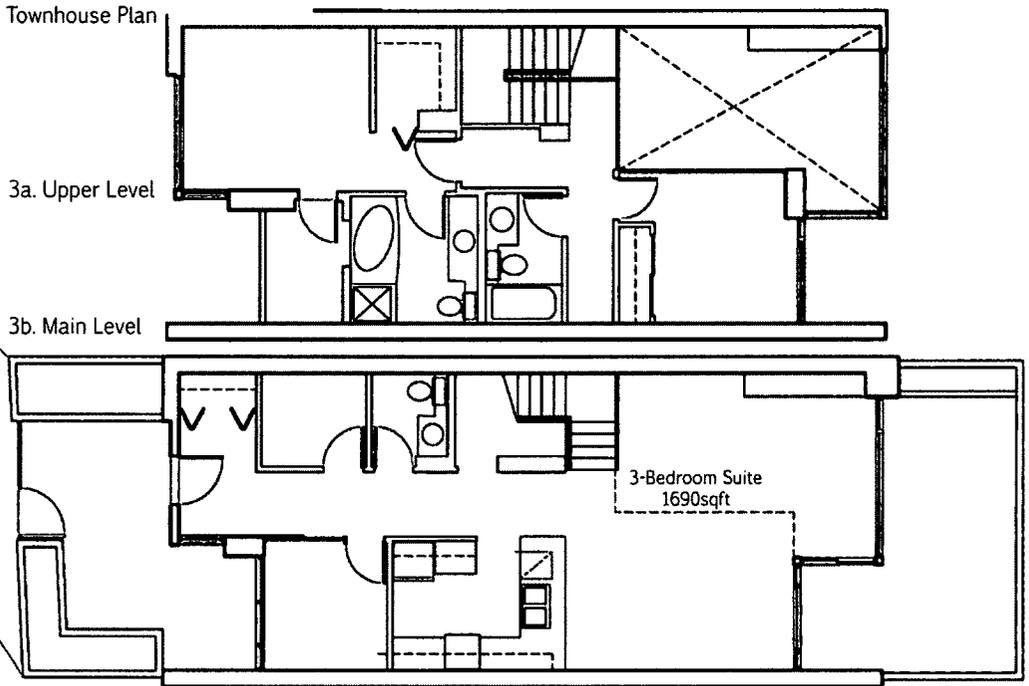


1. Location Plan, Aquarius

2. Tower - Typical Unit Plan



3. Podium - Typical Townhouse Plan



Aquarius Village - Program

Site Area	480
Dwelling Units	480
Commercial	7
Towers (4)	Aquarius I, II and III, Aquarius Villas (mid-rise)
Podium	Townhouses (23), Amenity Complex, Commercial

Aquarius II Tower - Dwelling Unit Mix

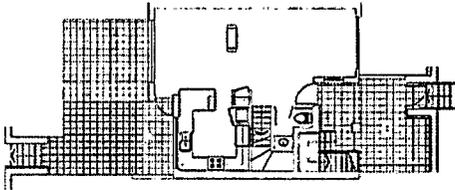
Year Built	1999	Storeys	33	Area (sqm)	21285
Suite Type	Bach	1-Bed	2-Bed	3-Bed	Total
No. of Units	0	81	97	6	184
Ave. Area (sqft)		595	1065	1810	
(sqm)		55	100	170	

Aquarius I & II Podium - Dwelling Unit Mix

Suite Type	Bach	*1-Bed	2-Bed	3-Bed	Total
No. of Units	0	4	2	9	15
Ave. Area (sqft)		745	1300	1690	
(sqm)		70	120	155	

Fig. 230. A-5: Aquarius Village (Concord Pacific Place): Dwelling Unit Statistics & Typical Unit Plans

1. Key Plan - Townhouse Unit, Main Level

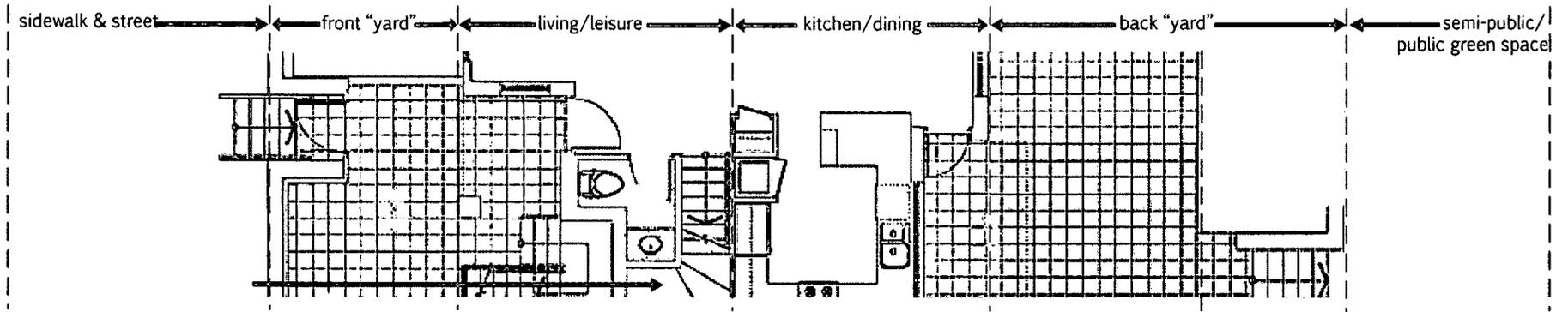


The Single Family House Model: Configuration of Spaces

In the typical townhouse in Concord Pacific Place, the entry patio and rear terrace act as miniaturized versions of the front and back yards of a typical single family house.

The configuration of interior spaces is also similar. The living room is located at the front of the house, overlooking the front porch. The dining area and kitchen face the rear, with a view over an active, more protected, back yard. Bedrooms and the main bathrooms are upstairs.

2. Spatial Sequence through Dwelling Unit (Street to Park)



3. Spatial Sequence - Site Photos

Exteriors: Site photos by author; Interiors: Promotional images, Concord Pacific

Relationship to the Public Realm:

A departure from the traditional single family dwelling is that this "house" bracketed by two public spaces - the street and the seawall (or park). The "back yard" is connected to semi-public walkways, which often lead onto the Seawall, Vancouver's most prominent public space.

Conclusion

This dissertation stemmed from my interest in how the house and city would frequently appear, in architectural theory, as reflections of each other. In the writings of modern urbanists, a formal and metaphorical *homology* between the house and city would often be predicated on the idea of the city as a tangible entity, to be grasped by the mind and hand. Many contemporary theorists, on the other hand, see urban territories as quite elusive, being simultaneously dissolved and reconstituted by networks of technologies, information, capital and migration. Such “post-urbanist” theories show a deep skepticism about the notion of a meaningful relationship between a building and the city, or even of the city as an entity.

To me, these two ways of imagining the city – the first, rooted in a belief in the continuity between the city’s physical and cosmological structures; the second, focused on emerging forces that transform it into something “other” – seem falsely oppositional. And, from a pragmatic perspective, neither seems to adequately describe the places where I’ve lived (including Vancouver, Ottawa, and Toronto, but also cities in Western Europe). So, in my dissertation, I wanted to test out these two theoretical trajectories in a case study of a place that I knew well.¹ I chose Vancouver, where I’m living now, and then narrowed my focus to two master-planned housing developments in False Creek. My initial, quite academic, interest in the house:city analogue shifted towards more grounded site research.

Early in my research, the figure of the “house” had become emblematic of this rift between classical, modernist models of the city-as-entity, versus the contemporary, amorphous “post-urban” environment. The former assumes the house as an archetype or base unit of the city. This notion holds true on a programmatic

¹ The importance of grounding my research in a specific case study was reinforced, for me, but my earlier studies in the British and Italian schools of urban morphology.

level, if only because residential neighbourhoods occupy the largest land area of any given city or town. Yet, in current “post-urban” theory, the figure of the “house” is seen as totally irrelevant to the dynamic transformations of our current urban environments. Peter Eisenman declares that “the part-to-whole relationship first proposed by Alberti – when he wrote that a house is a small city, and a city is a large house – is no longer operative (as) these entities have little to do with one another.”² He, with many other contemporary urbanists, dismisses a fundamental axiom of classical urbanism, one which has been re-interpreted by key thinkers of 20th-century modernist and post-modernist urbanism (Le Corbusier and the Smithsons, among the former, and Rossi, Van Eyck, and Koetter and Rowe, among the latter).

So the question is: why is the house:city metaphor excised from contemporary urban theory? And what is risked, in losing this metaphoric construct, in terms of our understanding of the current transformations of our environment? My study explores whether the house:city metaphor might continue to hold meaning.

A goal of my case study was to illustrate how this house:city construct plays out in a *particular* city’s morphological and imaginative structure, and how it’s impacted by the phenomena that post-urbanists describe. Vancouver lends itself well to a study of the role of the “house” in the urban imaginary, as a preoccupation with housing is one of this city’s defining features – not just in the wake of recent housing booms, but since the first manor lots were sold to speculators in the late 1800s. The importance of housing to the city’s development redoubled after Expo’ 1986, propelled by frenetic real estate speculation and construction in the 1990s, and has endured to the present. The “house” has been instrumental in re-making a modern, industrial-era downtown into a contemporary city centre – aesthetically iconic, strategically connected to a global economy and, in Vancouver’s current idiom, “livable.” I framed my study with three key questions:

² Eisenman, 2006.

1. Historically, how did one house model – a single-family dwelling on its green lot – come to be naturalized in the imagination of Vancouver “as” a modern city? How did this house model impact the city form?
2. In recent decades, new districts in South and North False Creek displaced an obsolescent, industrial area in the city centre. How did the housing models employed in these projects dismantle a prior, modernist city, and contribute to a new urban imaginary?
3. If these housing developments are instrumental to Vancouver’s “Livable City” paradigm, how might this challenge “post-urbanist” theory, in which the “house” has no relationship to an urban territory? Or, if the house and city do encapsulate each other, as classical and modernist urbanists suggest, what do these neighbourhoods tell us about Vancouver’s emerging city model?

My goal, in moving from a general history of Vancouver to a couple of pivotal case sites, was twofold. First, I wanted to illustrate that, historically, housing types and residential districts have substantially contributed to the city’s form. Second, I wanted to show that the role of the house in the city imaginary is not “natural,” but rather is ideological, contested and changeable.

Early Vancouver

In my chapter on the history of Vancouver, I’ve tried to anchor my case study in a broader understanding of how this city was formed. Rather than a truly comprehensive history, this chapter is a partial, strategic mapping. I looked at the city’s physical structure – its pattern of blocks and streets, arrangement of neighbourhoods, and building types. Using historic maps and drawings of Vancouver, I also looked at how the city was imagined.

As a frontier city, Vancouver developed in a very different way than Western

European cities – the usual case sites of urban morphology – which grew, more or less organically, out of historic towns. Instead, in Vancouver and other North American cities, patterns of land division create a framework for urban growth *a priori* to actual building. Platting anticipates certain land uses and building types. For example, the platting of Vancouver’s first residential neighbourhoods assumed a detached, single family home – which is common to many North American cities. Yet Vancouver’s standard 33’ x 122’ lot, with its modest front yard, large rear yard, and backing service lane, creates a residential fabric with its own, specific density.

Certain deviations in the “density” of Vancouver’s neighbourhoods relate, in part, to socio-economic class. Strathcona, a blue-collar neighbourhood by the Burrard Inlet port, was divided into narrower 25’ frontages, while the West End’s double-width lots accommodated the manors of Coal Harbour’s managerial class. Over time, such variations enable and constrain urban development in unpredictable ways. An important point in my study was to observe how the West End’s larger lots made it easier to assemble land for higher-density apartment blocks. This new housing type (for Vancouver) accelerated the West-End’s transformation into a high-density, socially mixed, low- to middle-class neighbourhood. The West End became, in Vancouver, an example of how house types can create a new kind of urban district, different from the single family neighbourhoods that were the historic norm.

I then looked at the impact of HBA’s “Plan for Vancouver” and Zoning By-law of 1929. Modern zoning shapes the city very differently than simple platting and speculative property development. Zoning can accelerate urban growth, in that it makes a site’s “development potential” knowable. That is, one can predict the outcome of a piece of land, in terms of its economic value, use and form.

At the same time, zoning calcifies the city, as its future form is, to some degree, set out in advance. In HBA’s Zone A – the basic single family neighbourhood zone

- the “density” of Vancouver’s residential fabric is codified. The norms of the single-family house – the distance of the house to street, the building’s width, length, and height, the slope of its roof – are set down as regulations. As such, zoning makes a given house model more consistent and recognizable. Zoning also articulates, albeit in an abstract way, the relationship of the house to the city. HBA’s “Plan for Vancouver” and Zoning By-law build a particular argument about what form a house, neighbourhood and city should take. They portray an idealized version of Vancouver as a “modern city,” a seamless whole of knitted districts, land uses, infrastructure and buildings.

HBA’s Plan and Zoning By-law were intended, for the most part, to regularize patterns of growth that were *already occurring*. The West End, called out as a future high-rise neighbourhood, stands as an exception. True, its potential was recognized because the conversion of manor homes into rooming houses was already underway. But the Plan set the stage for a much more substantial transformation. This change wasn’t realized until the 1950s, when the City re-zoned the district – increasing height limits, reducing the front yard setback, and enabling developers to demolish historic manors and assemble lots for larger multi-family buildings. The West End set a precedent for Vancouver, in establishing *re-zoning* as a powerful tool, capable of altering the trajectory of urban growth.

But while re-zoning established a *framework* for the West End’s re-development, its actual reconstruction of buildings was fairly ad hoc. Later, in False Creek, re-zoning would be paired with a prescriptive urban design and Overall Development Plan, which would more strongly predetermine the ultimate form of the neighbourhood. In comparison to the West End, the transformation of False Creek was far more comprehensive and controlled.

Nonetheless, the redevelopment of West End, unsystematic as it was,

anticipates the increasingly pivotal role of the house in Vancouver's city imaginary. The single-family house is no longer taken as given. Instead, apartment towers, in an International modernist style, set in private, landscaped gardens, become a viable house model. Taking the West End as a cue, the master-planned housing projects in False Creek would make alternative housing models central to ambitious economic, social and urban redevelopment strategies.

What I took from this study was how these tools – speculative land division and development; zoning and rezoning; and, later, comprehensive development plans – catalyze urban growth. They infer different approaches to “city making,” assigning different roles and degrees of control to public authorities and private enterprise. They suggest different conceptions of the city and, ultimately, produce different urban imaginaries.

South False Creek

South False Creek was an invaluable case site for my research as, in this master-planning project, the house and neighbourhood were explicitly invoked as means to re-envision the modern city. Beyond the practical goal of providing much-needed housing, South False Creek was conceived as a microcosm of an ideal city. The question posed by its authors³ was whether a housing project could help to bring about a city that would be more socially and physically diverse, better-fitted to the natural environment, and more attuned to human experience.

A key challenge in the project was to find a “house” to represent this idea of a city. But a city model should indeed be inferred from South False Creek's housing – from its siting, architectural form, and even its tenureship structure. A critical feature of this housing development was its unorthodox tenureship. By retaining ownership

³ That is, its architects, politicians and City planning staff, and resident “sponsor” groups.

of the land and mandating a mix of subsidized and free-market leaseholds and rentals, the City aimed to re-balance the *economic* value of a “house” – and, more broadly, urban space – with its socio-cultural value.

The basic housing model in South False Creek is the row-house – a well-established building type, but not common in Vancouver. And, here, the row-house was transplanted from a streetscape to a garden setting, and literally wrapped around a shared outdoor space. Characteristic elements of “private property” were stripped off. The ornamental front yard of the typical single-family detached dwelling was eliminated. The fenced-in rear yard was reduced to a small private patio, facing a shared garden rather than a service lane. Essentially, the moat of private property around the archetypical suburban house was replaced with common amenities. Yet the dwelling units themselves were similar in scale to a detached suburban house, and retained key elements of its architecture.⁴ The size and configuration of rooms, the front and back doors, covered porches, the composition of windows, the stucco siding, and the wood trims, gates and fences, all evoke a residential vernacular.⁵

Siting also reinforces South False Creek as a city model. The rowhouses are knitted into a topography of undulating parkland, in keeping with the prevailing “organicist” urban paradigm of the time. I’ve also argued that the orchestration of multiple views to and from the house, as well as the range of private, semi-private and public outdoor spaces, express nuanced relationships between the household, a local community, an extended urban fabric, and the natural environment.

The creation of close-range and distant views, the wrapping of housing around common spaces, the network of pedestrian paths, and designed spaces of encounter:

4 “False Creek South Shore ... (provided) a real alternative to suburban single family residential sprawl.” Vancouver’s New Neighbourhoods, p6.

5 This familiar, domestic materiality is carried into the public realm where, for example, paving patterns of red brick and rough-hewn flagstone trace a subtle hierarchy of paths, from the least to the most public.

these all aim to *intensify* the traditional residential fabric of single family housing. Among the strongest traits of this city model are, first, a close integration with a naturalistic environment and, second, this desired intensification of community.

Yet the viability of this “city model” was unclear from the outset. South False Creek resists assimilation into the modern city around, shielded by retaining walls and roadways, as well as by the City’s ownership. So despite its aims to be an adaptable, “complete” community, South False Creek has not, over the last 30 years, participated in the dramatic transformation of the rest of the downtown. In some ways, it never fully integrated the basic support systems of urban life, such as commerce, services, work, transit and transportation.⁶ The detachment of this district from the city is, again, reflected in the “house”: while South False Creek’s donut-shaped housing was meant to foster and protect a local community, its common gardens are quite impenetrable to outsiders.

The City itself seems ambivalent about the project. In a brochure on its urban design achievements, “Vancouver’s New Neighbourhoods,” the City critiques South False Creek, and its urban development approach, for having “not fully created the level of intensity that has come to be expected of sustainable urban living” (6). Although a very short period of time separates South False Creek from False Creek North, a paradigm shift between the two is very apparent.

False Creek North (Concord Pacific Place)

In False Creek North, as in South False Creek, the house is used to cover over a part of an obsolescent part of the modern city. Both were realized through a comprehensive Overall Development Plan, combining site-specific re-zoning with a

6 (T)he lack of urban connectivity ... (and) poor public transit service coupled with the lack of convenient private vehicle access and parking also have proved problematic... (T)he limited commercial services and low housing densities have constrained commercial viability and self-sufficiency.” Vancouver’s New Neighbourhoods, p6.

master-planned urban design. It might be assumed that these districts are iterations in an evolving urban paradigm. In fact, the City's brochure that I refer to above draws this line, from South False Creek, as an ambitious but imperfect neighbourhood model, to False Creek North, as an improved version, the next episode in the narrative of the "livable city."

But I haven't found this to be true. In False Creek North, many fundamental aspects of South False Creek – its mandate for real affordability and intense social mixing; its phenomenological approach to urban design; its medium-density enclaves; and its use of housing types that draw on vernacular forms, materials and construction practices – are reevaluated or, at times, abandoned.

In False Creek North, the value of the house is firmly reconnected to property value. Concord Pacific Place, the largest development on the north shore, was built by a foreign developer and promoted to specific local and international target markets. Apart from some limited subsidized housing, the vast majority of dwelling units are free-market, stratified condominiums. Approximately 40% are *not* resident-occupied.⁷ Since the success of the Concord Pacific Place model, urban development throughout Vancouver has become more forcefully tied to emerging globalized real estate, business investment, and tourism sectors.⁸

Concord Pacific Place's ultra-high densities (by Canadian standards) are regarded as a key achievement in the development of Vancouver's the "Livable City" paradigm. In the same brochure, the City positions False Creek North as a corrective to South False Creek, where "the low densities have proved to be an underutilization of increasingly valuable inner city land," and thus not "a sustainable form of urban living" (6). (A subtext, of course, is that South False Creek's low densities are not

⁷ Source: and xx% are foreign-owned.

⁸ Economic property value has become such a dominant aspect of Vancouver's current planning and development paradigm that one wonders if South False Creek has been eclipsed from the city imaginary simply because it is not available to the free market.

a sustainable model for *speculative investment*, which has become so critical to the economy.) Interestingly, the high-density housing in Concord Pacific Place is assumed to guarantee social diversity and accessibility, environmental sustainability, and “livability” – the same values that the low-density enclaves of South False Creek sought to promote.

A shift in the concept of a “livable city” is evident in the different housing models in South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place. In some ways, the podium-point towers in Concord Pacific Place are an amplification of the housing model in the West End. As in the West End, small-plate, multi-unit towers are sited in gardens. As in the West End, Concord Pacific Place borrows from the institutional and corporate architecture of its era. The podium-point towers are characterized, for example, by large surfaces of transparent glazing, using complex curtain- and window-wall systems.⁹ A high degree of standardization in design and construction methods, in contrast to South False Creek’s vernacular materials and wood-frame construction, is necessitated by its much taller buildings, but also reflects an impetus for profitability.

Concord Pacific’s more standardized – and more marketable – housing infers a city model in which less intimacy, rather than more, is highly prized. Where South False Creek sought to densify a traditional residential fabric to promote a stronger sense of community, Concord Pacific Place strategically inserts “space” into a high-density district, in order to create autonomy and privacy. The 80’ interval spacing of the towers, and their arrangement around view corridors, give Concord Pacific Place a unique sense of spaciousness – perhaps the most defining feature of this city model.

This sense of space is reflected in the dwelling unit. As the dominant feature of a typical tower unit is its exterior window wall; the dwelling unit is oriented

⁹ Note, however, that the podium, with its front porches and bay windows, still reference the familiar streetscape of Vancouver’s traditional single family neighbourhoods.

towards a singular view of the far horizon. In place of the range of intimate, internally-oriented views of South False Creek, this singular view reflects a more remote, abstract relationship to the outside world.¹⁰

The siting of the buildings also differs from South False Creek. Lush gardens envelop the podium-point tower buildings and, interspersed with large, “actively” programmed parks, create subtle barriers between private and public spaces. In contrast to the internalized gardens in South False Creek’s enclaves, public greens are a foreground for Concord Pacific Place’s residential towers, providing a dramatic setting for the display of private property. Together, the glazed towers and open greens describe a very particular city model: highly transparent, externally-oriented, reproducible and iconic.

“Livability” and the House:City Metaphor

One word that peppers any discussion of urbanism in Vancouver is “livability.” In my study, I’ve somewhat skirted this term, as “livability” – a highly politicized discourse in Vancouver – is not my subject *per se*. I hope that I’ve made clear, however, that the *forms* that “livability” has assumed have changed over time. South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place were both promoted, in their era, as models of the “Livable City.” The differences between these two neighbourhoods illustrate, in a material way, a paradigmatic shift in our understanding of what makes a good city.

In this sense, I see the Livable City as a restatement of the house:city axiom. That is, it’s a particular manifestation of an enduring metaphor, in which the evolved relationship of the “house” and “city” are defined in terms specific to Vancouver and its “new urban paradigm.”

Certainly, Vancouver’s discourse of the Livable City engages these two scales

¹⁰ Inside the typical dwelling unit, the rooms are smaller and fewer, perhaps in anticipation of fewer household members, and certainly as a general economization of space.

of our environment: housing and the urban realm. The rhetoric of “livability” and the “Livable City” that surrounded the South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place projects often focused on defining an ideal “house”. The correct building type, architectural form, and owner- and tenure-ship structures was expected to produce “livable” housing, that is, housing that is marketable and profitable for the City and developers, accessible for residents, appropriate to families and other households, and attractive to locals, visitors and investors. Yet this housing was also intended to be the backbone of a wholly functional and beautiful public realm. In South False Creek, the “livable” public realm consists of pedestrian networks, community plazas and naturalistic gardens. For Concord Pacific Place, it consists of a robust network of streets, densely mixed-use/commercial frontages, and a linear waterfront system of active parks and promenades. Both these public realms are framed by housing; the first, by picturesque enclaves of rowhouses, the second, by iconic glass towers.

The Livable City, as an iteration of the house:city construct, articulates an idealized configuration of the individual and the collective; the domestic realm and the commons; of private property and public infrastructure; and of private interest and public good.¹¹ It is a singular, evolving concept that spans the small and large scales of human enterprise.

The House:City Metaphor in Urban Theory

I don't mean to suggest that Vancouver's Livable City discourse is consciously framed in terms of Alberti's classical house:city axiom. But the concept of the Livable City, even as it changes over time, nonetheless assumes a homology between the house and city. I've described how, in South False Creek and Concord Pacific Place, a

¹¹ aims to resolve the “private realm” of dwelling units and residential buildings, as well ideas such as domesticity and privacy, with a “public sphere” of common amenities and infrastructure, open space, and commerce.

house:city construct takes on different material forms and meanings. So the metaphor is *operative*, even if not acknowledged.

Likewise, in my broader, historical study of modernist urbanism, I've hoped to show how a house:city metaphor might be operative in a given theorization of the city, even when it is not consciously articulated in those terms. Consider, for example, CIAM's pairing of the *Existenzminimum* and the Functional City, or the role played by the connective, bar-shaped residential buildings in the Smithson's "open city".

In pairing new housing types with urban master-plans, modern theorists such as Le Corbusier and the Smithsons re-work the classical house:city axiom to suit their ideal modern city. Their city models assume a literal and metaphoric resonance between the architectural and urban scales, and between the dwelling and the public realm. As in the Livable City, they assume that a homologous house and city are, if not inevitable, then highly desirable. The house:city construct represents two poles of the built environment, and ultimately suggests how the full range of human experience might be accommodated between them.

As such, the house:city metaphor cannot be disentangled from humanism. Humanistic interpretations of the city – both its material forms and its meanings – were openly engaged by Rossi and other post-modernists. But it is not surprising that contemporary "post-urbanists" reject the house:city, as a viable theoretical construct, on this very basis. Post-urbanism coincides with a broader post-humanist "turn." I suggest that, in the discipline of urban theory, this paradigmatic shift displaces the human imagination from the built environment – as ordering framework, creative force and interpretive lens.

A goal of this study is to consider the implications of excising the house:city construct from urban theory. It's useful, here, to consider the nature of the

post-urbanist (or post-humanist) environment: Does it exist *per se*? How is it experienced? The works of Martin, Koolhaas, Castells, and Marvin and Graham raise the question of whether a post-urban environment is a real place or a theoretical construct. The Multi-National City or Generic City, for example, do not describe the ontological structure of our environment, any more than the house:city axiom described the “real” form of the classical or modern city. These, too, might be seen as metaphors – in this case, to explore how global capitalism is manifested in built environments. Likewise, I see Castells’ “space of flows”, and Marvin and Graham’s “splintered urbanism” as abstract constructs that describe how places are bound together through virtual and material exchanges, of information, capital, assets and people. But I question whether these constructs – or the “post-urban” environment in general – have truly become the predominant sphere of our experience.

One tendency in these theorizations – and a notable difference from the house:city construct – is a focus on urbanism at its largest scale. The MNC, Generic City, and other post-urbanist constructs aim to describe the farthest reaching intra- and extra-urban edges of our environment. They also tend to deal with its more abstract manifestations. In fact, I find these theoretical models very successful in diagnosing how the dynamics of global capitalism give rise to new urbanistic and social phenomena and, sometimes, built forms. But, to my mind, they don’t deal as well with describing the locally-specific, material and experiential impacts of these “post-urban” dynamics. They’re less interested in small-scale human experience, which very often in classical and modernist urbanism, is represented by the “house”. So there is a risk in allowing post-urbanism to become a universalizing discourse in contemporary urban theory.

To me, this small, material scale must be integrated into the study of actual cities, if they are not to be mis-apprehended. My case study explores one place –

Vancouver – where conventional post-urbanist approaches couldn't describe the city's morphological development or imaginative structure. In fact, my study shows that revaluating of the house:city construct opens an opportunity consider how these so-called "post-urban" forces act across multiple facets of the contemporary urban environment. This construct also re-introduces the small scale – the local, material, and experiential aspects of a place – into urban theory.

But looking at the city through the "lens" of the house also has implications for architectural and urban planning *praxis*, in that the interpretation of the city is more easily connected to the architectural project.¹² That is, the house is at a scale that we can imagine and build. Thinking that a broader environment is somehow implicated in designing a single housing project – or in writing an urban planning policy, or in re-zoning a district – suggests a certain ethical position. This study has shown how housing projects are powerful instruments to re-direct urban development and, moreover, to re-shape an urban imaginary. One might then approach a housing project as an argument for a particular kind of city.

¹² I don'tt mean that an architectural project must represent all all aspects of urban life. I echo Rossi's argument that the architectural project "acts" within the parameters of its own site and program, but, at the same time, connects to a broader urban environment.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

False Creek Housing Co-op, Building Permit Drawings, 1978

False Creek Housing Co-op Envelope Remediation, Building Permit Drawings, 2010

Appendix 2

Aquarius I (Concord Pacific Place), Building Permit Drawings, 1997

CITY OF VANCOUVER MICROFILM

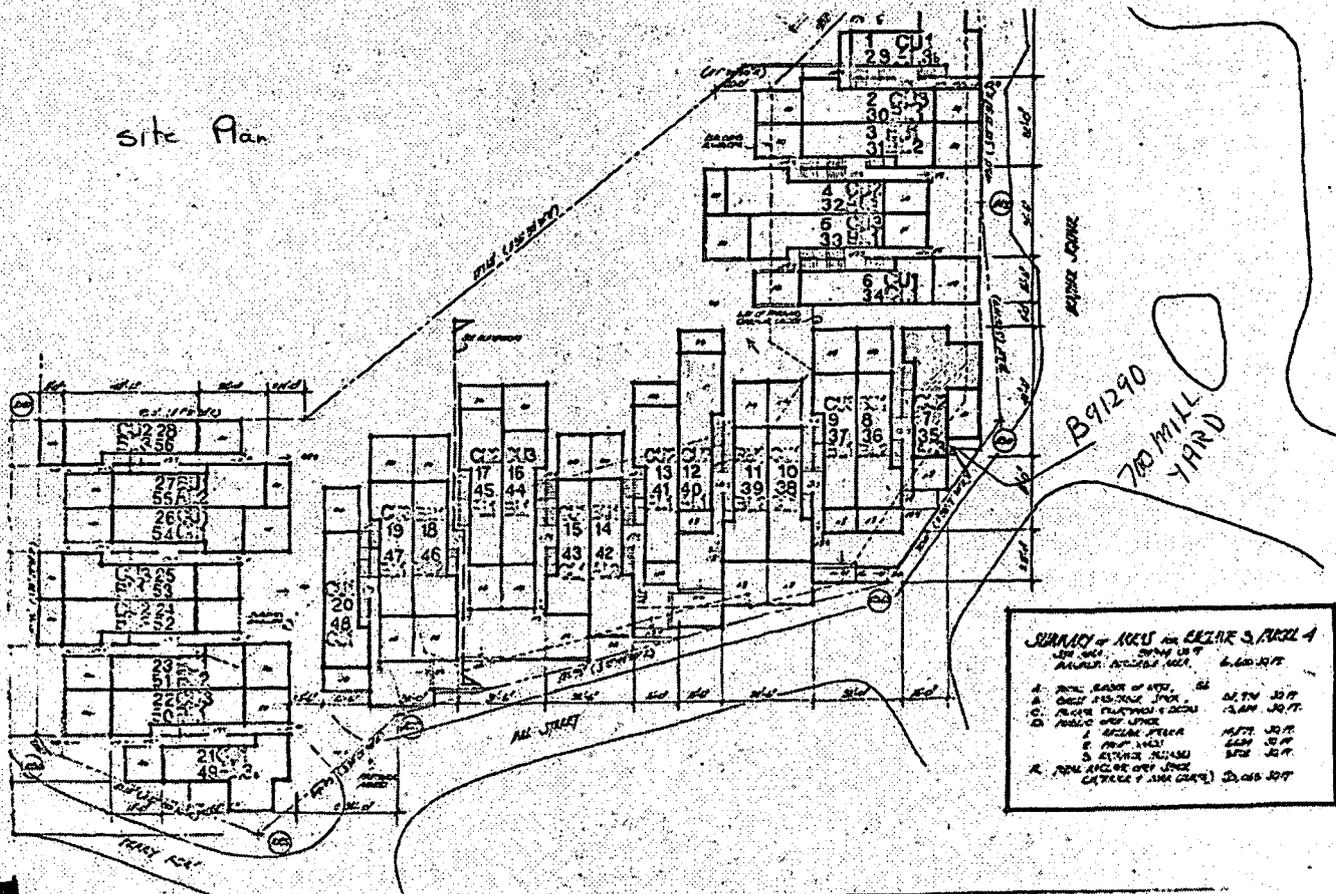
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TITLE: _____					

REDUCTION RATIO 6

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CM 0 1 2 3 4 5

site Plan

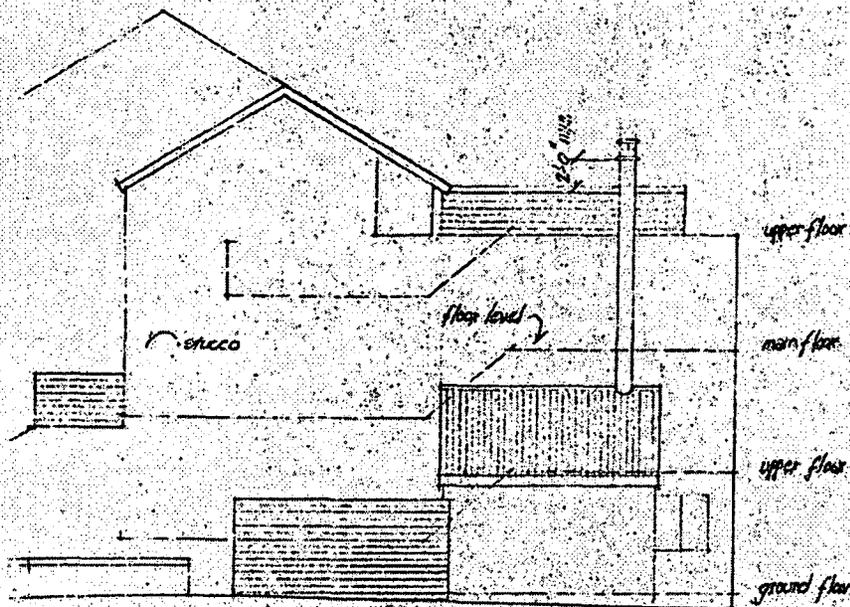


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TITLE:					

REDUCTION RATIO 6

12:1

CM 0 1 2 3 4 5



legal description & address

702 W. 14th St., Vancouver, B.C.
 strata lot 12
 lot 6 FLYING CRICK str. 10/100
 approx. 1/4 acre

Notes

metal fireplaces & chimneys - 'Majestic' by
 Blaine Industries of Canada Ltd.
 clearances as specified - 0" for fireplaces
 - 2" for chimneys
 hearth - marble 16" in front of opening & 6" on each
 brick

CITY OF VANCOUVER DEPT. OF PERMITS & LICENSES APPROVED FOR DEV./BLDG. PERMIT
NOV -1 1978
D.P. NO. B-91290

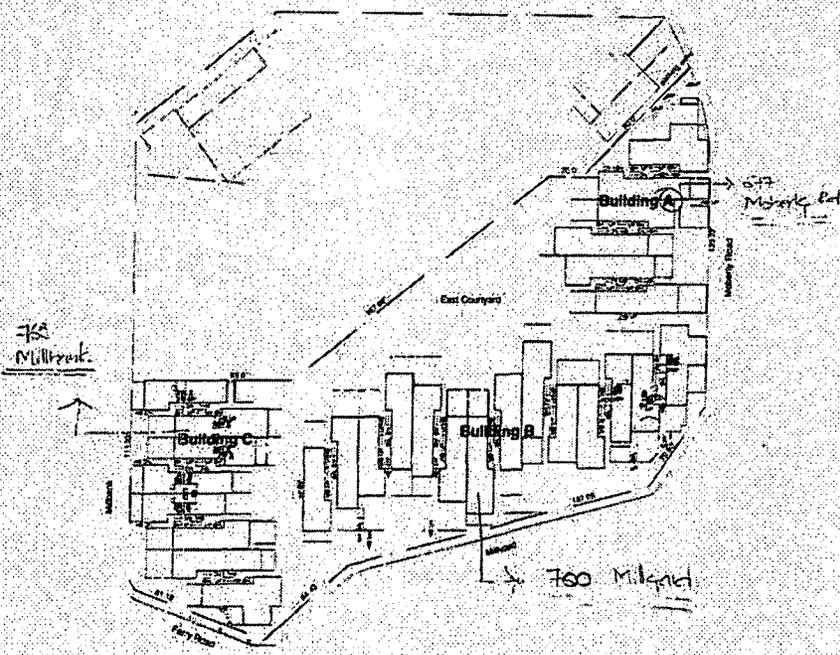
elevation 118

Building Envelope Remediation for Creek Village

Strata Plan VR 466

677 Moberly Road, 700 Milllyard & 768 Millbank, Vancouver, B.C.

BU 446599-677 MOBERLY
 BU 446601-700 MILLYARD
 (1) BU 446602-768 MILLBANK
 JANUARY 12th, 2010

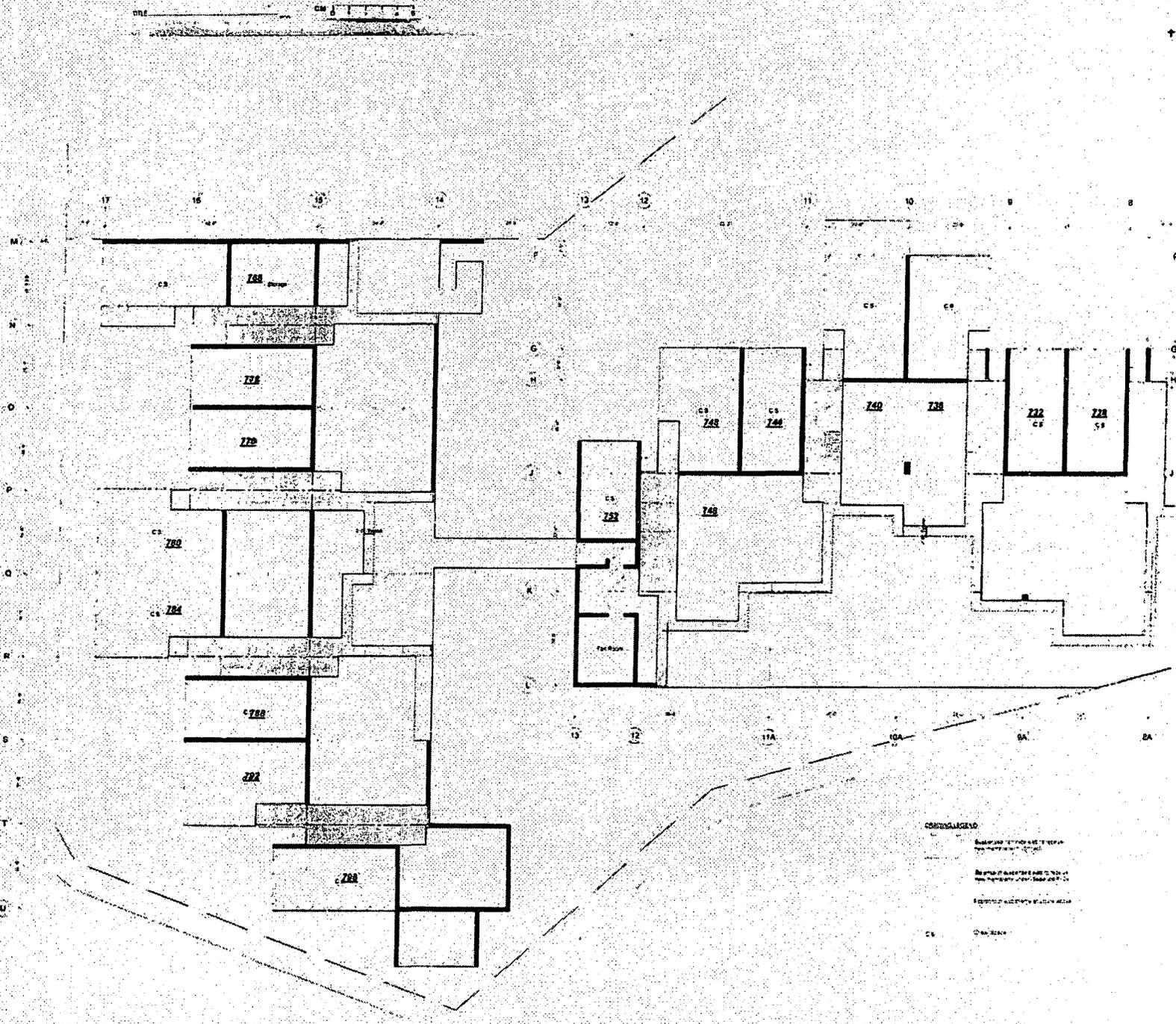


Drawing List

- 201-148 Abbott Street Vancouver, BC V6B 2W6
Telephone: 604-281-1528 Fax: 604-683-2241
- A001 Site Plan / Project Data
- A002 Garage Data Report South
- A003 Garage Site Plan North
- A101 Floor Building A 477 - 694 Mo. St. West
- A102 Floor Building B South 700 - 722 Milllyard
- A103 Floor Building B North 724 - 726 Milllyard
- A104 Floor Building C 768 - 774 Millbank
- A401 Building A Exterior Envelopes
- A402 Building A Driveway Envelopes
- A403 Building B Exterior Envelopes
- A404 Building B South Driveway Envelopes
- A405 Building B North Driveway Envelopes
- A406 Building C Exterior Envelopes
- A407 Building C Driveway Envelopes
- A408 Building Envelopes
- A501 Details
- A502 Details
- A503 Details
- A504 Details
- A505 Details
- A506 Details
- A507 Details
- A508 Details
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- A510 Details
- A511 Details
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- STRUCTURAL
Kumagai Engineering (1105) Limited
Burlingame St.
Vancouver, BC
V6C 2K6
Tel: 604-677-3333
- S-1 General Notes & Section Details
- S-2 Deck Detailing Details
- S-3 Floor Slab Details
- S-4 New Exterior Slabs Sections & Details
- S-5 Floor Slab Details
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- S-100 Floor Slab Details

Site Statistics

Street Address: 677 Moberly Road - 700 Milllyard
 Legal Description: Lot 2 District 11/12/13/14/15/16/17/18/19/20/21/22/23/24/25/26/27/28/29/30/31/32/33/34/35/36/37/38/39/40/41/42/43/44/45/46/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/100/101/102/103/104/105/106/107/108/109/110/111/112/113/114/115/116/117/118/119/120/121/122/123/124/125/126/127/128/129/130/131/132/133/134/135/136/137/138/139/140/141/142/143/144/145/146/147/148/149/150/151/152/153/154/155/156/157/158/159/160/161/162/163/164/165/166/167/168/169/170/171/172/173/174/175/176/177/178/179/180/181/182/183/184/185/186/187/188/189/190/191/192/193/194/195/196/197/198/199/200/201/202/203/204/205/206/207/208/209/210/211/212/213/214/215/216/217/218/219/220/221/222/223/224/225/226/227/228/229/230/231/232/233/234/235/236/237/238/239/240/241/242/243/244/245/246/247/248/249/250/251/252/253/254/255/256/257/258/259/260/261/262/263/264/265/266/267/268/269/270/271/272/273/274/275/276/277/278/279/280/281/282/283/284/285/286/287/288/289/290/291/292/293/294/295/296/297/298/299/300/301/302/303/304/305/306/307/308/309/310/311/312/313/314/315/316/317/318/319/320/321/322/323/324/325/326/327/328/329/330/331/332/333/334/335/336/337/338/339/340/341/342/343/344/345/346/347/348/349/350/351/352/353/354/355/356/357/358/359/360/361/362/363/364/365/366/367/368/369/370/371/372/373/374/375/376/377/378/379/380/381/382/383/384/385/386/387/388/389/390/391/392/393/394/395/396/397/398/399/400/401/402/403/404/405/406/407/408/409/410/411/412/413/414/415/416/417/418/419/420/421/422/423/424/425/426/427/428/429/430/431/432/433/434/435/436/437/438/439/440/441/442/443/444/445/446/447/448/449/450/451/452/453/454/455/456/457/458/459/460/461/462/463/464/465/466/467/468/469/470/471/472/473/474/475/476/477/478/479/480/481/482/483/484/485/486/487/488/489/490/491/492/493/494/495/496/497/498/499/500/501/502/503/504/505/506/507/508/509/510/511/512/513/514/515/516/517/518/519/520/521/522/523/524/525/526/527/528/529/530/531/532/533/534/535/536/537/538/539/540/541/542/543/544/545/546/547/548/549/550/551/552/553/554/555/556/557/558/559/560/561/562/563/564/565/566/567/568/569/570/571/572/573/574/575/576/577/578/579/580/581/582/583/584/585/586/587/588/589/590/591/592/593/594/595/596/597/598/599/600/601/602/603/604/605/606/607/608/609/610/611/612/613/614/615/616/617/618/619/620/621/622/623/624/625/626/627/628/629/630/631/632/633/634/635/636/637/638/639/640/641/642/643/644/645/646/647/648/649/650/651/652/653/654/655/656/657/658/659/660/661/662/663/664/665/666/667/668/669/670/671/672/673/674/675/676/677/678/679/680/681/682/683/684/685/686/687/688/689/690/691/692/693/694/695/696/697/698/699/700/701/702/703/704/705/706/707/708/709/710/711/712/713/714/715/716/717/718/719/720/721/722/723/724/725/726/727/728/729/730/731/732/733/734/735/736/737/738/739/740/741/742/743/744/745/746/747/748/749/750/751/752/753/754/755/756/757/758/759/760/761/762/763/764/765/766/767/768/769/770/771/772/773/774/775/776/777/778/779/780/781/782/783/784/785/786/787/788/789/790/791/792/793/794/795/796/797/798/799/800/801/802/803/804/805/806/807/808/809/810/811/812/813/814/815/816/817/818/819/820/821/822/823/824/825/826/827/828/829/830/831/832/833/834/835/836/837/838/839/840/841/842/843/844/845/846/847/848/849/850/851/852/853/854/855/856/857/858/859/860/861/862/863/864/865/866/867/868/869/870/871/872/873/874/875/876/877/878/879/880/881/882/883/884/885/886/887/888/889/890/891/892/893/894/895/896/897/898/899/900/901/902/903/904/905/906/907/908/909/910/911/912/913/914/915/916/917/918/919/920/921/922/923/924/925/926/927/928/929/930/931/932/933/934/935/936/937/938/939/940/941/942/943/944/945/946/947/948/949/950/951/952/953/954/955/956/957/958/959/960/961/962/963/964/965/966/967/968/969/970/971/972/973/974/975/976/977/978/979/980/981/982/983/984/985/986/987/988/989/990/991/992/993/994/995/996/997/998/999/1000/1001/1002/1003/1004/1005/1006/1007/1008/1009/1010/1011/1012/1013/1014/1015/1016/1017/1018/1019/1020/1021/1022/1023/1024/1025/1026/1027/1028/1029/1030/1031/1032/1033/1034/1035/1036/1037/1038/1039/1040/1041/1042/1043/1044/1045/1046/1047/1048/1049/1050/1051/1052/1053/1054/1055/1056/1057/1058/1059/1060/1061/1062/1063/1064/1065/1066/1067/1068/1069/1070/1071/1072/1073/1074/1075/1076/1077/1078/1079/1080/1081/1082/1083/1084/1085/1086/1087/1088/1089/1090/1091/1092/1093/1094/1095/1096/1097/1098/1099/1100/1101/1102/1103/1104/1105/1106/1107/1108/1109/1110/1111/1112/1113/1114/1115/1116/1117/1118/1119/1120/1121/1122/1123/1124/1125/1126/1127/1128/1129/1130/1131/1132/1133/1134/1135/1136/1137/1138/1139/1140/1141/1142/1143/1144/1145/1146/1147/1148/1149/1150/1151/1152/1153/1154/1155/1156/1157/1158/1159/1160/1161/1162/1163/1164/1165/1166/1167/1168/1169/1170/1171/1172/1173/1174/1175/1176/1177/1178/1179/1180/1181/1182/1183/1184/1185/1186/1187/1188/1189/1190/1191/1192/1193/1194/1195/1196/1197/1198/1199/1200/1201/1202/1203/1204/1205/1206/1207/1208/1209/1210/1211/1212/1213/1214/1215/1216/1217/1218/1219/1220/1221/1222/1223/1224/1225/122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NSDA
ARCHITECTS

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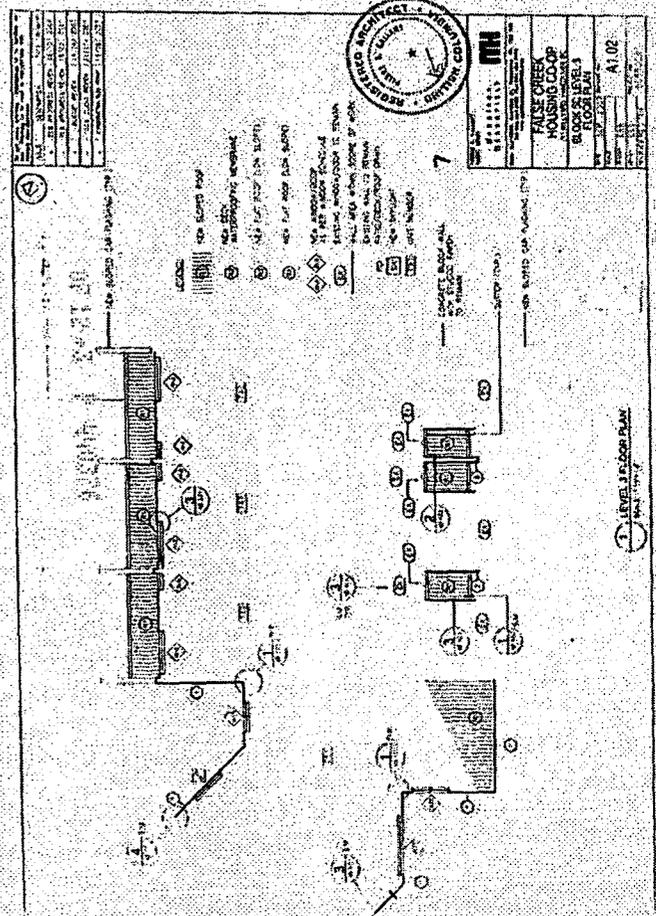
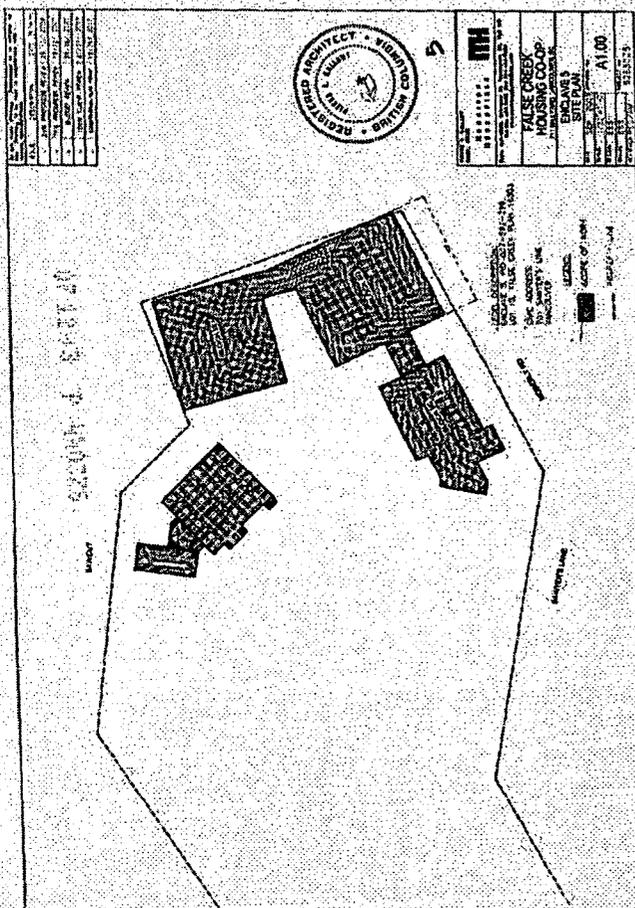
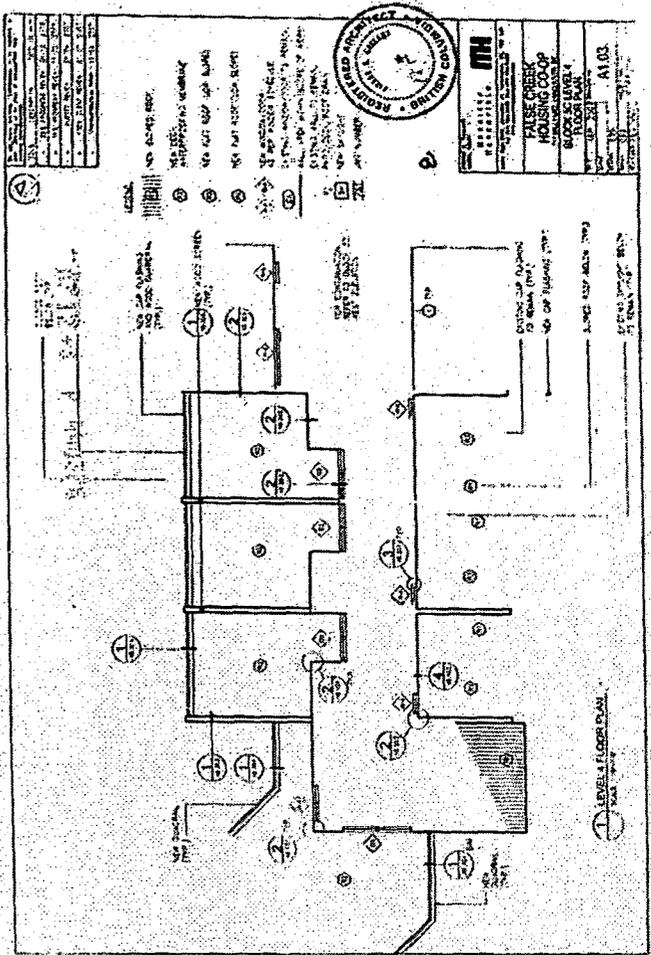
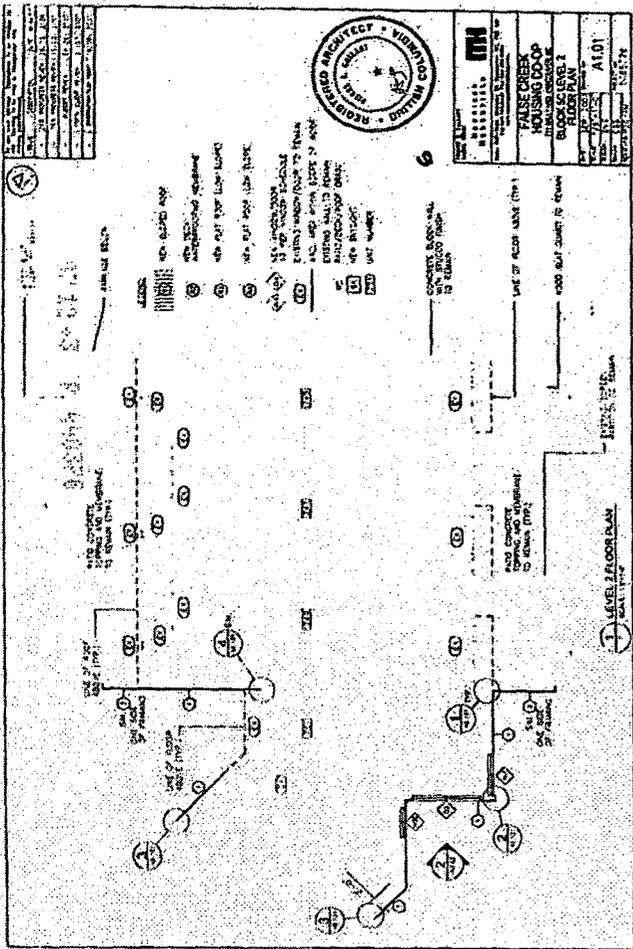
Building Remedation
Creek Village
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VANCOUVER B.C.

Garage Site Plan
Ward

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1/8" = 1'-0"

A-003



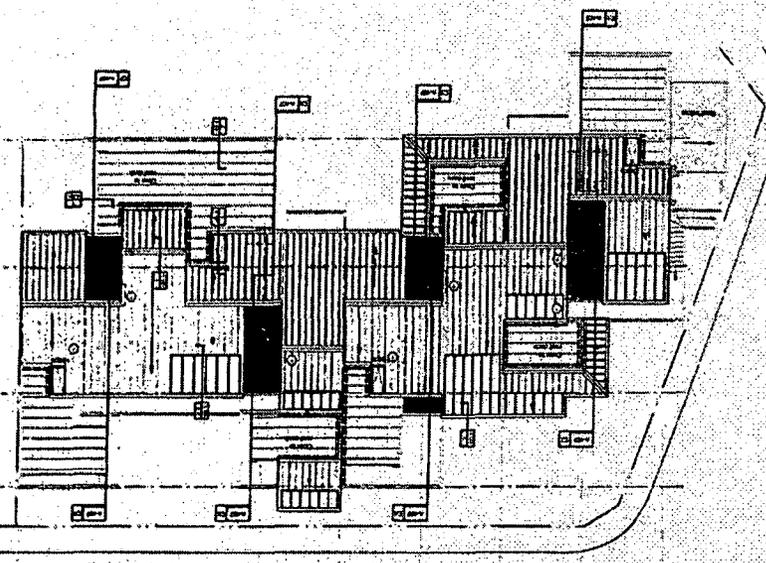
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NSDA ARCHITECTS
 4447 F. STREET, N.W.
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002
 Building Remodeling
 Creek Village
 2000 P Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C.
 750-730-8800
 Building C Plans

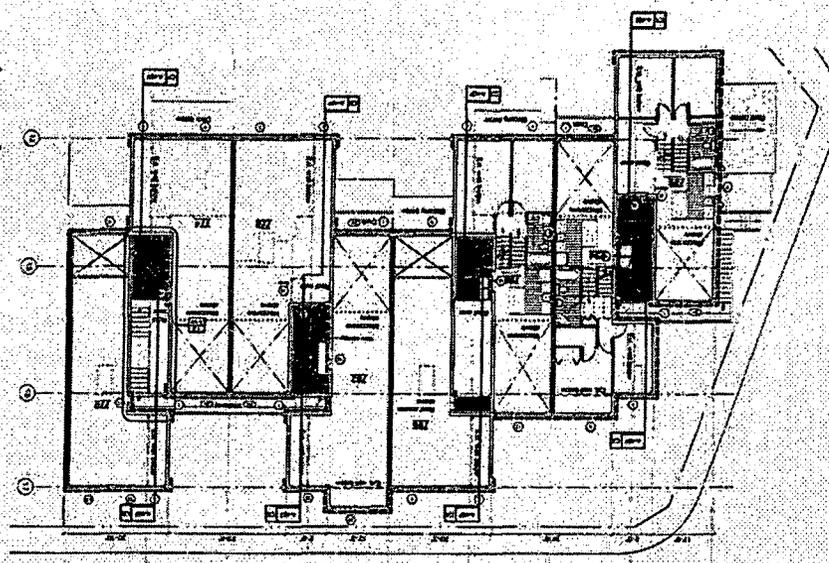


1. To the building owner & architect, the following information is being provided for the building at the site shown on the site plan. The building is located at the intersection of 10th Street and 10th Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. The building is a three-story structure with a total area of approximately 100,000 square feet. The building is currently occupied by the U.S. Department of Justice. The building is being demolished and replaced with a new building. The new building will be a three-story structure with a total area of approximately 100,000 square feet. The new building will be designed to meet the needs of the U.S. Department of Justice. The new building will be designed to be energy efficient and to provide a high-quality work environment for the U.S. Department of Justice employees. The new building will be designed to be a landmark building in the area. The new building will be designed to be a symbol of the U.S. Department of Justice's commitment to justice and the rule of law. The new building will be designed to be a source of pride for the U.S. Department of Justice and the people of Washington, D.C.

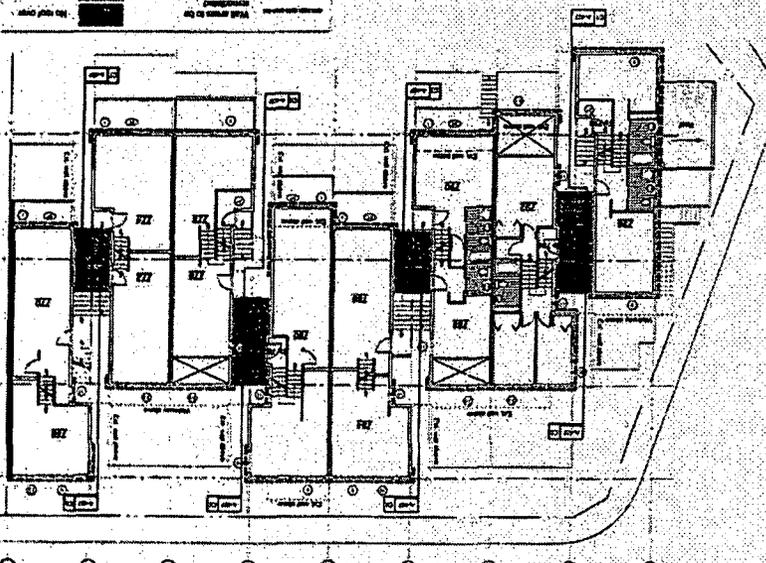
Building C First Floor Plan



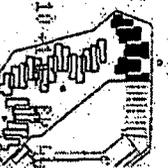
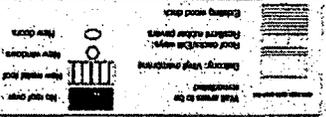
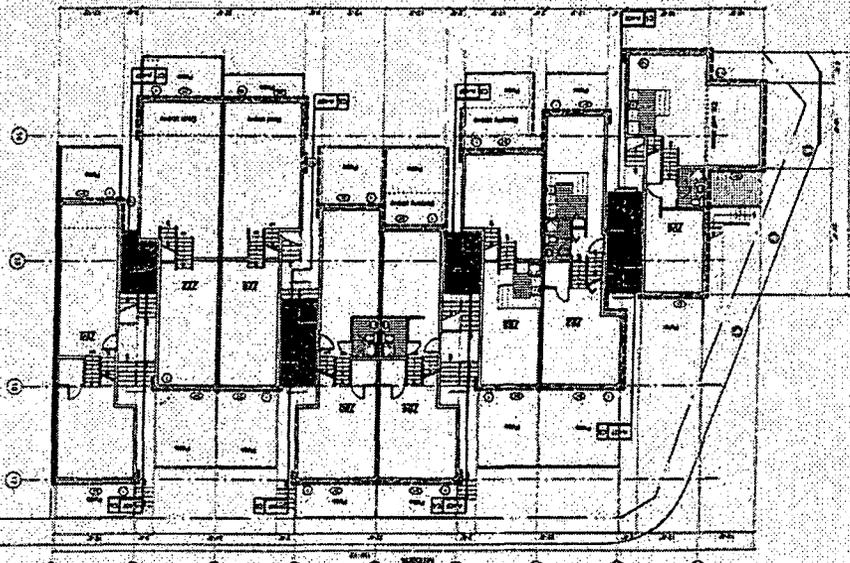
Building C Third Floor Plan



Building C Second Floor Plan



Building C Ground Floor Plan



Building A 677 Masonry Pkg.
 Edmond Elevators

Building Renovation
 Crane Vitals

SEALS CONTRACTORS HOLD NUMBER

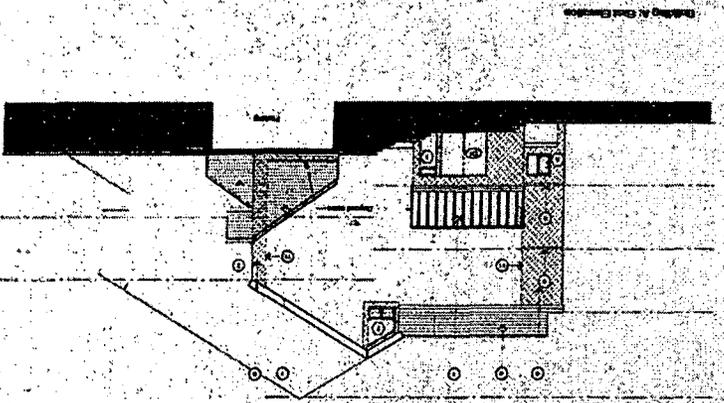
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NSDA
 ARCHITECTS

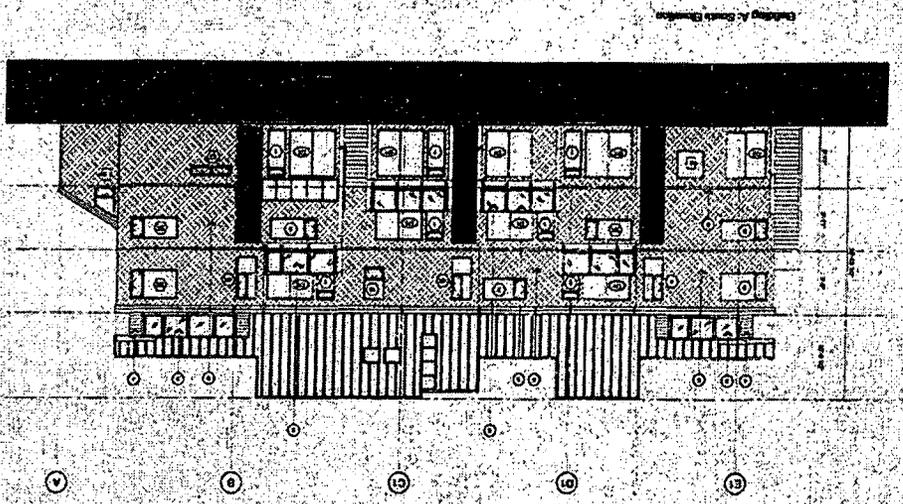


1. Seal number not available
 2. Seal is not shown

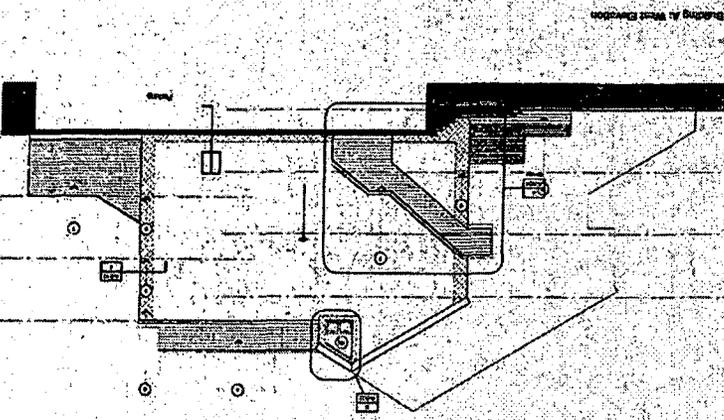
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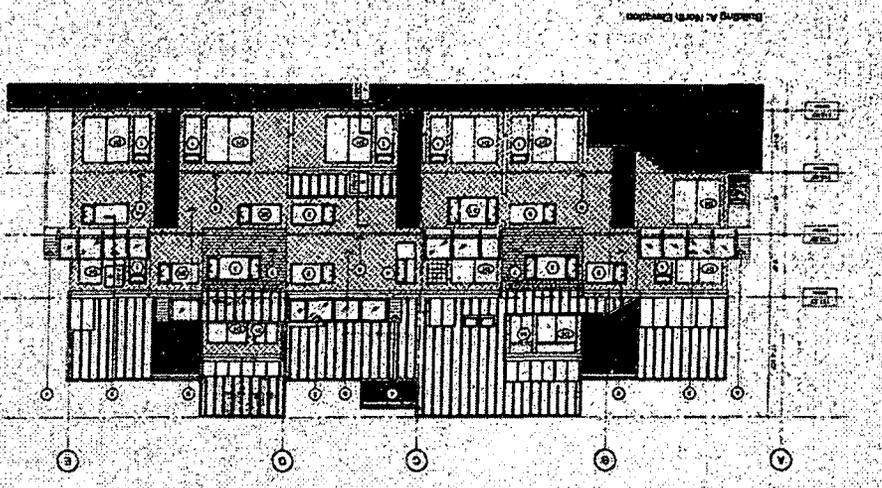
Building A East Division



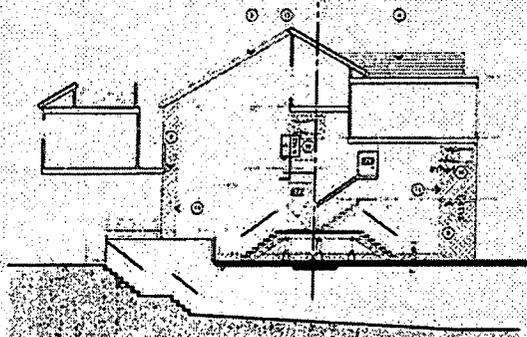
Building A South Division



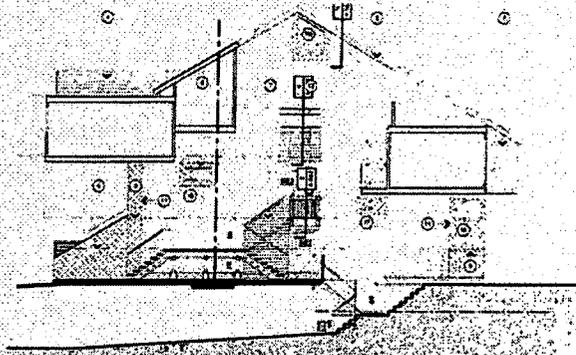
Building A West Division



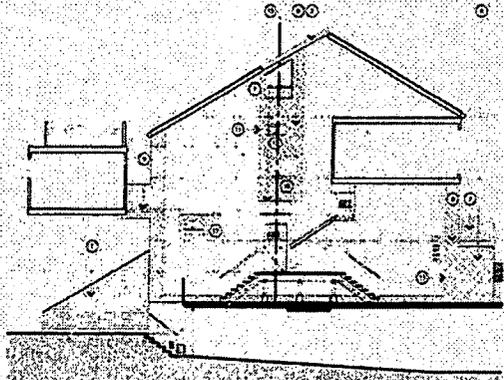
Building A North Division



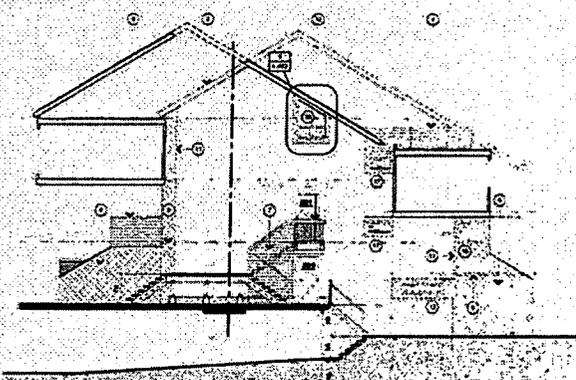
Building A: Brezway A1



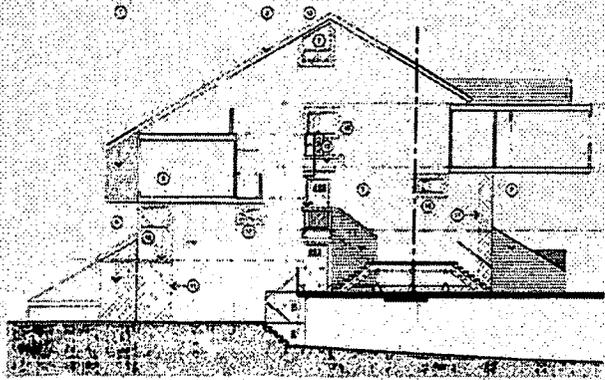
Building A: Brezway A2



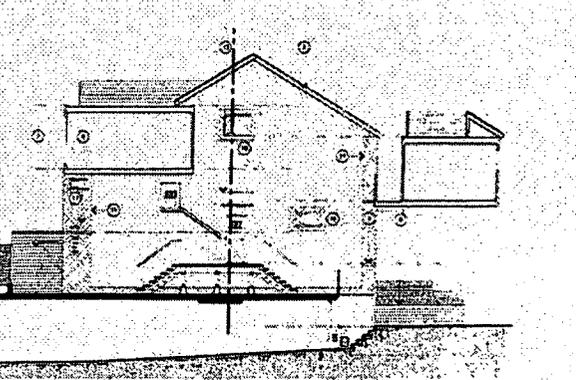
Building A: Brezway A3



Building A: Brezway A4



Building A: Brezway A5



Building A: Brezway A6

Date: 10/1/00
 Drawn by: J. J. [unclear]
 Checked by: J. J. [unclear]
 Approved by: J. J. [unclear]

- Materials Legend:**
1. Metal roofing (RHS 3" x 17" only)
 2. New extended MC triple
 3. Glass roof deck/ceiling system
 4. Gold roof deck/ceiling panels with P.C. finish
 5. Clared face mounted pick guards
 6. New slucco finish
 7. Four corner flash
 8. Stained cedar fencing
 9. Dress cavity flashing
 10. Gypsum corner joint
 11. New cavity wall termination
 12. Face mounted pick guard
 13. New glass canopy

- Notes:**
1. Wood fences and screens are not shown for clarity
 2. RWA is not shown



NSDA ARCHITECTS

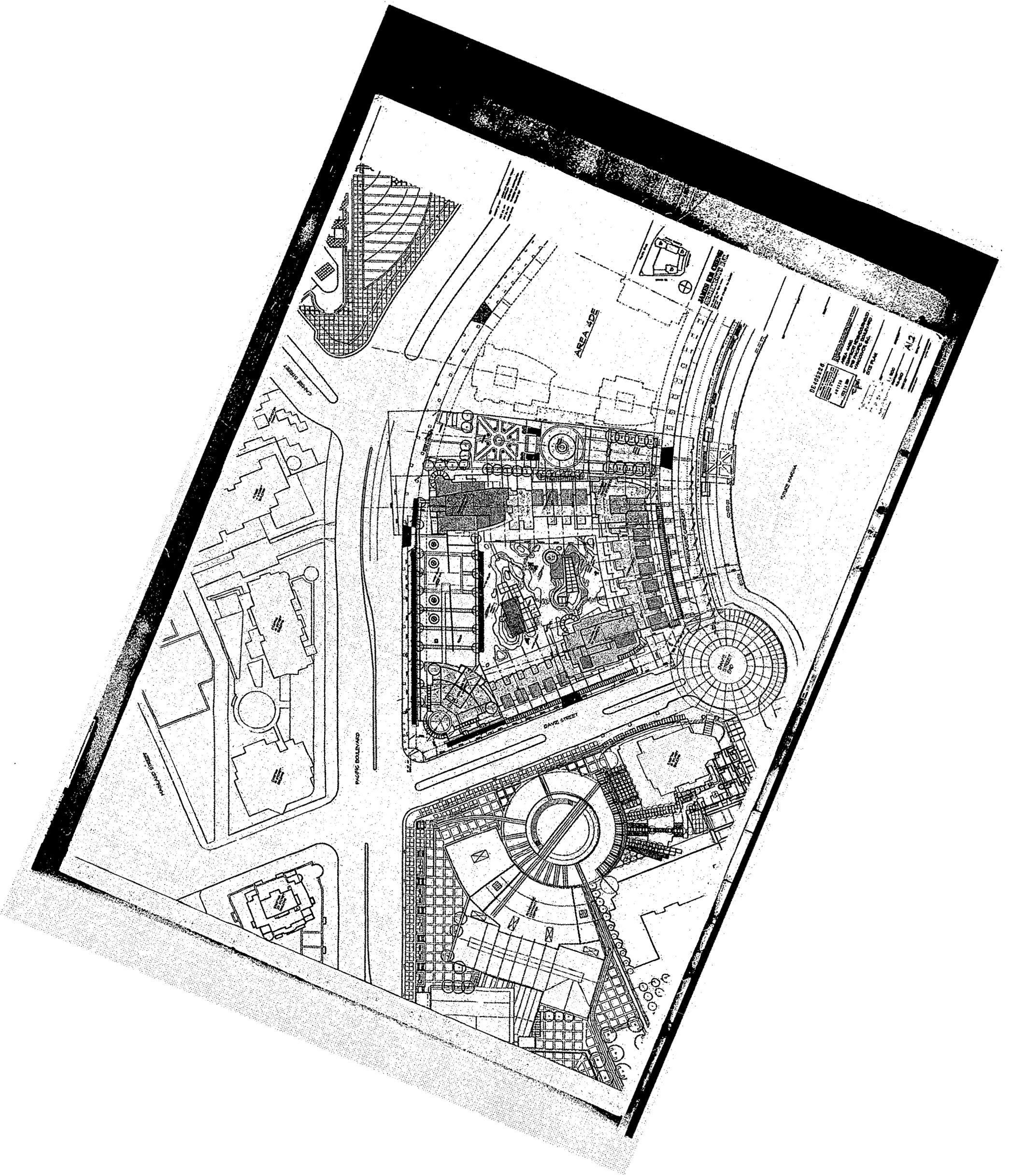
1000 14th St. N.W.
 Suite 1000
 Washington, D.C. 20004
 Phone: 202-462-1100
 Fax: 202-462-1101

NEAR ESTABLISHED OVER 40 YEARS
 Since 1960, NSDA has been providing architectural services to the public. Our commitment to quality and service has earned us a reputation as one of the leading architectural firms in the Washington, D.C. area.

Project:
 Building Renovation
 Creek Village
 States Plaza 400
 Vancouver, B.C.

Project Name:
 Building A: 677 Mobydy Rd.
 Brezway Elevators

Project Number:
 00027
Scale:
 1/8" = 1'-0"
Sheet Number:
 A-402

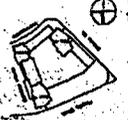


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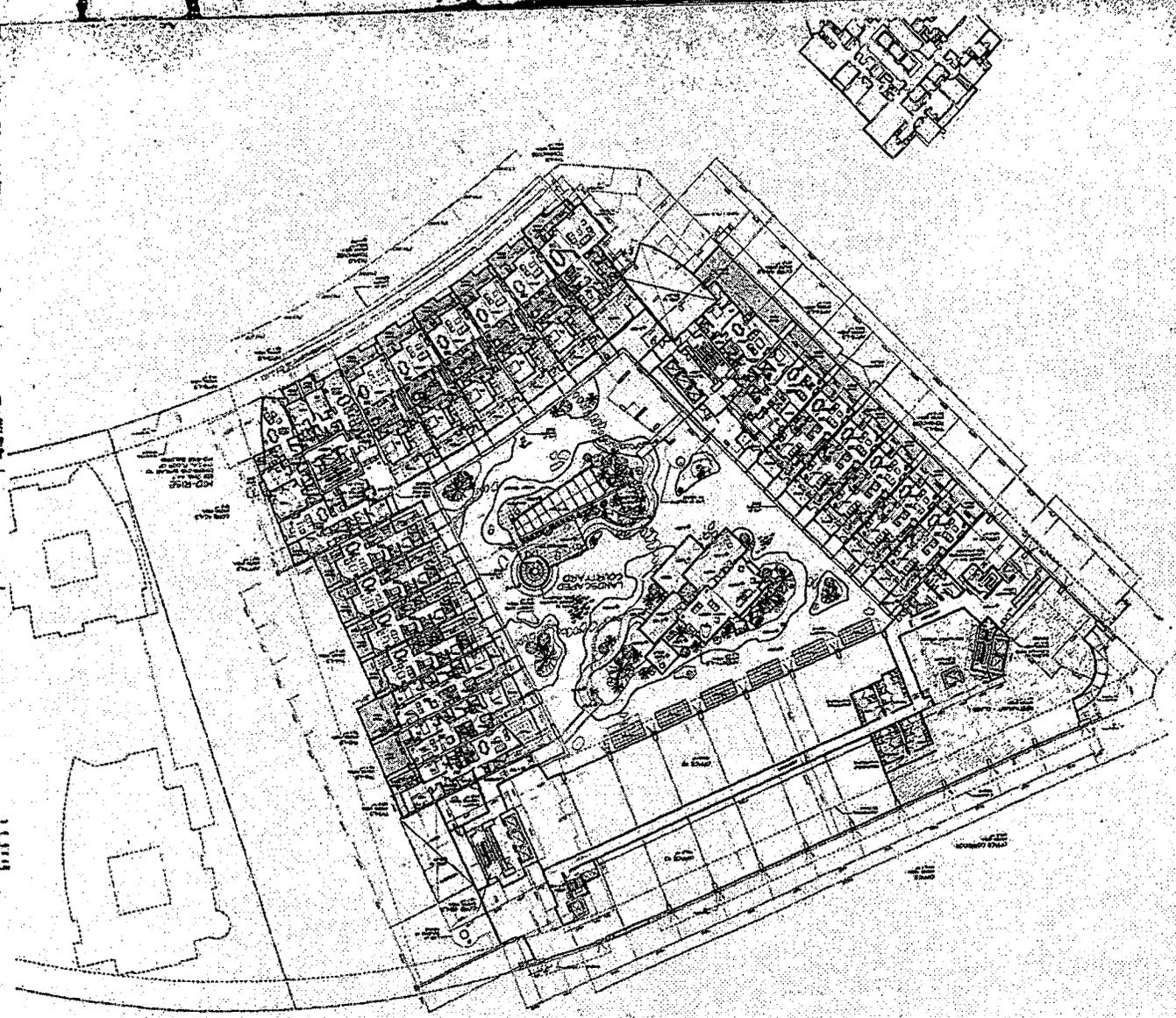


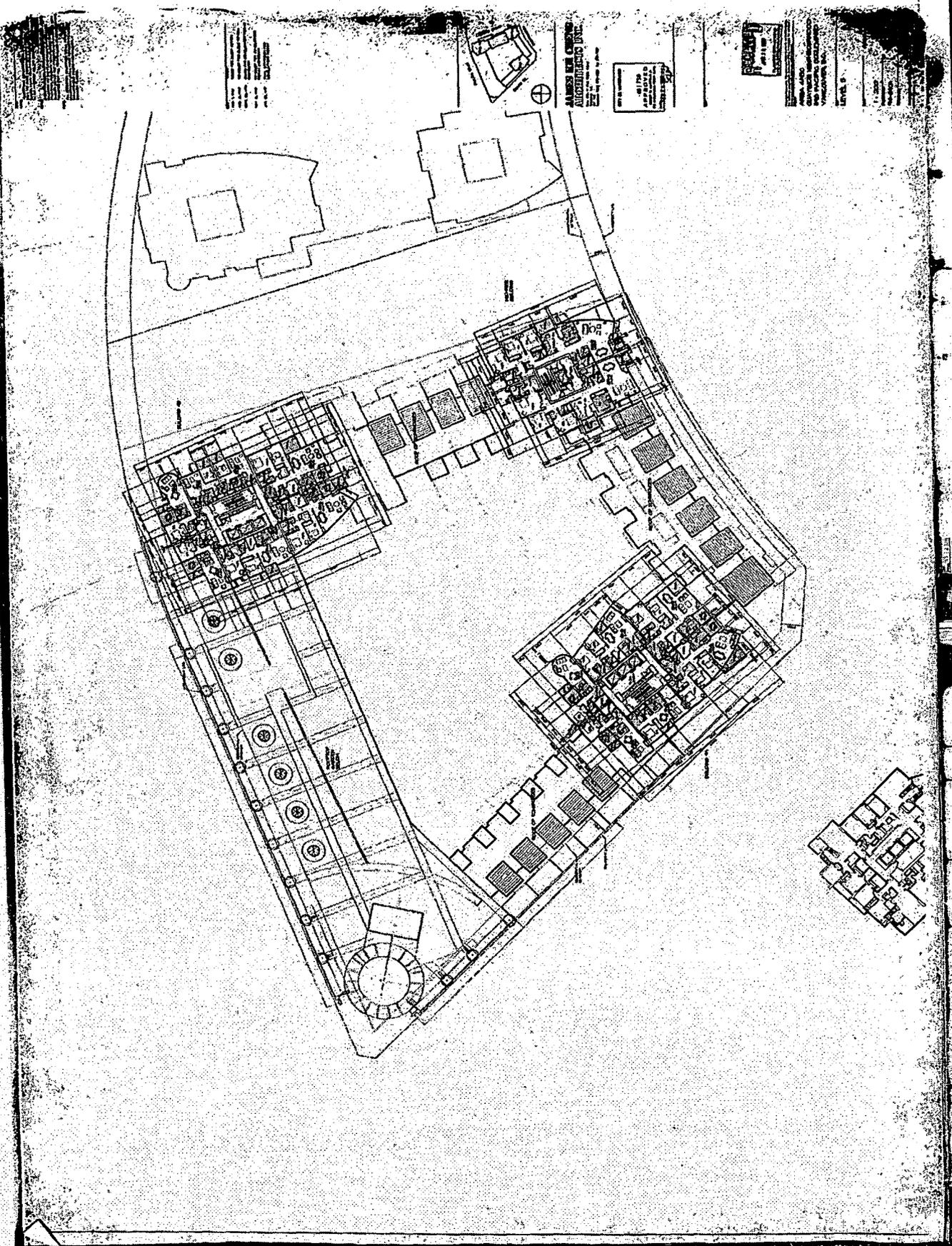
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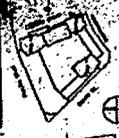
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GENERAL NOTES
1. ALL WORK SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LATEST EDITIONS OF THE BUILDING CODES AND SPECIFICATIONS.
2. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR OBTAINING ALL NECESSARY PERMITS AND APPROVALS.
3. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN ACCESS TO ALL ADJACENT PROPERTIES AT ALL TIMES.
4. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PROTECTING ALL EXISTING UTILITIES AND STRUCTURES.
5. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN ADEQUATE SAFETY MEASURES THROUGHOUT THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS.
6. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROTECTION AND RESTORATION OF ALL NEARBY ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES.
7. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN ADEQUATE RECORDS OF ALL WORK DONE AND MATERIALS USED.
8. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROTECTION AND RESTORATION OF ALL NEARBY HISTORICAL OR CULTURAL RESOURCES.
9. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN ADEQUATE COMMUNICATIONS WITH ALL STAKEHOLDERS.
10. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROTECTION AND RESTORATION OF ALL NEARBY INFRASTRUCTURE.



APPROVED FOR CONSTRUCTION
DATE: _____
BY: _____

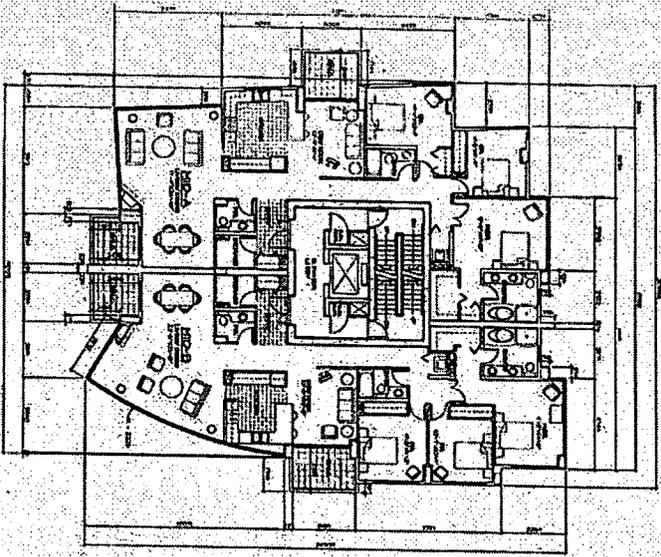
APPROVED
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BY: _____

SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"

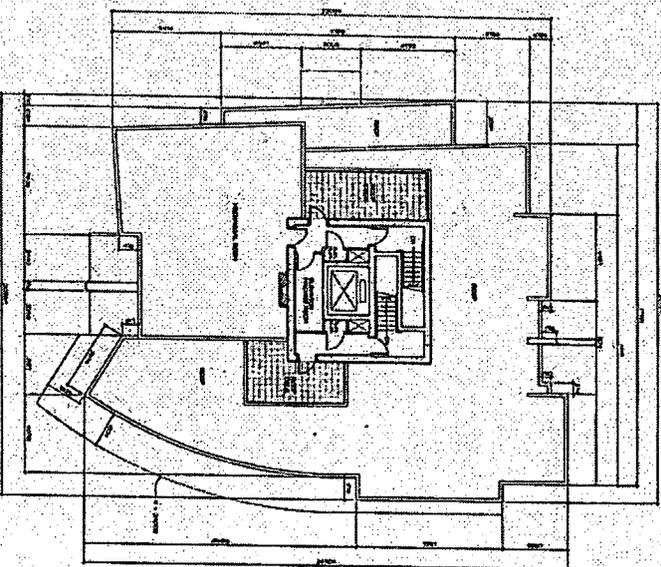
PROJECT NO. _____
SHEET NO. _____

DATE: _____
BY: _____

TYPICAL FLOOR PLAN
 OF THE 1ST FLOOR
 FOR 1425/1426 ST.



MECHANICAL, FINISHED FLOOR PLAN



1425/1426 ST. PROJECT
 ARCHITECT: [Faded text]
 ENGINEER: [Faded text]



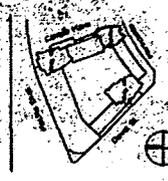
CITY OF BOSTON
 01170
 APPROVED
 [Faded signature]

JAMES H. [Faded]
 ARCHITECTS INC.
 [Faded address]



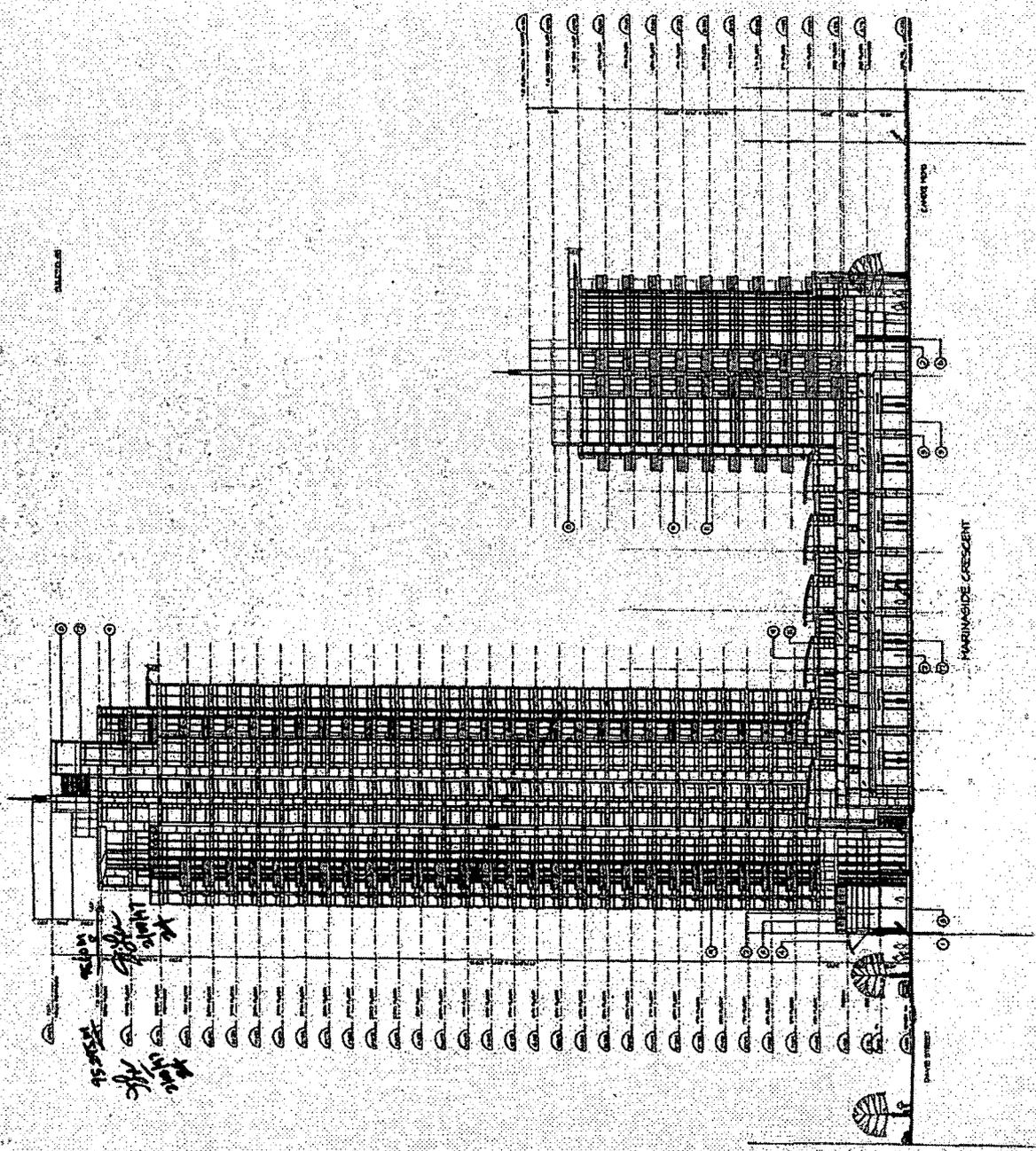
[Faded text, likely a legend or notes for the drawings]

1. ALL WORK SHALL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LATEST EDITIONS OF THE BUILDING CODES AND REGULATIONS.
 2. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR OBTAINING ALL NECESSARY PERMITS AND APPROVALS FROM THE APPROPRIATE AGENCIES.
 3. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN ACCESS TO ALL ADJACENT PROPERTIES AT ALL TIMES.
 4. ALL MATERIALS AND WORKMANSHIP SHALL BE SUBJECT TO INSPECTION AND APPROVAL BY THE ARCHITECT.
 5. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL PROTECT ALL EXISTING UTILITIES AND STRUCTURES.
 6. ALL WORK SHALL BE COMPLETED WITHIN THE SPECIFIED TIME FRAME.
 7. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL MAINTAIN A NEAT AND ORDERLY WORK SITE.
 8. ALL WASTE MATERIALS SHALL BE PROPERLY DISPOSED OF.
 9. THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF ALL WORKERS AND THE PUBLIC.
 10. ALL WORK SHALL BE COMPLETED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE ARCHITECT.

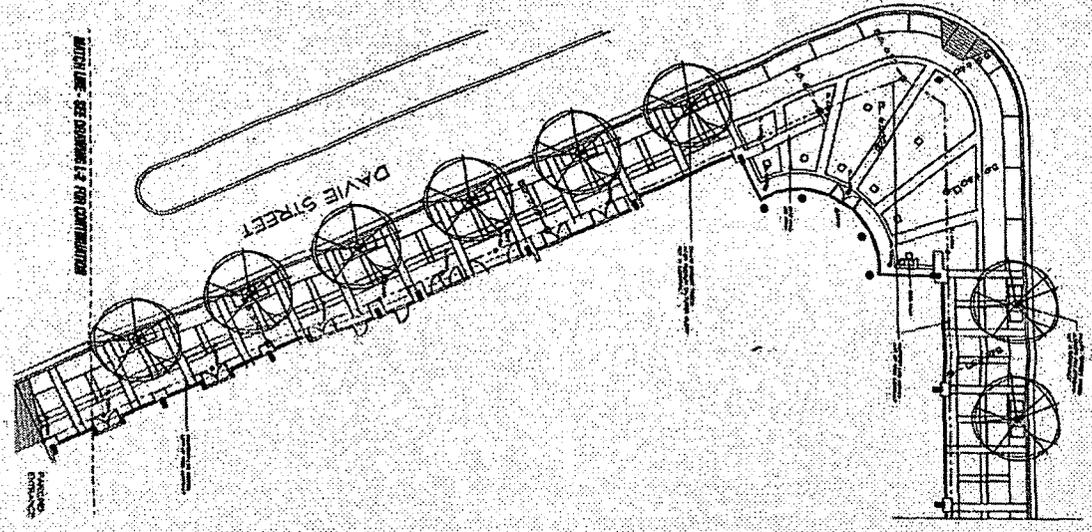


JAMES HALL CORP.
ARCHITECTS INC.
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CITY OF ...
 APPROVED
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1198 Pacific Blvd

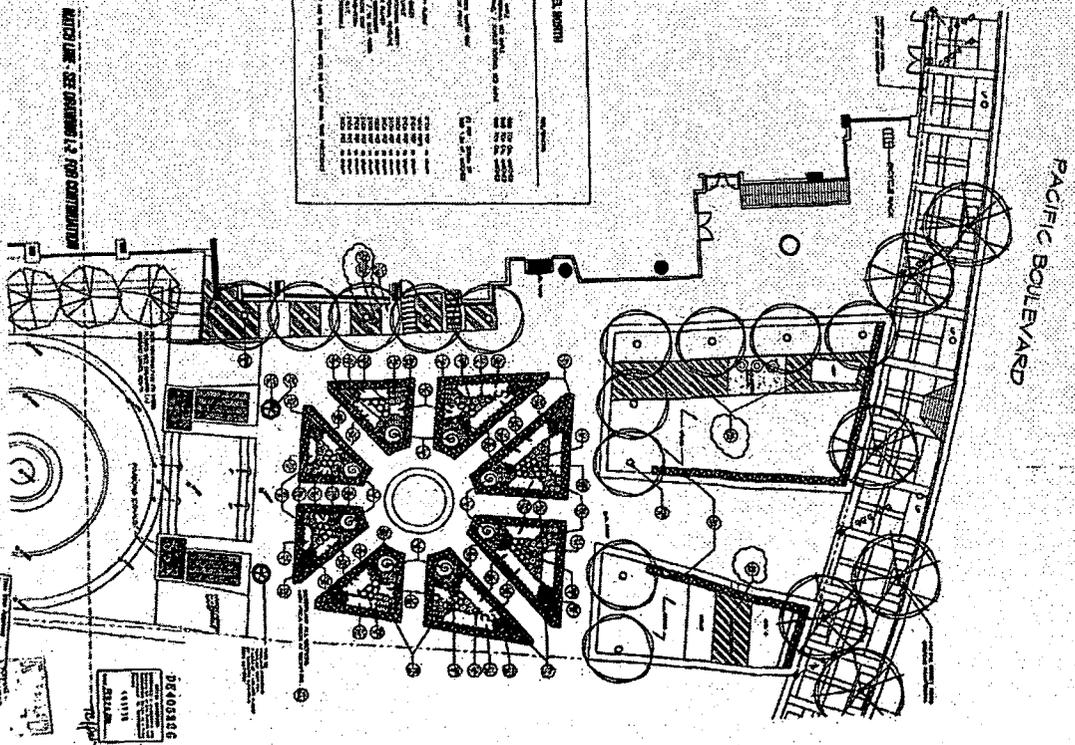


ARCH LINE - SEE DRAWING 12 FOR CONTINUATION

PLANT LIST (GROUND LEVEL, NORTH)

NO.	DESCRIPTION	QTY	REMARKS
1	PLANT LIST (GROUND LEVEL, NORTH)		
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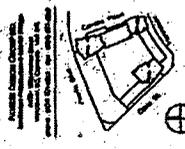
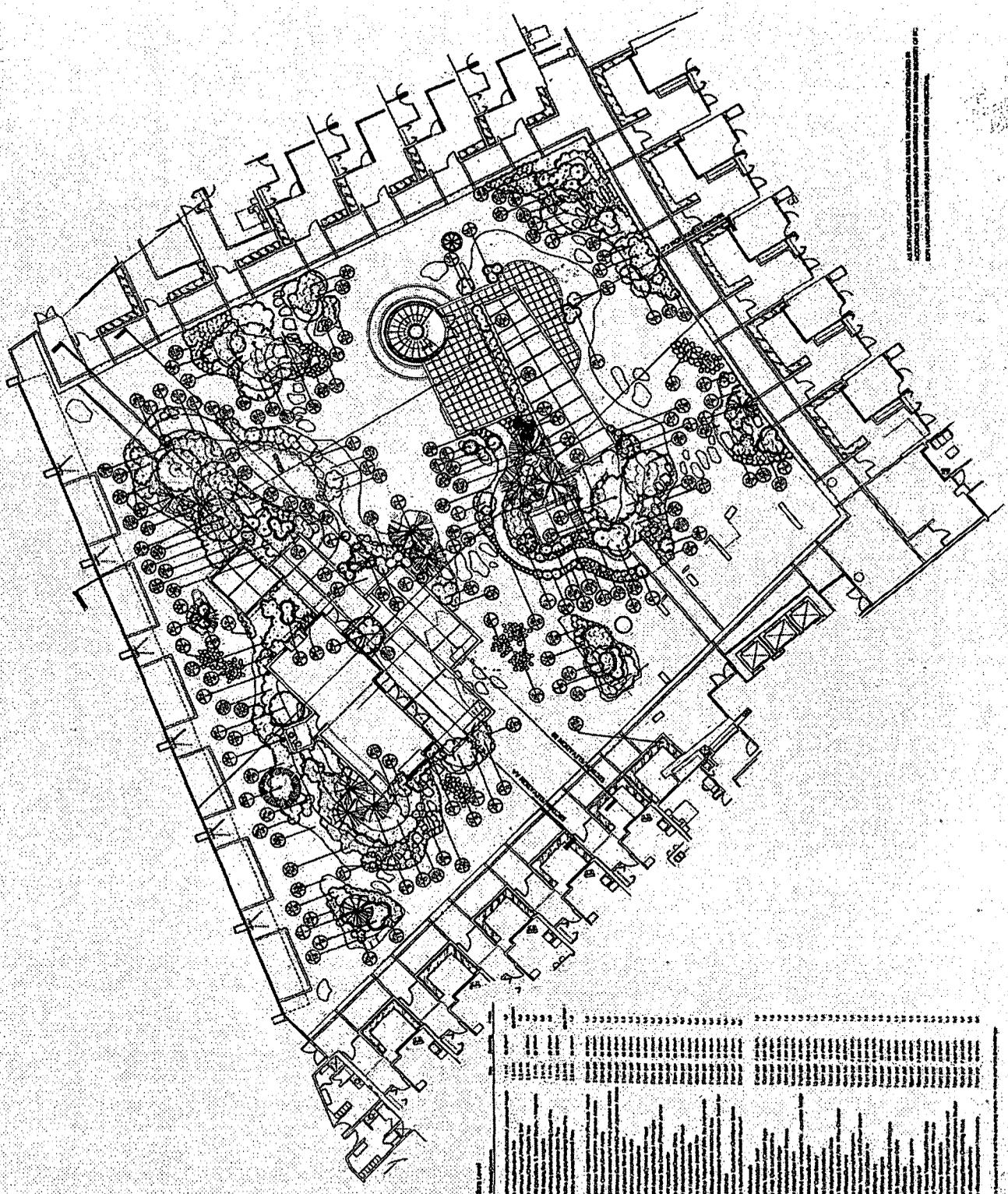
ARCH LINE - SEE DRAWING 12 FOR CONTINUATION



1. ALL WORK TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LATEST EDITIONS OF THE BUILDING CODES AND SPECIFICATIONS.
 2. ALL MATERIALS AND WORKMANSHIP TO BE SUBJECT TO INSPECTION AND APPROVAL BY THE LOCAL BUILDING DEPARTMENT.
 3. ALL DIMENSIONS TO BE SHOWN ON THIS PLAN UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.
 4. ALL FINISHES TO BE AS SHOWN ON THE FINISH SCHEDULE.
 5. ALL ELECTRICAL WORK TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATIONAL ELECTRICAL CODE.
 6. ALL MECHANICAL WORK TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS.
 7. ALL PLUMBING WORK TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PLUMBING CODE.
 8. ALL PAINTS AND COATINGS TO BE AS SPECIFIED ON THE FINISH SCHEDULE.
 9. ALL WORK TO BE COMPLETED WITHIN THE SPECIFIED TIME FRAME.
 10. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONTRACT DOCUMENTS.
 11. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ARCHITECT'S INTENT.
 12. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LOCAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS.
 13. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE BEST PRACTICES OF THE TRADE.
 14. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SAFETY OF THE PUBLIC.
 15. ALL WORK TO BE DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION ACT.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
 WASHINGTON, D.C.

ARCHITECTURAL
 DRAWING

AREA: 14,110
 QUARTER: 10,000
 VOLUME: 1,000,000

LEVEL: 3
 SCALE: 1/4" = 1'-0"

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