

Affordability and Livability in 21st-century Canadian Dwelling Architecture

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For Yashar



Pic. 1: Labels on Fifth Avenue. Credit: Ulduz Maschaykh. 2003

“One Fifth was one of his personal landmarks, a magnificent building constructed of a pale grey stone in the classic lines of the Art Deco Era, and Billy who had one foot in the new millennium and one foot in the cafe society of lore, had always admired it. “It shouldn't matter where you live as long as where you live is decent,” he said to himself, but still he aspired to live in One Fifth.” - Candace Bushnell, *One Fifth Avenue*, p. 9

Deutsche Zusammenfassung der Dissertation: “Affordability and Livability in 21st century Canadian Architecture”

Walter Benjamin schrieb: "Bauten werden auf doppelte Art rezipiert: durch Gebrauch und durch Wahrnehmung [...]"¹

Die Nutzung eines Gebäudes bestimmt, welche Art von Menschen in ihr leben und wie diese Menschen die Umgebung und die Nachbarschaft formen und prägen. Dies wiederum steht eng mit der Frage, wie ein Gebäude optisch auf den Betrachter wirkt, da dies bewirkt, welche Art von Menschen, Institutionen und Geschäfte in der Nachbarschaft einziehen.

Diese Dissertation konzentriert sich auf die Bewohnbarkeit und die Erschwinglichkeit (Livability and Affordability) von Wohnarchitektur an der kanadischen Provinz British Columbia im 21. Jahrhundert. Die Art von erschwinglichen Wohnungstypen, die in dieser Dissertation untersucht werden sind: Mietwohnungen, dessen Mieten nicht vom freien Markt bestimmt werden (non-market), dazu gehören auch so genannte „Single Room Occupancy Hotels“, vom freien Markt bestimmte Mietwohnungen, Wohnungsbaugenossenschaften und Wohnungen, die sich in Gebäuden befinden, in denen ein Anteil aus subventionierten Wohnungen und einer aus Eigentumswohnungen besteht, so genannte „Mixed-Income Projects.“

Die Zielgruppen für bezahlbare Mietwohnungen sind nicht homogen. Was sie alle gemeinsam haben ist ihre finanzielle Situation, die sie als einkommensschwach Haushalte (low-income households) und Haushalte aus der unteren Mittelschicht definieren lässt.

Die ausgesuchten Zielgruppen in dieser Arbeit richten sich an das „Housing Continuum“, das von der Provinz British Columbia definiert wurde: Die finanziell schwächsten innerhalb dieses „Housing Continuum“ sind: Obdachlose, Menschen mit mentalen Krankheiten sowie Menschen, die gefährdet sind obdachlos zu werden. Diese werden i.d.R. in provisorischen Häusern oder Obdachlosenheimen untergebracht. Die Miete richtet sich hierbei nach dem Durchschnittseinkommen (30%) der Mieter. Für die erfolgreiche Integrierung dieser Gruppen ist ein hohes Maß an Einsatz durch die betreuenden gemeinnützigen Gesellschaften (non-profit organisation) erforderlich. Bei der Architektur dieser Projekte zeigt sich, dass je mehr diese sich den umgebenden

¹ BENJAMIN, Walter. “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit.“ Dritte Fassung. 1936.

Wohnhäusern anpasst desto erfolgreicher ist das Zusammenleben innerhalb der Bewohner im Haus als auch in der Nachbarschaft. Dies ist insbesondere wichtig bei Wohnprojekten in Gegenden, in denen hauptsächlich die Mittelschicht residiert .

Die zweite Zielgruppe, die in dieser Arbeit thematisiert werden sind vor allem Frauen, Künstler, alleinerziehende Mütter, Senioren mit niedrigem Einkommen und arbeitenden Familien und Singles. Für diese Zielgruppen stellt die Provinz subventionierte Wohnungen zur Verfügung, dessen Mieten nicht vom Markt bestimmt werden. Eine zunehmende Entwicklung für bezahlbare Wohnungen sind Wohnprojekte mit Mietern und Eigentümern aus unterschiedlichen Einkommensklassen.

Gegenstand dieser Arbeit ist es zu ergründen, in welchem Umfang die Architektur von Mietwohnungsprojekten in British Columbia dazu beiträgt, ein integriertes Gefühl der Gemeinschaft in der Gemeinde (Community) zu schaffen sowie die sozialen und demografischen Unterschiede innerhalb der Bewohner und der Nachbarschaft zu verringern. Lebenswerter und bezahlbarer Wohnraum kann dazu beitragen, Haushalten mit geringem Einkommen eine höhere Lebensqualität zu ermöglichen und das Gemeinschaftsgefühl innerhalb der Nachbarschaft stärken. In verwaorsten Gegenden kann kreativ und innovativ gestaltete Architektur von Wohnungshäusern für geringfügig verdienende Menschen dazu führen, dass die Mittelschicht in diese Gegend einzieht und Geschäfte und Firmen durch Immobilien in diese Gegenden investieren. Diese innerstädtische Entwicklung ist auch bekannt unter der Bezeichnung "Gentrifizierung." Der Begriff wurde von der britischen Soziologin Ruth Glass in 1964 festgelegt. Glass führte damals eine Studie für die *University College London* durch, in der sie die Innerstädtischen Entwicklungen Londons untersuchte. Sie stellte fest, dass viele der Arbeiterklassengegenden peu à peu von der Mittelschicht und Oberschicht belegt wurden und nannte diesen Prozess dann „Gentrification.“² Daher hat dieser Begriff ihrem Ursprung nach eine negative Konnotation, da sie die Verdrängung der unteren Klassen in einer Gegend durch die Migration der Mittel- und Oberschicht impliziert. Um dieser negativ wertenden Bedeutung entgegenzuwirken, wurden seit Ruth Glass positiv klingende Begrifflichkeiten wie "Revitalisierung", "Renaissance der Städte" oder "Beautification" eingeführt. Diese Terminologien stellen Gentrifizierung als eine erstrebenswerte Entwicklung da, die sich vorteilhaft für alle Gruppen in einer Gesellschaft ausschlägt: sowohl für die Wohlhabenden, die Mittelschicht als auch für

² GLASS, Ruth et al. *London: Aspects of Change*. London: Maggibbon & Kee, 1964. xviii-xix.

die Armen. Je nach Land können die Terminologien auch variieren: In Australien z.B. ist wird für "Gentrifizierung" das Wort "trendification" benutzt.³ Es beinhaltet die Migration von mutigen Pionieren, die eine heruntergekommene Gegend mehr in Mode bringen, und damit attraktiv und trendy für die „young, urban professional people“ (YUPPIES) machen.

In dieser Arbeit wird die These aufgestellt, dass die Wohnungspolitik von British Columbia so konzipiert ist, dass Gentrifizierung nicht zwangsläufig zur Verdrängung von einkommensschwachen Haushalten führen. Weiterhin kann durch die Migration von einkommensstärkeren Haushalten in Gegenden, die sich im Wandel befinden, dazu beitragen, dass eine gesunde Mischung entsteht, die das Stadtbild insgesamt verbessern und die Lebensqualität der Bewohner erhöhen.

Fragen die zu untersuchen sind: Welche Rolle spielt die Architektur beim Prozess der Gegenden, die im Wandel zur Gentrifizierung sind? In welchem Ausmaß spielt die Architektur von erschwinglichen Wohnungsbauten eine Rolle bei dieser städtischen Entwicklung? Was passiert, wenn Wohnungsbauprojekte für Haushalte mit niedrigem Einkommen in bereits gut situierten Mittelschichtgegenden umgesetzt werden? Fügt sich die Architektur dieser Wohnprojekte unauffällig aber elegant in die umgebende Architektur ein oder gibt sie sogar den Ton an für weitere Wohnprojekte, die gebaut werden?

Durch diese Untersuchungen wird das Thema der Gentrifizierung mit dem Bereich der Kunstgeschichte in Zusammenhang gebracht.

Wissenschaftler wie die Soziologie-Professorin Sharon Zukin haben sich bisher nur zaghaft mit der Wechselwirkung von Architektur und Gentrifizierung (1989) beschäftigt. In ihren Publikationen *Loft Living* identifizierte Zukin die Ästhetik der Lofts und Backstein Gebäude in New Yorks Manhattan als bevorzugten Wohnung Stil (?) der Mittelschicht. Der in der Geographie sehr bekannte University of British Columbia Professor David Ley erwähnt in seinem Buch *New Middle Class* (1996) die Vorliebe der Mittelschicht für die historische Bauten, wie z.B. „Victorian Houses“ mit hervorgehobenen Erkern, wie man sie auf der Lombard Street in San Fransisco findet oder Sandsteinhäuser (brownstones), die insbesondere in New Yorks Brooklyn zu einem Gentrifizierungsprozess geführt haben. Die bis dato aktuellste Publikation über Gentrifizierung haben die Wissenschaftler Loretta Lees, Tim Butler und Bridge

³ SMITH, Neil. "New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy." Antipode. 34.3 (2002):427-450. p. 30.

mit „Gentrification von Stealth“ (2012) herausgebracht. Sie beschäftigen sich mit den Folgen von Gentrifizierung in Gegenden mit gemischten Einkommensklassen (Mixed-Income neighbourhoods). Trotz der Vorsilbe „Mixed“ kommen die Autoren zu dem Ergebnis, dass Gentrifikation "the movement of middle-income people into low-income neighbourhoods [...]"⁴ ist.

Bisher liegt der Fokus in der Gentrifizierungsorschung auf genau diesen Prozess: den Wertzuwachs durch die Migration der Mittelschicht in sozial schwachen Gegenden. Aber was ist mit der Migration von Haushalten mit niedrigem Einkommen in bereits aufgewerteten Gegenden? Bisher wurde die Auswirkung von Architektur für sozial schwache Haushalte, die in bereits gutsituierten Mittelschicht Gegenden realisiert werden, nicht thematisiert. Daher ist zu erfragen, Inwieweit Architektur dazu beitragen kann, die sozialen Ungleichgewichte zwischen sozial schwachen Gruppen und die der Mittelschicht zu verringern.

Definitionen von Bewohnbar (Livable) und Bezahlbar (Affordable)

Der Begriff Wohnbarkeit richtet sich nach Artikel 31 § 1 der Europäischen Sozialcharta (European Social Charter), die am 1996 revidiert wurde.⁵ Bezahlbarer Wohnraum ist in Artikel 31 definiert § 3 als ein Haushalt das sich "leisten kann, die anfänglichen Kosten (Kautions-, Kreditkarte-, Miet-, die aktuelle Miete und / oder sonstige Kosten (Nutz-, Wartungs- und Verwaltungskosten) auf einer langfristigen Basis bezahlen zu können“. Per Definition wird eine Wohnung als angemessen bezahlbar angesehen, wenn Miete oder Hypothek nicht mehr als 30 Prozent des Brutto Haushaltseinkommen überschreiten.

Da es nicht immer möglich ist, das genaue Einkommen der jeweiligen Mieter zu ermitteln, ist "Erschwinglichkeit" in dieser Arbeit definiert als Wohnungen dessen monatliche Miete unterhalb auf dem freien Markt vermieteten Wohnungen (zu vergleichen mit dem Mietspiegel in Deutschland) der jeweiligen Städte liegt (median markrent). Diese wird von statistischen Daten von „Statistics Canada“ abgeleitet.

⁴ LEES, Loretta et al. *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* Bristol: Policy Press. 2012. eBook, p.1.

⁵ Council of Europe. "European Social Charter (revised)". Article 31, p. 17. www.coe.int. 03. May 1996. Web. 17. Dec. 2010.

Walter Gropius definierte den modernen Wohnungsbau als adäquat und bewohnbar, wenn es die Zufuhr von reichlich „Licht, Luft und Sonne“ in die Wohnungen ermöglicht.⁶ Dieses starke Credo wird auf den Wohnungsbau des 21. Jahrhunderts umgesetzt. Daher werden die Fallbeispiele unter zwei Aspekten untersucht: Die Wirkung, die sie durch ihre äußere Erscheinung auf die Umgebung und umgebende Architekturlandschaft haben und die Wirkung der inneren Ausstattung im Hinblick auf Bewohnbarkeit und Lebensqualität.

⁶ GROPIUS, Walter. *Die Neue Architektur Und Das Bauhaus: Grundzüge Und Entwicklung einer Konzeption*. Mainz: Kupferberg, 1965. Print, p.18.

Entstehungshintergrund dieser Arbeit

Das Recht auf adäquate Lebensbehausung gilt als eines der grundlegendsten Menschenrechte, wie das Recht auf Ernährung, medizinische Versorgung und Kleidung. Viele (entwickelte) Länder üben diese Rechte bereits aus. In einem Bericht von 2004 von den Vereinten Nationen, rangiert Kanada auf dem vierten Platz in der Liste der 173 Nationen in der „Human Development Index“ beteiligt sind.⁷ Nach Angaben der Vereinten Nationen, schließt der Begriff Human Development "sollen Menschen die Möglichkeiten haben die Art von Leben zu führen, dass sie wert schätzen."⁸

Jedoch ergaben die Untersuchungen einer Studie für das Jahr 2008 von „Human Resources and Social Development Canada“, dass über eine halbe Million Kanadier mehr als 50 Prozent ihres Einkommens für Miete und Haushypotheken ausgeben. Dadurch ergibt sich die Frage: Wenn Menschen die Hälfte ihres Einkommens für Miete oder Hypothek zu zahlen haben, wie können sie führen das Leben, dass sie wer schätzen?

Laut eines Berichts der Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) ist British Columbia die am meisten urbanisierte und drittgrößte Provinz in Kanada (nach Ontario und Quebec im Osten Kanadas).⁹ Eine Studie der Childpoverty und Report Card von 2008 ergab, dass BC die höchste Armutsquote für das fünfte Jahr in Folge hat.¹⁰

Für diese Arbeit relevant ist jedoch der Siebte „Annual Demographia International Report“, der in 2011 veröffentlicht wurde. Der Report besagt, dass sich vier von fünf der am wenigsten erschwinglichen Städte in Kanada in BC befinden: Vancouver, Victoria, Abbotsford und Kelowna.¹¹ Zusätzlich wurde Vancouver im Hinblick auf bezahlbaren Wohnraum als die am wenigsten erschwingliche Stadt in ganz Nordamerika. Im internationalen Vergleich belegte es sogar Platz drei nach Hong Kong und Sydney.

⁷ Human Development Reports 2007/2008. "01 Human development index." *hdrstats.undp.org* n.d. Web. 06.12.2008."

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ News, Cbc. "Cities Lead the Way, as B.C. Population Tops 4M - British Columbia - CBC News". *cbc.ca*. 13 March 2007. Web. 12 Dec. 2008.

¹⁰ Rothman L. and Nobl, A. "2008 Report Card on Child and Family Poverty in Canada". *Campaign2000.ca*. n.d. Web. 12. Dec. 2008.

¹¹ KOTKIN, Joel. "7th Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey." Table ES-3 "Housing Affordability: Major Metropolitan Markets." *demographia.com*. n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2011. Der *Demographia International* Bericht wurde im Januar 2010 veröffentlicht und untersucht die Erschwinglichkeit von Immobilien in 272 Metropolen in Kanada, den USAS., Grossbritannien, Australien, Neuseeland und Irland.

Jedoch hat die Methodik des Berichts gewisse Mängel, dass es sich nur auf Eigentümshäuser, nicht Mietwohnungen bezieht. (den Satz würde ich noch mal umformulieren) Weiterhin bezieht es seine Ergebnisse aus der Differenz zwischen durchschnittlichem Preis eines Hauses und des ungefähren durchschnittlichen Haushaltseinkommens der Kanadier, vor Abzug der Steuern. Das mag zwar im ersten Augenblick Sinn ergeben: Im nationalen Vergleich besitzen zwei Drittel (68,4 Prozent) der kanadischen Haushalte ein Haus, in dem sie auch leben, und nur ein Drittel (31,6 Prozent) der Nation wohnt in einem gemieteten Haus.¹² Aufgrund des proportional höheren Anteils der Eigenheimhäuser in Kanada konzentriert sich die Demographia Studie nur auf privatem Wohnungsbau und ignoriert die Erschwinglichkeit von Mietwohnungen.

Typischerweise können sich Haushalte mit niedrigem Einkommen nicht leisten, eine Eigentumswohnung oder ein Eigentumshaus zu kaufen und sind meist abhängig von Mietwohnungen. Da der Bericht aber diese 31,6 Prozent ignoriert, sind die Ergebnisse eher einseitig. Außerdem werden Aussehen und Qualität der Behausungen nicht berücksichtigt. Dieses Manko der Studie aufgreifend befasst sich diese Dissertation mit der Politik von subventionierten und erschwinglichen Mietwohnungen in Kanada im Allgemeinen und British Columbia im Besonderen. Innerhalb von British Columbia sind Fallbeispiele in den Städten Kelowna, Vancouver und die Provinzhauptstadt Victoria Gegenstand der Untersuchung. Abbotsford wurde nicht berücksichtigt, da keine Beispiele von bezahlbaren Mietlösungen zur Verfügung standen. An dieser Stelle ist auch anzumerken, dass British Columbia neben Beispielen von adäquat bewohnbaren und bezahlbaren Mietwohnungen auch Projekte für bezahlbaren Wohnungs- und Hauseigentum hat. Da diese aber den Rahmen der Dissertation sprengen würden, wurden sie ausgelassen.

Aufbau der Arbeit

Diese Arbeit ist in drei Hauptbereiche unterteilt: Teil eins hat einen einführenden Zweck. In Kapitel zwei wird ein Überblick über Geschichte von Gentrifizierung gegeben. Weiterhin werden die ersten Vorkommnisse dieses innerstädtischen Prozesses in der Literatur durch Friedrich Engels zur Wohnungsfrage und einige der bekannte-

¹² Statistics Canada, Census 2006. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. A-14. Table 11. "Households by Age of Maintainer and Tenure, Canada, 1971-2006."

sten und gängigsten Theorien dieser Terminologie seit der Veröffentlichung von Glass vorgestellt.

Kapitel drei beschreibt den Ursprung von sozialem Wohnungsbau beginnend mit England im 19. Jahrhundert und der Garden City Bewegung. Dies führt die Diskussion auf Österreich und das Rote Wien (1918-1934) sowie Deutschlands Siedlungspolitik in der Weimarer Republik (1919-1933). Das stellt das Thema der Gentrifizierung und sozialem Wohnungsbau in einen europaweiten Kontext dar. Um den geschichtlichen Kontext von bezahlbarem Wohnungsbau in das 21. Jahrhundert weiter auszubauen, werden in Kapitel drei deutsche Fallbeispiele von Mietwohnungsprojekten vorgestellt, dessen Mieten unterhalb dem Mietspiegel liegen.

Warum Fallbeispiele aus Deutschland in dieser Arbeit aufgenommen wurden ist aus zwei Gründen zu verstehen:

1. Bezahlbarer Wohnraum als verfassungsmäßiges Recht war bereits in der Verfassung der Weimarer Republik verankert.¹³ Aus architektonischer Sicht ist der gedankliche Ansatz, dass Wohnbau Architektur für die Massen gestaltet werden sollte, in der Architektur der Moderne aufgeblüht.
2. Aus didaktischen Hinsicht war es die Bauhaus-Schule, vor allem unter seinem zweiten Direktor Hannes Meyer, das die Gestaltung von Massenwohnungsbauten lehrte. Praktisch ist diese Lehre in den 1920ern umgesetzt worden durch Siedlungsarchitektur, wie in Frankfurt am Main oder Berlin. Um zu ergründen, wie sich die architektonische Wohnungsbaubewegung in Deutschland im 21. Jahrhundert entwickelt hat, werden vier deutschen Städten untersucht werden: Berlin als Deutschlands Hauptstadt; Bonn als Deutschlands ehemalige Hauptstadt; München als Deutschlands teuersten Stadt und nicht zuletzt Hamburg und HafenCity, das Viertel, auf dem Europas größte innerstädtische Entwicklung stattfindet das 21. Jahrhundert stattfindet.

Während Berlin in den 1920ern eine aktive Wohnungsbaupolitik für einkommensschwache Familien und Menschen verfolgte, ist das Gegenteil der Fall im 21. Jahrhundert. Durch eine Wohnungsbaupolitik, die stark den Bau von privaten Eigentumsprojekten fördert, werden einkommensschwache Haushalte immer mehr in den Rändern der Stadt verdrängt. Die Preise der Immobilien und Mieten in Stadtteilen wie Prenzlauer Berg oder Berlin Mitte sind zum Teil so hoch, dass man hier von „Super-

¹³ “Die Verfassung der Weimarer Republik 11. Aug. 1919“. *dhm.de*. Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, 11 Aug. 2010. Web. 09. Dec. 2010.

Gentrifizierung“ spricht. Der Begriff beinhaltet die Verteuerung von bereits gentrifizierten Gegenden durch Luxus Bau Projekten.

Nichtsdestotrotz zeigen Fallbeispiele aus dem 21. Jahrhundert in München, Bonn und Hamburg, dass in Deutschland einige sehr innovativ und kreativ gestaltete Wohnungsbauprojekte für sozial schwache Gruppen gebaut werden oder bereits existieren.

Abschnitt zwei widmet sich der Architektur von sozialen Wohnungsbauprojekten in Victoria und Vancouver. Die untersuchten Fallbeispiele befinden sich in Gegenden, die dabei sind, gentrifiziert zu werden.

Kapitel Vier stellt eine kurze Geschichte von British Columbia, die den kanadischen Konföderation im Jahre 1867 beitrug dar. Hier wird verdeutlicht, dass die Stadtentwicklung von British Columbia auf dem Fundament erbaut wurde, dass Immobilien- und Besitzverhältnisse von Land vor allem von zwei mächtigen Firmen, der *Hudson Bay Company* (HBC) und der *Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation* (CPR) verwaltet wurden. Diese elitäre Immobilienpolitik entwickelt sich in anderen Formen in das 21. Jahrhundert hinein. Victoria ist die erste Stadt, in der bezahlbare Wohnungsbauprojekte untersucht werden. Von den drei Städten, die untersucht wurden, liegt Victorias Schwerpunkt am stärksten darauf, die Art von „Character Architecture“, wie sie in *Leys New Middle Class* definiert wurden, zu bewahren und restaurieren. In der deutschen Begrifflichkeit wäre diese Definition am ehesten als Historismus zu verstehen. Der Fokus auf diese Art von Architektur spiegelt sich wider in dem Wohnungsbauprojekt von *Park Place*, das 2008 gebaut wurde und sechs Familien aus einkommensschwachen Verhältnissen behausete. Das Projekt wurde zwar neu gebaut, jedoch besteht die Architektur aus Zitaten von den gegenüberliegenden, denkmalgeschützten Einfamilienhäusern, die Ende des 19. Jahrhundert errichtet wurden. So haben diese ein Satteldach, hervorstehenden Schornstein und eine Schindelfassade, die meist in Pastelltönen bemalt wurde. Außerdem besitzt der Eingang jedes dieser Häuser eine Veranda, dessen Säulen mit Ornamenten verziert sind. *Park Place* ist ein aktuell gebautes Projekt mit historischen Zitaten das die Präferenz Victorias für Historismus in der Architektur verdeutlicht. *Park Places* Vorgänger, *Cornerstone Initiative*, welches ebenfalls ein Wohnungsbau Projekt für sozial schwache Familien ist, war einst ein verfallenes Gebäude in der verruchten Gegend von Fernwood. Durch die aktive Arbeit der Bewohner von Fernwood und gemeinnützige Hilfe des Architekten wurde das Gebäude 2006 kernsaniert und auf einen sehr bewohnbaren und von außen makellosen Zustand gebracht. Das wiederum führte dazu, dass einkommensstarke Haushalte anfangen, alte, verfallene Gebäude

te anfangen, alte, verwahrloste Gebäude in Fernwood zu kaufen und zu restaurieren. Mit der Sanierung von Cornerstone veränderten sich auch das Architekturbild und die Demographie der Einwohner in Fernwood. Durch Projekte wie Cornerstone und Park Place leben seit 2008 sozial schwache Einwohner nebst einkommensstarken Bewohnern in Fernwood. Coffee Shops, Yoga Studios und Geschäfte wurden eröffnet und das Stadtbild dadurch verändert. Man könnte hier also auch von „Beautification“ sprechen.

Da von den drei untersuchten kanadischen Städten Vancouver die geographisch größte und bevölkerungsstärkste (Vancouver hat 603,502, Victoria 344,615 und Kelowna 179,839)¹⁴ ist, sind proportional mehr Fallbeispiele in Vancouver erwähnt als in den beiden anderen Städten.

In Kapitel Fünft werden Fallbeispiele behandelt, die entweder von Wohnungsbaugenossenschaften, von gemeinnützigen Organisationen, privaten Vermietern oder teils privat, teils öffentlich vermietet werden. Der Fokus liegt auf Vancouvers *Downtown Eastside*, das einst als die Gegend mit der ärmsten Postleitzahl in ganz Kanada in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Jedoch entwickelt sich diese Gegend, die auch in einem Teil von Vancouvers Innenstadt liegt, seit 2003 zu einer von der Mittelschicht zunehmenden begehrten Viertel für Eigentumswohnungen, Freizeitmöglichkeiten und Studium. Diese Entwicklung wird meist mit der Verkündung für den Bau des *Woodward's* Projektes in Verbindung gebracht. Woodward's war einst ein Kaufhaus, das von 1903 bis 1993 an der Kreuzung von Hastings und Abbotts Street stand. Mit der Schließung des Kaufhauses wurde auch der ökonomische Verfall des Viertels assoziiert. In 2003 wurde das Projekt als *Woodward's Redevelopment* neu gebaut. Das neu gebaute Projekt enthält nur zwei Fassaden des eigentlichen Kaufhauses, jedoch wird der Name bewusst eingesetzt, um mit dem „alten und bekannten“ Vertrautheit und Tradition zu assoziieren. Diese Werbestrategie hat gewirkt, da alle 536 Wohneinheiten an einem Tag in 2007 verkauft wurden. Und das in einer Gegend, die bis dahin die höchste HIV und Drogenmissbrauchsrate Vancouvers hatte.¹⁵ Weitere 200 Wohnungen im Woodward's sind subventioniert und werden an einkommensschwache Singles und Familien vermietet. Das Woodward's besteht aus vier aneinander verbundenen

Gebäuden, wobei das W Tower das größte und markanteste von allen ist. Die

¹⁴ Statistics Canada. 2012. Census Profile. Census Metropolitan Area. Population and dwelling counts. Population in 2011." 24 May 2012. Web. 06 Jun 2012. Diese Zahlen repräsentieren die Bevölkerungszahlen der einzelnen Städte für das Jahr 2011.

¹⁵ PUNTER, John. "Vancouver Achievement." p. 277-279.

dreieckige Grundform erinnert an Burnhams Flat Iron Gebäude in Manhattan und suggeriert wiederum, dass der Historismus in der Architektur den Geschmack der Mittelschicht trifft.

Der dritte und letzte Abschnitt dieser Arbeit widmet sich der Frage, wie weit Architektur von Wohnungsbauprojekten für einkommensschwache Gruppen erfolgreich in bereits etablierte Mittelschicht Gegenden integriert.

Einkommensschwache Menschen, besonders Obdachlose und Menschen mit geistigen Krankheiten, stehen oft Vorurteilen von anderen Gruppen in einer Gesellschaft gegenüber. Dieses Phänomen wird auch als NIMBYism (Not-In-My-Back-Yard) bezeichnet.

Die untersuchten Fallbeispiele ergeben, dass je mehr sich die Architektur von diesen Projekten denen der umgebenden Architektur ähnelt, desto weniger entstehen Konflikte und Vorurteile gegenüber den niedrig verdienenden Bewohnern. Architektur kann eine wichtige Rolle dabei spielen, soziale Ungleichgewichte zwischen den Klassen in einer Nachbarschaft zu mildern. Das stärkste Beispiel für diese These zeigt die *Performing-Arts-Lodge* (PAL Vancouver) in Vancouvers gehobener Gegend, Coal Harbour. PAL Vancouver vermietet günstige Wohnungen an arbeitende Schauspieler, Künstler und alle, die in der darstellenden Kunst tätig sind, aber einkommensschwach sind. Die Architekten haben beim Bau des Gebäudes sehr darauf geachtet, dass besonders die Fassade aus denselben Materialien und Formen gebaut wird, wie die des nebenstehenden *Vancouver Model* Hochhauses. Dadurch „vermischt“ sich das PAL Vancouver unauffällig und elegant mit der Hochhausarchitektur und gibt nichts Preis über den sozialen Status der Bewohner.

An dieser Stelle ist anzumerken, dass das Zusammenleben zwischen den verschiedenen Bewohnern in diesen Gebäuden sehr gut möglich und erfolgreich ist, vor allem aufgrund der aktiven Beteiligung der gemeinnützigen Organisationen. Dies wird besonders durch die Fallstudien in Kelowna betont. Von allen drei Städten, die untersucht wurden, ist Kelowna die kleinste, jüngste und noch am schnellsten wachsende Stadt. Gleichzeitig weist sie das größte Potenzial für innovativ und kreativ gestaltete Wohnungsbauprojekte für einkommensschwache Gruppen auf, welche in bereits aufgewerteten Gegenden gebaut werden. Im Falle von *Willowbridge* - ein Übergangswohnungsprojekt (transitional housing) für Obdachlose – ist die preisgekrönte Architektur sogar so kreativ gestaltet, dass sie in einer kanadischen Architekturzeitschrift nebst Luxus Villen veröffentlicht wurde.

An den Beispielen von Kelowna wird am deutlichsten die wichtige Rolle der verwaltenden Non-Profit Organisationen als Vermittler zwischen den Bewohnern innerhalb der Projekte als auch innerhalb der Nachbarschaft betont. Hinter jedem einzelnen dieser dargestellten Wohnungsbau Projekten stehen engagierte Non-Profit-Organisationen, Architekten sowie Menschen als Individuen und Menschen in Gemeinden. Sie setzen sich dafür ein, dass jeder Mensch, gleich seiner sozialen Herkunft und finanziellen Möglichkeiten, das Recht auf einen wohnlichen und bezahlbaren Wohnraum hat. Bauten sind keine leeren Seelen. Sie werden geformt und geprägt von Menschen, die diese Bauten bewohnen und mit jedem Atemzug beleben.

In seiner Publikation „Architektur des Glücks“, kommt der Schweizer Schriftsteller Alain de Botton zu dem Schluss: "Auch die edelste Architektur vermag gelegentlich weniger für uns tun als eine Siesta oder ein Aspirin Tablette."¹⁶

¹⁶ BOTTON de, Alain. *The Architecture of Happiness*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006, p. 17.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Walter Benjamin wrote: “Buildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use and by perception [...]”¹

The use of a building determines what kind of people live in it and how these people shape the neighbourhood as a community. This in turn hinges closely on the question of: how a building is perceived visually. This question determines what kind of people and businesses will move into the neighbourhood.

This dissertation focuses on the livability and affordability of 21st-century dwelling architecture in Canada’s westernmost Province, British Columbia. The kind of affordable dwelling types in this dissertation include: non-market self-contained rental apartments, non-market and private single room occupancy hotels, market rental apartments, housing cooperatives and mixed-income housing projects.

The objective is to understand how and to what extent 21st-century dwelling architecture developments in Canada help to create an integrated sense of community, diminish social and demographic exclusions in a neighbourhood and incorporate people’s desires on what their buildings should look like.

Livable and affordable dwelling architecture enables low-income households to have a higher quality of life and shape a healthy sense of community within a neighbourhood. At the same time, if designed in a creative and innovative way, buildings attract more affluent, middle-class people as residents and investors. This process is coined as “gentrification.” The term “gentrification” has a rather negative connotation as it implies socio-economic class differences within an urban planning context in which the lower class is displaced by the middle and upper classes. Therefore, other terminologies have been introduced, such as “revitalization”, “urban renaissance” or “beautification.” The use of these terms depicts gentrification as a process that is positive and beneficial for everyone, the rich and the poor. The terms can also vary, depending on the country: e.g. in Australia, a common usage for “gentrification” is the word “trendification.” It implies the migration of pioneers that make a derelict area more fashionable, desirable and trendy.²

¹ “Bauten werden auf doppelte Art rezipiert: durch Gebrauch und durch Wahrnehmung.” Quote translated from BENJAMIN, Walter. “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit.” 1936. 3rd edition. Print, p.25.

² SMITH, Neil. “New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy.” *Antipode*. 34.3 (2002):427-450. Print, p. 30.

I argue that gentrification does not necessarily lead to the displacement of low-income households if housing policies such as those British Columbia used at the beginning of the 21st century are put into place. Moreover, the migration of middle-class can result in a healthy mix of classes out of which everyone can enjoy peaceful and habitable coexistence.

Questions to be examined are: What role does architecture play in the process of gentrifying neighbourhoods? How and to what extent does architecture of affordable residential buildings affect this process? What happens when buildings for low-income households are put in well-established middle-class areas? Does architecture of affordable housing stand out, blend in or set the tone in the area?

In focusing on these questions this dissertation will contribute to an expanding the scope of gentrification within the field of art history.

Gentrification as an academic topic has only tentatively entered the field of art history or architecture theory. Scholars such as the sociology professor Sharon Zukin have only dealt marginally with the relation between architecture and gentrification (1989). Zukin identified the fondness of lofts and exposed brick buildings in Manhattan as a preferred dwelling style of the middle class. Urban geographer David Ley mentions in one paragraph of his 2008 article the preference of the middle class for heritage architecture such as Victorian bay windows, brownstones or brick terraces.³

In their “Gentrification by Stealth” (2012) publication, the scholars Loretta Lees, Tim Butler and Gary Bridge discuss the effects of gentrification in mixed-income communities. They define gentrification as “the movement of middle-income people into low-income neighbourhoods [...]”⁴

All these publications deal with gentrification in the context of devaloured neighbourhoods that gain in value through the migration of the middle-class. But what about examining the migration of working-class and low-income households into already valorised areas? There are comparatively fewer examples of these cases, which is mostly due to the Not-In-My-Backyard mentality of the middle class towards lower-class households. This observation yields the question: to what extent can architecture help to diminish the social imbalances in a middle-class neighbourhood? So far, no scholar has dealt with the effect of architecture of affordable housing in already well-established middle-class areas.

³ LEY, David and DOBSON, Cory. “Are there Limits to Gentrification? The Contexts of Impeded Gentrification in Vancouver.” *Urban Studies*. 45.12(2008):2471-2498.

⁴ LEES, Loretta et al. *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* Bristol: Policy Press. 2012. eBook, p.1.

1.1 Project Background

Theoretically, the right for housing is one of the fundamental human rights just like the right for nutrition, medical care and clothing.⁵ Many (developed) countries practice these rights already. In a 2004 report by the United Nations, Canada ranked fourth in the list of 173 nations involved in the Human Development Index.⁶ According to the United Nations, the term Human Development “is about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value.”⁷

And yet a study in 2008 by Human Resources and Social Development Canada revealed that over half a million Canadians spend more than 50 percent of their income on housing.⁸ If people have to pay half of their income on rent or mortgage, how can they lead the lives that they value? Within Canada, British Columbia (BC) is the province that is dealing with the highest poverty and affordability issues: An article of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) identifies British Columbia as the most urbanized and third largest province in Canada.⁹ The Child Poverty and Report Card of 2008 states that BC has the highest overall poverty rate for the 5th year in a row.¹⁰ Furthermore, according to the 7th Annual *Demographia International Report*, released in 2011, four of the five least affordable cities in Canada were in BC: Vancouver, Victoria, Abbotsford and Kelowna. Additionally, Vancouver was identified as North America’s least affordable city in terms of housing and the third least affordable city in the world, after Hong Kong and Sydney.¹¹ As defined by the report,

⁵ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 25. Available online: United Nations. www.un.org. n.d. Web. 24.11.2010.

⁶ Human Development Reports 2007/2008. “01 Human development index.” hdrstats.undp.org n.d Web. 06.12.2008. The Index is measured by “three dimensions of human development: living a long and healthy life (measured by life expectancy), being educated (measured by adult literacy and enrolment at the primary, secondary and tertiary level) and having a decent standard of living (measured by purchasing power parity, PPP, income).”

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Human Resources and Social Development Canada Overview. *A Report On Plans and Priorities*. 2007-2008. tbs-sct.gc.ca. N.d. Web. 06.12.2008.

⁹ News, Cbc. "Cities Lead the Way, as B.C. Population Tops 4M - British Columbia - CBC News". cbc.ca. 13 March 2007. Web. 12 Dec. 2008.

¹⁰ Rothman L. and Nobl, A. “2008 Report Card on Child and Family Poverty in Canada”. *Cam-paign2000.ca*. n.d. Web. 12. Dec. 2008.

¹¹ KOTKIN, Joel. “7th Annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey.” Table ES-3 “Housing Affordability: Major Metropolitan Markets.” demographia.com. n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2011. The *Demographia International* report released in January 2010 examined the housing affordability of 272 metropolitan markets in Canada, the U.S., the U.K., Australia, New Zealand and Ireland.

housing had been affordable in these four Canadian cities as recently as the late 1990s.¹²

The report derives its results for housing affordability through a calculation of median house price divided by gross annual median household income, before taxes. In national comparison: two thirds (68,4 percent) of Canadian households own a home that they also live in and only one third (31,6 percent) of the nation dwells in a rented household.¹³ Because of the proportionally higher percentage of homeowners in Canada the *Demographia Report* only focused on privately owned housing, ignoring rental housing options.

Typically low-income households cannot afford homeownership or real estate property and are dependent on rental housing, which makes the report's approach look very one-sided. This lack in research made me examine closer the affordable rental housing policy of Canada in general, and British Columbia in particular. Within British Columbia the cities of Kelowna, Vancouver and the province's capital city Victoria are subject of my examination. Abbotsford was not included as no examples of affordable renting solutions were available. It is, however, acknowledged that the city has some examples of affordable homeownership that would be worth examining in a different context and thesis.¹⁴

1.2 Defining Livability, Affordability and Affordable Housing

The terms "livability" and "affordability" have been defined in the Revised European Social Charter (RESC) of 1996, under Article 31:

- With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right to housing, the Parties undertake to take measures designed:
- i. to promote access to housing of an adequate standard;

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Statistics Canada, Census 2006. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. A-14. Table 11. "Households by Age of Maintainer and Tenure, Canada, 1971-2006." "In Canadian Housing Observer 2011." Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Print.

¹⁴ For example, *Harmony Housing* in Abbotsford has been realised in partnership between the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), the City of Abbotsford, Habitat for Humanity and private developer. The project consists of 11 townhouses in two separate buildings. The houses are sold at 26% below market value to Abbotsford residents who have demonstrated a need for affordable housing. See: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. "Harmony Housing — Abbotsford, British Columbia." *cmhc-schl.gc.ca*. 2012. Web. 12 Dec 2012.

ii. to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination;

iii. to make the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources.¹⁵

Article 31 §1 is more precisely elaborated as “a dwelling which is structurally secure, safe from a sanitary and health point of view and not overcrowded”. Affordable housing is defined under Article 31 §3 as a household “that can afford to pay the initial costs (deposit, advance, rent), the current rent and/or other costs (utility, maintenance and management charges) on a long-term basis and still be able to maintain a minimum standard of living, as defined by the society in which the household is located.” Per definition a dwelling is considered affordable if its costs are less than 30 percent of before-tax household income. This definition is split in two branches: renters and house owners. For renters the cost of housing includes rent and any payment for hydro, water, fuel and other municipal services.

For homeowners the cost implies all these expenses as well as the mortgage payments, property taxes and any condominium fees.

Because it is not always feasible and easy to determine the income of tenants, "affordability" in this thesis defines rental units with rent at prices below the rental median market rent. The median market rent for each of the Canadian cities is derived from statistical data from Statistics Canada.

In architectural terms, “liveability” is in accordance with the ideas of architects of the 1920s modernist movement in pre-World War II Germany. They created a “New architecture,” for the masses that would “open up its walls in a way curtains do and lets light, air and sunshine into the house”.¹⁶

Translating this powerful slogan into the 21st century architectural developments, the case studies’ livability will be examined under two aspects: Their outer appearance and interior qualities. The buildings’ outer appearance will be analyzed in terms of

1. the handling of shared areas within the framework of existing architectural ensemble,
2. the circumstances leading to the creation of the architecture,

¹⁵ Council of Europe. “European Social Charter (revised)”. Article 31, p. 17. *www.coe.int*. 03. May 1996. Web. 17. Dec. 2010. The Treaty is available as HTML as well as Word document.

¹⁶ GROPIUS, Walter. *Die Neue Architektur Und Das Bauhaus: Grundzüge Und Entwicklung einer Konzeption*. Mainz: Kupferberg, 1965. Print, p.18. The Bauhaus approached the problem of mass housing from a very didactic and theoretical point of view. Even though many of the designs of the 1920s architects remained beautiful sketches eternalized on white paper, they do serve as a reminder of the fact that the problem of overpopulation had been recognised and dealt with in the early 20th century.

3. the creativity and integration of the architecture's design in the tenants' everyday lives,
4. the area's attractiveness the buildings are set. The interior will be examined in regard to the question on how the design of the apartment units create a sense of sanctity, security and safety that factor to the livability of the dwelling place.

Even though affordable housing comprises ownership and rented units, the term "affordable housing" in this thesis is directed to renter occupied buildings only. It is, however, acknowledged that British Columbia does have a number of affordable housing options for ownership that are creative in design and innovative in concept.

The types of affordable rental housing examples examined include social housing (both public housing and housing that is owned and managed by non-profit and co-operative housing providers), non-profit housing (rental housing that is owned and operated by community-based, non-profit societies), Seniors' Rental Housing (housing units for seniors and persons with disabilities where funding is partly provided by the province and federal government) and Single Room Occupancy Hotel. SROs are the most basic form of shelter provided by the marker for low-income single individuals. Therefore, they are considered as the last housing option before homelessness).¹⁷ Often times, the definitions of different types of affordable housing overlap. Some case studies depict market houses that have a certain percentage of subsidized units. These examples are considered as mixed-income houses. It is argued that these are the most progressive forms of affordable housing in terms of diminishing the separation between lower-class versus middle-class. They further contribute greatly towards a more enhanced quality of live for the individual.

At this point it is important to mention that there are other innovative and creative solutions of affordable and livable dwelling architecture: Pro Bono "One Percent - 1%"¹⁸ initiative is a further effective way to provide affordable and livable architecture. This form mostly involves the active engagement of architects and design firms. However, as including the *One Percent* initiative would go beyond the scope of this research this concept will not be included in this thesis.

¹⁷ Housing Matters. "Glossary of Terms." BC Housing Annual Report 2011. n.d. web. 12.DEC 2012. bchousing.org/glossary.

¹⁸ *The 1%* is a program based on the concept of Pro Bono in architecture and was founded by American architect John Peterson in 2005. The program's aim is to win architecture firms for their concept to contribute one percent of their chargeable time annually into nonprofit architectural work. The program's claim is that through the nonprofit work the architects contribute to the public good as well as boost their reputation for future design projects. From its foundation in 2005 until December 2011 around 1000 architecture and design firms have joined in various nonprofit projects.

People in need of affordable housing are not a homogenous group. The major target group for affordable housing projects are low-income to middle-income households. Within the housing continuum there are two groups of people most in need of affordable housing: The first group includes those people in core need for affordable housing: homeless, mentally ill, people at risk of homelessness. These are usually projects in temporary houses such as transitional homes or homeless shelters. Rent is mostly geared to tenants' income (30 %).

The second group are subsidized projects including mostly: women, artists, single parents, senior citizens, low-income working families and singles.¹⁹

This thesis does not include any examples for subsidized housing for students in Canada. Even though students belong to the most vulnerable demographics because of their financial status, there is no non-profit society in any of the three Canadian cities that focuses on students as clients in their affordable housing projects.²⁰

The lack of subsidised student housing in Canada is the major difference between Germany's and Canada's affordable housing situation. While Germany has been dedicated to provide students with adequate housing since 1919 through the creation of the non-profit society Studentenwerk (see subchapter 3.3.1) Canada does not recognise the need for affordable housing for students. This is mainly because in Canada, students are considered as temporarily poor and because land is owned and operated by the universities themselves on private basis. The opposite is the case in Germany, where state universities are still primarily run through the government.

¹⁹ For a chart on the different types of affordable housing, see: Housing Continuum. John Howard Society. www.jhscso.bc.ca

²⁰ Maclean's Magazine dedicated a twenty page spread sheet on current situation of students in Canada dealing with student loans, unpaid internships, uncertain future, even homelessness and mental illnesses. The article cited the older generation saying 'We wouldn't trade with you to be young again.' LUNAU, Kate. "Campus crisis: the broken generation." *Maclean's Magazine*. 5 SEPT 2012 Online. 13 SEPT 2012.

1.3 Historical Context

The “National Housing Act” was established in 1938. It was the first Canadian act created for the funding of social housing in Canada.²¹ The Act primarily took care of the housing needs of working-class and low-income families in need of housing during World War II.

In summer 1944, Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King expressed his views on Canada’s post World War II social issues to the Parliament by stating that “Charity [in Canada] has become a nauseating thing. The new order is not going to have things done as charity. What is to be done will be done as a matter of right.”²² His statement reflected the growing attitude of Canada as a nation that regarded social rights as rights for a broader group of citizens rather than only those in core financial need. This attitude also meant the stronger involvement of citizens as individuals and communities as collective entities. Already in 1941 it was estimated that 28 percent of Canadian households are overcrowded and in inadequate conditions.²³

In 1946 the “National Housing Act” was amended and the federal government launched its “Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation” (CMHC) that is a crown corporation.²⁴ The purpose of CMHC’s incorporation was in part to design nationwide low rental housing programs. The crown corporation would give incentives to private homebuilders and developers to invest in housing for low- to moderate-income households. These incentives were expanded to non-profit-societies and housing cooperatives in the 1960s.²⁵ Until 1993 the federal government represented through the CMHC kept the responsibility to plan, design and fund public housing projects while the Canadian provinces and territories managed and administered the projects.²⁶ In 1993 the Canadian government ceased to fund any social housing projects all together, but in

²¹ Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. “Canadian Housing Observer 2011.” Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication. 2011. Print, p. 129.

²² STRUTHRE, James. “Family Allowances, Old Age Security, and the Construction of Entitlement in the Canadian Welfare State, 1945-1951.” In: GRANATSTEIN, J. L.; NEARY, Peter. *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998. Print, p. 179. VPL Call# 971.06 V58n. In that same year a committee was established in the same year. It came out with a report “Housing and Community Planning” that recommended the development of large scale affordable housing targeted for those who could not otherwise afford to live in decent, safe and sanitary housing. Source: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. “Canadian Housing Observer 2011.”, p. 130.

²³ Monthly letter of the Royal Bank of Canada. “Housing.” *Journal of Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. 22.6(1945). Print, p.130-131.

²⁴ Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. “Canadian Housing Observer 2011.” Print. p. 130.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

1996 it took responsibility of funding again in a partial way by announcing its “Social Housing Agreement”.²⁷ Under that agreement the federal government transferred the responsibility of controlling and managing existing social housing projects to the provincial and territorial level. At the same time, the federal government agreed to provide fixed amounts of funding to each of the provinces that take part in the Social Housing Agreement.

British Columbia, represented through its crown corporation “BC Housing”, signed this agreement with the federal government in 2001 to administer its social housing stock under the Social Housing Agreement.²⁸ British Columbia is one of the most active provinces of Canada to build residential space for low- to moderate-income residents. In 2011, BC Housing assisted 95,023 out of 1,138,010 households in the province.²⁹ But quantity is one thing, what about the quality of these affordable housing projects?

What did the province make out of this agreement in the 21st century? How does it actively and successfully promote its social housing projects within the urban realm of middle-class areas? How does the design of the buildings’ architecture blend into existing middle-income areas? How does it stand out in areas that are in the gentrification process?

1.4 Why Affordable Housing Matters

From an economical point of view, investing in adequate housing for homeless or people who are at risk of homelessness is cost effective for society in the long run.³⁰ Studies have shown that homeless people, or people at risk of homelessness, use more health and welfare services than any other group in society.³¹ Providing those in need with adequate, safe and secure housing options benefits everyone in society. But affordable

²⁷ Ibid, p.137.

²⁸ BC Housing. “Canada and British Columbia Sign Affordable Housing Agreement” bchousing.org. 18 DEC 2001. web. 24 Dec 2012. The federal government agreed to provide funding for \$177.4 million for 2001 to 2006. Since its announcement in 2001 the agreement has been renewed and extended to a broader target group and range of affordable housing projects. “British Columbia Housing Management Commission” - later called BC Housing - was established in 1964. It is the crown corporations mandate to provide a range of affordable housing options to citizens of British Columbia, from rental housing for homeless people to affordable housing for low-income households and affordable homeownership. See, graphics “Government Assisted Housing.” BC Housing.

²⁹ BC Housing, Housing Matters. “Who We Serve.” BC Housing Annual Report 2011.

³⁰ FISCHER, William. “The Link Between Growth Management and Housing Affordability: The Academic Evidence.” In DOWNS, Anthony. Growth Management and Housing Affordability: Do they conflict? Washington: The Brookings Institute. 2004. Print.

³¹ See for example, DUNN, James, R. et al. *Housing as a Socio-Economic Determination of Health*. The Canadian Institutes of Health Research. 2003.

housing is not only a concern for the homeless and the poor, low-income working households and even sometimes the middle-class can be in need of affordable housing as well. The less people have to spend on housing, the more financial means they have for other things, such as leisure activities, education, clothes or travelling. This again boosts the economy in a multifaceted way. However, this thesis is in the discipline of art history not economics and therefore, it focuses on the architecture of affordable housing and the impact it has on the valorisation process of a neighbourhood. Canada has been influenced by and learned from the United States. Overshadowed by its economically and politically strong southern neighbour, Canada rarely had the chance to reveal its architectural achievements. The province of British Columbia in particular, being the westernmost province of Canada, is often also the most forgotten one. To bring it back to people's minds this thesis focuses extensively on affordable dwelling architecture in British Columbia. What Canada learned from its neighbour in the south is how not to build affordable housing. The large scale public housing project Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis serves as a lesson to Canada in affordable housing gone wrong. Ever since the demolition of the 33 high-rise public housing estates took place in 1974, Canada is trying to build its affordable housing projects on a smaller scale to avoid deterioration. A strong focus is put on placing the projects as close to the inner city as possible in order to avoid segregation and ghettoized neighbourhoods. (See, Appendix B).

1.5 Methodology

The main purpose of this thesis is to identify and examine livable affordable housing solutions in inner-city neighbourhoods. Since buildings are not islands in solitude their relations to the existing buildings and urban landscape will be examined too. Since the focus of this thesis is primarily on Canadian case studies most of my research was done on and about affordable housing in British Columbia.

The core of my methodology includes self-conducted interviews with groups from the demand side: i.e. residents of the affordable housing projects, developers, executive directors, chief executive officers and other representatives of each of the non-profit organizations that operate and supervise the projects. On the supply side I interviewed architects who were directly involved in the projects, representatives of Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), representatives of BC Housing and the City

planners of Victoria and Kelowna, as well as real estate agents in Vancouver and Victoria.

Residents of five case studies in British Columbia and one case study in Germany also took part in quantitative surveys that I designed. The residents were asked of their opinion regarding their living situation in connection to the affordable housing projects. This was to apprehend the opinion of a broader number of residents in an anonymous but collective way. The participation rate of the surveys was 21 percent to 46 percent, depending on the case study.

In order to get an enhanced understanding of the projects and collect visual material I also made on-site visits to each of the buildings in British Columbia. This was particularly important to understand if and to what extent the architecture creates a balance between living space and urban space. Does it respond to the streetscape and the design of the surrounding buildings? Information collected on Mountainview Village in Kelowna was via email correspondence and phone conversation, due to limited time availability.

Most statistical data on Canada's housing situation, demographics, dwelling types and multiculturalism has been derived from "Statistics Canada's" Census 2006. Most information is available on their government website, *statcan.gc.ca*.

My results and conclusions are based on analysis of media coverage such as online news (The National), newspaper articles and Internet articles. For the historical part of my research, data (letter exchange, maps, manifestos, and documents) has been collected from archives in both British Columbia and Berlin, Germany. Further means of gathering information for both Germany and Canada were through email correspondence with housing co-operatives, developers, builders and city staff. Most parts of my thesis touch contemporary issues with lots of room to explore and expand. Particularly, gentrification in an urban context as a research topic is subject of examination in a rapidly growing paste within the academic realm.³²

Part of my argumentation is based on urban geographer David Harvey's definition of "The Right To The City"³³ that he expanded from Henri Lefebvre's "Le Droit à la ville."³⁴

³² E.g. Marquardt, Nadine; Füller, Henning; Glasze, Georg and Robert Pütz (2012); Hae, Laam (2012); Eizenberg, Efrat (2012).

³³ HARVEY, David. "The Right To The City", *New Left Review*, 53.10 (2008): 23-40.

³⁴ LEFEBVRE, Henri. *Le Droit à la ville*. Paris: Ed. du Seuil, Collection *Points* 1968.

Professor Harvey emphasises, that the city belongs to everyone as the question of what kind of city we want is among other things closely connected to people's "desire for social ties, their relationship to nature, and the aesthetic values they desire."³⁵

There is a correlation between having the right to change oneself and change the city one lives in. The freedom to make and remake oneself and the shape one's city is one of the most neglected human rights. It is this right that is restricted to a small group of political and economic elite who are in the position to make the city and make the kind of choices they want to do that then apply to everyone else. It is not only corporate powers that hold this right, but also other interest groups such as Ivy-League Universities like Yale in New Haven or Columbia in New York.³⁶

While Harvey's demand for the "Right to the City" comes from a political and socio-cultural approach I would like to explore to what level people can change and shape their city from an architectural perspective.

This is why I will examine architectural dwelling projects in Canada and Germany that are carried out based on corporations between provincial housing programs, the architects' and communities' commitment as well as private building sectors. By doing so this dissertation adds to the expanding literature about liveable and affordable architectural solutions in Canada

1.6 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided in three main sections: part one is of introductory nature followed by chapter two that gives an overview of the history of gentrification, the first occurrences of the process in literature and some of the most well-known and common theories on the term "gentrification" from the late 1980s to 2012.

Chapter three outlines the origins of affordable housing starting with England's 19th-century Garden City movement. This leads the discussion to Austria's Red Vienna (1918-1934) and Germany's settlement politics under the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). The reason why Germany was included is twofold: Affordable housing as a con-

³⁵ Harvey, David. "The Right To The City." p. 23.

³⁶ Ibid, 38. Harvey states that the absorption of capital surplus leads to the disposition of the urban rights of the poor. In order to prevent this "accumulation by disposition" trend in urban planning Harvey suggests for people to demand greater democratic control over production and implementation of surplus use, which again will constitute to the Right to the City. Ibid, p.40.

stitutional right was already enshrined by law in the constitution of the Weimar Republic.³⁷ From an architectural point of view the idea that architecture should be for the masses is rooted in the modernist movement, which has been mainly but not exclusively developed in Germany.³⁸ From a didactic approach it was the Bauhaus School, especially under its second director Hannes Meyer that emphasised design for mass housing.³⁹ In terms of urban development in modern architecture the settlement movements in Germany's inter world war years, have been exceptional examples of social housing and co-operative housing projects worldwide. In order to set the historical development of Germany's affordable housing in a contemporary context, the 21st-century housing situation of four German cities will be studied: Berlin as Germany's capital city; Bonn as Germany's former capital city; Munich as Germany's most expensive city and last but not least Hamburg and its Hafencity, the greatest interurban renovation development taking place in Europe.⁴⁰

Section two introduces a brief history of British Columbia that joined the Canadian confederation in 1867 with the promise to be connected to the rest of the country through the Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation. It reveals the real estate and property situations in British Columbia's foundation years that were primarily built and shaped by the powerful Hudson Bay Company and Canadian Pacific Railway Corporation. This elitist property business continues throughout the years all into the 21st century. Victoria is the first city examined in BC's 21st century. The city makes distinct efforts to preserve its old, turn-of-the-20th-century buildings. Out of the three cities examined, Victoria's emphasis on old is beautiful and therefore desirable is the strongest. This focus on heritage architecture is also recognizable in its affordable housing projects and mostly so in the case study of Park Place, an affordable housing project built completely from scratch but on the basis of architectural citations of buildings in the late 19th century.

Since Vancouver is BC's biggest city in terms of population (603,502), case studies depicted in this city outnumber those in Victoria (344,615) and Kelowna (179,839).⁴¹

³⁷ "Die Verfassung der Weimarer Republik 11. Aug. 1919". *dhm.de*. Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, 11 Aug. 2010. Web. 09. Dec. 2010.

³⁸ For example Vienna was very active in the social housing movement in the inter world war years with the Red Vienna movement. From 1919-1934 it was the goal of the social democratic municipality of Vienna to create an "island of socialism".

³⁹ ENGELS, Hans. *Bauhaus-Architecture/Bauhaus-Architektur: 1919-1933*. Muenchen: Prestel Verlag, 2001. Print.

⁴⁰ As the area of Hafencity is still in the making little literature has been published about the construction site. Most updated progress on Hafencity's development can be found at the projects' website: www.hafencity.com.

⁴¹ Statistics Canada. 2012. Vancouver, British Columbia (Code 5915022) and Fraser Valley, British Columbia (Code 5909) (table). October 24, 2012. Web. 06 Jun 2012.

Vancouver is divided in two sections: the first section depicts case studies of affordable housing solutions in Downtown Eastside that is considered the poorest postal code in all of Canada. In this regard the illustrated examples are examined also under the aspect of how and to what extent they contribute towards the gentrification process in the Downtown Eastside.

The Vancouver Chapter starts with a historical introduction of Vancouver's *West Coast Modernism*. This style is the historical link between architecture in Europe – particularly Austria and Germany - and the architecture in British Columbia.

This distinct style emerged during the late 1930s primarily in Vancouver. Many European architects fled from Europe during and after WWII in order to reside in California. Their sense of style and usage of materials served as source of inspiration for North American architects, particularly those along the North American west coast out of which the West Coast Modernism emerged. The main architectural features of West Coast Modernism in Vancouver were: open and asymmetrical floor plan, flat roof, floor to ceiling windows and a connection to nature, i.e. a garden, backyard, pond etc. West Coast Modernism was the first distinct architectural style that would be attributed to Canada's British Columbia in general and Vancouver in particular. By mentioning the occurrence of this style, I want to emphasise the provinces open-mindedness and its innovative attitude towards new architectural developments. It is the kind of attitude that continued through the 21st century and manifested itself in the affordable housing development.

The second part of Vancouver case studies proceeds by opening the third section of the thesis: affordable housing in well-established middle-class areas.

Findings show that in already valorised neighbourhoods the more the architecture of affordable housing buildings blends in with the surrounding buildings the less it conflicts with prejudices towards low-income households. This opens the issue of Not-In-My-Backyard attitude, also known as NIMBYism that often times occurs when housing projects for low-income families and singles are placed in middle-class neighbourhoods. Architecture can play a vital role towards diminishing those social imbalances between the classes in one neighbourhood. Moreover, peaceful coexistence between the different residents in these buildings is very possible and successful, mostly due to the active involvement of the non-profit-organisations that supervise and run the buildings. This hypothesis has been reinforced through case studies of affordable housing in Kelowna.

These numbers represent the population size for each of the cities in 2011.

The case studies in Kelowna are subject of examination in the last chapter of this thesis. Of all the three cities examined Kelowna is the smallest, youngest and yet fastest growing city that holds the most potential for innovative and creative affordable and livable housing solutions in the 21st century. This is primarily because in Kelowna most of the affordable housing projects are set in middle-class areas. The architecture of these buildings perfectly blends in with the surrounding buildings, in the case of *Willowbridge* – a transitional housing project - even exceeds in creativity. Kelowna is also the city where the vital role of non-profit-organisations in reconciliation and mediation between the different classes is made most noticeable and inevitable. Behind each and every one of these projects are strong and determined non-profit societies, architects, people as individuals and people as communities who are committed to their goals: to end homelessness, to provide adequate housing for everyone, to diminish the social and economical imbalances between rich and poor and to create a society where everyone has the right to decent housing and living in peace and dignity. After all, buildings are not just empty souls providing an outer skin. They are shaped and made by people who inhabit them and breathe life into them.

It is true that architecture does not answer entirely to all of humankind's desires, as Swiss architect Alain de Botton concludes in his *Architecture of Happiness*, "The noblest architecture can sometimes do less for us than a siesta or an aspirin."⁴²

However, architecture brings people closer to the freedom to make and remake themselves until eventually they can shape their own environment and define what kind of city and environment they want to live in.

⁴² BOTTON de, Alain. *The Architecture of Happiness*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006. Print, p. 17.

CHAPTER TWO: Gentrification - Theory, History and Clarity

Gentrification defines a process in which de-valued, sometimes vacant, mostly working-class and lower-class neighbourhoods gradually transform into residential areas for the middle-class and upper-middle class. Often time's businesses and commercial industries spot incentives by the migration of this economically strong and stable class and sense the lucrative real estate opportunities opening up. Consequently, these changes cause a transformation in the demographic and landscape of an entire area. This is the simple description of the term. The reasons as to why and how gentrification occurs, the positive and negative outcomes it has, and the question of supply and demand of gentrification are rather complex and multi-faceted. The premise of this chapter is to elaborate more on the question: What role does architecture play in the process of gentrifying neighbourhoods and how does architecture of affordable residential buildings effect or blend into valorised areas? Further, what role does architecture play in areas that are run-down but in the process of rising in value?

In order to shed light on the complex subject matter of this term in the first place some of the main theoretical works done on the term gentrification – from both the supply as well as demand side – will be examined in this chapter. Therefore I start with the earliest coinage of the term gentrification made by Ruth Glass, along with the first occurrences mentioned in publications and the causes leading to this process.

Next, I will examine four major theories discussed on gentrification placed in chronological order: Neil Smith's supply-side thesis on the *Rent Gap* emerged in the 1980s that places the determining factor of gentrification in the correlation of land value vs. property value. The second theory is Richard Florida's *Creative Class*, in which his primary point of argumentation is that creativity is the driving key to economic growth, which again will lead to people's success and a city's prosperity.

David Ley's theory on the role of the Middle Class and the aesthetics in a city's attractiveness will be the third to examine. Since gentrification is not a static but mutating subject matter the final theory examined will be the process of a mixed neighbourhood caused through emerging concepts of mixed-income housing in North American inner-cities, which is considered to be one of the most controversial mutations of gentrification.

Glass acknowledged the global aspect of the process of gentrification already in 1964.⁴³ All of the above mentioned scholars deal with the process of gentrification in North American or European cities. Finally gentrification is not only a political, social and economical occurrence but also a cultural one. Therefore most of the theories discussed will be delineated with examples of gentrification depicted in popular cultures, including TV Shows, Musicals and novels. This serves to elaborate the very theoretical subject matter from a more approachable and perhaps ‘down-to-earth’ perspective.

⁴³ GLASS, Ruth et al. *London: Aspects of Change*. London: Maggibbon & Kee, 1964. Print. Introduction, xiv. She mentions that after World War II London’s urban planning concept has become “a representative of the affluent Western world.” Ibid.

2.1 From Landed Gentry to Gentrification: First Coinage and Occurrence

The term gentrification is derived from the word “gentry” an allusion to the word “landed gentry”, which emerged in England’s late 18th to early 19th century.⁴⁴ It refers to a class of people that were positioned just below the British Aristocracy but well above the ordinary people. In Jane Austen’s literature (for example the Bennett family in Austen’s “Pride and Prejudices”)⁴⁵ they are described as the kind of class that lacks the official title to belong to the titled nobility.⁴⁶ However, members of this class were wealthy enough to live without having to work, as their major source of income was from fees and rent of their property and land. Redfren refers to Raymond Williams’ observation that in Austen’s novels, the gentry exclusively refer the members of their own class as their neighbours while at the same time ignoring the workers and the servants who actually help these gentry to obtain their status.⁴⁷ Consequently, there is maintenance of status of the one class happening at the cost of the displacement of another – mostly lower – class. The most notable member of the “landed gentry” class was Princess Diana,⁴⁸ who went from being the shy, hugely proper wife of “the future King of England” to a powerful woman who “created an iconic image of herself,” that lasted well after her death in 1997.⁴⁹

Gentrification as a term was first marked in 1964 by sociologist Ruth Glass in her publication “London Aspects of Change”. Glass was directing a research for the *University College London* on socio-economic changes after World War II in the district of inner London, which then resulted in the launch of her book that she co-wrote along with other scholars at the Centre for Urban Studies.

⁴⁴ BRECKNER, Ingrid. „Stadtentwicklung: Gentrifizierung im 21. Jahrhundert.” *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*. 17(2010): 27-32. Print. p. 27.

⁴⁵ LEES, Loretta, SLATER, Tom and WYLY, Elvin. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge 2008. Print, p.4.

⁴⁶ There is a genealogical guide to notable families and their histories throughout the British Isles, called *Burke’s Landed Gentry* that published its 19th edition in 2001 for any British Aristocrat to follow.

⁴⁷ REDFERN, Paul. “What makes gentrification gentrification?” *Urban Studies* 11.40: (2003)2351-2366. Print, p. 2362. Redfren refers to Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. Oxford: University Press. 1973. Print.

⁴⁸ THORPE, Vanessa. “UK’s landed gentry put masterpieces on the market to cushion the crunch.” *The Guardian*. 11 July 2010. Web. 23 MAR 2012. Diana Frances Spencer was the daughter of Lord and Lady Althorp. The Spencers were remotely related to the Windsor family. Already in the 18th century there have been failed attempts to unite the powerful Windsors with the Spencers when in 1730 the first Lady Diana Spencer was supposed to marry the then Prince of Wales, son of King George II. The marriage never happened because of dynastic reasons. CORBY, Tom. *Diana Princes of Wales*. Cologne: vgs. 1997. Print, p.13.

⁴⁹ TESTINO, Mario in an Interview with Hamish Bowles in KINMONTH, Patrick (ed.). *Diana - Princess of Wales by Mario Testino*. Cologne: Taschen, 2006. Print. In a post-photo-shot moment with Diana the famous Peruvian photographer emphasises Diana’s power and influence by stating: “you’ve slaved for fifteen years to get your pictures right and suddenly the world knows you for this one thing.” Ibid.

Already in the introduction of her book she introduces the term gentrification linking it with the urban battle for more and adequate space for all members of society, which causes rising land value and displacement of the working class in all parts of London:

One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages [...] have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period [...] have been upgraded once again. Nowadays many of these houses are being sub-divided into costly flats or ‘houselets’ (in terms of the new real estate snob jargon). [...] Once this process of ‘gentrification’ starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced, and the whole social character of the district is changed. There is very little left of the poorer enclaves of Hampstead and Chelsea: in those boroughs, the upper-middle class take-over was consolidated some time ago. The invasion has since spread to Islington, Paddington, North Kensington – even to the ‘shady’ parts of Notting Hill – to Battersea, and to several other districts, north and south of the river. [...] And this has been an inevitable development, in view of the demographic, economic and political pressures to which London, and especially Central London, has been subjected.⁵⁰

Glass realised the growing tendency of people upgrading their status through visual symbols as well as “wrapping and labelling of commodities”⁵¹, an observation that post-Glass scholars like Pierre Bourdieu⁵², Jörg Blasius⁵³ or Peter Dirckmeier⁵⁴ elaborated in their publications. The research conducted by Glass for her publication was examining

⁵⁰ Glass, Ruth “London: Aspects of Change”, xviii-xix.

⁵¹ Ibid, xiv.

⁵² BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Sozialer Raum und „Klassen“*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985. Print.

For example in examining the symbolic assets of different classes Bourdieu concludes that symbols serve as a means to distinct between classes in a society’s “social space” that can be referred to as “spaces of lifestyles.” Ibid, p. 21 Symbols are signs of distinction. They can vary in form and impact; Bourdieu calls everyone within the social space an “actor” who is holding some symbols either voluntarily or involuntarily. According to Bourdieu some people distinguish themselves from others through a particular way of articulating themselves. Another means of distinction is reflected through titles of nobility amongst aristocrats, professions and academic titles. Ibid, p.26.

⁵³ BLASIUS, Jörg. *Gentrification und Lebensstile. Eine empirische Untersuchung*. Wiesbaden: Dt. Univ.-Verlag, 1993. Print.

⁵⁴ DIRKSMEIER, Peter. “Super-Gentrification und metropolitaner Habitus: eine Kritik jüngerer Entwicklungen in der britischen Gentrificationsforschung.” *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*. (2010) 68:447-457. Print.

the livability of the housing situation and the affordability of the rent for residents of public housing in Lansbury that is a small but significant estate in Eastern London. Ten years after she visited and interviewed the tenants and residents of Lansbury, mostly working-class, she compared the rest of London to Lansbury and concluded “Lansbury is a pointer to what has yet to be achieved in the many areas of our large cities which are still waiting for reconstruction.”⁵⁵

For the historical review of gentrification London is indeed of significance. But what Glass is describing in her book as a post-World War II development actually happened already in Victorian London in Islington, a district in the North of London.⁵⁶

A century prior to Glass’ coinage of the term Gentrification emerged, German philosopher and co-founder of Marxism, Friedrich Engels described the urban process and the problem sans gentrification terminology in his publication “Zur Wohnungsfrage” in 1873. In very humble and comprehensible words he described the issue of England’s housing situation and noticed:

Die Ausdehnung der modernen großen Städte gibt in gewissen, besonders in den zentral gelegenen Strichen derselben dem Grund und Boden einen künstlichen, oft kolossal steigenden Wert; die darauf errichteten Gebäude, statt diesen Wert zu erhöhen [sic], drücken ihn vielmehr herab, weil sie den veränderten Verhältnissen nicht mehr entsprechen; man reißt sie nieder und ersetzt sie durch andre. Dies geschieht vor allem mit zentral gelegenen Arbeiterwohnungen, deren Miete, selbst bei der größten Überfüllung, nie oder doch nur äußerst langsam über ein gewisses Maximum hinausgehn [sic] kann. Man reißt sie nieder und baut Läden, Warenlager, öffentliche Gebäude an ihrer Stelle.⁵⁷

Engel’s nexus theory evolved around the world of capitalism vs. the working-class. Already in his first publication “Die Lage der Arbeitenden Klasse in England” he realised that the population explosion of the “proletariat” into the inner city centre was due to the rapid expansion of industrialisation and the need for human capital.⁵⁸ In this context

⁵⁵ Glass, Ruth “London Aspects of Change.” 1964. Print, p. 191.

⁵⁶ REDFORD, Paul. “A new look at gentrification. 1. Gentrification and domestic technologies.” *Environment and Planning*. 29 (1997):1275-1296. Print.

⁵⁷ MARX, Karl und ENGELS, Friedrich. *Werke*. 5th Edition. Dietz Verlag: Berlin, 1973. Vol.18. “Zur Wohnungsfrage.” p. 215. The Original version was written in the time of June 1872 to February 1873 and published in the magazine “Der Volksstaat” in Leipzig. *Kindle* offers a copyright free edition of Engel’s “Wohnungsfrage” available to download as an eBook.

⁵⁸ MARX, Karl und ENGELS, Friedrich. *Werke*. 5th Edition. Dietz Verlag: Berlin, 1972. Vol.2. “Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England.” p. 250. Engels wrote his publication first time in 1844 to 1845 in Barmen.

Engels concludes, it is the working class that would suffer from the effects of gentrification through an alarming state of housing shortage that is caused by the demolition of run-down but affordable residential buildings.⁵⁹ Through the replacement of luxury houses, high-end shops and public buildings the cost of land in the inner core of cities rises, forcing the working class to move to the peripheries. Engels also already recognised the speculative nature of real estate and land use in the real estate and building industry that would act on a profit based premise. His solution to gentrification however, was the entire abolition of “Capitalism”.

About half a century and one World War later, in 1929, Swiss Architect Le Corbusier developed his theories on a new type of futuristic city that would meet the demands of the citizens’ contemporary life-styles in his book “The Cities of To-Morrow”.⁶⁰ Although, Le Corbusier’s primarily focus lied on the overall improvement of the city, the city centre and the way of dwelling in the suburbs vs. the great city, he acknowledges that the “security of the dwelling is the condition of social equilibrium.”⁶¹ His work was heavily influenced by Howard Ebenezer’s written work, “The Great Cities of To-Morrow” that will be introduced in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Le Corbusier saw the danger of the big city, which he called a “beast” that has no tolerance for human beings as dwellers, as the city is destructive “with its throbbing and its tumult, crushes the weak and raises the strong.”⁶² Therefore he constructed a theoretical town-planning concept with an imaginary city as the centre, along with the suburbs and a huge transportation system that would connect them with each other. Unlike Engels, Le Corbusier did not make distinctions between rich and poor or capitalist and proletariat when it came to city dwellers.⁶³ Moreover he divided the population of a city into three groups according to their geographic residential place:

1. those people who live in the city he calls the “citizens,”
2. Those who live in the suburbs, or the Garden Cities, he calls the “suburban dwellers”
3. “The mixed sort” comprises those who work in the city but live in the suburbs.⁶⁴

Le Corbusier favoured the Garden Cities as an adequate way to dwell for families, since he saw the city centres as being in a “state of moral sickness” that have become an “in-

⁵⁹ Engels, Friedrich “Zur Wohnungsfrage.” p. 215.

⁶⁰ His book was first published in 1929 and then republished several times.

⁶¹ LE CORBUSIER. *The City of Tomorrow*. 1929. Print, p. 84.

⁶² Ibid, p. 87.

⁶³ Le Corbusier does acknowledge though, that the wages of the labours building the buildings would be “to each according to his merits and service rendered.” Ibid, p. 25.

⁶⁴ Le Corbusier. “The City of Tomorrow.” p. 21.

tensely form of capital for the mad speculation of private enterprises”.⁶⁵ Consequently the types of architecture arrayed at the city centre are Skyscrapers, surrounded with luxury stores, coffee-shops and other amenities. To the architect the purpose of these skyscrapers is purely for business, not residential.⁶⁶ This means dwelling space is at the suburbs, the green, lush Garden Cities and everyone is enabled to get to the city centre through the means of mass transportation.

Le Corbusier’s concept of the strict division between business zone in the core and residential zoning in the suburbs combined with a well-working mass transportation system remained anything but a vision. However it is one that should be looked into more closely as it does have some promising clues into how to avoid class segregation through a city-planning concept that is divided in a commercial urban/ business district and residential Garden City district.

Jane Jacobs’ “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” published first in 1961 challenged the then urban planning guidelines in North American cities. Criticizing the architecture and urban planning professions, for being too academic and far-fetched Jacobs demanded the active involvement of normal citizens in the urban planning process.⁶⁷ Even though she did not use the term “Gentrification” in her publication, she did describe the process spot on by quoting from the Book of Job:

Here are the men that alter their neighbour’s landmark... shoulder the poor aside, conspire to oppress the friendless. Reap they the field that is none of theirs, strip the vineyard wrongfully seized from its owner.⁶⁸

Jacobs may not have used the term Gentrification per se but the way she describes the displacement of working-class by the middle-class defines the classical meaning of this term in a very non-academic, but down-to-earth manner.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 96.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶⁷ JACOBS, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, Vintage Books, 1961. Print, p.54.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.2.

2.2 Gentrification: “Does it Harm the Poor?”⁶⁹

Evidently the issue of gentrification has been dealt with critically before the Second World War already. But it was not until Glass’ coinage of the term gentrification that the academic battle between the “pros” versus the “contras” of gentrification has stirred the papers of intellectuals and academics. Additionally after Second World War the subject of gentrification went from being a local European phenomenon to a global issue, as it now affects any mega city from Tokyo to Teheran, due to the rising migration of people into the city.⁷⁰

The explanation of gentrification on being a process where less developed, sometimes run-down and devalued areas of a city gradually transform into well-developed, popular and upscale areas with a rising popularity puts it in a positive urban planning position. But this process has also been majorly criticized: Because of the neighbourhoods’ rising popularity the value of land and the value of real estate increases too, which again forces the indigenous residents of that neighbourhood – mostly working-class, students or artist – to move away. This displacement of the economically less fortunate people is a major point of criticism to many scholars. Consequently an ongoing question closely connected to gentrification of any form is whether this process will actually harm the poor?⁷¹

Researchers and Scholars like Professor Jacob Vidor and Assistant Professor Lance Freedman share the opinion that gentrification has a positive outcome as the process of changing abandoned and low-income areas with that of revitalized buildings and affluent residents will work out in everyone’s favour – the middle class as well as the lower class.⁷² They argue that these kinds of measures would boost the value of the neighbourhood through the influx of higher-income neighbours and hence foster its popularity and economic ability. On the other hand scholars and urban planners like Paul Redfern or Tom Slater criticize the social exclusion of the poor and marginalized

⁶⁹ VIGDOR, Jacob. “Does gentrification harm the poor?” *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*. (2002): 133–73. Print.

⁷⁰ SMITH, Neil. “New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy.” *Antipode*. 34.3 (2002):427-450. Print. For example in his publication, “The New Urban Frontier” Smith notices that in Australia the terminology for gentrification is “trendification.” See: SMITH, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier. Gentrification and the Revanchist*.” London: Routledge. 1996. eBook. p.30. For a definition of the term “trendification” see introduction of this thesis.

⁷¹ See also, VIGDOR, Jacob. “Does gentrification harm the poor?”

⁷² FREEDMAN, Lance and BRACONI, Frank. “Gentrification and displacement: New York City in the 1990.” *The Urban Prospect: Housing, Planning and Economic Development in New York*. 8.1 (2004):1-4. Print. In their research the two scholars concluded after a national study, that the completed process of gentrification effects the decision of poor residents to move somewhere else as little or much as that of areas where no gentrification has taken place.

caused by gentrification.⁷³ Redfern argues that gentrification is not a class but a status struggle. This struggle over identity and recognition is created through the creation of marginality. While this marginality enables the one group to resolve their identity crisis through gentrification it happens at the expense of the other group, the ‘displacees’, who often times do not have the means and possibilities to protect and preserve their identity.⁷⁴

David Harvey highlights the problem of rent in the abandoned overcrowded parts of the inner-city as it is “very high relative to the quality of the accommodations, while properties, if they do change hands, do so at negligible prices.”⁷⁵ Hence the inhabitants of poor, devalued areas are not necessarily in an advantageous situation to begin with. However, while portraying the problem of the poor, Harvey acknowledges that gentrification, or as he puts it “urban renewal” is not a solution to the problem either, as it “merely moves the problem around and in some cases does more harm than good.”⁷⁶

While the definitional approach of gentrification is mostly based on a common ground, the theoretical definitions, as to how and why it occurs differ.

Dealing with this subject matter it becomes clear that there is no “black or white” answer to the topic alone. It always depends on whose perspective – the supply or demand – argumentations are made of.

The following four illustrated theories on gentrification each comprise the basic ideas of the most important arguments as to why gentrification occurs and to whose benefit it serves most.

⁷³ For example, Slater disapproves the “policy and scholarly tradition of ignoring the structural and institutional factors behind the problems of marginalized communities.” See, SLATER, Tom. “A Literal Necessity to be Re-Placed: A Rejoinder to the Gentrification Debate.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 32.1 (2008): 212-223. Print. p. 213.

⁷⁴ Redfern, Paul. “What Makes Gentrification ‘Gentrification?’” p. 2360.

⁷⁵ HARVEY, David. “Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation.” Ed. Jaques Lévy. *The City: Critical Essays in Human Geography*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2008. Print. p. 140.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 141.

2.2.1 Neil Smith's Rent Gap Theory

“Gentrification is a back to the city movement [...] but of capital rather than people.”⁷⁷

One of the very first scholars to deal with the subject of gentrification from the supply side is Scottish geographer Professor Neil Smith.⁷⁸ Examining the reasons why inner city areas are being gentrified in the first place, Smith concludes that there is a direct correlation between disinvestment in property-value and recycled land-value. The driving factor is the relationship between the determining providers from the supply side on the one hand and the consumer (buyer, tenant, resident) from the demand side on the other hand.⁷⁹ Smith is a Marxist and as such emphasises the profit-oriented motivation of investors and developers to buy devalued land in the inner cities and redevelop land and property in abandoned enclaves in urban cores. To Smith we live in a competitive market economy intensely driven by supply and demand. Therefore gentrification happens because certain people from certain classes aim to maximize their capital through investing in de-valued areas that will eventually increase in value and bring rewarding profits to the capitalist market.⁸⁰ This is how he came up with his *Rent Gap Theory*. His main premise is that Gentrification is an entirely economically driven process that adjusts to the economic circle of supply and demand.⁸¹ It is a struggle over the use of space where the loser is the working- and lower-class and the winners the wealthy and affluent.⁸² As defined in his own words, Smith explains his Rent Gap thesis as following:

The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use. The rent gap is produced primarily by capital devalorisation (which diminishes the proportion of the ground rent able to be capitalized) and also by continued urban development and expansion (which has historically raised the potential ground rent level in the inner city).⁸³

⁷⁷ SMITH, Neil. “Towards a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital, not people.” *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 45.4 (1979):538-548. Print, p. 546.

⁷⁸ Smith is Professor in Geography at the City University of New York. He has published extensively on the subject of Gentrification and the concept of space in regard of society and economics.

⁷⁹ Smith, Neil. “Towards a theory of gentrification.” p. 540.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 537.

⁸¹ Smith, Neil. “The New Urban Frontier”, p. 57.

⁸² SMITH, Neil. “Gentrification and Uneven Development.” *Economic Geography*. 58.2. (1982): 139-155. Print, p.153.

⁸³ Smith, Neil. “The New Urban Frontier.” p. 65.

In order to illustrate his theses more elaborately Smith took the “Land Value Valley” depicted by Homer Hoyt as an example. Hoyt created a pattern of land value for the city of Chicago in the 1933 that he called a “valley in the land-value curve.” Here Hoyt explains the “valley” in land value already created in the 1920s, meaning that the capital then moved to the outer periphery of Chicago, due to lack of interest by investors to built and invest in the downtown core. This resulted in abandonment and outmigration of businesses and wealthier residents. The remaining old, run-down buildings in unpopular areas continued to lose value in land (therefore the “valley”) and be habited by lower-class residents. This “devalorisation” of land again, produced possibilities for investors to re-invest and make profit and rising property value.⁸⁴

Taking Hoyt’s Property Value and Land Value as a basis, Smith disaggregates the two terms and defines four provisions that are actors in the gentrification process:

1. The “House Value” is the value measured in hourly time and labour invested to create the actual house.
2. The “Sale Price” is an amalgamation of House Value and the third category,
3. The “Capitalized Ground Rent”, the latter being the, “*actual quantity of ground rent that is appropriated by the landowner, given present land use.*”⁸⁵

The value of land used here is dependent on the acceptance and popularity of that area given by society. The more popular an area is, the more investment there is and the more the value of land rises. Therefore property owners receive this ground rent through rent paid by their tenants or if they have businesses, gyms, spas and so on built they receive money through this investment.

4. The “Potential Ground Rent” is the last category and comprises the highest and most efficient land use potentially possible. This again could lead to a maximum on rent landlords could hypothetically demand from their tenants.⁸⁶The relationship between *Capitalized Ground Rent* to *Potential Ground Rent* is important in order to create a Rent Gap. In revitalized areas usually the House Value equals the Sales Price. What follows next is the increase in Ground Rent however the House Value of the building does only insignificantly fall.⁸⁷ Sometimes it even stagnates. With that the Sales Price decreases which leads to a devalorization of the neighbourhood and Capitalized Ground Rent. Factors contributing to this decrease in value are the brittleness of buildings’ outer ap-

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 58.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.59.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p.60.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

pearances and the quality of materials used, as buildings require high investments for maintenance and repair. The significant costs for keeping buildings and infrastructure intact, along with the fact that with time there are better and more attractive buildings built through improved technology and use in materials contribute to the devalorization of the Capitalized Ground Rent. In contrast to the Capitalized Ground Rent stands the Potential Ground Rent. Because once buildings are built and neighbourhoods are created they are anchored to that location permanently. Through the disinvestment of landowners and landlords buildings and with that entire enclaves lose value and attractiveness. This is very much to the advantage of those who seek opportunities to raise their profit through investment in devalorized areas.⁸⁸ A newly created – or as Smith calls it ‘recycled’⁸⁹ - neighbourhood that is still in a blissful state of *Tabula Rasa* provides lots of room for potential growth in profit and capital for the investors.

This contrast between old (to be destroyed and exploited) and new (opportunity to rise profit) is seen best in Smith’s graphic that depicts the devalorization cycle and the evolution of the rent gap:⁹⁰ The more *Capitalized Ground Rent* loses in value the more the *Potential Ground Rent* gains in value. The further the divergent curves stay apart the bigger the Rent Gap.

The wider this gap is the more likely it is that investors (businesses, developer, landlords, realtors and so on) will purchase land and invest into redevelopment of devalorized inner core neighbourhoods in the prospect to make the best profit. This again means that often times through the increasing value of the neighbourhood the tenants who originally lived in that area are forced to move out of their enclave.

Smith concludes that the core process of gentrification lies in the capital mobility in and out of the built environment.

Therefore gentrification is a “‘back to the city’ movement of capital”, as first the capital is invested in the suburbs, causing devalorization of the inner city, when the Rent Gap is big enough the capital flows back into the city, as that is when prospect of profit is biggest.⁹¹ This is also when the middle-class moves back from the suburbs into the inner city often times at the expense of the lower classes. Is this development fair? To put it in Rowland Atkinson’s words: “There is a certain poetic injustice in the withdrawal of the

⁸⁸ Smith, Neil. „New Urban Frontier.” p.190.

⁸⁹ Smith, Neil. “Toward a Theory of Gentrification.” p.545.

⁹⁰ Smith, Neil. „New Urban Frontier.”

⁹¹ SMITH, Neil. “Toward a Theory of Gentrification.” p. 546.

middle classes from central neighbourhoods in the late 19th century and their subsequent re-colonization of these areas within the past half-century.”⁹²

Almost any emerging theory is also subjected to some kind of criticism. Smith’s Rent Gap Theory has been criticized for being too theoretical and too little based on empirical case studies.⁹³ There is also disagreement on the terminology used by Smith, such as “land value” as land cannot be counted in human labour and the hours worked (House Value). Smith’s tendency to discharge the role of the individual gentrifiers in shaping the gentrification process⁹⁴ as well as his neglect of the important role of the State that can many times be a driving actor for gentrification are further points of criticism.⁹⁵

Nevertheless it is safe to say that Smith initiated a thought-provoking and exiting thesis with his Rent Gap Theory that is considered as one of the first analytically demanding conceptualizations in the debate of gentrification.⁹⁶ In addition, Smith’s *Rent Gap Theory* laid the basis for other theories concerning the study of gentrification from the supply side.

⁹² ATKINSON, Rowland. “Introduction: Misunderstood Saviour or Vengeful Wrecker? The Many Meanings and Problems of Gentrification.” *Urban Studies*. Vol 40.12 (2003):2343-2350. Print.

⁹³ For example, see, LEY, David. “The Rent Gap Revised.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 77. 3 (1987): 465-468. Print.

⁹⁴ Hamnett picks at Smith’s limited acknowledgement for the role of the individual. He argues that in Smith’s Rent Gap thesis “gentrifiers are merely the passive handmaidens of capital requirements.” See, HAMNETT, Chris. “The blind men and the elephant.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. New Series, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1991):173-189. Print. p.179.

⁹⁵ For example, Blair Badock’s study revealed that the State is the actual initiator for gentrification in the city of Adelaide in Australia. See, BADCOCK, Blaire. “An Australian View of The Rent Gap Hypothesis.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 79 (1989): 125-145. Print. Same research has been conducted by Professor David Ley for Vancouver, Canada. See, LEY, David. *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: University Press, 1996. Print.

⁹⁶ HELBRECHT, Ilse. „Die Wiederkehr der Innenstädte. Zur Rolle von Kultur, Kapital und Konsum in der Gentrification.“ *Geographische Zeitschrift*. 84. 1(1996):1-15. Print, p.7. See Introduction of this dissertation.

2.2.1.1 The Value Gap

The “Value Gap” theory deals with the issue of the building’s value per se and the question of what happens when a building experiences a shift in ownership (for example from state to private). In doing so it is considered as a “complementary refinement of the rent gap argument.”⁹⁷ Inner-city neighbourhoods gain significantly in value through the shift from rental buildings into ownership (for example rent-controlled apartments that turn into a market co-operative housing) or government subsidized buildings into privatized buildings. This shift causes gentrification processes in the inner city core.⁹⁸

The Value Gap theory is most apparent in Eastern European countries that were formerly governed by socialist regimes. The strict regulations through the state prevented a profit oriented real estate market. After the fall of these regimes, real estate buyers and owners were able to consider apartments as lucrative investments.⁹⁹

At its starting point the Value Gap theory assumes that private owners of formerly state-regulated buildings and apartments make the most profit from the transition of state to private. In examining the post-communist effects of Hungary’s real estate market, Neil Smith remarks, that from 1989 to 1993 “Budapest attracted the lion’s share of \$ 5billion foreign commercial investment in Hungary.”¹⁰⁰

When rent prices of rent-controlled apartments are no longer regulated by the state or a society, they become privatized and have the potential to skyrocket.¹⁰¹ While defenders of the Value Gap theory such as Smith or Kovács, have a legitimate point with these apartments having been affordable under the socialist regime they miss to mention that living conditions of these buildings due to their deteriorated condition were not livable. Lavinia Stan examines the housing condition of Rumania from 1945-1989 in a critical

⁹⁷ Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier*. Print, p. 70.

⁹⁸ Kovács, Zoltan et al. “Urban Renewal in the Inner City of Budapest: Gentrification from a Post-socialist Perspective.” *Urban Studies*. 13 AUG 2012. Print. p.4.

⁹⁹ Not everyone really profited from the Socialist Eastern European system. For example, in Bulgaria people who actually possessed houses were dispossessed by their property, forced to share the house with people chosen by the government and in doing so, minimized their habitable space. See: Dr. KRUEGER, Rosswitza. “Bulgarian Real Estate Market.” Email to the author. 23. NOV 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier*. Print, p. 172. Smith also acknowledges that despite the public housing policy under the communist regime “the privatization of housing was actually incorporated into formal housing policy as early as 1969.” Ibid, p.171.

¹⁰¹ However this is not always the case as shown in recent events in Rumania. In spring of 2010 the Government of Rumania started a nation-wide investigation on real estate transactions taken place between 2006 to 2008 on developers who had avoided paying the mandatory value added tax (VAT) and let rents skyrocket through their investments. THOMAS, Dinca. “Planul anti-evaziune al Guvernului: Verificarea marilor averi și a tranzacțiilor imobiliare 2006-2008.” *Ziarul Financiar*. *zf.ro* 12 NOV 2011. Web. 6 Nov. 2012.

Translated title: “Government’s anti-evasion plan: Checking great wealth and real estate transactions 2006-2008. Translated through Google translator tool.

essay.¹⁰² In doing so Stan acknowledges that the state-controlled apartment buildings in Bucharest's city centre were convenient because of their proximity to public transportation as well as public facilities. However she remarks that the apartments' livability under the Rumanian socialist regime were below minimum level as the units were left unattended and often times were simply too "small, unfinished, damp and poorly isolated."¹⁰³

The Value Gap theory's main premise is that the gap in value emerges when the return on investments surpasses the annual rental income.¹⁰⁴ While the Rent Gap originates in the USA, the Value Gap theory was first examined in the example of London, UK.¹⁰⁵ Although not coined as a "value gap", Ruth Glass already describes the principles of Smith's theory in her publication of 1964. Linking the growing demand for housing in the metropolitan centre with that of rising land cost and struggle for space, Glass observes, that demand for housing "is growing, at a time when the de-control of property values and rents has made private enterprise predominant in urban development."¹⁰⁶

Because of the nature of this theory the Value Gap depends crucially on the zoning regulations and owner occupancy tax regulations of each country. This can be shown in the example of rent-controlled apartments: when rent-controlled apartments prohibit landowners and landlords to collect higher rents landlords stop to invest in the buildings' maintenance. This is because their rental income decreases, through the limitations caused through the rent control. At the same time, the sales value of owner occupation due to a mortgage credit through building societies or co-operatives (co-ops) increases.¹⁰⁷ The diverging value of the two – the income through rent-controlled rental income and the sale value of owner occupation – is the "Value Gap".¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Lavinia Stan is professor at the department of political science, St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia, Canada.

¹⁰³ STAN, Lavinia. "The Roof over Our Heads: Property Restitution in Romania." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. Vol 22.2006:180-205. Print, p. 185.

¹⁰⁴ See for example, LEES, Loretta. "Gentrification in London and New York: An Atlantic gap?" *Housing Studies* 9. 2 (1994): 199-217. Print.

¹⁰⁵ HAMNETT, Chris and RANDOLPH Bill. "The Role of the Landlord disinvestment in housing market transformation: An analysis of the Flat break-up market in Central London." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 9 (1984): 259-279. Print.

¹⁰⁶ Glass, Ruth. "London. Aspects of Change." p.xxi.

¹⁰⁷ For a descriptions on co-operative housing in Germany see chapter Three "The Rise of the Building Cooperatives in Hamburg." For more on co-operative housing in Canada see chapter Four "Co-operative Housing Mixed Income Style."

¹⁰⁸ HAMNETT, Chris and RANDOLPH Bill. "Tenurial transformation and the flat break-up market in London: The British condo experience." In: Neil Smith and Paul Williams (eds.) *Gentrification of the City*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986. Print, p. 121-152.

Through the privatization of the formerly rent-controlled buildings the remaining tenants are either forced to move out or buy the property. Since most cannot afford buying they are forced to move out.

This economical dilemma is best demonstrated in the popular late 1990s show *Sex & The City*. The fictional show revolves around the lives of four hip and happening single thirty-something year old women who embrace the vivid events and culture the City of New York offers them. The main fictional character “Carrie Bradshaw” is a talented, chaotic and creative columnist for a New York Magazine. She likes to sip at her low fat-caramel-latte-macchiato at Starbucks while typing vibrant, semi-fictional stories on her stylish iBook. She creates words, gives sentences a whole new meaning, and in general embraces the creative opportunities New York offers her. But just like any other bohemian, she is dependent on the city’s economic mercy. In the opening scene of the show’s episode, *Just Say Yes*, Carrie states:

New York welcomes and shelters the tired, the poor; the prosecuted that have been forced to leave their home at the win of the ruling class. But all *Manhattanites* face the same horrible uncertainties that some day they may have to utter the magic words ‘my building is going co-op [-erative housing].’¹⁰⁹

Her rent-controlled, hence affordable apartment¹¹⁰ in Manhattan’s Greenwich Village is put up on the market and stands to lose being affordable anymore [**Pic. 2**].¹¹¹

But what if rent-controlled apartments stay rent-controlled however they are restricted to only wealthy people? Would that evoke displacement and gentrification? This possibility is depicted in the 1990’s sitcom *Ellen*, starring actress Ellen DeGeneres. Set in the city of Los Angeles the show is about the work – and love life of a coffee-/bookshop owner Ellen Morgan, who surprises not only her parents through her coming out of the closet as a woman loving other women.

¹⁰⁹ “Just Say Yes.” *Sex and The City*. Season 4, Episode 12. Aug. 2001. DVD. For more on co-operative housing in Canada and the differences between market and non-market co-operative houses see chapter Four, subchapter “Co-operative Housing Mixed Income Style.”

¹¹⁰ Her apartment is said to be a brownstone on 66 Perry Street in Manhattan that is only three blocks north from Christopher Street, where the famous Gay Riots of 1969 happened. Source: CARDWELL, Diane. “On Carrie Bradshaw’s Block, Romance Over 6 Decades.” *The New York Times*. 12 SEP 2011. Web. 13 MAR 2012. Cardwell calls the West Village as a “magnet and haven for people living outside the mainstream at a time when the idea of two men, or women, marrying was inconceivable.” Ibid.

¹¹¹ According to Elvin Wyly and Kathe Newmann in New York two-third of the housing stock there has some form of rent-control. See NEWMAN, Kathe and WYLY, Elvin. “The right to stay put, revisited: gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City.” *Urban Studies*, 43 (2006):23-57. As quoted in LEY, David. “Are There Limits to Gentrification? The Contexts of Impeded Gentrification in Vancouver.” *Urban Studies*. 45.12 (2008):2471-2498. Print.

In the “Class Reunion” Episode, Ellen is having a conversation with her roommate, who is about to land a “nice big apartment by the beach that is rent controlled,” in Los Angeles. Ironically the landlord – who is a bona fide gay, sometimes bi-sexual – only leases his affordable apartments to married tenants with a six-figure annual income. Consequently Ellen expresses her doubts about the exclusiveness and irony behind the leasing concept to her roommate, asking, “Shouldn’t they be rented to poor people?” But her roommate only replies, “Ellen, they don’t give rent-controlled apartments to poor people! How are they going to pay the rent?”¹¹² To the logically thinking mind this attitude is twisted. However the possibility is there, as rent-controlled does not mean “for the poor”. It just means the rent is regulated and reasonably.

Both fictional characters of Carrie Bradshaw in *Sex and the City* and Ellen Morgan in *Ellen* comprise attributes Richard Florida describes in his publication on what he calls “The Creative Class.” Both comprise attributes like creativity and inventiveness that synthesize in the economically driven world of fashion, books and magazines. This leads to the next chapter on gentrification and the *Rise of the Creative Class*.

¹¹² “The Class Reunion.” *Ellen*. Season 1, Episode 3. 1994. DVD.

2.2.2. The “Rise of the Creative Class” – Cities Need Creative People

Artists play a key role in gentrification theories. There are two types of artists within those theories: those who make money and those who don't. The former are coined the “Creative Class” and subject of research in Florida's *Creative Class* theory while the latter are the members of the *New Middle Class* that David Ley deals with.

Florida's “Creative Class” will be dealt with first in this subchapter and following this the next subchapter will be on David Ley's “New Middle Class” theory.

In his book “Rise of the Creative Class” urban studies theorist Richard Florida examines the question: “How do we decide where to live and work? What really matters to us in making this kind of life decision?”¹¹³

The “creative city” was first coined as an official term by urban consultant Charles Landry in the late 1980's and shortly followed was his publication “Creative Cities” published in 1995.¹¹⁴ Landry examines the relationship between creativity and economics in a broader urban context and in the dot.com high-tech era. The concept of the Creative City as a source of citation was expanded in depth and published broadly by British urbanist, Sir Peter Hall in 2000. In his publication “Cities in Civilization” Hall deals with the city as cultural construct, innovative milieu and the fusion of cultural creativity with technological innovation.¹¹⁵

Shortly following these publications Florida's “The Rise of the Creative Class” was published. Florida's premise is that creativity is the driving factor of improved living standards for people and cities. But these people are not just any people, as in the working-class, the poor and the underemployed. Moreover he examines the kind of factors that contribute towards the decisions of the creative people to settle in certain areas. The kind of people who are engaged in creative work and make a living out of it Florida coins the “Creative Class.”¹¹⁶

This is a recently emerged, heterogeneous but specifically definable class whose members hold positions, such as: University professors, engineers, writers, artists, actors, and architects. This class also includes the “thought leadership of modern society”, such as: cultural figures, think-tank researches, and other opinion-makers. According to Florida

¹¹³ FLORIDA, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books, 2004. Print. p, 217.

¹¹⁴ LANDRY, Charles and BIANCHI, Franco. *The Creative City*. London: Comedia, 1995.

¹¹⁵ HALL, Peter. *Cities in civilization*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1998.

¹¹⁶ Florida. “Creative Class.” Preface, xiii.

this class is a heterogeneous class as it is gender, race and ethnicity neutral.¹¹⁷ But what they all have in common is that they all hold some kind of a degree of university education, indicating that they are all highly educated while at the same time innovative and novel. Florida acknowledges that every person is creative per se, but members of the Creative Class are the ones who actually have been able to make a living out of their creativity. Therefore it is only a small proportion of society that belongs to this “class.” Their economic wealth, according to Florida, accounts for nearly half of all wage and salary income of the United States, while at the same time comprising only nearly 30 percent of the US workforce.¹¹⁸ Just like Engels, who separates society into the differentiator of proletarians and the capitalists, Florida distinguishes the Creative Class from the non-creative people. However Florida’s definition has less to do with class distinction but attitude and the ability to create. One important feature that stands out amongst the members of the Creative Class is that they do not fall for the deceiving temptations of the commercialized world. Moreover the Creative Class recognises the falseness behind the marketing strategy of selling emotions and experiences by means of fancy brand names, such as *The Banana Republic*, *Starbucks* and designer labels such as *Prada*. The Creative Class favours authentic and true scenes, experiences and products. The experience has to be “real” just as much as the products they discover.¹¹⁹

2.2.2.1 The Creative Centres – Geography of Creativity

“The entire Bay Area is enamoured with these notions of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, mega-success.”¹²⁰

Florida is a supporter of gentrification. Even though he briefly admits that gentrification causes displacement of the poor and a threat to “diversity and creativity”¹²¹ it is precisely these areas, the “Creative Centres” as he calls them that he describes as the “eco-

¹¹⁷ He does call the gays as the “Canaries of the Creative Age,” emphasizing the economic importance of this group for high-tech growth. There is a correlation between Cities with a high-tech index rank and a gay index rank, e.g. According to Florida’s research San Francisco’s *Gay Index* rate was 1 simultaneously with its high-tech index rate. Detroit had a *Gay Index* rate of 45 and a high-tech index rate of 49. See, Florida, “Creative Class,” Table 14.3 “The Gay Index and High-Tech Industry.” p. 256.

¹¹⁸ Florida. “Creative Class.” Preface, xiv.

¹¹⁹ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 187.

¹²⁰ KENNEDY, David as quoted in AULETTA, Ken. “Get Rich U.” *The New Yorker*. 30. APR 2012 Web. 12 MAY 2012.

¹²¹ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 289. In a footnote, (Ftn. 16, Chapter 16) Florida refers to several articles dealing with the issue of affordability caused through the gentrification process. The term “gentrification” as a word is actually not mentioned anywhere in his book’s Index.

conomic winners of our age.”¹²² To Florida Creative Centres represent the kind of places where the high-tech industry settles down, businesses flourish, new job opportunities are created and the value of the area rises. These places are not regions that are traditionally working-class centres or corporate communities in the first place, as they are not attractive to the Creative Class to begin with. The people who are the pioneers for this gentrification are members of the Creative Class. They first spot the economic potential of these Creative Centres and then turn them into economically successful places.¹²³ Ambitious companies looking for new opportunities to flourish their businesses follow the Creative Class’ and settle their industry in the location of the Creative Class. Furthermore, given the ability of the members of the Creative Class to create success it is also this class itself that starts running successful companies. Economic success is closely linked to the creative output of the Creative Class. So for the cities themselves it is highly desirable to attract the Creative Class, as they will boost the cities’ economy through their new, innovative business ideas and high-technology businesses they create.¹²⁴

As for Florida’s question, as to “What really matters to us in making this kind of life decision?” he concludes that members of the Creative Class are attracted to the Creative Centres due to the diverse and vibrant urban districts, natural amenities and comfortable and tolerant suburbs.¹²⁵ All these places allow the people’s creativity and productivity to blossom. Consequently creative people move to the kind of cities, where these amenities and opportunities are given to them, as it is here where the creative people are enabled to construct and realise their full creative potential.¹²⁶ The geographic location of these “Creative Centre” plays a vital role in fostering creativity.¹²⁷

There is a preference of creative people to live along the coasts. According to Florida’s “Creativity Index” four out of the Top Five American creative cities are on the West- and East Coast.¹²⁸

¹²² Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 235.

¹²³ Prior to Florida’s publication, Neil Smith has sharply criticized the term “urban pioneer” to describe those who discover the hidden value of a de-valued area. To Smith this term is “as insulting as the idea of the original ‘pioneers’ in the West.” See, Smith, Neil. “Gentrification and Uneven Development,” p.140.

¹²⁴ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 244.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

¹²⁶ Peter Hall mentions the notion the ‘artistic milieu’ of 19th century professor Hippolyte Taine. In his “Philosophie de l’Art” Taine stated that it is not the environment that allows the talent of the artists to foster but a certain “moral temperature” that allowed each talent to blossom in different places.

¹²⁷ See, “Creativity Index”, Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.”

¹²⁸ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” Table 13.3: *Ranking Regions in the Creative Economy*. p. 246-247.

Avoiding working-class areas the Creative Class settles to a new geography of creativity, where they can become conscious of their identities as creative people. This realization in identity is not a one-way street process however. Moreover creative class people prefer the kind of areas that are diverse, with different cultures and demographic backgrounds to get inspiration. It is a give-and-take relationship, where the inhabitants of a neighbourhood shape a city but are also shaped by the city.¹²⁹ This part of his theory resembles that to David Ley's who concludes that "Places both label their occupants and are in turn manipulated by them as a nonverbal expression of who they are and who they aspire to become."¹³⁰

2.2.2.2. Where there's Tolerance there is Creativity: The Gays and Bohemians

To Florida there is a direct link between open-minded, avant-garde, young artists and homosexuals. Stressing the importance of "Technology, Talent and Tolerance" for cities' economic success, Florida pays particular attention to two distinct groups of the Creative Class: The Bohemians and the Homosexuals. According to Florida these two groups are the best indicators for a city or neighbourhood's success and popularity as they contribute the most towards the cities' demographic, racial and religious diversity. Florida's understanding of Bohemian is not that of the poor outsiders who counteract to a consumer culture. To him, Bohemians are just as successful and diverse as the homosexuals. In order to measure these levels of diversity, he uses the "Bohemian Index" and the "Gay Index" created by his colleague Gary Gates.¹³¹

The "Gay Index" is based on statistical data by the U.S. Bureau and used by Florida to rank regions by their concentration of homosexual residents.¹³²

As if homosexuality and creativity were inseparable like inseparable twins, Florida naively concludes his "Gay Index" to be an excellent measure for diversity.¹³³

¹²⁹ Florida, Richard. "The Rise of the Creative Class." p. 186.

¹³⁰ Ley, David. "A social geography of the city." p. 162.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 260 and p. 244.

¹³² Table "Tech Ranking and Gay Index", Florida, Richard. "The Rise of the Creative Class."

¹³³ One can question his plain conclusion on homosexuality and creativity by considering that the important high-tech and "dot.com" makers such as *Facebook's* Mark Zuckerberg or *Apple's* Steve Jobs or *Microsoft's* Bill Gates are all straight men, who are either happily married or engaged. Most important of all is John Hennessy, President of Stanford University who is considered as the "Godfather of Silicon Valley" who is also a heterosexual, married man. ANDRESSEN, Marc as quoted in AULETTA, Ken. "Get Rich U." *The New Yorker*. 30. APR 2012 Web. 12 MAY 2012.

He bases his theory on the assumption that as a minority group gays have experienced rejection and discrimination throughout history, therefore a “place that welcomes the gay community welcomes all kinds of people.”¹³⁴

Consequently, places that show a high level of tolerance towards gay communities are good indicators “of the low barriers to human capital that are so important to spurring creativity and generating high-tech growth.”¹³⁵

At the same time these open-minded and tolerant places have the highest potential to increase in economic value of all the cities. This is where he links his “Gay Index” to the “High-Tech Index”, which is based on the *Milken* Institute’s “Tech Pole Index.”¹³⁶

Florida concludes that there is a close correlation between places with a high Gay Index and “High-Tech Index.”¹³⁷

Florida’s linkage of tolerance to creativity, gays and tolerance is too far-fetched as not every low-income class automatically welcomes gays with open arms. Florida is convinced that members of the gay community do both, predict the concentration of high-tech industry as well as contribute towards its growth.¹³⁸

This is mostly evident in the example of the Bay Area, a region that scored highest in both, the High-Tech Index as well as the Gay Index.¹³⁹ Because this is the USA’s leading region in creativity, the correlation between technological and economical growth, creativity and the gay community is apparent to Florida.

A semi-factual theory such as Florida’s is an inviting subject for illustration through the example of a fictional novel.

Armistead Maupin’s *Tales of The City* sequence, written in the late 1970’s to early 1980’s depicts the kind of open-minded and tolerant enclave for gays Florida is talking about. The setting of the novels is a three-storied “brown-shingled building”, a “crum-

¹³⁴ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 256.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ In order to measure a city’s technology capability the term “tech-pole” refers to the relative technology gravitational pull that a metropolitan area exerts on high-tech industries. Source: FLORIDA, R. and GATES, Gary. “Technology and Tolerance: The Importance of Diversity to High-Technology Growth.” *Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy*. June 2001. Print. The Milken Institute was founded in 1991 by banker and businessman Michael Milken as a non-profit think tank. It is based in Los Angeles, California. Source: Milken Institute Website <http://www.milkeninstitute.org>. Michael Milken is not to be confused with Harvey Milk, who was the first openly gay men elected to office in California and assassinated in 1978.

¹³⁷ This index measures the size as well as the concentration of a region’s economy in growth sectors such as software, electronics, biomedical products and engineering services.

¹³⁸ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 257. According to Peter Hall cultural creativity and technological innovation were massively fused already in the early 20th century through inventions such as radio broadcasting, tape recorder and motion picture and sound recording (the later invented in the late 19th century). Source: Hall, Peter. “Cities in Civilization.” p. 503.

¹³⁹ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” Table 14.3, p.256.

bling, ivy-entwined relic”¹⁴⁰ on 28 Barbara Lane (a wooded walkway off Leavenworth) in San Francisco’s *Russian Hill*. This area – named for a group of Russian fur trappers and traders in the 19th century - used to be the bohemian Mecca of the Bay Area from the 1890s to the 1950s.¹⁴¹

The enclave that is called Russian Hill today is placed in the North-East part of San Francisco’s Peninsula. The landscape alone, being by the waterfront, decorated with exiting hills going up and down the neighbourhood is an incentive alone for anyone to settle down. Historically Russian Hill’s architectural landscape was created by a group of professional and amateur builders and architects who built and shaped that area. The result was an eclectic image of residential houses – from *Gothic Revival*, on to *Pueblo Revival* on to *Brown Shingle style* that would later evolve into the *First Bay Area Tradition Style* - that then attracted the economically poor but creatively rich bohemians.¹⁴²

Artists, writers and intellectuals found their homes and gathering points amidst the architectural landscape of small cottages, Colonial Revival style and Bay Area Tradition style houses already in the late 19th century.¹⁴³ In the turn of the 20th century real estate owner “Pop” Demarest may be one major reason as to why Russian Hill served as such a magnet for the Bohemians. Demarest was the owner of a few modestly built cottages in that he inherited from his father James Demerst. Pop was reputable for being the easy going type of landlord, who rented out his houses to writers and poems such as Gelett Burgess (1866-1951) or Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914) for “a modest price” or he sometimes forgot to collect the rent altogether, which was very much in the tenants’ advantage.¹⁴⁴ Later in the late 1940s and early 1950s members of the Beat Generation, such as Jack Kerouac (1922-1969) and Neal Cassady (1926-1968) spent their artistically creative but economically poor life periods living on Russian Hill (**Pic. 3**).¹⁴⁵ It is said that Kerouac got his inspiration for a passage “Joan Rawshanks in the Fog”, in his book *Vi-*

¹⁴⁰ MAUPIN, Armistead. *More Tales of the City*. London: Transworld Publishers Ltd. 1980. Print. p.10.

¹⁴¹ SINCLAIR, Mick. *San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History*. Oxford: Signal Books Ltd, 2003. Print. 89-91. The street’s real name is *Macondray Lane*.

¹⁴² The two oldest Shingled-Houses in that area are place on 1034 and 1036 Vallejo.

¹⁴³ This architectural style evolved from the work of amateur architect Reverend Joseph Worcester in 1888. The Bay Area Tradition became the signature architecture style for the Bay Area and influenced younger architects such as Arthur Brown or William Wurster. For further information see, for example, TREIB, Marc, *An Everyday Modernism: The Houses of William Wurster*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995. Print.

¹⁴⁴ Sinclair, M. “San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History.” p. 95. The places where Demarest had his cottages- 1078 and 1080 Broadway are now replaced by luxury condominiums.

¹⁴⁵ Kerouac lived for a few years in the Cassady House on 29 Russel Street . The green shingled house on Russian Hill still exists. The movie adaptation of Kerouac’s “On the Road” that was first published in 1957 will arrive in the US cinemas on 21st December 2012.

sions of *Cody* (first published in 1972) by bumping into a film shooting of the black noir movie *Sudden Fear*, featuring actress Joan Crawford.

The story goes as following: Kerouac was having one of his usual evening walks through the streets of Russian Hill when – as if by faith- he saw the crew shooting the movie with actress Crawford live in action.¹⁴⁶ Enchanted by this inspirational encounter he then decided to process it in his novel. Kerouac's handling of his accidental encounter into his fictional novel serves as an adequate example for Florida's as well as Ley's notion on the give-and-take-relationship of creative places, where creative people find a source of inspiration through incidental events, happenings and encounters in their neighbourhoods and in return, reflect that inspirational outcome in their artistic work.

Unlike its adjacent enclave of Nob Hill that was a neighbourhood for the Elite society to settle already in the 19th century, Russian Hill's gentrification started in the 1970s, after the settlement of the 'Bohemians.' Through the gradual rise in value through the migration of affluent middle- to upper class residents the socio-economic status of Russian Hill's residents changed too. Today Russian Hill is one of the most expensive neighbourhoods of San Francisco, adjoining the affluent neighbourhoods of North Beach, Marina and Nob Hill (**Pic. 4**).¹⁴⁷

Conveniently Maupin's choice for the setting of his fictional story could not have been detected better. The tenants of the charming but old house on 28 *Barbary Lane* consist of the fictional characters of Mary Ann Singleton, who works as a secretary, Brian Howkins a womanizer with serious commitment issues, Mona Ramsey a copywriter who flees the town after falling into a "cosmic funk"¹⁴⁸ as well as Michael (Mouse) and Jon, a gay couple.¹⁴⁹ Most interesting is the character of the house's owner and landlady Mrs. Madrigal is a mysterious transsexual woman, who turns out to be Mona Ramsey's real father – Andy Ramsey, who left the family when Mona was a child. Aside her love for Marijuana and plum-coloured Kimonos Mrs. Madrigal is depicted as a very open-minded spirit, who has "no objection to anything."¹⁵⁰ Two scenes suggest the hidden property value of setting's neighbourhood: The first one is a passage depicting a pompous party consisting of wealthy and successful gay men, called the "A-Gays."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ MORGAN, Bill. *The Beat Generation in San Francisco. A Literary Tour*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2003. Print. p. 102.

¹⁴⁷ VANCE, James Elmon. *Geography and urban evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1964.

¹⁴⁸ MAUPIN, Armistead. "More Tales of the City," p.29.

¹⁴⁹ The fictional Barbary Lane was inspired by the actual Macondray Lane in Russian Hill.

¹⁵⁰ MAUPIN, Armistead. *Tales of the City*. London: Transworld Publishers Ltd. 1978. Print, p. 16.

¹⁵¹ Maupin, Armistead. "More Tales of the City." p. 43.

Chuck Lord, one of the party guests describes his class best by saying, “We are OK. We have got houses and cars and trust funds and enough [...] assets to pay for Dial-a-Model until we’re a hundred and two, if we want to.”¹⁵² And because they pride themselves with all that much money and wealth they plan to open “the first gay nursing home in the history of the world,” in Russian Hill that will serve as another luxury investment in the world of the successful “A-Gays.”¹⁵³ In Maupin’s novel the gay men are in a minority, but because they have the money, the means and the creativity to invent something new and interesting for the less inventive population they shape their society and urban environment. By doing so, they will eventually lead to a gentrification process of Russian Hill that attracts the middle-class to that area. Moreover to put it in Florida’s way, the gays will most likely generate high-tech growth.¹⁵⁴

The second indication of Russian Hill’s hidden property value is shown in the passage that depicts Betty Ramsey’s (Mona’s mother and Mrs. Madrigal’s ex-wife -when Mrs. Madrigal was Andy Ramsey) reluctant attitude towards her daughter’s neighbourhood. As a high-end luxury real estate realtor she has a nag for what is hot and what is not. Before she physically visited Barbary Lane, she never understood why her daughter Mona preferred the doggy and “shabby”¹⁵⁵ area of Russian Hill over the wealthy and save area of the Pacific Heights.¹⁵⁶ Her opinion of the area around 28 Barbary Lane changes as she sees it now as a “darling neighbourhood” that is just “precious”.¹⁵⁷ Maybe the area’s charm and hidden beauty is also explainable because of people like Mona, who consider themselves as bohemians.¹⁵⁸

2.2.2.3 Wealthy Bohemians – “Not Hungry and Frozen” But Fancy and Chosen

“The counterculture was – and is – just popular culture, and popular culture is a ticket to sell things and make money.”¹⁵⁹

Florida rejects the classical distinction of “Bohemia vs. Bourgeoisie” the way scholars like César Grana defined it. To Grana the values Bohemians hold are exclusive to those of the bourgeoisie, as he explains, “by its very nature, Bohemia was too impersonal, unbusiness-like [sic], and lacking in unified goals” therefore “true Bohemian sectarian-

¹⁵² Ibid, p. 104.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 256.

¹⁵⁵ Maupin, Armistead. “More Tales of the City.” p. 10.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 17.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 253.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 93.

¹⁵⁹ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 200.

ism is usually carried on by people of excitable imaginations and modest talent, a combination which disables them for an ordinary existence, and forces them as consolation, to a life of dedicated unconventionality.”¹⁶⁰ The kind of bohemian’s Grana describes, are well depicted in the musical RENT, which deals with the struggling group of artists – bohemians – who are threatened to be evicted out of their Manhattan apartment on the Lower East Side¹⁶¹ by their former friend, Benny who represents a bourgeois.¹⁶² In the First Act final song *La Vie Bohème* Benny expresses his disgust on the Bohemians’ self-representation and attitude. Seeing a threat in Bohemians’ potential to deteriorate the neighbourhood he has property in, he says:

“ Bohemia, Bohemia's
A fallacy in your head
This is Calcutta
Bohemia is dead.”¹⁶³

Florida’s idea of bohemians is very different than that of most people as to him bohemians are economically sound and well-off people. The perception of these “hungry and frozen,”¹⁶⁴ bohemians who are holding alternative values, leading an unconventional lifestyle and favouring enjoyment over work is in Richard Florida’s opinion outdated.¹⁶⁵

He argues that in the 21st century the rising importance of innovation and creativity in the commercialized economy is evident. Because social institutions actually welcome and integrate the bohemians in economic activities there is a significant interconnectivity between bohemia and high human-capital individuals and concentrations of high-technology industry. Florida comes to this conclusion by examining the ratio of bohemians in a region and comparing it to the national pattern. The result is a location quotient measure that he calls the “Bohemian Index.”¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Graña, César and Graña, Marigay. *On Bohemia. The Code of the Self-Exiled*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1990. eBook. p. 3-4.

¹⁶¹ Ley points to the realization that the Lower East Side is the last place in lower Manhattan where reinvestment will be found. Furthermore that enclave has been experiencing a case of “de-gentrification” in the 1990, through a rising withdrawal of the middle-class. See, LEY, David. *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: University Press, 1996. Print. p.43.

¹⁶² The musical was an allusion to Puccini’s *La Bohème*. RENT was composed and directed by Jonathan Larson, who died on the eve of the musical’s first preview in 1996 at the age of thirty five.

¹⁶³ “La Vie Bohème”, Act I, Musical *Rent*. Lyric taken from www.metrolyrics.com. Web. 13. APR 2012.

¹⁶⁴ “Rent”, Act I, Musical *Rent*. Lyric taken online from www.metrolyrics.com. Web. 13. April 2012.

¹⁶⁵ As he mentions, “Bohemianism was a child of the sixties,” see, Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 199.

¹⁶⁶ Florida, Richard. “The Rise of the Creative Class.” p. 260.

The two cities that have the highest scores in his Bohemian Index are Los Angeles on the West Coast and New York on the East Coast. His fancy bohemia theory has been criticized amongst gentrification and urban planning scholars. Allen Scott for example argues that bohemians do not automatically create creative and economically sound cities. They don't necessarily have the required work skills for this. He counterfeited Florida's theory best, with these words:

[C]reativity is not something that can be simply imported into the city on the backs of peripatetic computer hackers, skateboarders, gays, and assorted bohemians but must be organically developed through the complex interweaving of relations of production, work, and social life in specific urban contexts.¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, what Florida does not mention is that the high-technology industry once it settles in these areas increases the price of land, real estate and consequently rent. Taken into account that "bohemians" still are the ones who place the intellectual and creative value above the economic one, the increase of land value is to their disadvantage. Those well-praised bohemians who discovered the hidden value of a neighbourhood and improved its value through their creative and innovative input are more and more forced to move out, as they no longer can afford living there anymore.

The fictional character of Carrie Bradshaw from *Sex and the City* (already mentioned in the Value Gap subchapter) is the kind of bohemian Florida describes in his Creative Class thesis. As demonstrated in her case, she could not afford keeping her apartment after it went from being rent controlled to co-op. Contrary to Florida's conclusion about the new bohemians profiting from a new fundamental economic change his thesis does not work out for the reality of life. Rising land value does affect the bohemians just as much as it affects most other members of society who are not wealthy enough to adjust to a volatile and moody economy. This is just an example taken from a fictional character played in a fictional show, which nevertheless does come close to reality.

Florida may be right about his theory on an existing interconnectivity between high concentrations of bohemians and high-technology. However this correlation does not last very long as with the growing attractiveness of a region the land value increases too, forcing many of the bohemians to find a place to dwell and live somewhere else.

¹⁶⁷ SCOTT, Allen. "Creative cities: Conceptual issues and policy questions." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 28.1(2006):1-17. Print, p. 15.

Thus, his hypothesis about the presence of bohemians being an indicator for openness to diversity is timely limited and remains to be questioned in its quintessence.

Furthermore he completely ignores the important role of the blue-collar workers enabling the process of gentrification. This is what Saskia Sassen dealt with. In her research she concludes that gentrification is a phenomenon that is created through a new changing face of low-wage workforce. She explains, most occupations that are expected to produce large amounts of job opportunities are in the low-paid sector where there is little to no advancement opportunity.¹⁶⁸ Therefore low-wage occupations, particularly seen in the service sector are a dominant form in almost any workforce sector, even in the allegedly advanced industries, such as finance.¹⁶⁹ Consequently, “[t]he expansion of the high-income workforce, in conjunction with the emergence of new cultural forms in everyday living, has led to a process of high-income gentrification that rests, in the last analysis, on the availability of a vast supply of low-wage workers. High-price restaurants, luxury housing, luxury hotels, gourmet shops, boutiques, French hand laundries and special cleaning services are all more labour-intensive than their lower-price equivalents.”¹⁷⁰ The encounter between these two classes is only work-related, however there is a separation in habitable space, as the low-class workers could not afford to live in these high-end neighbourhoods.

Richard Florida may be right in his realization that creative people transform an undiscovered neighbourhood into a more attractive place for majority of people. However Florida’s theory lacks a more multifaceted point of view. My major point of criticism on his argumentation is that he focuses on the economic outcome created by the creative and innovative input of his Creative Class only. To him it is only the hip and happening, creative and innovative people who transform an undiscovered neighbourhood into an attractive and popular one. And because of that his hypothesis can be looked as being a biased and one-sided approach on the topic of gentrification that conveniently ignores the pitfalls of this urban planning and sociology related process.

The outcome of his research will only serve to the benefit of a handful few who are really the ones who shape and claim a city. And that shows a paradox in the entire theory: Through the migration of the elite whose choice to live in the Creative Centres that

¹⁶⁸ SASSEN, Saskia. “New Employment Regimes In Cities.” Eds. MOULAERT, Frank and SCOTT, Allen. *Cities, Enterprises and Society on the Eve of the 21st Century*. London : Pinter, 1997. Print, p. 135-137.

¹⁶⁹ Sassen, Saskia. “New Employment Regimes In Cities.” p.137.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Florida praises so much, will displace and exclude exactly those members of his well-praised Creative Class, who discovered and acknowledged the artistic and creative value of those neighbourhoods in the first place. This displacement also affects the class Florida neglected in his theory altogether: lower- and working class members. Therefore his question on “How do we decide where to live and work?” is only a question asked and answered by those who can *afford* to ask it in the first place.

2.3 The Sacred Space of the Artist

‘Money Follows Art, Billy,’ Mrs. Houghton always said. ‘Money wants what it can’t buy. Class and talent.’¹⁷¹

Artists as creative people are subject of research for urban geography Professor David Ley. The prime difference between Florida’s creative people and Ley’s is that the latter defines the creative people as pure artists who do art for art’s sake without necessarily gaining any economic profit out of their creativity.¹⁷²

Focusing his research on primarily these type of economically poor but culturally rich type of artists, Ley argues that the “urban artist is commonly the expeditionary force for inner-city gentrifiers, pacifying new frontiers ahead of the settlement of more mainstream residents.”¹⁷³ This is why the “artist’ spaces turns into a form of sacred space”¹⁷⁴ that gains in commercial value and intellectual meaning. Ley’s main hypothesis is that gentrification is the result of the emergence of a growing and dominant class that is in control of political, cultural and economic institutions.¹⁷⁵ This class he calls the “New Middle Class.”¹⁷⁶ Aesthetics and taste in urban planning (just as much as in arts and culture) is a class-privileged temperament and therefore a feature of this dominating class.¹⁷⁷ Some distinct features of Ley’s defined class are that it consists of usually highly educated and therefore knowledgeable people. Ley sets the basis of his research about gentrification on Daniel Bell’s Post Industrial notion of the city, which states that it was the artistic avant-garde that led consumer culture, rather than media, corporations, or the government.¹⁷⁸

Among the middle class are also the artists – “the cultural new “- who despite their low economic value valorise a neighbourhood’s value through their artistic merit.”¹⁷⁹ Ley’s argumentation for putting the artists among his New Middle Class is because artists are considered to be having a high cultural level, hence possessing high creative commodity. Even though artists may be reluctant towards the superficiality of commercialized values, it is because artists have the ability to turn ugly (junk) into beauty (art) they in-

¹⁷¹ BUSHNELL, Candace. *One Fifth Avenue*. 2008. eBook, p.11.

¹⁷² LEY, David, Interview 23 JUL 2012, p.1.

¹⁷³ Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p.191.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid..

¹⁷⁵ Ley, David. “A social geography of the city.” p. 229-230.

¹⁷⁶ Ley, David. “*The New Middle Class*.”

¹⁷⁷ LEY, David “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification.” *Urban Studies*. 40.2 (2003):2527-2544. Print, p. 2531.

¹⁷⁸ BELL, Daniel. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York: Basic Books, 1973. Print, As quoted in Lees et al. “Gentrification.”, p.91.

¹⁷⁹ Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p.15. These are people holding professions such as teachers, social workers, not-for-profit workers and people who worked in media and the arts. Ibid.

voluntarily contribute to the uplifting of economic value.¹⁸⁰ This is most evident in the case of artists in Pop Art who would turn ordinary everyday items into highly desired pieces of art and sell them for high prices.¹⁸¹ Therefore while not actively but rather subtle, their presence valorises a neighbourhood's value. Translating this into the world and mechanisms of gentrification, it means that the presence of artists in a neighbourhood can be considered as a forecaster for an area's property value being uplifted at some point. While acknowledging that it may be the artist's presence that leads to a gentrification, it is not the artist's fault that this valorisation happens, as it is "the societal valorisation of the cultural competencies of the artist" that attracts wealthy people towards a certain neighbourhood.¹⁸² Ironically while the artists as the New Middle Class may contribute towards an area's uplifting, they will also most likely be the once forced to move out as rent goes up. That places them in a limbo position between displacer and the displaced. In a mass-consumer society the artist may serve a totemic role, critical of the banalities of regulated life, rising "the possibility of charismatic individuality, of iconoclastic self-affirmation in a marketplace deserted of god."¹⁸³ This strong emphasis on the role of the artists towards gentrification, is closely connected to the question of aesthetics in architecture that leads to gentrification.

2.3.1 Artists and distinct Architecture

Gentrification is a complex, multifaceted topic that is most of the time interwoven with economic, political, cultural and ethical issues. Part of that interwoven picture includes the architectural realm as with changing zoning policy, building types alter, as well. In the academic realm of gentrification little has been researched on the effects of the architectural landscape of gentrification. What types of buildings serve as the visual agents of gentrified areas? What building typology is considered a potential threat to the valorisation of a neighbourhood and how do the buildings actually harmonize with each other in an interlocking aesthetic context? In her publication *Loft Living* (1989) Sharon Zukin dealt marginally with the issue of architectural aesthetics and style in the context gentrification in Manhattan's artist enclave *SoHo*. Here she emphasises the habitual

¹⁸⁰ Ley, David. "Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification." p. 2540.

¹⁸¹ For example the art exhibition "American Supermarket" lead by Andy Warhole would sell fruits like pearl for \$ 17,- and more. And people would actually buy the artefacts.

¹⁸² Ley, David. "Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification." p. 2541.

¹⁸³ Ley, David. "The New Middle Class." p.189. Ley quoting Simpson. *SoHo the Artist in the City*. Chicago: UP, 1981. Print. p. 8.

atmosphere the as well as the open space concept and flexible floors that lofts provide.¹⁸⁴ She accentuated the uniqueness of this loft style that “reflects a self that continually demands ‘more space’ to prove its individuality.”¹⁸⁵ The type of building she describes ready for being subject of revitalization and valorisation are century-old buildings with a megalith façade that interestingly enough have neither been “modernized for business use nor equipped with residential amenities.”¹⁸⁶ And despite this functional ‘flaw’ lofts are precisely the type of buildings that attract real estate agents, as the architecture of lot buildings hold characteristics of individuality and “historic compromise” meaning that the *oldness* is actually an appealing attribute in consumer culture.¹⁸⁷

This is similar to what David Ley has observed in his publication *Social Geography of the City* (1983). Looking for the best type of property to sell Ley argues that developers and real estate agents have developed an “appetite to preserve” as they have discovered that “old is beautiful” and therefore profitable.¹⁸⁸ The renovation of old, heritage buildings that will be sold or rented out for a higher price to the highest bidder and buyer has become only one part of the lucrative money-making business world of real estate.¹⁸⁹ In his essay of 2003 Ley focuses on the “Aesthetic Disposition” of artists that he recites from French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu. What Ley means by the term “Aesthetic Disposition” is that artists have a high proficiency in aesthetic matters; they know how to beautify the mundane and the ugly. This ability makes them hold a high cultural value despite their low economic value.¹⁹⁰ The Middle Class respects the artists, despite the fact that “artists in North America are invited to ‘voluntary poverty’” (though the connection to poverty and the artist’s life can be considered as a timely and geographically limitless phenomenon).¹⁹¹ But through their high degree of education as well as their

¹⁸⁴ One prominent example of a loft in SoHo is Donald Judd’s 1870s Loft in SoHo Manhattan.

For a picture of exterior and interior see online, ounodesign.com

¹⁸⁵ ZUKIN, Sharon. *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* 2nd ed. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989. eBook, p.69-70.

¹⁸⁶ Zukin, Sharon. “Loft Living.” P. 194.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 193.

¹⁸⁸ Ley, David. “A social geography of the city.” p. 160.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ There is a correlation between the hippie counter culture movement happening in the 1960s in the USA and then in Canada and the emergence of artists in Canada. According to Ley the numbers of artists in Canada between the decade of 1971 till 1981 ballooned to 115 per cent, which can be understood as the emerging image of ‘hipness’ and the need of individuality in a mass-produced post-industrial society. Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p. 188.

¹⁹¹ According to a statistical profile of Canadian Artists conducted in 2001 average earnings of artists was \$23,500, which is 75% less than the average earnings of all occupational groups. This low annual wage puts artists on a par with degreeless occupations such as clerks, secretaries or delivery drivers.

This study also shows that over 40% of artists hold a university degree. Source: Hill Strategies Research “A Statistical Profile of Artists in Canada”. www.hillstrategies.com. 17 Sep. 2004. Web. 06 May 2012. The survey understands the term *artist* as a person who holds one of the following twelve

proficiency in aesthetic skills they are holding a high level of cultural capital.¹⁹² This gives them a special role among the New Middle Class, as Ley explains:

As an innovator, the artist has a distinctive bridging function in conveying novel and sometimes iconoclastic styles to the middle-class from which he and she can commonly drawn. The artist serves a social role as a broker of fashionable middle-class taste, demarcating the new frontiers of cultural distinction. It is exactly the distance from mass culture that enables the avant-garde artist to prescribe the “myth of the elite”.¹⁹³

It is because of the artists’ ability to loosen themselves from the tranquillity and boredom of everyday life and their ability to set cultural.¹⁹⁴ This is closely connected to the observation that neighbourhoods with higher concentrations of artists were in general above-average status and closer to the districts where the elite and wealthy live. They also had an above average concentration of students living in those areas, which may be due to the fact that these areas were close to Universities.¹⁹⁵

The conception of taste and preference is linked to architectural preferences, such as buildings that have “authentic” character. The quest for authenticity and individuality – caused by a rising mass production policy in a post-industrial North American society caused Ley’s New Middle Class seek for the kind of products that “offer a denser symbolic aura” than the usual mass-produced commodities.¹⁹⁶ Translating this new taste in commodity into the real estate and architecture world, it means that the New Middle Class started to dismiss building types that stand for high functionality and have low aesthetic values, which is the case in ‘plain looking’ buildings such as those of modernism. Instead the New Middle Class prefer buildings that express a sense of individuality and character, reflected in inner-city terrace houses. In here there are two distinctions

occupations: writers, visual artists, craft artists, film and video artists, dancers, choreographers, playwrights, artistic directors, actors, musicians, singers, composers and interdisciplinary and performance artists.

¹⁹² According to a survey conducted by Hill Strategies Research in February 2010 the percentage of artists holding a bachelor degree or higher degree is 50% or higher in Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa. In Calgary 48% of the artists hold a Bachelor of Arts or higher degree. See, HILL, Kelly. “Mapping Artists and Cultural Workers in Canada’s Large Cities.” Hill Strategies Research, February 2010. Web. 06.May 2012. PDF, p.6.

¹⁹³ Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p.189. Ley cites ELIADE, M. *Myth and Reality*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964. Print, p. 187.

¹⁹⁴ While Ley acknowledges that both, the artists as well as the entrepreneur are concerned with the creation of value, he sees the latter as a “servant of mass society” whereas the former is an anti-conformist who lives on the edge of society. Ley, David. “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification.” p. 2530.

¹⁹⁵ Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p.190.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 18.

within the middle class that each obtains one kind of preferred habitual aesthetics. The first group is close to Florida's Creative Class members: degree holding, academics who make a living as teachers, professors, architects, lawyers and other not-for-profit sectors. These group prefers the "old is beautiful" residential dwelling. The other group consists of people that hold rather conservative values as well as occupations in the private sector and business oriented workforce following economical intentions.¹⁹⁷ The latter group favours the newly built condominium apartments with the sleek aesthetics of new and clean, that Ley describes as a "modern apartment design". This aesthetics features "new forms, materials, and architectural references."¹⁹⁸

These two groups can be associated with two distinct architectural styles that are paramount shapers within the realm of gentrification: heritage buildings and newly built high-rise condominiums. While the heritage buildings' value rises through its aesthetics (since old is beautiful) the condominium's aesthetics suggests that new and clean is a good economical investment. Both forms seek to stand out in the architectural landscape of mediocrity and uncreative bluntness.

By stressing the role of housing quality in connection to gentrification in his 2008 essay, Ley identified some key aesthetic features that may be contributing factors towards this inner city valorisation process. The following architectural features Ley calls "character architecture"¹⁹⁹ that are socially [by the middle-class] approved and considered as providing "landscapes of distinction"²⁰⁰ which again leads to an area's valorisation: Victorian Style houses displaying the typical spacious bay windows as seen in the pastel-coloured examples of the houses in San Francisco's Hayes Street; The Brownstones in Manhattan – as seen in the example of Carrie Bradshaw's rent-controlled building in *Sex and The City* – poster-modern creative design of condominiums built in the 1980s as well as the design of loft façades consisting of brick and timber.²⁰¹ Other important aesthetical factors that will raise the likelihood of gentrification of an area are the proximity to environmental amenities such as waterfront or a park as well as cultural institu-

¹⁹⁷ Ley, David. "The New Middle Class." p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁹⁹ LEY, David. "Are There Limits to Gentrification? The Contexts of Impeded Gentrification in Vancouver." *Urban Studies*. 45.12 (2008):2471-2498. Print, p. 2473.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.,

²⁰¹ Ibid.

tions (museums).²⁰² The geographical closeness to already higher-status neighbourhoods may be a further indicator of an area being gentrified.²⁰³

This change in architectural scenery in order to emphasise the uniqueness, and difference by the gentrifiers, has been observed by Ruth Glass already in the 1960s, when she describes:

[T]he more detailed maps show other revisions as well – changes within each of the broad ‘land-use classes’, as well as changes in the occupancy and appearance of the buildings which represent the various categories of land use. Independent retailers have given way to chain stores; the sites of small food shops have been taken by supermarkets and those of shabby Italian restaurants by Espresso bars. The social status of many residential areas is being uplifted. Offices are increasingly housed in ‘prestige’ buildings’.²⁰⁴

What was then considered as ‘prestige building’ may now in the 21st century have altered in shape and style. The authenticity that those “shabby Italian restaurants” and “small food shops” represent may now be exactly the kind of aesthetics that lead to a neighbourhood’s valorisation. After all it is about individuality and exclusivity that the new gentry of the 21st century are aiming for.

²⁰² Ibid, p. 2475. Ley does however acknowledge that extremely poor and rundown areas with no architectural merit may be valorised in land and property, too. Ibid, p. 2478.

²⁰³ For example *Kitsilano* and *Fairview* that have been heavily gentrified in the 1970s are adjacent to Shaughnessy that has been an enclave for Vancouver’s elite right from the beginning of its formation. Ibid, p. 2478.

²⁰⁴ Glass, Ruth.. “London. Aspects of Change.” p. xxv.

2.4 Mixed-Income Neighbourhoods – Mixed Opinions and Views

Mixed-income housing indicates the placement of a heterogeneous group of residents into one homogenous building set in a heterogeneous, changing neighbourhood. This kind of preference for mixed-income and mixed-race neighbourhoods has been one of the most emerging trends in 21st-century urban development. It is considered innovative, progressive and ethically supportable. Diversity is the key to success in urban planning. But this development is also closely connected to the process of gentrification, and because of its ambivalent nature it is also perceived in most controversial ways. On the one hand politicians and city planners claim to put a focus on a diverse, class, race and age related blend of people concentrated in one neighbourhood in order to avoid *ghettoisation*²⁰⁵ and isolation. There are also scholars who express support for this form of mixed-income neighbourhood development, arguing it will serve for the benefit of everyone.²⁰⁶ On the other hand some scholars argue that this type of “mixture” serves only to the benefit of those who gentrify, as low-income members of a neighbourhood will not be able to use the facilities and commercial opportunities of formerly affordable areas where economically strong residents move in.²⁰⁷ In most cases of a mixed-income neighbourhood the middle class is given incentives by government and city planners to invest and move into devaloured areas with a primarily low-income residency. The new residents are offered to live in nicely renovated and newly built buildings sharing them with the native, economically weak residents. New commercial buildings, educational institutions and other organizations will be put in that area to serve the needs of those who can afford it. This circumstance creates a bizarre situation of class segregation in between this economic mixture.

One of the most active scholars to look into the emerging notion of mixed-income gentrification is Loretta Lees. By researching the British Government’s mixed-income housing politics Lees assess the British Government’s attempts to attract

²⁰⁵ Ghettoisation is the process by which minority groups are forced out of the mainstream either physically or culturally.

²⁰⁶ BYRNE, J.Peter. “Two cheers for gentrification” *Howard Law Journal*, 46.3:(2003), 405-432. Print.

²⁰⁷ For example Dr. Atkinson concludes that it is hard to measure the success of mixed-income neighbourhoods as the estimation of the outcome of this form of neighbourhood is intuitive rather than based on objective evidence. See, ATKINSON, Rowland. “Occasional Paper 1: Neighbourhoods and the Impacts of Social Mix: Crime, Tenure Diversification and Assisted Mobility.” *Housing and Community Research Unit/. ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research*. 2005.

more middle-class inhabitants into the inner city through incentives to buy real estate in areas with devalued land. Lees is highly critical towards the Government's urban planning: she argues that this is just another marketing tool to boost gentrification and foster upscale real estate development.²⁰⁸ Her general scepticism towards gentrification is best expressed by her statement that, "Selling gentrification to us as something 'positive', that has a social-mixing or social inclusion agenda is quite canny in that it neutralizes the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it."²⁰⁹

2.4.1 The American Dream – “Cabrini Green” as Positive Gentrification

Cabrini Green used to be a public housing development in the North Side of Chicago in the 1960s. Today it is a prominent example of “positive gentrification” as described by Lees. Before World War II the then existing estate was called ‘Little Hell’, during the war in 1943 ‘Little Hell’ was demolished in order to built new public housing development, named *Cabrini Green* (after Francis Cabrini, who was the first American canonized by the catholic church.) The tenants of *Cabrini Green* were mostly poor Irish, African Americans and Italian Workers. The estate consisting of 24 High Rise buildings housed over 1600 units. The deterioration of the site reminds on that of *Pruitt Igoe* in St. Louis. When the factory that employed most of the residents of *Cabrini Green* shut down in the 1970s unemployment rate among the residents went up, so did the crime rate, due to cuts of police control. The estate became an epitome for crime, drug dealing and murder. *Harper's Magazine* Columnist Ben Austen compares the aesthetics of the High Rises to “a giant dresser without drawers.”²¹⁰

A *YouTube* clip about the estate ends with the words “If you can survive Cabrini you can survive anything.”²¹¹ In 1996 the demolition of the estate started [except for the three original *Francis Cabrini Row Houses* placed on the South-West Side of the estate] in order to make way for a new mixed-income transformation of that area.

²⁰⁸ Lees et al. “Gentrification.” p. 199.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ AUSTEN, Ben “The Last Tower: The Decline and Fall of Public Housing” *harpers.org*. 08 May 2012. Web. 20 May 2012.

²¹¹ CAMPBELL, Daniel. *Cabrini Green Past & Present*. 4 Dec 2006. YouTube Video Clip. 13 May 2012.

The last buildings were demolished in 2011. A *YouTube* clip by the Chicago Housing Agency (CHA) shows a wonderful 3D Animation of the new development, an architectural assembly of flat-roofed low- to midrise buildings along the blocks that consist of ‘firely’ but friendly red brick façades.²¹²

The “modern design” of the new buildings’ architecture will “blend in the surrounding neighbourhood” and be surrounded by a green and lush landscape, consisting of tree lined streets and little parks placed in between the buildings.²¹³ The clip ends with the promise that low-income residents of the new development will have access to the same community resources as other Chicago residents do.²¹⁴ This transformation is part of an urban planning development called HOPE VI (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) that was created by the US Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development in 1993.²¹⁵ According to the Government’s website, part of HOPE VI’s agenda is to change “the physical shape of public housing” as well as to establish “positive incentives for resident self-sufficiency and comprehensive services that empower residents.”²¹⁶ The US governmental program of HOPE VI that is also labelled as a revitalization, redevelopment or gentrification has been subject of intense research about mixed-income gentrification in recent years.²¹⁷

Signs of *Cabrini Green*’s redevelopment being a success may be the fact that the estate situated right next to a very affluent neighbourhood of Chicago, ‘Golden Coast’. This circumstance goes along with David Ley’s observation that “proximity to high- or at least middle-status areas, often at or near their declining fringes towards downtown, is an early and continuing site for middle-class reinvestment.” Ley argues that despite the high risk of losing investment in run-down areas the success of such development is believed to be almost certain as “proximity to existing and proven middle-class and ‘elite markets lessens reinvestment risks.”²¹⁸

²¹² For a picture of Cabrini Green in 1962 see online Chicago History Museum. chicagohs.org

²¹³ HILL, Dereck. *Cabrini Green Redevelopment*. 21 Aug 2008. YouTube Video Clip. 20 May 2012.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ For further information see website of US Department of Housing and Urban Development. portal.hud.gov. n.d. Web. 19 May 2012.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ For example, SMITH, Janet. “Mixing it up: Public Housing Redevelopment in Chicago. Conference Paper.” Copenhagen 17-19 May 2001.

²¹⁸ Ley, David. “Are there limits to gentrification.” p. 2474. This realisation however emerged only in recent years of gentrification research as in his publication of 1986 Ley renders Phillip Clay’s observation

The search for space in an increasingly denser inner-city development also triggers a struggle for class and identity. Hence the one group will call the change in urban “planning revitalization” or “urban renaissance”, while the other group will call it “gentrification” and “displacement” of the poor.²¹⁹ However the vital question to be asked is: do mixed-income neighbourhoods promote a social mix or do they rather create a social exclusion? In the case of *Cabrini Green* by just looking at the numbers, only 20% of the newly built units are subsidized public housing, another 50% are market units for condominiums and 30% are for commercial purpose including the University of – give rise to legitimate doubts on the inclusion of the low-income and poor population.²²⁰ If “architecture influences the lives of those who inhabit or use it”²²¹, as Charles Jencks once observed, what happens to the remaining 80% former tenants of the demolished public housing estate? That question remains unanswered in the *YouTube* clip of the CHA.²²² You can demolish architecture, but you cannot demolish human beings.

2.5 Recent Findings on Mixed-Income Housing

A deeper study on the effects of mixed-income neighbourhoods has only evolved in the academic realm since the early 2000. One of the most recent publications on this topic is Loretta Lees et al. “Mixed Communities - Gentrification by Stealth?”²²³ The scholars in this publication answer the question on whether “mixed-income housing is yet another route towards urban gentrification” with a simple, postmodern: “some-

that none of the gentrified neighbourhoods examined in Clay’s survey of 1979 were anywhere near a sizable public housing project. See: Ley, David. “A social geography of the city.” p. 163.

²¹⁹ A Survey conducted by the Cabrini Green Local Advisory Council and Chicago Housing Authority had the purpose to identify the former residents’ stand on the redevelopment project of Cabrini Green. The language used in the survey never mentions the word “gentrification”, instead “revitalization.” See: Local Advisory Council and Chicago Housing Authority “Cabrini-Green HOPE VI. Survey, 2003. PDF. luc.edu/curl/pdfs/Cabrini-Green_HOPE_VI_Survey.pdf. p. 7, 35 and p. 43.

²²⁰ A Hotel built in the 1920s will be converted into a residential building housing 89 people with a median income below 60% of the average. At the time of research no further information on that project was available. See, BENTLEY, Christopher. “Breaking Ground” 08 Oct 2011. Web. archpaper.com. 20 May 2012.

²²¹ Jencks, Charles. “Modern Movements in Architecture.” New York: Anchor Books, 1973. Print, p. 30.

²²² According to an article in the Design Observer, the former residents of Cabrini Green can use ‘Housing Choice Vouchers that will subsidize their rent in privately owned dwellings elsewhere in the city’ They were also given the option to enter a ‘lottery’, but as all subsidized units are already fully reserved this is no choice anymore. See, VALE, Lawrence “Housing Chicago: Cabrini-Green to Parkside of Old Town.” 20 Feb 2012. designobserver.com. Web. 20 May 2012.

²²³ Lees, Loretta, et al. “Mixed Communities. Gentrification By Stealth?”

times”.²²⁴ They explain their answer based on interview results they conducted with residents of four HOPE VI mixed-income housing developments throughout the States. The outcome of that study is that residents of mixed-income housing who had a clear agenda on their goals identified HOPE VI as a helpful and supportive housing concept that enabled them to reach their goals while enjoying the calm and quite living environment.²²⁵

On the other hand the social interaction among the neighbours was described as being too poor to non-existing, due to either a busy schedule or because of hostile feelings towards those of different class.²²⁶ Ultimately the researchers come to the conclusion that the socio-economic mix under the HOPE VI developments are not drastic enough to truly decide whether gentrification has taken place or not. The difference between poor and rich is too modest in the buildings built under HOPE VI.²²⁷

Since the process of gentrification caused by mixed-income neighbourhoods and housing involves two very differing poles of groups as well as single cases of private individuals it will never be possible to bring objective evidence supporting opinions that are either in favour or against this development.

Often time’s mixed-income gentrification is a choice regulated by the middle- and upper-class. They act as the dominating class that shapes and change the cultural and architectural landscape of an area.²²⁸ This is why all debates on mixed-income gentrification depict cases where the middle class moves into devalued lower-class areas. They are the once who decide what architect to hire, what design they want and what kind of commercial choices to let into “their” neighbourhood. They are the new gentry of the 21st century North American urban city. The success of the integration of low-income households into the middle class neighbourhood hinges on the willingness of the latter to accept the former as a genuine part of the neighbourhood.²²⁹

But what about cases where lower-class households move to a building that is set in a middle-class neighbourhood? It is argued that low-income households do have a

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 214.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 221.

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 226.

²²⁷ Bridge et al. “Mixed Communities.” p. 229.

²²⁸ Ley, David. “A social geography of the city.” p.230. See also, Harvey, David. “The Right to the City.”

²²⁹ LEES, Loretta. “Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?” *Urban Studies*. 45.11:(2008), 2449-2470. p. 2462.

voice in shaping and making their neighbourhood mostly through the notion of the Right to the City. The architecture of these affordable housing projects can amplify this notion by providing its residents livable and secure dwelling space at the same time reaching out to the neighbourhood through its innovative and creative design.

As this dissertation aims to link the impact of affordable housing architecture with the process of gentrification some of these theories depicted will be encountered. However gentrification is neither a static nor timely limited process. Moreover it is a constantly moving and altering development that mutates with the changing dynamics and preferences of a neighbourhood's cultural, political and demographic story. Through the course of time the perception of gentrification and its impact on the marginalized as well as on the gentrifiers changes.²³⁰

Just like the non-static development of gentrification the image of affordable housing is subject of change as well. The aim is to find out to what extent architecture of affordable housing creates a healthy balance between living space.

²³⁰ SLATER, Tom. "The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (2006):737-757.

CHAPTER THREE: Affordable Dwelling Architecture in a pan-European Context

Nothing should be enriched in a building that cannot be justified in terms of 'convenience, construction or property.'²³¹

The subject of affordable residential architecture is – like so many other topics in the arts and architecture – one of interconnectivity and intercultural influences.

Every new encounter in this field is connected with and influenced by numerous inner continental exchanges between the respective European countries. In the history of architecture, the issue of widespread affordability places itself no sooner than in the last decades of the 19th century. Long before architects started to decide to build and design houses for the common citizenry, the dominant path for architects was to serve the wealthy, the powerful, or the clergy. Fancy ornaments, classical pillar orders of the Renaissance, illusionary *Trompe l'oeil* of Mannerism, or the translation of religious imaginary on buildings in 12th-century Gothic architecture: these were all part of what was considered to be beautiful and worthy architectural styles.²³²

With the emergence of the industrialization age, architects were given the chance to pursue new endeavours. In England's late 18th and early 19th century, new materials such as steel and glass expanded architects' imagination and opened up new ways of building. The first iron bridge – the Coalbrookdale Bridge - was built in England's Shropshire in 1777, followed by James Finley's Schuylkill Bridge in 1809.²³³ However, the real paradigm shift in architecture - from the traditional to the functional - would begin with the World Fair in and the building of London's Crystal Palace in 1851.²³⁴

The notions of improved housing for ordinary people had their roots in the preceding decades of England's society.²³⁵ Their origins lie in the *Arts-And-Crafts Movement* of the 1880s, which would later develop into the *Garden City Movement*. Both movements

²³¹ PUGIN, Augustus Welby. *The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*. Edinburgh: J. Grant. 1895. Print, p.1. In this citation, Pugin primarily is talking about the revival of the Gothic Style – including the buttresses and ribbed vaulting that he admired so much. But because of the ambiguity of Pugin's statement, the quote can also be favored by those who strive towards a functionalistic architectural style.

²³² For example, Vasari praising Alberti's house that he designed for the Rucellai family, stated that a "good building demands that architraves should be used for columns." Source: VASARI translated by George Bull, "Lives of the artists." Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1965. Print, p. 211.

²³³ PEVSNER, Nikolaus. *Der Beginn der Modernen Architektur und des Designs*. Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1971. Print. p. 11-12.

²³⁴ Pevsner. "Moderne Architektur und Design." p. 13.

²³⁵ PEVSNER, Nikolaus. *Europäische Architektur. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Munich & New York: Prestel, 1994. Print. p. 356.

would influence other parts of Europe in the beginning of the 20th century, and subsequently reach the North American continent.²³⁶

Countless art and architecture historians have lauded the extraordinary works of the British architects of the late 19th century and their many achievements in the field of affordable architecture. For example, art historian Nikolaus Pevsner praises England for having set milestones in architecture and craftsmanship for Europe and the USA for a long time to come.²³⁷ The renunciation of Historicism in art and architecture in England began with the *English Domestic Revival*; it was led above all by British architects such as Norman Shaw and Philip Webb, both friends of William Morris, the renowned promoter of the *Arts and Crafts Movement*. All three (among other notable figures) had a profound impact on the reforms in England's late 19th-century residential architecture and interior design.²³⁸ Following the example set by the Britons, German architect Hermann Muthesius imported and promoted the ideas of affordable architecture from England to what was then the German Empire. He acknowledged that the problem of residential architecture was one, which primarily affected the middle class.²³⁹ Therefore, Muthesius was particularly interested in the architectural solutions of the English Domestic Revival. He spoke very highly of R. Norman Shaw's (1831-1912) architecture of small to medium sized houses, calling them modest yet true to the motives of domestic and regional architecture.²⁴⁰ He was particularly fond of Shaw's ability to let the spacious windows of a house reveal its true nature.²⁴¹ Realizing that the principal challenge of late 19th century architecture lay in providing housing for the middle class, Muthesius praised Shaw's settlement houses, called *Bedford Park*, near London (built in 1880), as the best solution to the problem of affordable and artistic housing.²⁴² To Muthesius, Shaw's settlements were - despite their uniformity and the aesthetic limitations of their nature as townhouses - a full manifestation to the world.²⁴³ Moreover, the settlement became the "sanctuary" of creative aesthetes who would find inner peace and happiness

²³⁶ Pevsner. "Moderne Architektur und Design." p. 115.

²³⁷ Pevsner. "Europäische Architektur." p. 355.

²³⁸ Pevsner. "Moderne Architektur und Design." p. 27.

²³⁹ MUTHESIUS; Hermann. *Das Englische Haus*. Band I. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1999. Print, p. 139.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 133. Muthesius' book is split in three volumes, the first one dealing with the development of the English House, the second the circumstances leading to the construction as well the facilities and structure; the third and last volume deals with the interior design of the houses.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 133.

²⁴² *Ibid*, p. 134-139. For Drawings of Bedford Park, London, by Norman Shaw see online source *Archiseek.com*. Published in *The Building News*, January 2nd 1880.

²⁴³ Muthesius, Hermann. "Das Englische Haus." *Ibid*, p. 135.

there.²⁴⁴ The most remarkable feature of these simple townhouses was that each had a front yard, enabling architecture to merge with nature. This architectural development made Bedford Park the first garden suburb of England's late 19th century.²⁴⁵

Muthesius considered architect John Dando Sedding to be the bridge figure between architecture and craftsmanship, and the holistic movement gave rise to the Arts and Crafts movement.²⁴⁶ Interior designer and craftsman William Morris (1834-1896) designed many of the interiors of England's residential buildings based on the principles of the *Arts And Crafts* which favoured the use of locally obtained and untreated materials. Morris was also a strong believer in the accessibility of the arts for every member of society, he thought that as only then would the arts truly fulfil their meaning in their entirety.²⁴⁷ To make sure that his social and idealistic ideas were heard, starting in 1877, Morris went on a mission with lectures and talks on the artists', craftsmen's and architects' obligation to serve everyday citizens.²⁴⁸ Initially, the craftsmanship of the designers and architects of the *Arts And Crafts* Movement were meant for the more affluent members of British society that gradually expanded to include the middle-class as their target group as well.

Around 1890, architecture moved away from its previous ties to Historicism towards an exclusively rural style of cottage houses. In that regard, the focus of England's architects now lay mostly on the creation of "domestic bliss" and a sense of cosiness rather than facades and ornate architecture. This tendency coincided well with the coeval shift in housing ownership from the landed aristocracy to the urban middle class. The architect most credited with the stylistic twist from ornate to simple is Charles F. Annesley Voysey (1857-1941), who, according to Pevsner, is the "most influential British architect of the late 19th century".²⁴⁹ Voysey built such renowned houses as the *Vidon House* in Surrey (1902), or an atelier in London's West Kensington. Those houses' distinct style distances themselves from historical citations through modest facades, sustained window frames and simple mullions, as well as relatively low ceilings to highlight the welcoming, comfortable and habitable atmosphere.²⁵⁰ Voysey was also one of the first

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 136.

²⁴⁵ Pevsner. "Moderne Architektur und Design." p. 32.

²⁴⁶ Muthesius. "Das Englische Haus." p. 147-148.

²⁴⁷ Pevsner. "Europäische Architektur." p. 352.

²⁴⁸ Morris believed in the strong correlation between good and reasonable architecture and the arts. See, for example, THOMPSON, Paul. *The Work of William Morris*. London 1967.

²⁴⁹ Pevsner. "Europäische Architektur." p. 354.

²⁵⁰ According to Muthesius, the maximum Voysey would go for in a ceiling's height was 2,75 meters; Voysey would even consider a height of 2,36 meters as adequate. See, Muthesius. "Das Englische Haus." p. 163.

architects who would recognise the need for a holistic approach to art, architecture and interior design. Consequently, the architect himself designed both the architectural and interior design of houses such as that of the Broadley Family at Westmoreland.

In the last decades of England's 19th century, architecture underwent several drastic changes and transitions, away from poetic reverie and Historicism on towards a simple, modest and subsequently holistic style combining architecture with craftsmanship.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the *Arts and Crafts Movement's* communally driven architecture was extended into a more urban context. Architecture and urban planning were to be combined and developed in a harmonious way: *The Garden City* movement was one result of this development. Entire new towns were created since the movement's rise. One major pioneer of the Garden City movement was the urban planner Ebenezer Howard, who firmly believed in the benefits of neighbourhoods which promoted a social mix between rich and poor, which in turn is reflected by a blending of housing types in a mutually shared area of town.

In his book 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow [sic]' (1902)²⁵¹ Howard best expressed his idealistic point of view of the Garden City, as well as the sense of community it brought along through the following statement:

Each generation should build to suit its own needs; and it is no more in the nature of things that men should continue to live in old areas because their ancestors lived in them, than it is that they should cherish the old beliefs which a wider faith and a more enlarged understanding have outgrown.²⁵²

In addition, Howard was a strong advocate of the power of communities. He believed that the Garden City would be in the "hands of the people" rather than private individuals, and therefore was to be administered, "not in the supposed interest of the few, but in the real interest of the whole community."²⁵³

He was positive about the city's success and growth as Garden City would "ever add to its social opportunities, to its beauty, to its convenience."²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ The book is a reprint of Howard's first book "Tomorrow; a Peaceful Path to Real Reform." 1898.

²⁵² HOWARD, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. 1902. Print, p. 133.

²⁵³ Howard, Ebenezer. "Garden Cities." p. 129. In a footnote of his book's Postscript, Howard mentions the large influence of women on the Garden City, calling women one of the "most active missionaries" of the Garden City. See, Howard, Postscript, p. 161, ft. 1.

²⁵⁴ Howard, Ebenezer. "Garden Cities." p. 129.

Ebenezer Howard was a strong advocate of a City – The Garden City - which would be the outward expression of a strong desire to secure the best interests of all its inhabitants.²⁵⁵ Thus, his Garden City idea also represented an egalitarian approach; a more just and livable city which could be enjoyed - and afforded - by all. This approach gained further relevance due to the deteriorating circumstances in the increasingly overpopulated cities.

In order to solve the ever present problem of overpopulation and slum building in the big cities, he presented his idea of a third alternative between City and Country, carefully displayed in his diagram No. 5 “Illustrating Correct Principle of a City’s Growth”.²⁵⁶ This idea comprises a set up of clusters, consisting of one pre-existing city and the establishing of another or many smaller counties very close by.²⁵⁷ The proximity between the single city and the smaller counties would be ensured through rapid transportation (electric tramways), which unites the individual clusters into one community.²⁵⁸ The concept allows sufficient growth as the individual counties could multiply themselves, circulating around the actual city. The “Garden” being part of this city concept comprises the “fresh delights” such as field, hedgerow, and woodland that surround the countries and are accessible for every member of town.²⁵⁹

Howard was very much in favour of his clustered city model, believing that through the team spirit of those who worked for a living “whether by hand or by brain”²⁶⁰ eventually “a just system for land tenure”²⁶¹ could be established.

Howard’s ambitious visions of a green and spacious urbanism as manifested in the idea of his Garden City have never been realised to the fullest. However, some examples by architectural firm of *Parker & Unwin* in Letchworth (1904), or in Hampstead (1907) show possibilities of Howard’s visions as successful guidelines on how architecture can contribute towards a more just and social city.²⁶²

England’s *Domestic Style*, the *Arts-And-Crafts Movement*, as well as the *Garden City* concept, revealed the pioneering potential of visionary people who changed the face of

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 162.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 129.

²⁵⁷ For drawings of a “correct principle of a city’s growth” by Ebenezer Howard see Howard, Ebenezer. “Garden Cities of To-Morrow.” 1902, p. 129.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 130.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 130.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 135

²⁶¹ Ibid, p. 139.

²⁶² Pevsner calls Howard’s Garden City concept a ‘possibility’ but ‘not an eternal solution.’ See, Pevsner, Nikolaus. “Moderne Architektur und Design.” p. 196.

British late 19th-century architecture and influenced post World War II urban planning developments in North American cities.²⁶³ But that development was also controversial: As a bona fide socialist, Friedrich Engels had his own interpretations and concerns on England's building societies and co-operatives. According to Engels, the first purpose of those building societies was not to provide blue-collar workers with their own houses, but rather to exploit them.²⁶⁴ Building societies, he argued are neither worker's societies, nor do they serve a purpose in providing workers with their own houses. Engels backs up his statement by stating that the down payment for becoming a member in a building society in the first place is too high for the average blue-collar worker.²⁶⁵ Through this concept the building societies are cherry picking an exclusive group of people- the petite bourgeoisie- who are wealthy enough to become members and then owners of those residences.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, to us as observers, it is safe to say that in the last few decades of the 19th century, England's architectural developments did experience a thorough change in target group and style. This change had a great and positive influence on other parts in Europe and later North America. Based on Morris' principles to authenticity in material, as well as Shaw's and Voysey's new stylistic concepts on residential architecture, two other European countries found their way moving towards a more just and egalitarian architecture in the beginning of the 20th century: Austria and Germany.

²⁶³ According to Pevsner the great achievements of England's architecture in the late 19th century ceased to be recognised in England's architecture after the turn of the 20th century. Source: Pevsner, Nikolaus. "Europäische Architektur." p. 355. However in the USA and Canada the movement became popular during and after World War II. For example, town planner and architect Raymond Unwin stated that Letchworth, "has given the standards of space that we need for generous urban planning." Source: UNWIN, Raymond. "Towards a Healthy Social Life. The Garden City Ideal." *Journal of Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol 15.2(1938):27-28. Print, p.27.

²⁶⁴ MARX, Karl und ENGELS, Friedrich. *Werke*. 5th Edition. Dietz Verlag: Berlin, 1973. Vol.18. "Zur Wohnungsfrage." p. 252. The Original version was written between June 1872 to February 1873 and published in the magazine "Der Volksstaat" in Leipzig. *Kindle* offers a copyright free edition of Engel's "Wohnungsfrage" available to download as an eBook.

²⁶⁵ Engels. "Zur Wohnungsfrage." p. 353.

²⁶⁶ For example, Engels takes the writing of a leaflet for the buildings of the societies in Birkbeck and Southampton into account. Here Engels quotes the leaflet's admission, which says that in order to be able to pay off the payments for a house the owner usually needs to be in the possession of a Pianoforte already. On the other hand he concludes that not everyone can afford possessing a Pianoforte. Engels further criticizes that the leaflet is only considering a target group whose income is rising on a steady basis. This would not account for the average worker, who, according to Engels, not only has a hard time keeping his income on a steady basis, but also loses income through the growing number of family members. Because of all these reasons, Engels concludes that the workers are conveniently excluded from the building society's affordable homeownership concept. See, Engels, Friedrich. "Zur Wohnungsfrage." p. 253-254.

3. 1 Early Beginnings of Affordable Housing

Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert – man kann das sagen, ohne sich einer flachen Verallgemeinerung schuldig zu machen – ist das Jahrhundert der Massen und der Naturwissenschaften.²⁶⁷

After World War I, the idea that architecture should be for the common people re-emerged out of the urgent necessity for residential mass housing. Out of this necessity, there was also a shift in style as well as an increased focus on residential architecture among the architects themselves. The bold, functional and practical style of the European architects was also a reflection of the architects' reaction to the living conditions of the common people that could no longer be ignored; neither by the governments, nor by the makers and shapers of the city (i.e. urban planners, developers and architects). While notable architects of the Renaissance, Baroque or Gothic Revival were praised for citing architecture of the Middle Ages or making history by designing sacral spaces that consisted of circles and equilateral triangles, the European architects of Red Vienna, Bauhaus, International Style and even to some degree De Stijl shifted their professional focus on the social and practical needs of the people in the most profound ways.²⁶⁸

In Europe's post World War I era, Austria and Germany would above all recognise this necessity in their constitution and foster the realization and production of affordable housing for the masses. Pevsner positions the urban planning development of Austria's and Germany's early 20th century as a pioneering success that would be - contrary to England and the USA - effectively accepted in society.²⁶⁹ It is important to remember that this movement in affordable housing was primarily backed up by a socialist government in both countries. Germany and Austria's Vienna would facilitate a housing program based on a concept of equality. This political situation was combined with the egalitarian attitude of architects who were driven by ethical and political ambitions to provide society with adequate housing according to people's needs. Out of this constellation emerged one of the most fruitful periods of affordable dwelling architecture in Europe's history.

²⁶⁷ Pevsner, Nikolaus. "Europäische Architektur." p. 363.

²⁶⁸ According to Pevsner the style and philosophy of modernism was successful particularly in Europe's Germany, Austria, Netherlands and Switzerland. Perception of modernism in other parts of Europe was mixed and accepted only later (e.g. There were no significant modernist buildings created in Italy before 1932), for further information, see, Pevsner. "Europäische Architektur." p. 368.

²⁶⁹ Pevsner, Nikolaus. "Europäische Architektur." p. 359.

3.1.2 Architecture of the Red Vienna - Functionality combined with Beauty

Vienna's role in the historical context of affordable housing is extraordinary. Its position is due to its historic function as that very "Red Vienna" that emphasised the importance of an egalitarian and just society. In a research on public housing in Europe, Christoph Reinprecht concluded that as of the year 2007, forty-eight percent of the residential housings in Austria's capital Vienna consist of social housing.²⁷⁰ Compared to the rest of Austria, this percentage is above average, as the country's total number of subsidized houses accounts for 'only' twenty-five percent. After the momentous collapse of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918, Vienna became the first European metropolis that would be governed by a Social Democratic Party (as of May 4th 1919).²⁷¹

Vienna enjoyed a reputation as a city surrounded with superb and appealing architecture of the late 19th century.²⁷² In particular, the emerging architecture around the historic core – Ringstrasse – served as a reflection of the City's rising status and growth.²⁷³ The replacement of old buildings by new, many times luxury residential buildings, green parks and appealing commercial buildings had already gentrified the area in the 1850s. This development was expanded by the building of a second Ringstrasse – Gürtel – that replaced the old Linienwall.²⁷⁴ Viennese architect Otto Wagner (1841 -1918) is responsible for one of the Ringstrasse's most important buildings, the Postsparkasse.²⁷⁵ The architectural landscape of the Ringstrasse was not representative of Vienna's general housing situation. As stately and splendid as the buildings around the Ringstrasse were, the conditions of residential housing of pre WWI in Vienna were nothing short of ap-

²⁷⁰ Reinprecht, Christoph. "Social Housing in Austria." *Social housing in Europe*. Ed. WHITEHEAD, Christine and SCANLON, Kathleen. LSE London, 2007. 90-104. Print. p. 35.

²⁷¹ FOERSTER, Wolfgang. *Social Housing. Innovative Architecture*. Munich: Prestel, 2002. Print, p. 5.

Before the emergence of the Social Democrat Party the City of Vienna was lead by the conservative Christian Democratic Party. Due to their market driven politics the subject of housing would be lead almost exclusively by private capital.

²⁷² Particularly, the development around the Vienna Ring with buildings such as the neo gothic Votive Church by Heinrich von Ferstel and its neoclassic Academy of Fine Arts by Theophilus von Hansen. However Vienna's urban planning under the Habsburg monarchy has been criticized as being the most incapable one, when it comes to the buildings' and streets' relation towards each other. See, for example, Nikolaus Pevsner. "Europäische Architektur." p. 360.

²⁷³ ALOFSIN, Anthony. *When Buildings Speak: Architecture As Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933*. Chicago: University Press, 2008. Print. For a drawing of a Map, see Wettbewerbsplan von van der Nüll und Siccardsburg (1858)

Source: Online, City Archives of Vienna. <http://www.wien.gv.at/>

²⁷⁴ Alofsin. Anthony. "When Buildings Speak." p. 4.

²⁷⁵ SCHORSKE, Carl. "The Ringstrasse and the Birth of Urban Modernism". *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981. Print. For a picture, see City Archives of Vienna. <http://www.wien.gv.at/>

palling.²⁷⁶ This was partly due to a lack of sufficient labour and adequate materials to actually build more houses for the working-class. It was not until the Social Democrat Party came to power that Vienna's housing situation would improve significantly.²⁷⁷

As of January 1st 1922, Vienna was able to become its own municipality, meaning that - amongst many other things - it also gained tax sovereignty from the then conservative Austrian government.²⁷⁸ These changes lead to the birth of the "Red Vienna", enabling Vienna to become the "Island of Socialism."²⁷⁹ Furthermore, the Viennese government itself started to play a key role in the housing development of its city: In order to protect the tenants' rights, a society called 'Protection of Tenants' (*Mieterschutz*) was launched in Mai 1922; apartments were allocated according to a point system²⁸⁰ to ensure equality among the tenants; and later, in 1930, a new building bylaw (*Neue Wiener Bauordnung*) became effective. This bylaw would also have an impact on the shaping of the city's architecture and urban design.²⁸¹

It is now commonly acknowledged that the significant involvement on the part of the citizens of Vienna led towards the city's emphasis on an egalitarian society.²⁸² However, this does not mean that the role of the Viennese architects towards shaping the city was any less important: Vienna managed to attract famous and important architects such as Adolf Loos, Margarete Lihotzky, Joseph Hoffmann or Richard Neutra for their affordable architecture projects. While maintaining a high quality of architecture, the Viennese architects shifted their focus towards a broader, less affluent target group. In fact, what is striking is that - quite unlike their predecessors - Vienna's architects at the turn of the 20th century were more interested and engaged in designing residential architecture than large scale public building projects.

Architect and Vice President of the *Austrian Werkbund* (Österreichischer Werkbund), Josef Frank best described the visions and missions of Red Vienna's architects at the Werkbund exhibition of 1932:

²⁷⁶ BLAU, Eva. *Architecture of Red Vienna. 1918-1934*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999. Print, p. 82-84.

²⁷⁷ Foerster. "Social Housing." p. 9. Before the emergence of the Social Democrat Party the City of Vienna was lead by the conservative Christian Democratic Party. Due to their liberal market politics the subject of housing would be lead almost exclusively by private capital.

²⁷⁸ WEIHSMANN, Helmut. *Das rote Wien. Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919 - 1934*. Promedia: Wien, 2002. Print, p. 26.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 24.

²⁸⁰ This point system allocated apartments to tenants not according to their (high) income but habitual and family related needs. For further information on this topic see, for example, HARDY, Charles. *The Housing Programme of the City of Vienna*. Washington D.C., 1934. Print.

²⁸¹ Weihsman. "Das rote Wien." p. 128.

²⁸² Foerster talks about a "grassroots" movement that lead to the creation of the *Red Vienna*. Foerster. "Social Housing." p. 5.

[Wir wollen] Einfachheit und Zweckmäßigkeit zu Schönheit vereinigen. Wir wollen dazu beitragen, durch die Wohnung eine gemeinsamen Kultur zu begründen, von der alleine eine höhere Entwicklung der gesamten Menschheit möglich ist.²⁸³

Thus, public architecture was not only about functionality and practicality, but also about aesthetic beauty, a notion which changed the public's perception of mass housing entirely: including aesthetical considerations in affordable architecture was a new and exciting notion in Austria's Red Vienna. The architectural and urban planning development of Red Vienna could praise itself in style, scale and seize: Between the years of 1919 and 1933 an impressive number of 348 residential houses comprising 61.175 units along with 5.257 settlement buildings divided in 43 settlements were designed and built in Vienna.²⁸⁴ Some of these settlement houses - for example the *Reumann Hof* by Hubert Gessner- emerged as being splendid in design and creativity while at the same time epic in scale.²⁸⁵ From a political point of view, the city would experience its glory days in council houses for the financially disadvantaged members of its society.

The progressive social housing movement ceased with the "Anschluss" of Austria - and thus Vienna - to the Third Reich in 1938, when the "Red Vienna" lost its status as an independent province due to the rise of the Nazi Regime.²⁸⁶ Many of the housing settlements survived the test of time (for example Karl Marx Hof); however, it was not until the turn of the 21st century that Vienna experienced a renaissance in impressive developments of subsidized residential architecture - half of the 120.000-140.000 units are placed in the popular downtown core to foster the mixed-income architectural project *Mischek Tower* (2000) by Delugan-Meissl Associated Architects.²⁸⁷

²⁸³ FRANK, Josef. "Die Internationale Werkbundsiedlung Wien." *Neues Bauen in der Welt*. Vol 6. Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co, 1932. Print.

²⁸⁴ Foerster. "Social Housing." p. 15.

²⁸⁵ The estate was named after Jakob Reumann (1853-1925), who became the first social-democrat mayor in a European metropolis. See, Weihsmann. "Das Rote Wien." p. 24.

²⁸⁶ Foerster. "Social Housing." p. 21.

²⁸⁷ For further information and pictures consult the website of DELUGAN MEISSL ASSOCIATED ARCHITECTS "Mischek Tower." For further information on the political situation on subsidized housing in contemporary Vienna see, for example, Reinprecht, Christoph "Social Housing in Austria." 35-43 in Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007.

3.2 The Changing Picture of Affordable architecture in Germany

Similar to “Red Vienna”, Germany’s post World War I era experienced a vivid and active political and creative movement in the field of affordable housing: during the Weimar Republic, the demand for mass housing was recognised by the government, and its fulfilment carried out by talented and ambitious architects.

Realizing the enormous housing deficit, it was the government’s ambitious aim to provide sufficient apartments for its people as well as to remedy the deficiencies in existing buildings caused by the war.²⁸⁸ Like Red Vienna, the government of the Weimar Republic managed to attract notable architects such as Walter Gropius (1883 - 1969), Hannes Meyer (1889-1954), Bruno Taut (1880-1938) und Martin Wagner (1885 - 1957) for their public housing agenda. Through their extraordinary accomplishments, these architects contributed to the improvement of living standards of German interwar society.²⁸⁹ Some of the residential architecture work that resulted out of the combination of a left-wing government and committed and passionate architects is viewed favourably, even lauded to this day.

This sub-chapter deals with the historical context of Germany’s affordable housing development between the years 1919-1933.

The public housing movement of the Weimar Republic was extremely progressive and innovative, and it brought the meaning of liveability in dwelling architecture to a whole new level. By examining the scope of the ideals and principles early 20th-century German architects, towards public housing a comparison to the affordable housing situation in Germany’s present can be made.

As the capital of the former Prussian Kingdom, the city of Berlin will be the starting point of this chapter. Why Berlin? In architectural, terms two significant developments emerged between the years 1918-1933 in this very city:

²⁸⁸ HIRTSIEFER, Heinrich. *Die Wohnungswirtschaft in Preußen*. Verlag Müller: Eberswalde, 1929. Print. After World War I, Germany was facing a severe housing shortage. It was short of approx. 1.25 Million apartment units. Source: RUCK, Michael. “Der Wohnungsbau. Schnittpunkt von sozial- und Wirtschaftspolitik.” *Die Weimarer Republik als Wohlfahrtsstaat*. Ed. Abelshauser, Werner. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1987. Print, p. 95.

²⁸⁹ The housing development of the *Weimar Republic* has been criticized for being too good. Compared to other European countries, the tendency for larger apartments was particularly apparent for newly built apartments in Germany. See, for example, *Die Wohnungspolitik in Europa. Der Kleinwohnungsbau*. Vol. 3. Genf, 1931. Print.

On the other hand towards the late 1920s the government endeavoured to implement large scale construction contracts for housing that would particularly meet the needs of the low-earning families. This has been stressed by the then Minister of Labour Rudolf Wissell in 1929. See, WISELL, Rudolf. "Der Wohnungsbau an der Jahreswende. Rückblick und Ausblick." *Wohnungswirtschaft* (1929): 1-2. Print.

1. From an aesthetic point of view, it was the design school “Bauhaus” (last placed in Berlin) that would educate some of the key figures in modernist architecture for housing estates during Berlin’s inter-World-War years.

2. From a socio-political perspective, the public housing settlements that emerged out of powerful and influential building societies and housing co-operations in Berlin changed the meaning of dwelling for the city’s population significantly. This change made adequate housing affordable to a broad group of society’s lower and working class from 1919-1933.

The question is whether this strong affordable and liveable housing movement in Berlin’s residential architecture had an impact on the city’s developments at the beginning of the 21st century. After examining this question, the historical comparison will be taken onto a geographic level by taking Bonn, Munich and Hamburg into account, as well. As West Germany’s former capital, Bonn will be examined as a popular student city in Germany. Last but not least, Hamburg and Munich have been chosen as cities that display further and continued examples of architectural developments: Hamburg, being the second biggest city of Germany population-wise, and Munich, being the most expensive city in terms of rent and living expenses, are significant cities in terms of economy and population size.

With this perspective in mind, the following subchapter shall illustrate the problem of housing due to the damages done after World War I in Germany

3.2.1 Arts-and-Crafts Movement German Style: Deutscher Werkbund

In the turn of the 20th century Germany - or moreover the than German Empire, turned into Europe’s cultural venue, despite its economical and political troubled problem it was dealing with due to the destruction of the war. This artistic and cultural renaissance was short in time but significant on impact. Artists like Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky or Lyonel Feininger were drawn to the cultural and artistic diversity the German Empire had to offer.²⁹⁰ Out of this heyday of artistic freedom and experimentation, many”-isms” and artistic and architectural trends emerged.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ MILLER Lane, Barbara. *Architektur und Politik in Deutschland 1918-1945*, Braunschweig 1986. Print, p. 18-20.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

Art, Architecture and urban planning were key players in this artistic and social reform movement. The credo was that art and architecture should be young, daring and original.²⁹² Numerous manifestos were created that reflected the emphasis on the construction of a new society, new environment and the interconnectivity of the arts, arts and crafts and architecture.²⁹³ Next to Paris, Berlin was the second biggest art metropolis in Europe that not only created interesting artwork, but also established a creative group of very talented and aspiring architects, craftsmen and artist known as *Deutscher Werkbund*.²⁹⁴

The group was founded in 1907 by influential men of Germany's pre World War I.²⁹⁵ Industry and Architecture have been the first significant manifestations of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, that is also reflected by the members many notable members of the group consisting of architects, writers, handymen, politicians and factory owners, who were not only convinced by the cultural meaning of products "Made in Germany", but also by the importance of the high quality of the local materials.²⁹⁶ According to Miller, the goals and aspirations of the Deutscher Werkbund in pre World War I Germany were similar to those of England's Arts and Crafts Movement, with the group's focus on using local materials only.²⁹⁷ Like their predecessors the idea of the Deutscher Werkbund was to bring artists, designers and architects together and approach art and architecture from a holistic perspective.

Architect Peter Behrens was one of the most noteworthy members of the Deutscher Werkbund. Like many young and upcoming architects of his time, Behrens tried to find a clear path in the architectural world of the turn of the 20th century.²⁹⁸ One such path was reflected in his endorsement of omitting any ornamental features in buildings, which were so significant for the architectural style of the then present Art Nouveau. Instead he intended to approach architecture from a pragmatic point of view. Particularly in dwelling architecture his focus was on simplicity and buildings that were meant for society in general, not just the elite and wealthy.

²⁹² Miller, Barbara. "Architektur und Politik in Deutschland."

²⁹³ BRENE, Winfried. *Siedlungen der Berliner Moderne. Nominierung für die Welterbeliste der UNESCO*. Berlin: Landesdenkmalamt 2007. Print.

²⁹⁴ HILBESHEIMER, Ludwig. *Berliner Architektur der 20er Jahre*. Berlin: 1992. Print.

²⁹⁵ Miller, Barbara. "Architektur und Politik in Deutschland." p. 36. The founders of the organization were: the politician Friedrich Naumann, editor in chief of the magazine "Kunst und Handwerk" Ferdinand Avenarius, publisher Eugen Diederichs and the already mentioned German architect Hermann Muthesius.

²⁹⁶ Hilbesheimer, Ludwig "Berliner Architektur der 20er Jahre." p. 9-11. The group was very successful in its ability to raise the public's attention for its own benefits, activities and achievements. The two highly successful exhibitions in Cologne 1914 and Stuttgart 1927 were a result of the competent, clear and concise achievements in public relation of the Deutscher Werkbund.

²⁹⁷ Miller, Barbara. "Architektur und Politik in Deutschland 1919-1945." p. 36.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 23-25.

This pedestrian goal was very convenient as the Werkbund worked aligned with the evolving freedom of using stable materials that emerged due to the Industrial Revolution. Materials such as concrete, glass or iron allowed creative freedom in design, such as sliding glass doors, solid facades and wall to ceiling windows. The impact and popularity of this very innovative and adventurous group may have diminished after World War I, but out came a number of very talented and progressive architects, such as Bruno Taut, Mies van der Rohe or Walter Gropius who would set milestones in the architecture world of the 1920s to 1940s.

Furthermore, the Werkbund's emphasis on new materials along with the omission of decorative features and the ability to execute public relation in a very successful way had a strong impact on the *Bauhaus School* that would turn into one of the most important design school of the 1920's in Germany. The correlation between this pre-World War I German association and the post-World War I Bauhaus design school did not happen by chance, as the two architects Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe were students and employees of architect Peter Behrens. While Gropius served as the first director of the famous design school that opened its doors in Weimar in 1919, it was van der Rohe who would close the school's doors as the Bauhaus' last director in 1933 in Berlin for good.

A concise description of the history and main features of this design school shall be given in the following subchapter.

3.2.2. Bauhaus: The School that Changed the Definition of Dwelling

Thus true Education is concerned not only with practical goals but also with values.²⁹⁹

When the Bauhaus school was founded in 1919 set in Eastern Germany's Weimar, Walter Gropius became the school's first director. The school's aesthetics and guiding principles would take the definition of design and architecture to a whole new level. Furthermore these principles would inspire architects that were to come a whole century later. This is why this subchapter will deal extensively with the architect, his visions and his works.

²⁹⁹ Van der ROHE, Mies. At his inaugural address at the Illinois Institute of Technology. 1938. There is an online version of van der Rohe's address available from the Illinois Institute of Technology for the purpose of research and education only. See, Swenson, Alfred and Chang, Pao-Chi. "Architectural education at IIT, 1938-1978." Illinois Institute of Technology: Chicago, 1980, p. 26-28. ID Access through <<http://www.archive.org/details/architecturaledu00text>> 25. July 2011. Web. 21.01.2012.

As a visual artist, draftsman, creative head and architect Walter Gropius knew how to bridge the gap between functionality and creativity. In his famous Manifest of 1919 Walter Gropius expressed his point of view about the discipline of architectural construction by saying:

[t]he end result of all of creative work lies in architectural construction. To decorate used to be one of the most appealing tasks of the creative work. They used to be inevitable components of the great art of construction.

Hence, architects, painters and sculptor are ought to recognise and learn to understand the multi-faceted form of constructing from a holistic approach, that is when their achievements are filled with the architectural spirit by themselves.³⁰⁰

The Bauhaus was once and foremost an interdisciplinary design school that approached its subject matter from a holistic didactic method.³⁰¹ Students were taught the fundamental principles of the disciplines of crafts, arts, chromatics, interior design and architecture itself.

As the school's founder and first director Gropius' denied the aesthetics of the old, traditional schools that put emphasis on ornaments and decoration on facades and buildings. Rather did he approve the kind of architecture that would reveal not conceal the structural shell of a building: clear, concise and radiant.³⁰² Architects should serve as mediators between form and material in order to harmonize building materials such as iron, concrete and glass and hence create a feeling of "lightness", as: "New architecture opens up any walls in a way curtains do and lets air, light and sunshine inside the building [...]"³⁰³

Even though Bauhaus was never identified as one homogeneously defined style³⁰⁴, it was exactly this holistic approach towards architecture that marked one of the most significant features of this school.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ GROPIUS, Walter, Manifest, Weimar, 1919. Bauhaus Archive, Inventar No. 1855, Print on red paper. Quotation loosely translated from German into English by the author.

³⁰¹ GROPIUS, Walter. *Die neue Architektur und das Bauhaus : Grundzüge und Entwicklung einer Konzeption*. 2nd Edition. Florian Kupfer Verlag: Mainz, 1979. Print, p. 52-54.

³⁰² Gropius. "Die neue Architektur und das Bauhaus." p. 56.

³⁰³ Ibid, p. 18.

³⁰⁴ Gropius emphasised the importance of dwelling as a matter of demand for the masses. Providing housing for the people should be compared to buying shoes, which are factory-made rather than made for the individual. His way of dwelling was dependant on the dweller's vocation, their occupation and last but not least their financial situation. Further, the reduction of the monthly rent is an essential component for society. One of Gropius' suggestions on how to improve living quality is the reduction of personal living space, i.e. living- and bedroom in favour of having a balcony, a bigger kitchen and bigger bathrooms.

The post-and-beam structured wooden house of the wealthy industrialist family Sommerfeld in Berlin's upper-class area of Steglitz (built 1920 to 1922) serves as one of the most suitable examples of such an architectural point of view.³⁰⁶

Designed by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer the Sommerfeld House represents the design ideas of the early Bauhaus, that is fostering the joint venture between craftsmanship and architecture into one fusion. Particularly the fine details of the house's interior distinguish themselves through splendid craftsmanship, such as the wooden doors decorated with various triangles, squares and other geometrical forms carved into the wood by Joost Schmidt. Or the fine detail of the multi-coloured mosaic glass window placed above the entrance door by artist Josef Albers.³⁰⁷ While the Sommerfeld House represents the early stylistic and functional ideas of the Bauhaus the latter works of the masters targeted mainly although not exclusively the middle to working class members of society. The emphasis on the school's target group particularly changed with every newly appointed director of the school.

For example directed under Gropius himself between the school's founding years in 1919 to 1925 the focus was to create a new unity between Arts-and-Crafts, architecture and technology.

After its move to Dessau in 1925 Gropius himself designed the new and still existing Bauhaus building that was built in 1926.³⁰⁸ The building's architecture reflects in the most profound way what the school stands for: functionality and simplicity. The outer and inner materials used for the school were primarily concrete and steel, reflecting a new liberty in design that was enabled through the process of industrialization. The strong straight lines of the building's silhouette, the building's flat roof and the omission of any decoration represent the kind of simplicity and at the same time functional-

His understanding of the right kind of dwelling solution lied in the construction of clustered blocks of flats. In doing so Gropius focused on the pragmatics, rather than aesthetic issues of dwelling architecture. His understanding of architecture resembles that of a LEGO Brick System: Buildings were construction kits that would be added or removed according to the number of dwellers. Hence, the ideal form of dwelling architecture was represented in 10-12 storey buildings, as any need "for light, air, residential ease and under run" would be fulfilled by this kind of building solution. Source: GROPIUS, Walter. "Wohnhaus Industrie" in HARTMUT, Robert & SCHÄDLICH, Christian. *Ausgewählte Schriften*. Berlin: Verlag für Architektur & technische Wissenschaften, 1925. Print, p. 97-99.

³⁰⁵ Gropius, Walter. "Die neue Architektur und das Bauhaus." p. 67.

³⁰⁶ The Sommerfeld residence was the first joint venture project between the architects of the Bauhaus School that came to be actually realised. Designed under the direction of Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer it represents the early stylistic aesthetics of the school's guidelines. For pictures, see Sackmann Fotografie, Bauhaus Archive, Berlin.

³⁰⁷ Image material of the Sommerfeld House are available upon request at the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin. Free pictures available online, for example there is a fan page for Walter Gropius with pictures of the Sommerfeld House displayed on www.Facebook.com. Just click on "like" and you can access them.

³⁰⁸ For more on Bauhaus' politically driven move from Weimar to Dessau see: Miller, Barbara. "Architektur und Politik in Deutschland 1919-1945." Chapter three, "Der Streit um das Bauhaus," 77-93.

ity that is so typical for the Bauhaus. Architecturally divided into three interconnecting blocks, every part of the building stands for one function (teaching rooms and library, workshops and studios, student accommodations). Each block's outer appearance represents the function of the rooms within. Conclusively Gropius' designed school exemplifies the Bauhaus aesthetic and idealistic ideas.

After Gropius' resignation in 1928 architect Hannes Meyer took over as the second director of the school. Meyer's approach was from a sociological and very pragmatic point of view, as he would state that: "Building is a biological process. Building is not an aesthetic process."³⁰⁹

Two years after Meyer's appointment, Mies van der Rohe, who took over as the third and last director of the school in 1930, succeeded Meyer. Because of rising political pressure, van der Rohe decided to relocate the school from Dessau to Berlin.

Despite these undergoing changes, the core principles of the Bauhaus, which include the premise to build architecture that is enabling adequate dwelling for every member of society remained until the school's final closure in April 1933.³¹⁰

In its 14 years of existence the school changed its location three times, with each new location having a new director as well. As the school was guided by the different ideas and principles of each director its focus would also change within this (leadership) transition.

With the rise of the dictatorship of the German Nazi regime the Bauhaus was forced to close its doors and set aside its ideas and ideals of a holistically approached architecture for good.

Nevertheless, due to its high achievements in quality and quantity legacy of the Bauhaus remained throughout the decades and experienced a renaissance only in the first decade of the 21st century. This was particularly apparent in 2009, when the school was celebrating its 90th anniversary. Several cross-cultural Exhibitions dedicated their theme in order to pay homage to the Design School that enabled affordable dwelling architecture for the masses in the post World War I era.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ MEYER, Hannes. "Bauen." *Bauhaus-Zeitschrift*, No. 4, Dessau (1928). Print. Meyer's original quote has been loosely translated from German into English.

³¹⁰ Gropius realised that the problem of insufficient supply in dwelling architecture should be handled from a holistic approach. Therefore it was the goal of the Bauhaus to function as a collecting point that thrives to include the technical work of the engineer, the economically driven work of the businessman as well as the creative input of the artist along with the architect's commitment in the realization process of dwelling architecture. See: Gropius, Walter. "Die Neue Architektur und Das Bauhaus." 56-57.

³¹¹ In a joint venture the *Bauhaus Archive Berlin* along with the *Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau* and the *Klassik Stiftung Weimar* presented the "Modell-Bauhaus" exhibition at Berlin's Martin-Gropius-Bau, from 22.

Walter Gropius, as the Bauhaus school's first director, did not limit his ideas for mass housing on a didactic-theoretical basis only; moreover was he actively involved in designing and realizing settlements in the course of a rising movement for mass housing solution. This brings us to the second point about architectural development in Germany's Inter-World-War era: the rise of the building societies and housing co-operations.

3.2.3 The Age of Industrialization and the Rise of Settlements

Through the age of Industrialization the number of people migrating from the small or rural areas of Germany into the big cities increased. Particularly, due to the heavy migration of workers seeking opportunity to work in the cities the demand for housing surged like it never did before. Berlin, being the Prussian capital was facing a sharp expansion in population.³¹² Due to this imbalance of supply and demand the working class had little options but to dwell in dark and damp basements or narrow and crowded tenement buildings.

Out of the evolving housing shortage emerged the massive rise of housing cooperatives and nonprofit housing societies. Through the social legislation of the Bismarckian System (1871-1890) that would foster a system of a welfare state, public housing projects experienced a welcoming promotion.³¹³ When the Weimar Republic was founded this development continued further towards a social and democratized urban planning politics. The new building regulation effective in 1925 aimed towards a distinct definition of building types and diminishing of densely built housing estates.³¹⁴ This measurement helped improve living conditions and a habitual well being in the housing estates that would only be compromised by two-five stories.³¹⁵

July 2009 to 04. October 2009. Almost parallel to the Berlin exhibition, New York's MoMa displayed its exhibition "Bauhaus – Workshops for Modernity" from 08. November 2009 till 25. January 2010.

³¹² While in 1849 the city encompassed a population of 412.0000 people the number skyrocketed to 960.000 in 1874 and in 1900 the population doubled to 1,89 Million. Source: Brene, Winfried. "Siedlungen der Berliner Moderne." p. 98-100.

³¹³ Ibid, p. 98.

³¹⁴ Ibid, p. 100-102.

³¹⁵ The Weimar Republic financed its housing projects primarily through the "Hauszinssteuer." It was a profit tax for property owners. The deal was to include the property and house owners in the government's plan of financing newly built houses. In return the property owners would get their taxes for their property equalised. The Hauszinssteuer turned out to be a major source of funding for the government as between 1924 to 1931 a total of 60 percent of the government's projects have been funded through this equalisation tax model. Source: FEY, Walter. "Leistungen und Aufgaben im Deutschen Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau." *Sonderhefte des Instituts für Konjunkturforschung*. 42:1936. Print. p. 14.

In order to improve people's living standards and diminish housing shortages several innovative estates for Germany's lower class population were designed by different but equally ambitious German architects and landscape architects.

One of the key figures in Berlin's housing development was the idealistically driven city councillor Martin Wagner. It was Wagner's goal to establish a joint venture between all the existing co-ops in Berlin in order to help improve the living situation of the working poor. In 1924 he reached his goal, at least partly: Out of the synergy of several older incorporations and sponsored by Berlin union parties (most of them socialist union parties) and housing aid companies emerged the non-profit housing society, GEHAG (Gemeinnuetzige Heimstaetten-Aktiengesellschaft). The GEHAG became the leading housing society in Berlin and was responsible for more than 70% of Berlin's modern housing estates; a significant percentage that made this corporation big in business, influence and responsibility.³¹⁶

In the same founding year of the GEHAG, the architect Bruno Taut had been hired as the leading architect for the entire settlement program up until the rise of the Nazi regime in 1933.

Just like with any other settlement projects, the architecture credo was to build efficiently, cost-effective and use standardized design. Whenever possible they would buy land and hire architects who bridged the gap between limited building land and a very new definition of livability in dwelling architecture that would set an example for further public housing projects.

The result is a total 230.000 housings built in Berlin between 1919 and 1933 that are equally impressive in affordability and livability.³¹⁷ The then government of the Weimar Republic funded most of these building projects.³¹⁸ These buildings stand for modern mass housing, and emphasise on architectural solutions for "light, air and space" in order to improve the living conditions and add some personal flair to the dwelling atmosphere.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Little literature is available about this housing society. In a footnote, Barbara Miller (1986) mentions that most written information about the GEHAG had been confiscated and destroyed after World War II by the government of Eastern Germany. See: Miller, Barbara. "Architektur und Politik in Deutschland." *Astrix Comment* on p. 106.

³¹⁷ BIENERT, Michael & BUCHHOLZ, Elke. *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Berlin: ein Wegweiser durch die Stadt*. Berlin Story: Berlin, 2005. Print, p. 78-80.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid, p. 77.

The social dimension and intentions of the debate on modern architecture and urban development in Germany's Inter-World War years are exceptional in the world. In the turn of the 20th century it was partly due to an actively involved government - starting by the building regulations of the Bismarckian welfare state and then later the democratized reforms in housing during the reign of the Weimar Republic - that such large-scale public housing developments had been enabled. It was also the strong and highly ethical commitment of architects such as Bruno Taut, Hannes Meyer, Hans Scharoun or Walter Gropius that millions of people were able to dwell in affordable and livable habitations according to their needs and abilities.

The impacts of these massive housing estates are palpable still one century later. In 2007 six of these social housing projects that are still existent in various parts of Berlin's 21st-century were nominated for the UNESCO World Heritage status;³²⁰ in July 2008 all of them were added to the list.³²¹ While the meaning of innovative architecture is still current, their function of architecture that provides affordable housing for the masses did alter.

This changing image of affordable housing in Berlin's 21st century will be examined on the case study of *Carl Legien Estate* in the next chapter. It demonstrates the sharp contrast of the capital city's housing policy during its Pre-World-War-II era compared to that of the 21st century.

Bonn on the other hand demonstrated its progressiveness in affordable housing and mixed-income neighbourhoods depicted in the case study of the student dorm *Werner-Klett-Haus* that is situated in the gentrified neighbourhood of Südstadt.

In order to have a more balanced overview on Germany's overall contemporary affordable housing situation, examples of temporary housing in Germany's most expensive city of Munich and housing co-operatives in Hamburg will also be looked at.

³²⁰ Already in 1998 the Standing Conference of the Ministers for Culture and Education has put these six buildings on the list for possible UNESCO heritage buildings via the Federal Foreign Office. For further information on the UNESCO heritage buildings of 2007 see, for example, JAEGGI, Annemarie and HASPEL, Joerg. *Berliner Moderne UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe*. Munich 2008. Print.

³²¹ For a complete list of all six projects consult the website *initiative-welterbe.de*.

3.2.4 From 20th to 21st century - Carl Legien Estate in Prenzlauer Berg

The housing estate Carl Legien in Prenzlauer Berg serves as an example of architecture that is set in a neighbourhood that was transformed from a working-class area into a middle- and upper-middle class area through the gentrification process that is now coined as “Super-Gentrification.”³²² Bruno Taut, who has been the leading architect behind Carl Legien, serves in Berlin’s 21st century real estate world as a marketing tool to rent out or sell out expensive apartments to wealthy clients. To understand this development the beginnings of Carl Legien will be depicted in a historical context first. Built by famous modernist architect Bruno Taut in collaboration with Franz Hilliger between the years of 1928 till 1930 the estate is situated in Berlin’s northern part of Prenzlauer Berg.

Most of the housing estates were situated in the suburbs or on the periphery of Berlin, which made daily commute a time consuming issue.

One of the few estates being situated closer to the downtown core is the Carl Legien estate.³²³ It has been picked to demonstrate the stark contrast of the estate’s meaning and purpose in the 20th century compared to what it means and is being used for now in the turn of the 21st century. Designed on the maxim to: “Let light, air and sunshine in”³²⁴ the estate comprises six buildings around a block of eight streets (**Pic. 5**). Each building is between 4 to 5 stories high, a condition that gives the buildings a more “home-like” character.

The architecture is built around six U-shaped inner courtyards that serve as community space and emphasise the idea of living in a close community (**Pic. 6**).

The green spaces contribute a significant amount on impact towards creating a friendly and open atmosphere.³²⁵ At the same time the emphasis of the tenants’ well being is demonstrated as the architect combines the aspect of high aesthetics with functionality in architecture. Furthermore, the architecture distinguishes itself by an outstanding assembly of colours on the buildings’ facades, such as the bright yellow entrance door-frames or colourful window frames (**Pic. 7 and b**).

³²² LEES, Loretta. “Super-gentrification: The case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City.” *Urban Studies*. Vol 40.12 (2003):2487-2509. Print.

³²³ The estate is named after the late Carl Legien (1861-1920), who was the first union leader of the union party “Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund”, that was established in 1919. For further information on the union leader see: *Die deutsche Gewerkschaftsbewegung*. Berlin: Verlag der sozialistischen Monatshefte, 1911. Print.

³²⁴ Gropius, Walter. “*Die Neue Architektur Und Das Bauhaus*.” p.18.

³²⁵ , Jaeggie & Haspel. “Berliner Moderne UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe.”, p. 63.

Taut's use of intense colours for the units' interior serves as an essential architectural element of high aesthetic meaning.

The quality and quantity³²⁶ of the Carl Legien Estate brought the definition of a high living standard to a whole new level as the buildings enabled large-scale hygienic and friendly dwelling solutions. For the first time in Germany's history a building's architecture was meeting the needs for adequate habitation for the masses. Due to its appealing aesthetics, its juxtaposition to nature and the fact that many of the units were provided with a central heater and hot-water heat pump the flats in the Carl Legien Estate were much desired accommodation options for 19th-century working class members (**Pic. 8 a and b**). Compared to the miserable housing options of late 19th and early 20th century given to them the Carl Legien Settlement was a landmark experience in habitual space for the new lower class tenants.

Over eighty years after the realization of these groundbreaking settlements the estate's attractiveness is still current; in the 21st-century almost all of these buildings are experiencing a renaissance in popularity, only by a different, more affluent and wealthy target group.³²⁷ While the building was experiencing a vacancy rate of up to 40% before its renovation in 2005 the renovation and revitalization process turned Carl Legien into a much desired place: From 2008 on all of the units were either sold out or fully booked; there is even a waiting list for tenants eager to live in or purchase one of the fully revitalized flats.³²⁸

3.2.5 Luxury sans Affordability: Berlin's 21st-century Housing Politics

Berlin's dynamic movement in innovative architectural solutions for public housing during the Weimar Republic is history. In the turn of the 21st century Berlin's urban planning and housing situation is marked by revitalization, class segregation and gentry-

³²⁶ The six buildings consist of 1.149 units each having 1 ½ to 4 ½ rooms available depending on number of the inhabitants. For a clear and concise description of the estate, see: "Wohnstadt Carl Legien." Berliner Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt. n.d. Web. 09. Oct. 2010.

³²⁷ In a phone conversation Nicole Wechelmann from *Perelios S.p.A* (formerly Pirelli RE) confirmed that average rent for tenants who moved into the building in 2003 was 4,29,-/m² while in 2010 the average rent rose to 6,35/m². Data collected through phone interview on 21.02.2011. The ownership regulations of the Carl Legien estate have undergone various turnovers within decades of two dictatorships – Nazi Germany and, due to the fact that the building was set in the Eastern part of Germany, The Deutsche Demokratische Republik. After the reunification of Germany the GEHAG (that is now *Deutsche Wohnen AG*) competed with BauBeCon Immobilien GmbH (real estate holding company) to regain ownership rights. The latter one won the property rights in 1990. This information has been notably pointed out to me during a phone interview with Mauela Dammianakis from Deutsche Wohnen AG on 22. Feb. 2011.

³²⁸ HARRIEHAUSEN, Christine. "Die Welterbe-Medaille hat zwei Seiten." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. 10 JUL 2008. Web. 20. Feb. 2010.

fication. This process is particularly boosted by the government's housing politics: In February 2003 Berlin's Senate cut all the funding for public housing³²⁹, privatized its building societies and in 2004 bylaws for new buildings were voted in favour of the free market.³³⁰

Because Berlin is having a high vacancy rate the "Private Residential Rent Index" serves as a reference point only.³³¹ Conveniently, for landlords they don't need to comply with prices given in that index. Particularly, those property owners and landlords of already gentrified areas - Prenzlauer Berg, Kreuzberg, Friedrichshain or Mitte – enjoy a greater freedom to collect rent rates that often times don't reflect the quality of the residential space offered. Evidently, the increase in rents for popular areas results in social exclusion of the less affluent – sometimes-even middle class - population of Berlin.³³²

Currently Prenzlauer Berg, the neighbourhood that used to be the epitome of poverty and density up until the late 20th century has become one of the most gentrified areas in Germany's 21st-century (**Pic. 9**).³³³

This development undermines Redfern's theory that trends in economic and political development make gentrification suddenly possible.³³⁴ Redfern's argues that marginality is the prime motive behind the development of drastic gentrification. In the struggle of identity, he explains, we want recognition, honour and respect.³³⁵ Out of fear that those attributes are taken away from them, "gentrifiers create anxiety for others, whose identities they threaten, to whom they pose a 'danger', especially, in realising their goals, they deny those they displace the opportunity to realise theirs."³³⁶

Marthashof, a luxury condominium project was initiated in 2008. It serves as a prime example of social exclusion of the lower and even middle class through recently rising luxury real estate projects in Berlin. The project is placed at the hip and happening corner of Schwedterstrasse and Oderbergerstrasse at the heart of the highly coveted and vibrant part of Prenzlauer Berg. *Marthashof's* high-end luxury condos are meant to magnetically attract wealthy, affluent buyers with the promise of high quality living in a

³²⁹ "Wegfall der Anschlussförderung im sozialen Wohnungsbau." Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung. 01. SEP 2009. Web. 19. FEB 2010. The last projects for public housing in Berlin were built in 1997.

³³⁰ SEELIG, Lisa. "Die Ränder den Armen, Mitte den Reichen." *Zitty*. 9 (2010):17-19. Print.

³³¹ Most of the empty flats are situated in the suburbs and fringes of the city. The cost of daily transportation from these areas into the city weighs down the living quality and boosts expenses. For further information on this subject see article; Seelig "Die Ränder den Armen, Mitte den Reichen."

³³² MEYER, Carmen. "Mietspiegel." *RBB Online*. 30. AUG 2010. Video Clip. 19. FEB 2011.

³³³ WIETHOFF, Tobias. "Der lässig-ironische Schick von Prenzlauer Berg." *Spiegel Online*. 24 FEB 2004. Web. 17. JUL 2010.

³³⁴ Redfern, Paul. "What Makes Gentrification 'Gentrification'?" 2365.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 2359.

³³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2364.

growingly rich neighbourhood. The project is named after its namesake, a protestant girl's school built in 1858. The property remained in possession of the Protestant Church until 1968. After Germany's reunification the area was turned into property of the State.³³⁷ It took about two decades for the vacant lot to be bought up by Real Estate Developer "Stofanel Investment AG." The developer's project started in 2008 and is now, in early 2012 nearly finished.³³⁸

The arrow-shaped building complex comprises 130 units consisting of luxury lofts, townhouses and penthouses on an area that is almost 13.000 square meters wide.³³⁹ Just like the Carl-Legien Estate the embracing inner yard of *Marthashof* is meant to be the community space for social gatherings.³⁴⁰

The units are distinguished with marvellous architectural features including floor to ceiling glasses, letting plenty of daylight in for the purpose of creating a lavish feeling of space and lightness. The penthouse comprises the idea of lightness and air through its generous and spacious roof terrace.

The public relation section of "Stofanel Investment AG" did a superb job in marketing the real estate property in the most effective way. *Marthashof's* virtual press kit promises an "Urban Village" that provides its dwellers with "Light and Air", a concept the old Bauhaus masters already proclaimed.³⁴¹ Only by the look of the clean, bright and impeccable images of the company's website the sentiment of hominess and calmness is suggested in the viewer's mind. The units are equipped with spacious floor to ceiling windows, large balconies and terraces, surrounded by the greenery of nature. The architecture prides itself as highly sustainable, encompassing for example leafy facades that serve as heating regulator while at the same time beautifying the facade.³⁴² Evidently the high quality materials and splendid design of *Marthashof* make this real estate project livable in its truest sense. But the target group it is aiming for makes *Marthashof* ultimately unaffordable in its own complexity.

In a "Spiegel Online" interview, *Marthashof's* developer, Ludwig Maximilian Stoeffel expressed his enthusiasm on the great opportunity the city of Berlin is giving to ambitious investors of high-end luxury buildings. When asked about his reserved attitude in

³³⁷ MOLLE, A. „Anliegerinitiative Marthashof. Vom Stadtpark zur Privatisierung." Nov 2006. Web. 03. March 2012.

³³⁸ This is as of March 2012. See, Stefanol Investment AG, Danny Wolf "Marthas Hof Real Estate."

³³⁹ Press Kit. "Marthashof Urban Village-The Facts." n.d. Web. 03. Sept. 2011.

³⁴⁰ For image material see website, Marthashof.com

³⁴¹ Press Kit. "Marthashof Broschuere." MAY 2008. Web. 03. Sep 2011, p. 9.

³⁴² This is the case, for example at the facades of House A and House G. See, 3D animation of the estate at the Marthashof's website. Marthashof.com.

investing in affordable housing projects, he explains: “If you want to turn this here [Marthashof] into a social housing project you will have to cut the cost on labour, dump wages and limit yourself to cheap building material. Or you can create something good and beautiful.”³⁴³

Such a statement plainly fosters the impression that Berlin is promoting a regressive, elitist and selective architectural development that excludes affordable and livable housing concepts to the fullest. In the capital of one of the wealthiest nations in Europe does creating “something good and beautiful” implement excluding everyone who cannot afford dwelling space for a price of € 3000, -to € 6500, - per square meter?³⁴⁴

This kind of developments of luxury condominiums as happening in Prenzlauer Berg, are one further level of gentrification, or “Super-Gentrification” in the kind of way explained by Lees and Butler. Urban planners such as Loretta Lees and Tim Butler dealt with this phenomenon that is now commonly known as “Super-Gentrification.”³⁴⁵This allegedly pleasant term has a rather unpleasant connotation: areas that have been already gentrified through revitalization and renovation measures experience another wave of gentrification superimposed to that development though the creation of new, luxury condominium projects. This is gentrification on an international level. The architecture imagery connected to this term of “Super-gentrification” is no longer that of noble, heritage buildings that have been upgraded to a livable dwelling place. The buildings that are part of super-gentrification are newly built condominiums that excel in style and design compared to anything that has been there before. The architecture meets the needs of an international, global, and young to middle aged clientele of the upper-class. This is a demanding group that has the financial means to choose what kind of surrounding they want to live in and what kind of habitual space they want to dwell in. The reason for this rapidly growing super-gentrification development in Germany’s capital is twofold:

Berlin’s population is rising fast and steady.³⁴⁶ On the other hand not enough houses are built and provided for meeting all the demographics of those newly migrated.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ “Wem gehört Berlin? Streit um Luxus Lofts.” *Spiegelonline.de*. Video clip. 02. MAY 2010. Web. 19. JUL 2010. The interview translated from German to English by the author.

³⁴⁴ The project offers various types of houses, creatively labelled with names such as *Garden Villa*, *Classic Flat* or *Penthouse Villa*. Price for a 148 square meter unit Garden Villa Type is € 430.000 and for the penthouse, € 948.000 for 146 square meters. Price of “Garden Villa” is taken from Marthashof’s website “Immobilie der Woche: Gartenwohnung auf zwei Ebenen mit Terrassen im eigenen Privatgarten.” 18. NOV 2009. Web. 03. SEP 2011.

³⁴⁵ LEES, Loretta. “Super-gentrification.” p. 2487-2509.

³⁴⁶ According to the Berlin State Office for Statistics and Data Processing, the city’s population has experienced a steady increase since 2005. See, press kit of the German „Amt für Statistik Berlin-

The second reason for the booming gentrification movement is the fact, that as of 2004 the Berlin government has launched by-laws that would foster and encourage developments for luxury real estate projects while at the same time neglect the rising need in housing for the lower-middle class.

Berlin's senator for city development Ingeborg Junge-Reyer does not seem to be concerned by these circumstances. She explains: "No one has the capacity or the obligation to warrant apartment hunters a fully renovated character apartment with stucco walls and ceilings in well-liked areas such as Wilmersdorf or Prenzlauer Berg for a rent that is below five Euros per square meter."³⁴⁸

Granted, if people want to have housing they can get housing. However the question is: What kind of housing? There are limitations to the choices lower-class people have: If they want to choose freely where to live and how to dwell, for example in the downtown area of Berlin they have to be prepared to pay eight to thirteen Euros per square meter. If they cannot afford such tremendous renting prices in these popular areas they will have to look for less expensive options given in the suburbs and periphery. But the freedom to choose once dwelling and living environment is a lesser option in the latter version.

With a poverty rate of 14, 3 percent³⁴⁹, an annual increase of 4,9 percent on renting prices and an increase of 50 percent with newly let apartments³⁵⁰ the Berlin Senate should surely reconsider its urban planning policies.

Until then, people of Berlin will continue fighting for their right to the city. In a collective report, architects, urban planners, developers and members of housing co-ops have expressed their ideas and visions for a more just, affordable and liveable Berlin.³⁵¹

Brandenburg.“ Nr. 373, 25. November 2011. Statistical data is also available on the Office's website [www. Statistic-berlin.de](http://www.statistik-berlin.de) → Bevoelkerungsstand 2010→ n.d. Web. 17. Dec. 2011.

³⁴⁷ Between 2005 and 2010, the number of private households in Berlin rose to an annual average of 18,120 units. This increase was driven by incoming migration and a trend toward smaller households. On the other hand only 3.100 new apartments were built per year, which means that there is an annual lack of 15.000 units. See, article: Property Investor Europe News. "Berlin Housing Vacancy Seen Falling To 4% By 2015." *pie-mag.com*. 10. Nov. 2011. Web. 17 Dec 2011.

³⁴⁸ Ingeborg Junge-Reyer has been senator for city development since 2004 for the state of Berlin. Her controversial statements about public housing and affordability in real estate have been criticized countless times. Miss Junge-Reyer has made her quoted statement during a conference on housing in November 2008. See: JÜRGENS, Isabel. "Rasant steigende Mieten lösen in Berlin Proteste aus." *Berliner Morgenpost*. 30. Nov. 2008. Web. 10. Nov. 2010. The quotation here has been translated from German to English by the author.

³⁴⁹ "Armutsgefährdung auf regionaler Ebene in Berlin und Brandenburg." Amt für Statistik. Pressemitteilung vom 30.06.2010 – Nr. 190. *statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de*. PDF File. 12 Dec. 2011.

³⁵⁰ Jürgens, Isabel. "Rasant steigende Mieten in Berlin."

³⁵¹ HÄRTEL, Winfried et al. *Berlin – Wohnen in Eigener Regie! Gemeinschaftsorientierte Strategien Für Die Mieterstadt*. Bildungswerk Berlin der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Mathias Heyden, 2007. Print. Available as PDF from bildungswerk-boell.de.

A look at the past, with architects and city councilmen such as Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner or Walter Gropius who contributed tremendously towards shaping a just and affordable city, might serve the Berlin municipal government as a paradigmatic reminder for what this city once stood for in terms of architecture and urban planning. Taking Harvey's notion on a democratized urban policy movement into account, Berlin's housing movement is moving way backwards; about a century ago.

3.3 The City of Bonn – From Garden City to Student City

Bonn is a very popular city for aspiring students, with a splendid University that has been nurturing and torturing its students since 1818.³⁵² Over 30.000 people in Bonn are students.³⁵³ That is almost 10% of Bonn's total population (324.899 people), and significantly higher to most other cities in Germany, even higher than Berlin, where only three percent of its total population (3.460.000) are students.³⁵⁴ This makes the issue of affordable residential buildings a crucial issue for Bonn, which is why this small, yet very vibrant city in Germany's most populous state of North Rhine Westphalia is subject of examination in this sub chapter.³⁵⁵

The city's rather modest population is no reflection of its historic and contemporary importance: It is the hometown of famous composer and musician Ludwig van Beethoven. Until today his house (established 1889) is remained in the city centre's Bonngasse. The pink-facade building is one of the few town houses remained from the Realm of the Great Elector, Wilhelm Friedrich in the 18th century and serves as a famous tourist attraction for tourists from all over the world.³⁵⁶ Painter and member of artist group *Blaue Reiter* August Macke spent his pre- and post marriage years in Bonn where he completed some of his signature paintings while living and working in his mother-in-law's house that is placed in Bonn's Nord Stadt. Bonn was also birthplace of the horticulturist Peter Joseph Lenné, who was appointed by the Prussian king in the 19th century as the director general of the royal gardens under the Prussian realm.³⁵⁷ The city's im-

³⁵² The University's Department of Art History was established in 1860. It was the first Art History Department in Germany. FOHRMANN, Jürgen. "Chronik des Akademischen Jahres." University of Bonn Press, 2011. PDF. p.21. The University's main building used to be the residential palace of the great-elector (Kurfürsten) family of Cologne. For publication on the University's architecture see for example, SATZINGER, George. *Das kurfürstliche Schloß in Bonn*. Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007.

³⁵³ Universität Bonn. "Anzahl der Studierenden in Bonn." 3.uni-bonn.de. 07. May 2009. Web. 31. Jan 2012. This number does not include students who are assigned at the University for Applied Sciences in the nearby St. Augustin. According to *Statista*, the total number of students in all of Germany for the winter term 2010/2011 was 2.2 Mil. See, *Statista* 2012. "Anzahl der Studenten an Deutschen Hochschulen." *statista.com*. Statistisches Bundesamt. n.d. Web. 31. Jan 2012.

³⁵⁴ The Bureau of Statistics accounted 104 499 university students for the winter term 2010/2011. Amt fuer Statistik. Pressemitteilung. "Mehr Studierende in Berlin im WS 2011/2012." *statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de*. 28. Nov. 2011. Web. 31. Jan. 2012. (Appendix F). For further statistical information on Berlin's population see, Amt fuer Statistik. Pressemitteilung. "Weiterhin steigende Bevölkerungszahl in Berlin." *statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de*. 05. AUG 2011. Web. 31. JAN 2012

³⁵⁵ Information und Technik in Nordrhein-Westfalen. "Einwohnerzahl und Bevölkerungsdichte in NRW." *it.nrw.de*. Dec. 2011. Web. 31. Jan 2012.

³⁵⁶ Today the museum comprises the actual birth house and the adjunct house. For further information on the museum and the archive see website of "Verein Beethoven-Haus", (established in 1889) <http://www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de>.

³⁵⁷ Lenné's birth house is placed in today's Konviktstrasse 4 in Bonn. An epigraph at the house's entrance door describes Lenné's achievements as a bridge maker between the cities of Potsdam and Bonn.

portance was also significant in the 20th century. Already after World War II the first appointed Chancellor of West Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland), Konrad Adenauer declared the town of his Alma Mater the Capital of the Federal Republic of Germany.³⁵⁸ That is why Bonn was Germany's Capital from 1949 until the reunification of East and West in 1989.

The housing politics of Bonn during the inter-World-War years was an unusual one, as it had already a strong focus on aesthetical points rather than functional. The focus on aesthetic issues in Bonn's urban planning also distinguishes Bonn from many other cities in pre World War II Germany. While the housing politics of many German cities focused on modest and functional architecture for the masses (like demonstrated in the case of Berlin), the city of Bonn prided itself with somewhat extraordinary settlements such as Lievelingsweg.³⁵⁹ In 1925 Bonn commissioned the head of the municipal planning and building control office Radebolt to build settlements along the river Rhine consisting of one-storey townhouses in the manner of England's late 19th-century townhouses. A total of 40 houses were to be built that were split in three entities. The interior of these settlements at Lievelingsweg was particularly high in quality and standards. The rooms of these houses were very spacious, which was exactly the point of criticism as some considered this settlement to be too spacious and too lush.³⁶⁰ The growing criticism might be also reason why in 1929 towards the completion of the settlement the last houses were built much simpler in design and smaller in space. The turn from spacious and somewhat luxurious architecture to a rather humble and mass-oriented one is also a reflection of the Weimar Republic's decision to turn away from large and lush houses towards small and modest architecture.³⁶¹ Until 1939 Bonn was also known as a Garden City (perhaps also due to the fact that this was Joseph Lenné's birthplace).³⁶²

³⁵⁸ After the division of Germany, the stakes were high for a temporary new capital of Western Germany; the choice was between Bonn, Kassel, Stuttgart and Frankfurt. While the press was very much in favor of the latter city, Adenauer considered Bonn, the modestly sized, unimposing city at the Rhine as particularly convenient for continuing his western-oriented political course. The city and the state of North Rhine Westphalia backed up his suggestion in November 1948. Source: ENNEN, Edith and HÖROLDT Dietrich. *Vom Römerkastell zur Bundeshauptstadt. Kleine Geschichte Der Stadt Bonn*. Bonn: Stollfuß Verlag, 1985. Print, p. 342f.

³⁵⁹ For image material of a Model of *Lievelingsweg Estate*, Bonn see: Online, Bildindex der Kunst und Architektur, bildindex.de.

³⁶⁰ HÖROLDT, Dietrich. *Bonn. Von einer französischen Bezirksstadt zur Bundeshauptstadt 1794-1989*. Bonn: Dümmlers Verlag 1989. Print, p.591.

However, despite their posh outlook the houses were considered rather reasonably priced with 50 Reichsmark per month as rent or for 14.000 Reichsmark for ownership. See, Höroltd, Dietrich. „Bonn. Von einer französischen Bezirksstadt zur Bundeshauptstadt 1794-1989.“

³⁶¹ Wissell, Rudolf. „Der Wohnungsbau.“ 1929.

³⁶² Ennen, Edith and Höroltd, Dietrich. „Römerkastell.“ p.351.

Bonn's tradition in pioneering quality housing remained even after World War II: between 1950 and 1974 the number of newly built houses more than doubled from 42.358 to 109.699.³⁶³ By then 46 percent of all apartments were fully self-contained, equipped with a full bathroom and a central heating system, which made the quantity of its living standards be ahead of bigger cities such as Munich, Frankfurt or Hannover.³⁶⁴

As a very popular student city this livability in housing also affects student housing. Students have a variety of high quality housing options provided by the non-profit organisation "Studentenwerk." This is why in the next subchapter a brief description of the non-profit's history will be given. The livability and affordability of student housing will be illustrated on the example of one student dorm in the heart of Bonn's gentrified Südstadt.

3.3.1 A Brief History of Germany's Studentenwerk

One of the most important inventions for national and international students studying in Germany is the "Studentenwerk". This term can be best described as a student services office that provides students in all of Germany with accommodation help, affordable housing, financial help, psychological counselling as well as reasonably priced meals and other nutrition services. Each University City has its own Studentenwerk. The very first "Studentenwohl e.V." in Germany was established in Dresden, in December 4th, 1919.³⁶⁵ The University of Dresden established the "Studentenwohl e.V." as a self help organization due to the tremendous losses caused by the destructive effects of World War I. What started as a grassroots organization – the credo was "students helping out other students"³⁶⁶ quickly expanded to other cities in Southern, Western, and Eastern Germany (Aachen, Munich, Tübingen and Leipzig) and became officially "Deutsches Studentenwerk" in 1929.³⁶⁷ This structural change was particularly significant for the funding situation of the organization as most of the financial support was coming from

³⁶³ Ennen & Höroldt, "Römerkastell," 350-351.

³⁶⁴ Compared to the bigger cities of Munich (40%), Frankfurt (39%) and Hannover (26%) Bonn's percentage of newly equipped apartments is the highest. See, Ennen & Höroldt, "Römerkastell," 350-351.

³⁶⁵ Speech of Professor Albert von Mutius on April 5th 1991 in: *Deutsches Studentenwerk. 70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk. Bonn: Deutsches Studentenwerk, 1993. Vol. I. Print. 8.* In 1951 after WWII the organization was re-established and re-named as "Studentenwerk e.V." See BOJANOWSKY Alexander, RIFISCH, Angela, Van der Mark, Mirjam. *Zwei und 90 Jahre Studentenwerk Bonn.* Studentenwerk Bonn: Bonn, 2011. Print. Ft. 211. For the sake of convenience the organization will be throughout this dissertation mentioned as "Studentenwerk".

³⁶⁶ Speech of Vice President of the Deutsches Studentenwerk, Christian Meyer-Stock on April 5th, 1991. In: "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Vol. I. p. 53.

³⁶⁷ "Chronik zur Arbeit der Studentenwerke." In: "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." p. 83-91.

the then Weimar Republic, as well as other parts of Europe and the USA.³⁶⁸ Throughout its existence the Deutsches Studentenwerk had its ups and downs, experiencing tributes and falls.³⁶⁹ Despite its many structural and organizational changes the core principles of the Deutsches Studentenwerk remained, that is to provide the students in Germany with reasonably priced meals through its catering services, financial help, psychological counselling and affordable housing through its dwelling and accommodation services. One of the Studentenwerk's biggest achievements and efforts towards adequate and affordable housing for the growing number of the students took place in July 25th 1958. That was when the assembly of the "Deutsches Studentenwerk" in Stuttgart decided unanimously to commission a detailed investigation on the housing situation of Germany's students.³⁷⁰ Based on the study's results the assembly made suggestions for an improvement of the students' housing situation.

The study's investigations revealed that there is a strong demand of housing for the students in (West-) Germany, due to the increasing number of students in all of the country. On the other hand not enough housing was provided for the students that would be financially and aesthetically adequate.³⁷¹ The assembly wanted to improve students' quality of life, give them more independence and space, and secure a friendly environment where they could foster their studies. Out of this realization new concept emerged, called the "Düsseldorfer Wohnungsplan" in 1958. The concept comprised ideas for aiming a better situation on quantity, funding and organization of the student dormitories in Germany. The core ideas were:

1. To improve and increase the housing opportunities for students from the then 16.000 rooms (providing only nine percent of the total students in Germany with housing) up to 35.000 (covering 30 percent of the total students).³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Professor Mutius. "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Vol. I. 9.

³⁶⁹ During the Inter World War years the Deutsches Studentenwerk gained a raising reputation as an ambassador for intercultural exchange in academia; Out of this cultural heyday student exchange organizations such as "Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst" (DAAD) and the "Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes" emerged, both evolving to and remaining as Germany's biggest scholarly organizations for international academic and cultural exchange. Through the rise of the Nazi regime, the influence and organizational structure of the Deutsches Studentenwerk was temporarily terminated. For further information, see, for example: "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Bonn: Deutsches Studentenwerk, 1993.

³⁷⁰ „Deutsches Studentenwerk. 70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk.“ Bonn: Deutsches Studentenwerk, 1993. Vol. II. Print, p. 24-26. In the 30th assembly of the Deutsches Studentenwerk in Bonn on November 1972 this was extended to also establish agencies for apartments.

³⁷¹ The studies showed that compared to the pre World War II years the number of students in 1948 had doubled.

³⁷² Despite these ambitious aims, the organization's plan to create more dormitories for students did not quite succeed: In winter term 1971/72 the amount of student accommodations in Germany's university cities was only 10.5 %. See, "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Vol. II. p. 51.

2. The funding of newly built or revitalized dormitories was to be equally divided through three participating parties: One third by the student organization bodies of the Universities; one third through each state and the other third through federal funding.³⁷³

The students as tenants of the dorms themselves were to be paying a monthly rent of 60,- Deutsch Mark out of the 200,- Deutsch Mark they had available (i.e. 30% of their monthly income).

3. There were somewhat strict guidelines for the architectural and building arrangements of the dormitories. The focus lied on small-sized studios in order to maintain the students' privacy and provide them with adequate space to focus on their studies.³⁷⁴ The size of each of these studio apartments was to be kept between 10m² to 12 m². In order to foster the community spirit, larger spaces that served for the purpose of community rooms were to be established.³⁷⁵ For economical reasons, each building was to be provided with an amount of at least 40 rooms.

Although the concept of the "Düsseldorfer Wohnheimsplan" had been modified in many ways since its creation in 1958 it did set a milestone for all if the dormitories built and revitalized under the umbrella of the Deutscher Studentenwerk for the next decades to come.

The City of Bonn was amongst the very first University Cities to create a Studentenwerk themselves. The first one was established in September 1919 out of the growing protests of the students themselves for adequate catering services.³⁷⁶ The first student dorm in all of Germany was built in October 1924 in Bonn's neighbourhood of Süd-stadt, on the Lennéstrasse 28. It enabled a number of the students of Bonn as well as the then non-profit organization "Studentenwerk Bonn e.V." to dwell and live.³⁷⁷ The creation of a dwelling opportunity for students in Bonn was a much needed action that is still continuing to exist in the 21st century. In fact Bonn's variety of academic choices serves as a magnet for national and international students to choose this city as their University town. Students fall under the category of low income citizens in most socie-

³⁷³ The Federal Government withdrew its funding for dormitories completely as of 1981. See, "80 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Deutsches Studentenwerk: Bonn, 2002. Print, p. 53.

³⁷⁴ During the 14th assembly of the German Studentenwerk in Munich in March 1962 the assembly made the resolution that the architecture of the dormitories' has to be in a way that it provides an undisturbed and individual dwelling space for the students. See, *Beschlüsse der 14. Ordentlichen Mitgliederversammlung des Verbandes Deutscher Studentenschaften in München vom 12. Bis 16. März 1962.* Verlag Dr. Josef Raabe: Bonn, n.d. Print. p. 11.

³⁷⁵ In a resolution of 1972 this fixed regulation in size and style was modified to more flexibly numbered and eclectically designed residential solutions. See, "70 Jahre Deutsches Studentenwerk." Vol II.

³⁷⁶ Bojanowsky et al. "Zwei und 90 Jahre Studentenwerk Bonn." p.22. Like many other organizations created under the umbrella of the Studentenwerk the Studentenwerk Bonn underwent terminations, reorganizations, financial cuts and other restrictions and obligations.

³⁷⁷ Bojanowsky et al. "Zwei und 90 Jahre Studentenwerk Bonn." p.13.

ties; therefore the focus of the next subchapter will lie on the city of Bonn and its housing situation for students in the 21st century.

3.3.2 Architecture Student Style –The *Werner-Klett-Haus* in Bonn

Bonn always has been a student city. Notable historic figures such as philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Marx were students of the University of Bonn (**Pic. 10**). Bonn's high percentage of students reveals the scarce housing situation for the national and international students and interns in Bonn. The demand is high, the supply low, which makes housing a costly matter. A problem that has occurred already in the 1950s, where like many other German student cities, the high number of students caused a serious lack of adequate housing for exactly this demographic.³⁷⁸ One popular contact point for students to find adequate housing is the students' accommodation office of the University of Bonn that is part of the already mentioned Studentenwerk Bonn. It offers students from the University of Bonn, as well as the *University of Applied Sciences* in Bonn-Rhein-Sieg and other students who are doing an internship in the course of their studies a variety of residential options distributed between a total of 35 dormitories.³⁷⁹ The popularity and architectural quality of the dorms varies, as do their rents.³⁸⁰ Our focus will lie on one particular dorm in the Lennéstrasse in Bonn's Südstadt, a popular and rather expensive part of town on a vibrant yet fairly quiet street.³⁸¹

The architectural and urban planning development of the Südstadt was set in the late 19th century under the German Empire (1871-1918). Many of the streets were created and build according to the taste and preferences of the Südstadt's land owners, which avoided a homogeneous picture of the neighbourhood's architecture. Out of this urban planning development some features that are so typical for Südstadt as well as Poppelsdorf emerged and are stilling in the 21st century: broad boulevards and green tree-lined

³⁷⁸ For the period when Bonn was Germany's capital the scarcity of dormitories and dwelling options for students was exacerbated by the fact, that many apartments were occupied by employees of the federal ministries. See, KNUETTER, Hans-Helmuth. *Bonner Studenten über ihre Wohnheime*. Deutsches Studentenwerk e.V.: Bonn, 1967. Print, p. 63.

³⁷⁹ For further information, see, for example, Studentenwerk Bonn "Übersicht der Wohnanlagen." *studentenwerk-bonn.de*. 05. May 2011. Web. 31. Jan. 2012.

³⁸⁰ The Studentenwerk Bonn provided on their homepage a detailed list of all their dormitories including size, equipment and rent of each one. See, Studentenwerk Bonn. "Übersicht der Wohnanlagen". *studentenwerk-bonn.de*. 06 May 2011. Web. 29. Feb. 2012.

³⁸¹ Average rent in Südstadt/ Poppelsdorf is between €8,00 - €15,00/m². Compared to other parts of town: Rent in Kessenich is €8,00 to €12,00/ m² and the cheapest being Duisdorf €6,00 to €9,00/ m². That makes the area of Südstadt/ Poppelsdorf to a fairly expensive one. For further information on Bonn's real estate market, see, Immobilien Compass. "Bonn- Die besten Wohnlagen für Immobilien und Wohnungen." *karte.immobilien-kompass.de*. 19.May 2011. Web. 31.Jan 2012.

streets.³⁸² The Gentrification movement of Bonn's Südstadt and Poppelsdorf took place contemporaneously along with the Garden City movement and was closely connected to the industrialization of Bonn's downtown core. From 1870 on Bonn's city centre underwent some drastic changes from residential neighbourhood into a business district.³⁸³ As space for dwelling became scarce, people had to migrate to other parts of the city. The migration of the University professors, who would move away from the crowded city centre into the nice, calm and spacious areas of Poppelsdorf and the Südstadt, upgraded the value of these areas dramatically.³⁸⁴ The professors were followed by the migration of the middle and upper class citizens of Bonn a move that made the value of land and popularity of area skyrocket. As a city Bonn developed a topology that was typical of the Rhineland's 19th-century residential architecture: houses that had strictly structured three window-axes were narrow in widths but displayed mostly heterogeneous facades.³⁸⁵ The fancy facades were also a reflection of the dwellers' and owners' wealth and status. The Prussian emperor is gone, but the areas popularity and exclusiveness remained well into the 21st century. Ironically in the heart of the Südstadt is exactly where the Studentenwerk commissioned the construction of its first three dormitory buildings. This may also be very convenient for the students as residents, as proximity to University's main campus is within a 1- kilometre radius only, which adds to the neighbourhood's attractiveness. The first dormitory is the *Tillmann Haus* in Lennéstrasse 24/26 that was built in 1952 and renovated in 2001 (**Pic. 11**). The second dormitory building, the *Carl-Schurz-Haus* – was built in 1954 and set only one block away from the Lennéstrasse (**Pic. 12**).

One of the Studentenwerk's more "upmarket" dormitory is the *Werner-Klett-Haus* (Formerly Lennéstrasse 3) set in the beginning of the Lennéstrasse a few meters away from the Tillman Haus.³⁸⁶ In fact as of the time of this research the Werner-Klett-Haus

³⁸² Höroldt, Dietrich. "Von einer französischen Bezirksstadt zur Bundeshauptstadt 1794-1989." 300-301.

³⁸³ The ratio of houses in the downtown vs. suburbs was 4:1 in 1858 but diminished to 2:1 in 1870 already, meaning that less and less residential houses were available in the downtown core. See, Höroldt, Dietrich. "Von einer französischen Bezirksstadt zur Bundeshauptstadt 1794-1989." p. 304.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p.304. The traders and craftsmen also migrated away from down town and moved to the northern part of Bonn, which in turn developed itself into an industrial neighborhood. This development automatically divided the neighborhoods into upscale, academic residential versus working class, industrial neighborhoods.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 305.

³⁸⁶ As of December 1988 the building called 'Lennéstrasse 3' was renamed Werner-Klett-Haus, named after the late Dr. Werner Klett, who was the first chairman of the Studentenwerk Bonn e.V. after WWII. The dorm's building was established and renovated under his tenure. For further information, see, for example official address for the inauguration of the Werner-Klett-Haus: Dr. Pörtner, "Ansprache zur Benennung des Studentenwohnheims Lennéstrasse 3 in Werner-Klett-Haus". 13th December 1988. Print.

is the most expensive residential option of the Studentenwerk.³⁸⁷ The four-storey building was built in 1958 in the course of a general increase in student dorm buildings commissioned by the Studentenwerk Bonn.³⁸⁸ The appreciation of the building's architectural value is also reflected in the fact that since its foundation, the *Werner-Klett-Haus* underwent two major renovation processes: The first one conducted by Bonn-based architect Toni Kleefisch in 1969/1971.³⁸⁹ The main renovation works done during the first phase were the renewal of the roof cladding; paint of the facade and inside the building as well as the renovation of a major part of the interior.³⁹⁰

In 2007/08 the building underwent a second renovation phase by Bonn-based architecture firm *Koenigs+Schumacher Architekten*. According to the architect Rolf Koenigs, the revitalization process has been held in the context of energy saving measures, including pollution remediation (e.g. the steam pipes) and moisture remediation.³⁹¹

Most of the modernist buildings of the 1950s and 1960s are too modest in design to be worthy of mentioning in art historical terms. However, the post 2008-renovation state of the *Werner-Klett-Haus* promotes its architectural features to a building displaying taste and lofty style. The building's light beige façade makes it easily distinguishable from its flanking buildings to its left and right (**Pic. 13**). The building to the Werner-Klett-Haus' left, which houses the University's Slavistics Institute, features a grid-like facade mosaicked with dominant turquoise stones. The one to the right of the Werner-Klett-Haus belongs to the Catholic Educational Institute. Built in the manner of the International Style the building's facade attributes lightness through large glass windows framed only in thin lines of yellow brick. While the façade's colour of the Slavistic-Studies Seminar stands in sharp contrast to the light yellow facade of the Werner-Klett Haus, the facade of the Catholic Educational Institution's building harmonizes very well with its neighbour to the left. The Werner-Klett-Haus faces the Mathematics Museum *Arithmeum* that is placed across the street (**Pic. 14**). The museum is designed by architects Pilhatsch & Loewenau in the manner of the International Style consisting entirely of a

³⁸⁷ According to the list provided on the Studentenwerk's website, the rooms range from 11m² to 16 m² with a monthly rent from € 298,00 to € 329,00. The prices for rent vary accordingly, from €21,- to € 26,- per m², per room. This might seem very high compared to the average rent for apartments in Südstadt, but if the shared facilities - such as kitchen and bathroom - are included, average rent comes from €11,50 to €13,-.

³⁸⁸ Bojanowsky et al. "Zwei und 90 Jahre Studentenwerk Bonn.", p. 58.

³⁸⁹ Along with his partner Jakob Stumpf, the architect Toni Kleefisch designed Bonn's first church after WWI, Sankt Antoniuskirche in 1928 in Dransdorf. See, Höroldt, "Bundeshauptstadt 1794-1989."p, 583.

³⁹⁰ Archival footage of Studentenwerk Bonn e.V.: Letter to the Ministry of the Education and Cultural Affairs, Düsseldorf composed on 3rd December 1968.

³⁹¹ Interview held by the author with architect Koenig, on 24th Feb. 2012 in the firm's studio, Richard-Wagner-Strasse 20, Bonn.

lucid glass facade. The two facing buildings in the street harmonize with each other in their variety of shape, consistency and colour.

The rear view of all three buildings reveals an ensemble of colourful harmony with a yellow facade of the Werner-Klett-Haus and a light violet of the catholic educational institution.

The architect, Rolf Koenigs designed the dorm in a very holistic approach. The walls and the floor of the building's inviting atrium are kept in a light and bright yellow, which creates an airy and light atmosphere in the entrance area.³⁹² The mirror placed on the wall of the entrance hall creates the illusion of widened space. Just like the building's outer appearance and placement in the whole street, the dorm's well-designed interior is worth to mention as well. Each of the units had been very tastefully modernized. Each one of the total 70 rooms has spacious windows, providing an almost equally splendid view: Most rooms are placed towards west, facing Lennéstrasse and the "Arithmeum." The rooms to the west, which are on the side wing of the ground and first floor face a playground and the rooms to the east, face a quite side street parallel to the Lennéstrasse. Some of the shared apartments on the fourth floor are also equipped with spacious balconies that face the *Arithmeum*. The firm did a grand job in combining functionality and efficiency with amenity for the room's furniture and equipment. The bed and closet along with the horizontally adjusted wall bookshelf are kept in the colours red and beige (**Pic. 15a**). The material used for the interior equipment is carefully aligned with each other: the generous kitchen plates consist of granite and the dark grey sprinkled colour matches to the colour of the grey kitchen furniture. Through the right nuances the design creates a sense of elegance while at the same time being functional and easy to clean (**Pic. 15b**).

Although seemingly modest in design the modernist mode of the Werner-Klett building features some splendid details such as the spiral-shaped staircase that embraces basement to the fourth floor (**Pic. 16a and b**). The same organic shape is repeated in the fire emergency fire staircase dislocated on the rear-facing side of the building. Moreover, are the fire stairway's curves reminiscent of a DNA spiral (**Pic. 17**). This is another proof of the *Koenigs+Schumacher Architekten's* sense for creativity and functionality: The architecture firm added the stairways to the building as the mandatory fire prevention measure in the course of the revitalization. Another interesting detail is the concavo-convexo play of horizontal lines along the first bottom quarter of the building's

³⁹² The atrium' pre-renovation floor is built of stone and had been maintained during the revitalization process. Interview held by the author with architect Koenig, on 24th Feb

front facade. Besides the usual facilities, the house is also equipped with a bar which is situated in the basement of the building, next to the laundry facilities. The bar is the centrepiece of the dorm's activities fostering the community spirit amongst the residents in the whole house. This is where the residents meet for various parties, board game nights or the obligatory dormitory meeting that takes place once every term

The dormitory distinguishes itself from many other dorms through its close proximity to the University's main building, the law faculty, the university library, the student hub as well as the student cafeteria.

The popularity of the dorm's location is also reflected in a survey taken among the residents of the student dorm. The survey resulted that 19 out of the 27 participating residents consider the proximity to University facilities from their dorm as very convenient; seven stated it is "somewhat" convenient and only one stated it is not convenient.³⁹³ The building is also very close to the river Rhine, offering good leisure and sports opportunities (running, going for a walk, into the park Auerberg) for its tenants.

Werner-Klett-Haus as a student dorm offers rooms for a rent that is above average and therefore could be criticized for being too expensive. On the other hand the student dorm's setting and its high building quality comprise this rent.³⁹⁴ The time-saving daily commute to the University and other facilities, as well as the highly sustainable materials for the interior, compensate for the slightly above average renting prices. Aside from money, setting and time there is the social factor that is highly valuable: Like most of the Studentenwerk's dormitories, the *Werner-Klett-Haus* is run and managed by the students themselves. This concept fosters the community spirit amongst the residents, cuts the costs for outside maintenance fees and gives the students the right to have a say in what type of dwelling they want. At the time of my research the dorm had a total of 10 volunteers elected by the dorm's residents.³⁹⁵ The elected volunteers function as the dorm's mentors and tutors (e.g. foreign student tutor, house tutor, bar tutor ect.) and are responsible to run the building to a certain extent.

Bonn is a well-chosen city for students to pursue their studies or do an internship. This popularity makes the former capital of Germany to a city with one of the highest stu-

³⁹³ Source: "Questionnaire for the tenants of the Werner-Klett-Haus." January 2012. A total of 27 residents were asked in that survey. This represents about 39 percent of the total residents.

³⁹⁴ In my survey 16 out of 27 tenants claimed that the value-for-money-ratio for their dorm was adequate. Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Protocol of the student dorm's plenary assembly, "Protokoll des 2. HVV im WS 2011/12 am 25.01.2012 im Werner-Klett-Haus."

dent-to-citizens ratios in the country. It is mainly because of the active involvement of the students and faculty members of the inter-World-War-years of Germany that the organization Deutscher Studentenwerk was established in the first place. Until today the organization's efforts and influences are apparent, as it is one of the main providers of adequate solutions for reasonably priced housing for many of the students in Germany. The success of the organization's concept and effort has been displayed through the beautifully designed and highly livable student dormitory of the Studentenwerk Bonn, *Werner-Klett-Haus*. The dorm is one of many other examples of affordable and livable dwelling architecture in the 21st century for the low-income target group of students in Germany.

From the current and former capitals of Germany in the East and West the focus of the following subchapter will lie on affordable and livable residential architecture in two of Germany's most popular and therefore expensive and populous cities: Hamburg and Munich.

3.4 Munich –Thriving Innovation and Affordability in architecture

Munich is Germany's most expensive and least affordable city, with superb affordable housing politics.³⁹⁶

Munich is the federal capital of the traditionally conservatively lead state of Bavaria. Since 1996 the city is being governed by a left-winged and green municipal council coalition the Social Democratic Party (Sozial Demokraten), the Gay and Lesbian Activist Party (Rosa Liste München) and the Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen).³⁹⁷ This coalition between left-winged and green parties also reflects on the city's housing policy. Munich is one of the German cities that require private developers to include a certain percentage of social housing in new developments (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007). The reason for this lies in its historical roots, as Munich was one of the many German cities that would suffer from shortages after both past World War periods. By adapting the First and Second Housing Act (Erstes und Zweites Wohnungsbaugesetz - WoBauG) the city ensured its citizens a habitual space according to their monthly income and need.³⁹⁸ In 2006 the German Bundestag modified the Housing Act (ratified in 2002) on a provincial level.³⁹⁹ The state of Bavaria took advantage of this modification and introduced in 2007 its own Housing Act (Bayerisches Wohnungsbindungsgesetz).⁴⁰⁰

In the context of modifying Acts, the Bavarian Government introduced its own bill on subsidized and public housing ("Gesetz über die Wohnraumförderung in Bayern"- Bay-

³⁹⁶ According to the German Real Estate Association (Immobilien Verband Deutschland) average rent in Munich for a post 1949-built apartment with the size of 70 m² is €10,-/m², followed by Stuttgart, €8,70 and Heidelberg €8,50. The average rent in all of Germany for an apartment with the size of 70 m² is €5, 83/ m² ; for further information, see Table 'F+B Mietspiegelindex 2010'.

³⁹⁷ More precisely speaking, after World War II Munich was lead almost exclusively by the Social Democrats.

³⁹⁸ The First Housing Act was ratified in April 1950 by the German Parliament. It defined social housing as apartments that were per size, equipment and rent adequate for the broad masses. The parties involved were to prioritize the building of these houses on a state, provincial and municipal level. For further information see, for example, DEGNER, Joachim. "Wohnungspolitik I: Wohnungsbau." *Handwörterbuch Der Wirtschaftswissenschaft: (HdWW) : Zugleich Neuauflage Des Handwörterbuchs Der Sozialwissenschaften*. Ed. Willi Albers. Vol. 9. Stuttgart: Fischer, 1982. Print. p. 502-515.

³⁹⁹ The Housing Act (Wohnraumfoerderungsgesetz) was introduced to the German Bundestag from January 2002. It replaces the Second Housing Act. The Housing Act applies on a federal level in Germany. For further information and a draft of the bill from 13. March 2001, see, for example the website of Deutscher Bundestag "Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Reform des Wohnungsbaurechts". 13. MAR 2001. Web. 03. MAR 2012. bundestag.de. The draft is available as PDF.

⁴⁰⁰ This bill was announced in 23. JUL 2007 and established under "GVBl Nr. 17, Seite 562 vom 16.08.2007."

erisches Wohnraumförderungsgesetz - BayWoFG).⁴⁰¹ The guiding principles of this act are:

The purpose of this Act is to promote the means that support households by providing adequate housing (housing development). The provisions of this Act shall apply for housing assistance through the provision of funds from the state budget, through the acquisition of the guarantees and the provision of means of the Bavarian State Farm Credit.⁴⁰²

While the purpose of the act is clear in writing, its practical execution is not. This has been particularly evident in the most recent case of the building land, construction *Phase 4* in Munich's *Messestadt Riem* that shall be discussed in the following subchapter.⁴⁰³

3.4.1 Between Innovation and Obstacles: The Messestadt Riem

Messestadt Riem lies approximately 15 km southeast from Munich's downtown core.⁴⁰⁴

While the setting of the project disqualifies itself as an inner-city neighbourhood, *Messestadt Riem* will be examined solely on the basis of what it means to overcome bureaucratic obstacles in city planning. Munich is running out of space. In its attempt to create more purpose-built rental buildings as well as affordable homeownerships (*München Modell*) it expands its urban core towards the periphery. With *Phase 4* the plan was to build approximately 850 apartments on this building plot (see Attachment Nr. 3) that was formally an airport.⁴⁰⁵ In a joint venture the potential developers and the project-planning bureau were to set out the completion for the architects and involve building owners in the project. Fifty percent of the apartments were to be sold to private buyers, 30 percent were meant to be subsidized by the provincial government and available for low-income tenants and 20 percent were to be sold to buyers according to the *München Modell*. The latter is a financial blueprint assigned by the City government targeted particularly at Munich's middle-class.

⁴⁰¹ A detailed display of the content of the Act can be reviewed on the Bavarian Website 'Verwaltung Bayern.' Gesetz über die Wohnraumförderung in Bayern (Bayerisches Wohnraumförderungsgesetz - BayWoFG) *gesetze-bayern.de*. 10. April 2007. Web. 09. SEP 2011.

⁴⁰² Bayerisches Wohnraumförderungsgesetz – BayWoFG, Artikel 1. "Zweck und Anwendungsbereich des Gesetzes." *gesetze-bayern.de*. 10. April 2007. GVBl 2007, S. 260. Translated from German to English by the author. (Appendix F).

⁴⁰³ Construction Phases 1 to 3 have been built in 2006.

⁴⁰⁴ *Messestadt Riem* Project, Phase 4, Munich, Source: Online, City of Munich, *muenchen.de*

⁴⁰⁵ A footprint of the building plot is available for download on the government's website: *munich.de*.

The *Messestadt* Project was considered as a promising landmark towards affordable housing invitation but in June 2007 the regional appeal court of Düsseldorf proclaimed its decision that would make matters difficult.⁴⁰⁶ Part of the legal restraint builds on the premise that every community that sells land to a developer, under circumstantial conditions such as the construction of subsidized housing has to call out the tender for completion on a European Union wide level.⁴⁰⁷ Consequently, any planning and preparation of *Messestadt's* Phase 4 was stopped, as the instances involved were not prepared for such a drastic change. In addition the newly enforced regulations required that the proposed developing areas already display in detail the purpose of buildings, their settings and design.⁴⁰⁸

Such stiff and rigid regulations limit the architects' freedom of invention and creativity, as well as the buyers' and developers' freedom to choose and alter the buildings' purpose.

Luckily for the city municipality though, the court's decision was overruled and Munich starts to continue with the allocation of land and buildings as well as the zoning process.⁴⁰⁹

The call for the residential building area starts in October 2011 hence no mock ups or design sketches of the architecture exist yet. Therefore descriptions of the project of can be given at this time only based on the blueprint (divided by 12 fields, W4.1 to W 7.1) of the building lot. The south-western (WA6) part of the building lot - "Ackermanbogen" - will be already realised in 2012 by the Munich municipality itself. The *Messestadt Riem Project* is one great example of joint venture between municipality, building societies, housing cooperatives, building communities as well as developers of condominiums and buyers.⁴¹⁰

The realization of grocery stores, restaurants, community spaces and underground car parks illustrates the scale and dynamic of the project. Considering that 50% of the units and buildings will be subsidized in some way and available for the less affluent population of Munich this joint venture holds much promise for future urban planning projects.

⁴⁰⁶ For a detailed listing of the regulations, see, for example, website of Deutscher Staedte und Gemeindebund. PORTZ, Norbert "OLG Düsseldorf zum Verkauf städtischer Grundstücke." *dstgb.de* 21. DEC 2007. Web. 12. MAY 2010.

⁴⁰⁷ KASTNER, Bernd. "Mehr Bürokratie wagen." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*. 13 OCT 2008. Web. 10. SEP. 2011.

⁴⁰⁸ Kastner. "Mehr Bürokratie wagen."

⁴⁰⁹ MORGUET, Herbert. "Re: Bezahlbarer Wohnraum Kanada vs. Deutschland." Email to the author, 23 Sept. 2011. (Appendix A).

⁴¹⁰ Landeshauptstadt München. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung. "Baugemeinschaften." 2011. Web. 07.10.2011.

The question is, whether the 2007 imposed decision of Düsseldorf's Regional Appeal court would not have limited subsidized housing projects per se had it been maintained until now? From an economical point of view, would it not be much more affordable to hire a local or regional architect to plan and design a local building, than to hire one from a different country? Considering that it was the aim of the developers of Phase 4 to realise a subsidized housing project the court's decision would have made the progress of affordable housing not only complicated but also almost impossible.

On the other hand the premise to have this project being designed and realised by a non-German architecture firm would open the door for new innovations in design and cultural input.

3.4.2 Transitional Housing Munich Style: Clearinghaus

In 2008 an estimated 330.000 people in all of Germany were either homeless or in risk of homelessness.⁴¹¹ In Munich the number of people without adequate housing was estimated to be 2500.⁴¹² In 2001 the city of Munich has reacted to these unpleasant circumstances in its housing policy action plan (Wohnungspolitisches Handlungsprogramm) "Wohnen in München III."⁴¹³ The plan's main goals were to increase the number of purpose-built rental units from 6000 to 7000 per year.⁴¹⁴ Financially the city aimed to built 1800 more subsidized rental units per year and invest with an additional € 50 Million in annual funding for affordable housing projects. In order to include the middle class the limit of annual income for multi-family households was lifted as well.⁴¹⁵

The City initiated the concept of transitional housing projects called "Clearinghaus." The name may be quite blunt and bleak but the concept is promising. "Clearinghäuser" are realised in conjunction with the City's action plan "Wohnen in München III." They aim to temporarily house homeless singles, couples and families and assist them

⁴¹¹ There are no official statistics on number of homelessness from the German Government. These numbers have been estimated by the non-profit, "Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe e. V." Source: "Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe." Bielefeld, 18 NOV 2009. PDF. 26 MAR 2012.

⁴¹² Bavaria. Muenchener Gesellschaft fuer Staderneuerung mbH. "Clearinghaus an der Orleansstrasse 17." Landeshauptstadt Muenchen. *Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung HA III*. SEP 2006. PDF. 05 OCT 2012.

⁴¹³ Wohnen in München. "1.1.1 Rückblick auf Wohnen in München III." *muenchen.de*. DEC 2006. PDF. 12 OCT 2012. p.18

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

with finding a permanent affordable housing solution.⁴¹⁶ The first such *Clearinghaus* was built and realised from March 2004 to October 2005 and is placed in Munich inner city neighbourhood of Haidhausen (**Pic. 18**). Cost of construction and realization of the project was €4.4 million. The City subsidized the units under “ProCom C” funding which is part of its “Wohnen in München III.”⁴¹⁷The project is run and owned by the redevelopment agency *Münchener Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung mbH* (hereafter MGS).⁴¹⁸The agency is specialized in urban renewal and one part of their broad service spectrum includes the “Improvement of residential environment in coordination with the private and government ownership sector.”⁴¹⁹

The six-storey building was designed by the local architecture firm Rath. The building is placed in Munich’s busy and popular area around Pariser Platz in an already valorised part of Munich (**Pic. 19**). Many of the buildings along Pariser Strasse are maintained from pre World War II. The area experienced a revitalization process in the 1970s and 1980s attracting middle class and businesses to move in and invest.⁴²⁰There was a clear gentrification movement in the 1980 with lower-class moving out, and middle-class moving in. Today the area is considered as a mixed-income neighbourhood.⁴²¹The mixed-income idea is intentional and part of the ProCom core idea. In order to avoid ghettoisation and segregation the building’s sizes are limited to up to 30 units per building.⁴²² Residents may stay in the building for up to six month but despite the temporary nature the units are fully equipped with kitchen and bathrooms and come furnished. Selection of candidates is made on a municipal level through Munich’s housing bureau and the MSG.⁴²³

⁴¹⁶ “Kommunales Wohnungsbauprogramm Wohnen statt Unterbringen.” *Muenchen. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung*. JAN 2007. PDF. 12 OCT 2012. p.5.

⁴¹⁷ The ProCom concept is divided in three subgroups, A for low-income households looking for housing provided by the City itself. B is also for low-income people who are looking for social housing not provided by the City and C is aimed for those hardest to house, i.e. homeless. Source: “Kommunales Wohnungsbauprogramm Wohnen statt Unterbringen.” *Muenchen. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung*. JAN 2007. PDF. 12 OCT 2012. p.3.

⁴¹⁸ Muenchener Gesellschaft fuer Stadterneuerung mbH. “Clearinghaus an der Orleansstrasse 17.” *Landeshauptstadt Muenchen. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung HA III*. SEP 2006. PDF. 05 OCT 2012. p.3.

⁴¹⁹ This section has been translated from German into English by the author. Source: München Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung. “Stadt Raum Mensch. Durchführung von Baumaßnahmen.” n.d. Web. 12 OCT 2012.

⁴²⁰ EDER, Christa. “Pariser Strasse.” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. 15 MAY 2010. Web. 12 OCT 2012.

⁴²¹ Ibid. Georg Schmidt from MSG Munich also confirmed the mixed-income aspect of Haidhausen during a phone conversation conducted with him on 12th October 2012.

⁴²² “Kommunales Wohnungsbauprogramm Wohnen statt Unterbringen.” *Muenchen. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung*. JAN 2007. PDF. 12 OCT 2012, p.8.

⁴²³ Ibid, p.6.

The mixed-use building comprises 32 apartment units placed on 1700m². There are 20 one-bedroom and 10 two-bedroom apartments as well as a three- and one four-bedroom apartment units for larger family households.⁴²⁴ The unit's one- and two-bedroom apartments can be combined into a three-bedroom apartment. This kind of flexibility enables to react to residents' needs and quantity in a flexible and handy manner. Each unit has a balcony facing towards the building's inner courtyard. The apartment units feature large soundproof windows in order to let plenty of light in. Window shutter along the side facing Orleansstrasse keep the rooms from the heat in the summer. Office space and amenity rooms are placed on the groundfloorground floor.

The building is placed on shelves made of elastomeric materials that are placed on auger piles.⁴²⁵ This is because underneath the designated lot runs the subway.

Having only 1, 50 meters space between building surface and subway tunnel the engineering team and architects had to come up with this architectural construction in order to secure the building's grounds and make the building soundproof. The building lies as a bridge construction above the tunnel. In order to strengthen the naturally weak material of concrete The builders used pre-stressed concrete beams were used that were and placed above the tunnel in order to strengthen the naturally weak material of concrete.⁴²⁶ From the outside, facing the busy Orleansstrasse the building is flanked by two older six-storey buildings each on its left and right. Its slightly sloping rooftop harmonizes with the adjacent buildings' designs that also feature sloping rooftops. The choice of colour for the facade is also in conjunction with the facades of the adjacent buildings that are also kept in white. However the architecture firm did set emphasizing features with colours: The red-painted area running horizontally along the lower part of the building's facade as well as the red window shutter distinguish the Clearinghaus from the surrounding buildings. The building perfectly blends in the neighbourhood while keeping its own individuality and style.

While the inventiveness and creativity of the project's design may be subject of debate the project's setting and flexibility is what stands out in this case. The flexibility in changing the units' sizes from one- or two-bedroom into three-bedroom apartments makes this building to a paradigmatic case of what Charles Jenck's defined as a multi-

⁴²⁴ There is no indication for the units exact size. Muenchener Gesellschaft fuer Staderneuerung mbH. "Clearinghaus an der Orleansstrasse 17." Landeshauptstadt *Muenchen*. *Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung HA III*. SEP 2006. PDF. 05 OCT 2012, p.3.

⁴²⁵ Muenchener Gesellschaft fuer Staderneuerung mbH. "Clearinghaus an der Orleansstrasse 17." Landeshauptstadt *Muenchen*. *Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung HA III*. SEP 2006. PDF. 05 OCT 2012, p.4.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

valent architecture, meaning the buildings' architecture can be reinterpreted anew by every generation. They have an existing and deep way of meaning and they fuse together in a powerful pattern while at the same time can be modified in new ways.⁴²⁷ The Clearinghaus on Orleanstrasse 17 served as a prototype in transitional affordable housing for homeless people and its success led to the creation of three additional such buildings in Munich.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷ Jencks, Charles. "Modern Movements In Architecture." p. 14

⁴²⁸ The fourth project opened in summer 2009 at Munich's Pippingerstrasse. Presskit. "'Rund-um-Betreuung ist das A und O.'" *Wochenanzeiger*. 2 JUN 2009. Web. 12 Oct. 2012. There are no statistics on the exact success rate of the Clearinghouses.

3.5 Hamburg: The Capital City of Germany's Housing Cooperatives

With a population of approx. 1,8 million people Hamburg is Germany's second biggest city, after Munich.⁴²⁹ Like Berlin, Hamburg is a federal state for itself. Being also the seventh largest city in all of the European Union, Hamburg's population is expected to grow to 1,9 million people within the next decade until 2020.⁴³⁰ This population sprawl makes Hamburg one of the fastest growing cities in Germany; at the same time Hamburg becomes one of Germany's most densely populated cities. Due to its geographic position of being a port city it is a very multicultural place, with 30% of its population being visible minorities.⁴³¹ All these factors make the government of this city-state face growing challenges in urban planning and affordable and livable residential architecture.

3.5.1 The Rise of the Building Cooperatives in Hamburg

Hamburg is the one German City that depicts the most fruitful and influential examples of housing co-operatives in Germany. The City has had a long tradition in establishing leading housing co-operatives and non-profit building societies that goes back to the late 1970s and early 1980s when squatters occupied large parts of the rundown and empty buildings.

In order to deal with the rising number of the squatters on the one hand and the deterioration of run-down buildings on the other hand Hamburg set its focus on alternative renovation strategies. The squatters were encouraged to participate in the redevelopment of the occupied houses in return they would get financial and consulting help by bodies charged with carrying out the redevelopment process.

The City's socio political strategy would gradually turn house squatters to house owners. The latter would determine their living conditions mostly according to their own

⁴²⁹ Hamburg, Statistikamt Nord. "Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein im 1. Vierteljahr 2011." *www.statistik-nord.de*. 29.09.2011. Web. 21.10.2011.

The most populous year in Germany's history was in 1964 when Hamburg's Baby Boomer generation comprised a population of 1.857.431.

⁴³⁰ Hamburg, Bertelsman Stiftung. "Absolute Bevölkerungsentwicklung 2006–2025 – Prognose für Hamburg." *www.wegweiser-kommune.de*. 25.10.2011. Web. 17.12.2010. The society's website has some useful tools to calculate, compare and evaluate demographic statistics of Germany's population.

⁴³¹ According to the *German Office for Statistics and Data Processing* following Berlin (13,7%) Hamburg has the second-highest proportion (13,5%) of people being counted as 'foreigners'. For further information see the government's website, Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder. „Gebiet und Bevölkerung – Ausländische Bevölkerung.“ n.d. Web. 21.10.2011.

concepts and involvement, while the government solved the problem of vandalism and squats in a cost effective way. It was a win-win situation as giving people the opportunity to shape their own housing environment turned out to be a successful concept. Ever since then the trend to have the tenants be involved in the redevelopment process of their homes has continued. Since the mid 1990s this concept also includes newly built renting houses as well as privately owned buildings by homeowners.

The major goal of the government was to empower the tenants, owners and citizens to shape their neighbourhood on a self-determining ground. The government sold the building lots according to a base value regardless of the area, as long as they were government-funded. However, there has been a change in this regulation as the market value of projects set by building communities has been taken into account, too. This change affected the flexibility of government-funded projects drastically. Because there is a limit to funding per square meter, government-funded projects can mostly be realised in the less attractive areas of Hamburg, meaning those that are not vitalized or valorised and most likely lack middle-class residents.⁴³²

Despite these sad developments the city of Hamburg along with a significant amount of progressive architects have been very active in financing, building and creating dwelling solutions that are affordable for the less affluent members of society. Out of this urban development the strong influence and appearance of building societies, housing co-operatives and building communities in the State of Hamburg is still present. The housing cooperative *Hamburger Hochstrasse* is set in the popular and gentrified area of St. Pauli that is part of Hamburg's neighbourhood Hamburg Mitte.⁴³³ The case study serves as an example of affordable housing in a gentrified area of Hamburg.

⁴³² KRAEMER, Stefan & KUHN, Gerd. *Städte und Baugemeinschaften*. Ludwigsburg: Wüstenrot Stiftung, 2009. 136f.

⁴³³ Hamburg Mitte is one of Hamburg's seven districts. It is subdivided by 19 neighbourhoods. Source: Official Website of the City of Hamburg. "Hamburg Mitte." *Hamburg.de*. n.d. web. 21.OCT 2011.

3.5.2 Defining a Generation – Hamburger Hochstrasse in St. Pauli

Hamburg's demographic figures reveal that the city has an aging population, with a total of 19 percentages of its citizens being at the age of 65 or older.⁴³⁴ Evidently the need for innovative housing solutions for these demographics is high. There are quite many examples of mixed-generation homes – “Generationsübergreifendes Wohnen” – in Hamburg, comprising the concept of young and old generation living under one roof.⁴³⁵ Over half of the 19 percent of the generation over 65 are women. In order to meet the housing needs for single females who are 60 years old and the building society *Arche Nora e.V.* developed the idea to create homes exactly this target group.

One of the three buildings that had been realised under the society's concept is the housing cooperative *Hamburger Hochstrasse*, set in the popular and vivid area of Hamburg's *St. Pauli* (**Pic. 20**).⁴³⁶ Average rent in St. Pauli is € 14, 01 per square meter, which is high compared to the City's overall rent of € 11, 75 per square meter.⁴³⁷

The neighbourhood's setting is both, sketchy and inviting: It is placed right by the water (River Elbe), offers plenty of cultural institutes and is adjacent to Hamburg's most expensive neighbourhood “Rotherbaum” in the district of Eimsbüttel (average rental most €17/m²).⁴³⁸ But St. Pauli also has the notorious red light district; Reeperbahn offering offers popular nightlife activities for the young and restless but is not very family friendly considering its reputation. In order to live here you need to have a “live-and-let-live” attitude that many seem to have as the area's popularity is reflected in the above average monthly rent statistics.

⁴³⁴ Data taken from Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holzstein. *Datenschutzzentrum.de* Mikrozensus January 2011.

⁴³⁵ The term “Generationsübergreifendes Wohnen” emerged in the 1990s after Germany's reunification along with the government's cessation of public housing funding (Kraemer & Kuhn, 42f). Out of this discomfort emerged the possibility for independent joint building ventures and co-operative societies to create a sense of community and to shape the residents' own habitual space (Kraemer & Kuhn, 68). Ever since then this mixed demographic dwelling concept has become a very popular and successful way of dwelling. The basis of this concept exists to the premise that people from a very broad generational mix live in one building, and in doing so helping each other out in their everyday lives.

⁴³⁶ According to the German Federal Office of Statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt) the area of St. Pauli consists of 51,6% single households, 35,5 percent of its inhabitants are between 40-64 years-old followed by 33,7 % being between 25-39 years-old. St.Pauli has a population of 27.000 people living in 2,6 Square kilometers land. Source: Official Website of the City of Hamburg. “Hamburg Mitte.” *Hamburg.de*. n.d. web. 21.OCT 2011.

⁴³⁷ Wohnungs-Infobörse GmbH. “Mietspiegel Hamburg 2012.” *wohnungsboerse.net*. November 2012. Web. 13 NOV 2012.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.* St. Pauli's “Panoptikum” is the German version of England's Madam Tussaud. For more on the museum, see their website: *panoptikum.de*.

The housing co-op was designed by Hamburg-based architecture firm *Huke-Schubert Berge Architekten*⁴³⁹ and financed by the building society *Spar- und Bauverein*. It opened its doors in 2005 and houses eleven single female tenants who are between the ages of 52 to 77.⁴⁴⁰

Hamburger Hochstrasse comprises a total of eleven apartment units, as well as one spacious community room in the basement and a garden rooftop that can be accessed by the lift (**Pic. 21 a and b**). Every two apartments share a balcony that is facing to the south and each unit is provided with floor to ceiling windows to let enough light in (**Pic. 22**).

The way *Hamburger Hochstrasse* the housing co-op is designed and set invites the tenants' inner motivation to get together and build a strong sense of community spirit. This is mainly due to the fact that the building provides inside and outside community spaces: the community room enables the tenants and their guests to meet for social events or occasional get-togethers, exchange conversations and have occasional gatherings; the building's inner backyard serves as a space for the tenants to plant flowers, vegetables and plants while at the same time being a place to gather up for social occasions.

Hamburger Hochstrasse excels as a progressive architectural residential architecture as it is based on an inclusive design concept: During the process of the building's realization the tenants' opinion and visions on the building's interior design and use of materials have been taken into account by the architecture firm.⁴⁴¹ Particularly, those tenants who moved in the building as first-residents will have profited from the advantage of being able to have a voice in the shaping of their interior design. Besides the appealing design of the building's interior the project also stands out due to the highly sustainable materials used: e.g. each unit is provided with an aeration plant in order to prevent loss of heat during the cold winter, which mineralizes the use of a heater. The entire façade consists of faced brickwork and the bathroom floors are laid with ceramic tiles.⁴⁴²

The entire building is self-run by the tenants who as members of the building housing co-operative, *Arche Nora e.V.* all hold mutual shares, rights and responsibilities. In case one of the tenants decides to move out, the remaining ones are entitled to choose their successor.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ The architecture firm works closely with the friendly society. So far three buildings have been realised under the collaboration between these two.

⁴⁴⁰ Gottschalk, Anna "Re: Hamburger Hochstrasse." Email to author. 26 Oct 2011.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Sudholz, Ute. "Re: Projekt Arche Nora". Email to the author. 25 Oct 2011.

⁴⁴³ For further information see for example the society's website, www.archenora.de.

The success of this kind of ‘Golden Girls’ building project is apparent, considering that the firm of *Huke-Schubert Berge Architekten* designed and realised a third project for the non-profit society *Arche Nora e.V.*

It is projects like these that meet Harvey’s demand for the ‘Right to the City’ closely enough, as here they demonstrate that architecture includes the people and enables them have a say in what kind of dwelling and environment they want to live in.

3.5.3 *HafenCity*: Towards Innovative Dwelling Solutions

Right next to St. Pauli is Hamburg Mitte’s neighbourhood of *HafenCity*, an urban planning project that is said to be the greatest interurban renovation development that is taking place in Europe’s 21st century.⁴⁴⁴ The Project took shape in 2000 and aimed to offer a broad housing supply for different households as well as economic and demographic population in Hamburg.⁴⁴⁵

The history of *HafenCity*’s locale can be traced back into the 14th century when this area was Germany’s most important terminal point between the North- and the Baltic Sea.⁴⁴⁶ Until the 19th century the free harbour was already a mixed-use area consisting of warehouses, business and residential buildings and it was already then an area for the rather affluent people.⁴⁴⁷ The wealthy clientele was also reflected in the imagery of the area’s residential architecture: magnificent and impressive baroque buildings with decorated ornaments and elegant entrées were dominant features of the harbour area.

The flourishing of Hamburg’s harbour lasted well after until World War II. Both the quay as well as the storage sheds suffered massively from the attacks of the allies during World War II. This is because the harbour also served as one of the most important junctions during the war. But towards the last decades of the 20th century this harbour lost its initial function, which made the Hamburg Senate develop the inventive plan to refurbish the harbour to a new and vibrant city, *HafenCity*.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ As the area of *HafenCity* is still in the making little literature has been published about the construction site. Most updated progress on *HafenCity*’s development can be found at the projects’ website: www.hafencity.com.

⁴⁴⁵ Hamburg, GHS Gesellschaft für Hafen- und Standortentwicklung mbh “Der Masterplan 2000.” MARCH 2000. hafencity.com. PDF. The Hamburg Senate developed and confirmed the *HafenCity*’s masterplan in 29 February 2000. Ibid p.6.

⁴⁴⁶ “*HafenCity* Hamburg - Die Geschichte des Ortes.” www.hafencity.de. *HafenCity* Hamburg GmbH. n.d. Web. 05. Jan 2011.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

The idea to rezone areas of former harbours into a mixture of residential, commercial and industrial areas has already happened in cities such as Rotterdam or Stockholm.⁴⁴⁹ But unlike Rotterdam and Stockholm, *HafenCity* is going to be fully integrated into the city of Hamburg itself. It will consist of a total of ten very diverse neighbourhoods (quarters) while at the same time completing the City of Hamburg to a united entity.⁴⁵⁰ *HafenCity* has been praised but also criticised: Two major points of criticism are the lacking infrastructure and the lack of affordability of the habitual buildings.⁴⁵¹ This is why *HafenCity's* master plan of 2000 was reevaluated and the eastern part revised since 2010.⁴⁵² The ideal new plan is now to turn the entire area of 155 hectare into a work/ live environment, where approximately 40,000 people will work and another will 12,000 live.⁴⁵³ The western part of *HafenCity* is mostly completed by 2010. Like a piece of puzzle each of its single districts fits into the grand design of a mixed-use scheme.

HafenCity prides itself with aesthetically breathtaking buildings designed by star architects such as Rem Koolhaas, Henning Larsen or Herzog & de Meuron. The “Elbtor Quarter” consists of *HafenCity's* own University, a design centre, a Museum (International Maritime Museum), the Greenpeace Headquarter as well as the Christian Ecumenical Forum “Brücke” (*Ökumenisches Forum Brücke*).⁴⁵⁴ So far *HafenCity* is in a state of offering attractive residential places, leisure activities, business districts, places for the mind, spirit and the soul; the daycare centre *Katharinenschule* will also serve as *HafenCity's* community centre.⁴⁵⁵ And *HafenCity* starts to recognise the need of livable dwelling options for low-income households of Hamburg's society.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁴⁹ DÖRTING, Thorsten. “Zauberformel fuer die HafenCity.” *Spiegel*. Vol 4(2008):72-75, Print, p.73.

⁴⁵⁰ “HafenCity Hamburg – Ein Stadtteil, Zeh Quatiere.” *www.hafencity.de*. *HafenCity Hamburg GmbH*. n.d. Web. 05. Jan 2011.

⁴⁵¹ The Yoo House built by star architect Philippe Starck offers units to rent for prices up to €7000,-/ m². Bruns-Berentelg, Jürgen: “Öffentliche Stadträume und das Entstehen von Öffentlichkeit.” Diskussion paper about *HafenCity*, Nr. 1, Feb 2010, p. 425. A substantial group of activists consisting of artists, musicians and normal citizens launched a manifesto in October 2009, called “Not in Our Name.” criticizing that urban planning developments such as *HafenCity* have become a marketing tool to attract a specific target group that resembles that of Richard Florida's Creative Class. The manifesto is accessible online at <http://www.buback.de/nion/> along with a petition against the development to sign for everyone.

⁴⁵² Dörting, Thorsten. “Zauberformel fuer die HafenCity.”, p.72.

⁴⁵³ Springer, Christian. “Hamburg, HafenCity - Kurzportrait.” *Immobilianscout24.de*. 01. Feb. 2012. Web. 13. Feb. 2012.

⁴⁵⁴ For Image material of Edited Bird's Eye View of *HafenCity* and its 10 quarters with highlighted Elbtorquarter and Losepark, see: Online, *HafenCity.com*

⁴⁵⁵ “Leben in der HafenCity: Ein neues Gefühl von Stadt.” *www.hafencity.de*. N.d. Web. 13. FEB 2012.

⁴⁵⁶ Despite the middle- and upper-middle class target groups, the results for 2011 State Election for the district of *Hamburg Mitte* turned in favour of the Social Democrat Party (SPD) who won with 42% votes. This was followed by the Christian Democrat Party (CDU) who got 15,8 % of the votes. The election outcome may be an indicator for the transformation from middle class to working class taking place in this district. Source: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein. „Endgültiges Ergebnis der

As of the time this chapter has been written one project that includes subsidised apartments was in development. *Projekt Losepark* in the seventh quarter of HafenCity, called ‘Baufeld 70’ is going to be a mixed-income and mixed-use building and the first of its kind in HafenCity.⁴⁵⁷ Its economically diverse concept encompasses residential buildings that include private condominiums as well as low-income housing for artist tenants with physical disabilities. Projekt Losepark is still in the very making and despite extensive research with the developer CONPLAN GMBH, construction company OTTO WULFF GmbH & Co. KG as well as non-profit-society Benno und Inge Behrens-Stiftung very little can be said about the actual design yet. In a phone interview with project manager Marc Hoischen, from OTTO WULFF stated that the project will be a mixed-income building with one fourth subsidised apartments run by the artists’ non-profit society *Schlumper Kuenstler Hamburg*⁴⁵⁸. Furthermore, will there be a gallery and coffee shop available for local artists with disabilities.⁴⁵⁹ The remaining three-quarter will be built and sold to private investors and buyers. The idea behind this concept comes from Marc Hoischen himself, who initiated the social concept of this project. But the motives behind this seemingly ethical housing concept were rather marketing driven: In a phone interview with this dissertation’s author Mr. Hoischen stated that he came up with the idea to include disadvantaged members of society into the project in order for OTTO WULFF to win the competition for the highly coveted building lot.⁴⁶⁰ Selling ethics may be a kind of marketing tool in the 21st-century architecture and urban planning realm that looks pleasing and is most effective. However, in this case marketing may help both ends: those with financial means and opportunities and those who are in need.

The choice of artists as tenants for the subsidised units in Losepark may be deliberate: If we take Ley’s Middle Class theory into account, artists fit just fine into the realm of Middle Class, as they are the “very special member of the middle class” due to their high cultural and aesthetic value.⁴⁶¹

Bürgerschaftswahl 2011 (Wahlkreisstimmen) in den Hamburger Wahlkreisen.“ <http://www.statistik-nord.de>. 17. May 2011. Web. 13.FEB 2012.

⁴⁵⁷ Hafencity.com

⁴⁵⁸ HOISCHEN, Marc. Phone Interview with the author, 14 OCT 2011.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ley, David. “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification.” p, 2533.

3.6 The Heterogeneous Face of Affordable and Livable Architecture in Germany

This chapter dealt with the development of affordable and livable residential architecture in four of Germany's cities: Berlin, Bonn, Munich and Hamburg in a historical context.

Berlin had a strong and significant movement in affordable housing during its Inter-World-War years. This was due to the considerable commitment of German Architects of Settlement movements such as Bruno and Martin Taut and Hannes Meyer, but also the co-founder of Bauhaus Walter Gropius who were actively involved in designing housing for the working-class members of society. This development was increased through the political situation of the Weimar Republic where the right for adequate housing for everyone according to each one's needs was enshrined in 1919 and had been executed until the fall of the Weimar Republic through the Nazi Regime (See Introduction).

In the 21st century this guarantee of affordable housing was no longer given on a political level, as in 2006 the federal state of Germany withdrew from its housing policy altogether leaving the issue of subsidized housing on a federal state and municipal level only. This regulation is also reflected in the diversity of the housing and urban planning development in each of the cities that were examined. While Berlin not only ceased to finance affordable housing from 2003 on, it also fosters luxury condominium developments that lead to "Supergentrification" processes in the inner areas such as Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte or Kreuzberg. The luxury condominium project *Marthashof* was a case in point as a highly livable as well as absolutely not affordable residential architecture.

The target group of students, being traditionally rather financially modestly equipped has been examined in Germany's former capital of Bonn. Bonn is a city that has one of the highest student- to-citizens ratios in Germany and the Studentenwerk Bonn e.V. provides this target group with some splendid residential places as shown in the case of the "Werner-Klett-Haus". This dormitory excels in style, location and innovation, which makes it being one of the most desired places to live and dwell, while at the same time stay affordable.

Munich, being Germany's most expensive and therefore least affordable city of Germany proved to be a city that is actively involved in affordable housing solutions on a political level as well as community level. The City offers anything from subsidy for homeownership for its middle-class through the "München Modell" as well as tempo-

rary housing for those citizens that are at risk of homelessness as seen in the case study of *Clearing Haus* at Orleanstrasse.

Hamburg as a city that has a history in building societies and co-operative housing served as host for affordable housing for elderly single females. A target group that is many times facing issues of poverty and financial instability. The building co-op *Hamburger Hochstrasse* is one of three examples of the building society's "Arche Nora e.V." that shows a dwelling solution based on a democratic concept where the needs and wishes of the tenants have been included in the realization process of the buildings. As a port city, Hamburg's HafenCity is gradually turning from being an elitist and exclusive urban planning concept into an inclusive and partially diverse part of the city. This attempt has been shown in the recently initiated real estate project *Losepark* that will include for the first time in HafenCity's history subsidised units in a residential building project.

It remains to be seen how affordable Europe's 21st-century greatest interurban renovation development will really be.

Six examples in four different cities, serve as a reflection of the changing face of the image of affordable and livable architecture in Germany's 21st-century. While findings show that Berlin is anything but affordable the city of Bonn, Munich and Hamburg proved that there was and still is a feasible development in affordable housing happening. Nevertheless none of the developments is happening in a heterogeneous way, which is the beauty and excitement of the subject matter.

CHAPTER FOUR: Victoria – An Elitist City with an Appetite for the Old and Historic

This is a tourist town; People come here for the old, for the historic.⁴⁶²

Of all the cities examined in this thesis, Victoria is the one that is most themed by the premise “old is beautiful”. This is reflected in Victoria’s housing stock: Out of the three cities, the number of Victoria’s “Occupied Private Dwellings” constructed before the end of Second World War (1945) is almost twice as high (14 %) than that of Vancouver (8 %) and more than four times that of Kelowna (3%).⁴⁶³

This preference for preserving and imitating heritage style in architecture, as well

as the architectural attitude of exclusivity, is closely connected to the City’s urban development in its foundation years. Therefore, a brief history of Victoria as BC’s first major city as well as its development of the architecture profession is useful.

⁴⁶² Interview Paul Vandermade, MacDonald Realty. 15th June 2012. p.1. (Appendix A)

⁴⁶³ Statistics Canada. “Occupied private dwellings by period of construction and condition of dwelling by census metropolitan area.” Census 2006. 05 NOV 2007. Web. 12 OCT 2012. (Appendix F). Victoria is also the city that has the most amount of dwellings (7%) constructed prior to 1920. Compared to Vancouver (3%) and Kelowna that has less than 1% buildings built prior to 1920. Ibid.

4.1 Go West: An Early History of British Columbia 1858-1865

“Canada provides an admirable general introduction to the historical study of architecture as an expression of changing patterns of life, thought, and society.”⁴⁶⁴

Germany’s late 19th-century and post-World-War-I and II eras were characterized by scarcity and lack of adequate housing, while opportunity and large vacant land was abundant in Canada and British Columbia in particular. British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada in 1871 as its sixth province.⁴⁶⁵ Land was plentiful in the early years of Canada’s westernmost province. The gentrification and overcrowded housing situation prevalent in England’s 19th-century - the way Friedrich Engels describes in his “Wohnungsfrage” - did not exist.

The *Hudson Bay Company* and the *Canadian Pacific and Railway Corporation* were key players in the formation and strengthening of British Columbia.⁴⁶⁶

Many of the extravagant residences built during BC’s formation period belonged to wealthy businessmen or executives of the *Hudson Bay Company* (HBC) and *Canadian Pacific and Railway Corporation* (CPR). The names of BC’s most important cities, Victoria and Vancouver, are reflections of the importance of these two companies: Chief Factor and Colonial Governor James Douglas (1803-1877) named the City of Victoria after the British Queen. General Manager of the CPR William van Horne (1843-1915) named Vancouver in 1886 after Captain George Vancouver who entered the strait between Vancouver Island and the mainland coast of British Columbia in 1792 as the first representative of the British Crown.⁴⁶⁷

In 1881, the CPR strengthened the ties between British Columbia and the rest of Canada with the expansion of the transcontinental railway in BC. The idea of a united Canada through the railway was the catalyst for even more intense settlement in the west. Money and the prospect of gold were further incentives for white, mostly young British

⁴⁶⁴ GOWANS, Alan. *Building Canada: an architectural history of Canadian life*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966. Print. Preface.

⁴⁶⁵ The Dominion of Canada was founded in 1867. *Newfound Land* was the last province to join Canada in 1949. Today Canada consists of ten Provinces and three Territories.

⁴⁶⁶ For a Map depicting Connections of Canadian Pacific Railway in Canada in 1883, see, Online, Canadian Pacific Railways Archives, *cpr.ca*

⁴⁶⁷ The first discoverer of Vancouver was the Spanish Explorer and Naval Officer Jose Maria Narvaez. In order to perpetuate his discovery he drew a map that is today well kept in the Vancouver Archives. What is now Stanley Park he called Pata (Leg) de Bodega (Winery) and the Burrard Inlet “Boca (Mouth) de Florida Blanca”. Source: Library of Congress: G3351.P5 1799. C Vault, Map 12.

men to settle in Canada's westernmost province. Canada's foundation – unlike that of its southern neighbour the United States - was set by the values and regulations of the British Crown. Consequently, Canada was occupied mainly by two groups of people: The first was directly connected to the British Crown through economic and social privilege, and used Canada to expand their wealth and power. The second group were working-class, who could not afford owning their own land or property in gentrified England.⁴⁶⁸ What better place to settle and start a new life or extend wealth than in young, wild and free British Columbia! BC's early dwelling architecture reflects these two socio-economically exclusive groups of settlers.

The middle class wanted the types of architecture that reflected their status and success in the new country: "homes should be monuments to Permanence, Respectability, Prosperity and Prestige."⁴⁶⁹ In order to achieve these points the owners would mostly hire architects to design their homes. The working class, on the other hand, built homes that were functional, modest and minimalistic in style. Builders or the owners themselves built most of these houses.

⁴⁶⁸ See, Glass, Ruth. "Aspects of Change." Introduction., xxxvi to xxxviii.

⁴⁶⁹ SMYLY, Carolyn. "The Trounce House and the glory of stone." *Western Living*. Vol. 1.9 (1977):14-15.Print.

4.1.2 The Hudson's Bay Company and Canada Pacific Railway

The highest prosperity of the Company is, and must continue to be, bound up with the welfare of Canada, and it is no exaggeration to say that the future of the Company depends upon the efficiency of the services it renders to the country it has helped to make.⁴⁷⁰

The Hudson Bay Company (HBC) played a paramount role in the formation of British Columbia. HBC is Canada's oldest corporation and influenced the foundation of today's Canada. The corporation's history goes back to the seventeenth century, when Canada was still an undefined territory contested by the French and the British. The Royal British Charter established the company as a fur trading company in May 1670.⁴⁷¹ The charter granted by King Charles II gave the company the sole rights of trade and commerce in the Hudson Bay watershed.⁴⁷² The company quickly established itself as a powerful monopoly on the British North American fur trade.⁴⁷³

HBC was purchased by the International Financial Society in 1863, and shifted its focus from fur trading to real estate.⁴⁷⁴ This shift was amplified by the settlement movement to BC. By the mid-19th century, HBC was taking unprecedented steps in sponsoring the creation of a colony on Vancouver Island, at the time the most remote and least populated area in the British Empire. HBC's Chief Factor and Colonial Governor, James Douglas, was instructed by his company to establish a new trading post on Vancouver Island in 1842.⁴⁷⁵ Out of this assignment "Fort Victoria" was founded in 1846.⁴⁷⁶ The City of Victoria itself was incorporated in 1867 and is one of the oldest cities in the Pacific Northwest.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁰ Sir SCHOOLING, William. *The Governor and Company of Adventures of England Trading into Hudson's Bay. 1670-1920*. London: Hudson's Bay Company, 1920. Preface. xiii. CAV File F 5514.1.

⁴⁷¹ The first stock book of the company records that in 1667 substantial sums of money (300 Pounds) had been provided for the enterprise already. Source, Sir Schooling. "The Governor and Company of Adventures." p.4.

⁴⁷² The Charter granted Rupert and his companions to undertake "an Expedition for Hudson's Bay for the Discovery of a new Passage into the South Sea, and for finding some Trade for Furs, Minerals, and other considerable Commodities." As quoted in Sir Schooling. "The Governor and Company of Adventures." p.5.

⁴⁷³ The Charter of the French Company as well as that of the "Company of the West Indies" established in 1664 were both revoked after a few years. Source: Sir Schooling. "The Governor and Company of Adventures." p. 2.

⁴⁷⁴ MARTIN, Joe. "1670 The Incorporation of the Hudson's Bay Company." *Canada's History*. April – May 2012. Print, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁵ WARD, Robin. *Echoes of Empire. Victoria and its Remarkable Buildings*. Victoria: Harbour Publishing. Print, p.101. In 1843 the fur and lumber company sent their first settlers to Fort Victoria and secured the land.

⁴⁷⁶ Sir Schooling. "The Governor and Company of Adventures." p.82. For a picture of Model of Fort Victoria in 1935 see, BC Archives, Call # A-00509

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

A small community was established, with many of its residents being HBC employees. In 1846, the boundary between British and American territories was confirmed as the 49th parallel west to the Pacific Ocean, with all of Vancouver Island remaining on the British side.⁴⁷⁸ Vancouver Island was established as a British colony in 1849; in that same year coal was discovered at the northern tip of Vancouver Island.⁴⁷⁹ The HBC established Fort Rupert there and began mining operations. Four additional settlements were established in the 1850's that belonged to the HBC: Viewfield, Colwood, Constance Cove and Craigflower.⁴⁸⁰ The Dominion of Canada bought Fort Rupert for 300,000 British Pounds in 1869. This is considered the largest real estate transaction in Canada's history, and allowed the company to carry on its trade without hindrance.⁴⁸¹ The CPR's role was more important for the formation of Vancouver on BC's mainland. The focus of commerce and development shifted from Victoria to Vancouver when the CPR completed its railway in the 1886 and chose Vancouver as its terminal city. The train provided the means to move masses of settlers coming to the west. As the railway moved west, towns sprang along its path, some almost overnight. Victoria and Vancouver became regional hubs of trade, commerce and settlement. Their importance within the Province is palpable even today.

4.1.3 First Architectural Developments and Neighbourhoods of Victoria

Victoria is the first city in BC where town planning and architectural developments emerged. Its contemporary architectural landscape is shaped by many turn-of-the-19th-century styles established in its foundation years.

Unlike Germany and Austria's Red Vienna, architects in BC in the late 19th and early 20th century were not motivated by ethical guidelines to serve a broader population, not to say the working-class. The type of clients Victoria's early architects worked for were members of the middle- and upper class. This shows the difference in motivation and goal between these architects and those of Bauhaus, Red Vienna and settlement move-

⁴⁷⁸ LUXTON, Donald. *Building the West. The Early Architects of British Columbia*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2003. Print, p.23.

⁴⁷⁹ Until the early 20th century, coal remained the backbone of Vancouver Island's economy. Marketed in San Francisco, coal was the basis of a huge fortune and what was, essentially, a private fiefdom. *The British Colonist*. "Death of the City Surveyor." October 30th, 1877. p. 3.

² SEGGER, Martin and FRANKLIN, Douglas. *Victoria. A Primer for Regional History in Architecture. 1843-1929*. Victoria: Heritage Architectural Guides, 1979. Print, p. 175.

⁴⁸⁰ MILLS, G.E. *Architectural Trends in Victoria, B.C. 1850-1914*. Parks Canada. 1976. Print. VPL. Call Number: NW Hist.-720.9711 M65a.

⁴⁸¹ Sir Schooling. "The Governor and Company of Adventures." p.84-85.

ments. John Freeman stated that “Victoria is a city strongly influenced by capitalism, particularly that of the *Hudson’s Bay Company* and the *Canadian Pacific Railway Company*.”⁴⁸² The HBC initiated Victoria’s first permanent buildings. Many of Victoria’s private residential homes had an elitist purpose as they were designed and built for the employers of the HBC. For example: the *Helmcken House* was built by an unknown builder (no architect was involved) on a plot that Governor Douglas granted to Doctor John Helmcken, who was HBC’s chief physician. Helmcken came to Victoria in 1850 and also happened to be Governor Douglas’ father-in-law.⁴⁸³

The British born Francis Rattenbury was Victoria’s most respected architect of the City’s foundation years who designed the famous *Empress Hotel* for the CPR in 1908 (**Pic. 23**).⁴⁸⁴ With its whimsical, ivy covered façade of the Château Style; the building is considered the hallmark of Victoria’s first architectural development.⁴⁸⁵ Rattenbury was only 25-years-old when he won the design competition for Victoria’s new Parliament Building in 1892, an assignment that leveraged his reputation.⁴⁸⁶ The magnificent building is designed in the late-Victorian eclectic style, its melange of mock-medieval architecture inspired by the 14th-century *Balmoral Castle* in Scotland.⁴⁸⁷ To the south of Empress Hotel is British Columbia Parliament Building that was also designed by Rattenbury in 1893 and completed in 1898 (**Pic. 24**). The Parliament Building forms an historical ensemble along with Rattenbury’s *Empress Hotel* at Victoria’s Harbour.

Conclusively, it can be said that as Victoria’s most well-respected architect, Rattenbury also became the architect of choice for the rich and powerful. His client list was comprised exclusively of the Provincial Government, the British aristocracy, and upper class private clients. The English-style residential houses he designed for himself and high profile clients were mostly placed along the seashore of *Oak Bay*.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸² FREEMAN, John Crosby. *The Other Victoria*. *Canadian Art Review*. Vol.1.1(1974):37-46. Print.

⁴⁸³ Ward, Robin. “Echoes of Empire.” p.43. The Helmcken House is today operated as a museum.

⁴⁸⁴ The *Empress Hotel* is considered as a consolation prize for Victoria’s ruling class that were upset about the CPR’s decision to place the railway terminus in Vancouver. See, Ward, Robin. “Echoes of Empire.” p. 16. Picture on CD.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ Ward, Robin. “Echoes of Empire.” p.10.

⁴⁸⁷ STARK, Stuart. *Oak Bay’s Heritage Buildings: More than just Bricks and Boards*. Victoria: Richard Carr House, 1988. Print, p. 31.

⁴⁸⁸ Ward, Robin. “Echoes of Empire.” p.277. Rattenbury’s house built in 1898 is described as a solid Queen Anne House. Today the building is a school that has over 200 students. Source: Stark, Stuart. “Oak Bay’s Heritage Buildings.” p. 31-32.

The enclave of *Oak Bay* was one of the first incorporated neighbourhoods in Victoria; it presents the image of a perfectly preserved Victorian England more accurately than England itself does (**Pic. 25**).⁴⁸⁹

Oak Bay also has the oldest existing residential house in British Columbia, built by Scottish immigrant John Tod in 1850.⁴⁹⁰ From the start *Oak Bay* was very British and very Victorian: The 'Victoria Golf Club' opened its links here in 1892, and Rattenbury designed the *Oak Bay Hotel* in 1907, which was a well-chosen place for British aristocrats to reside while on a visit in the new country.⁴⁹¹

James Bay was also a popular neighbourhood. The setting close to the water in southwest of the downtown core was convenient for upper class as well as middle- and working class citizens.

Many houses for Victoria's elite, such as Thomas Hooper's "Pinehurst", were commissioned by, lumber baron and banker William James Macaulay in 1890 (**Pic. 26 a and b**). The "handsome Queen Anne" style house at 617 Battery Street featured a distinct tower that is an example of "Victorian Picturesque."⁴⁹² The house had an impressive 18 rooms and 18 fireplaces across three storeys. The fireplaces featured scenes from "The Tales of Sir Walter Scott".⁴⁹³ Other mentionable details of the house included the hand-frescoed ceilings in various floral designs.

Hooper was an Englishman who had learned the profession of architecture in the construction business in Ontario. He designed many domestic and commercial buildings in Victoria.⁴⁹⁴ Hooper is remembered as an architect famous for his fashionable and sensitive interiors that characterized his impressive "Pinehurst" building. In 1892 Macaulay sold his house to the highly successful physician Dr. Milne. Other houses that Hooper built include the residence at 301 Kingston Street, considered a good example of popular middle class homes during the 1890s in James Bay (**Pic. 27 a and b**).⁴⁹⁵ The archi-

⁴⁸⁹ Ward, Robin. "Echoes of Empire." p.275. The name Oak Bay is an old English term for "mayor".

⁴⁹⁰ Stark, Stuart. "Oak Bay's Heritage Buildings." p. 5. The house is situated in a quite tree-lined street, Heron Street, by the water. Because it is protected behind a fence I was not able to take a picture of it myself. For image material of the House by John Tod, Oak Bay, Victoria, 1850. See: BC Archives, Call # A-02985

⁴⁹¹ Ward, Robin. "Echoes of Empire." p.276.

⁴⁹² Segger, Martin and Franklin, Douglas. "Victoria. A Primer for Regional History." p. 177.

²⁷ Until the early 20th century, coal remained the backbone of Vancouver Island's economy. Marketed in San Francisco, coal was the basis of a huge fortune and what was, essentially, a private fiefdom. *The British Colonist*. "Death of the City Surveyor." October 30th, 1877. p. 3.

⁴ Segger, Martin and Franklin, Douglas. "Victoria. A Primer for Regional History in Architecture." p 8.

⁴⁹⁴ For example the Edwardian building for "Winch and Company" that he built on Douglas and Fort Street in 1912. One of his most famous architectural achievements was the final section of Saint Anne's Academy building in 1910. The building today is a provincial heritage site.

⁴⁹⁵ Segger, Martin and Franklin, Douglas. "Victoria. A Primer for Regional History in Architecture." p. 167.

ecture represents an American variation of the British ‘Queen Anne Style’, featuring a façade that has wooden ornamental details, composite columns, chisel-carved brackets and abstract brick decoration in the chimney, as well as a shingled complex rooftop.⁴⁹⁶

James Bay was also a neighbourhood where the working class families built their houses in the 1860s and 1870s. The John Jervis House at 58 Government Road was built in 1900 by John Lewis and still exists (**Pic. 28 a and b**).⁴⁹⁷

With the increasing number of settlers coming to British Columbia, architectural styles became inevitably more refined. The *nouveau riche* of the resource industries wanted to show off their wealth and leave their mark on the land. Out of this desire to advertise status, a need arose for architects trained in building design who could provide structures that matched the new wealth and flamboyant aspirations of the growing middle- and upper classes. Eager to seek their fortunes in the colonies, many of British-trained architects started to appear in the new settlements in the West. The promise of opportunities to establish a business, and be successful as an architect, was a major incentive for British architects to risk a move to British Columbia. Not surprisingly, these architects were almost exclusively male, white and British, typical of the patriarchal, racially segregated and hierarchical society from which they had emigrated.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ BARETT, Scot. “Your Old House. What Style is it? A guide to historic housing styles.” Vancouver Heritage Foundation. 2002. Print, p.3. CAV: AM1519-: PAM 2002-117.

⁴⁹⁷ In the 1880s and 1890s houses for longshoremen and other workers at the Outer Wharf were clustered along St. Lawrence, Ontario, Erie, Quebec, Kingston and Superior Streets. Source: ADAMS, John. “James Bay.” Victoria Heritage Foundation. *Victoriaheritagefoundation.ca*. 2005. Web. 28 JUN 2012.

⁴⁹⁸ A surprising number trained with relatives, often their fathers or uncles, as architecture and surveying were generally family pursuits that persisted through generations.

4.1.4 Why so serious? Legitimizing the Profession of the Architect

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, British Columbia experienced a boom in settlers who came from the east of Canada, south from the United States or further east from Europe all the way to the new province in order to set up businesses, eat, pray and dwell. For all these purposes buildings were needed.

In 1911, Canada, and British Columbia in particular, experienced the biggest growth in immigration and, in connection to that an emerging need for more dwelling options, builders and architects.⁴⁹⁹ The significant settlers-boom that lasted from 1881 to 1911 attracted record numbers of new settlers to the west coast, all eager to find money, gold and happiness.⁵⁰⁰ One serious problem with the emerging profession of architecture in British Columbia was the lack of validation and credentialing of businesses.

The qualifications of prospective members could not be confirmed, even though up to 300 men in British Columbia were claiming to be architects.⁵⁰¹ Victoria was facing the challenge of differentiating the real from the fake. The first key approach towards self-organization of the architectural profession was a meeting held by ten, male, British attending architects in Victoria in 1891⁵⁰²

The group agreed to call itself the *British Columbia Institute of Architects* (originally the British Columbia Association of Architects), with the ultimate goal of incorporation on a democratic and regulated manner through by-laws and regularly organised General Meetings.⁵⁰³ In 1892 the BCIA developed by-laws in their “Declaration of Establishment”⁵⁰⁴ with the purpose of the “advancement, protection and elevation of architecture and the cultivation of friendly intercourse among members of the profession.”⁵⁰⁵ BCIA was dissolved in 1913 due to the World-War-I-related bad economy in the province of

⁴⁹⁹ Canada experienced 34 percent immigration growth in 1911. The same year British Columbia’s population grew nearly 120 percent due to immigration. Source: BC Stats, Ministry of Labour, Citizens’ Services and Open Government. “Census Population of BC and Canada 1871 to 2011” Statistics Canada. 2011. *bcstats.gov.bc.ca*. Web. 12 JUN 2012.

⁵⁰⁰ The population in numbers ballooned from 49,459 to 392,480 people in the years 1881 to 1911. Source: Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Luxton, Donald. “Building the West.” p.17.

⁵⁰² Letter written by Council Members: “Declaration of Establishment of British Columbia Institute of Architects.” 1882. CAV 540 B 7 File 1. Six of the ten men who signed that declaration were practicing architects in Victoria, three were from Vancouver and one from New Westminster.

⁵⁰³ Letter written by Council Members: “Declaration of Establishment of British Columbia Institute of Architects.” 1882. CAV 540 B 7 File 1. p.2.

⁵⁰⁴ LUXTON, Donald. “Taming the West. The Thirty-Year Struggle to Regulate the Architectural Profession in British Columbia.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture Canada*. 23.4 (1998):112. Print.

⁵⁰⁵ Letter written by Council Members: “Declaration of Establishment of British Columbia Institute of Architects.” 1882. CAV 540 B 7 File 1. p.1

BC.⁵⁰⁶ However, the need to stabilize the architecture profession within BC remained. On May 29th 1913 a meeting was held in order to determine “whether or not it is desirable to form a new organization with a view of upholding the dignity of the profession and the usefulness of an Architectural Association.”⁵⁰⁷ In 1914 the *Architectural Institute of British Columbia* (hereafter called AIBC) became an independent society under the *Benevolent Societies Act*.⁵⁰⁸ The Association worked towards enhanced regulation of the architecture profession, and required relevant education and office experience as criteria for accreditation. Even though the AIBC was small in size, it was strong enough to survive World War I, and remains a respectable architecture institute in Canada.⁵⁰⁹ Despite the formation of the AIBC, there were no legally binding regulations to define the rights and duties of the architects in BC.⁵¹⁰

Therefore, AIBC wanted to make sure that their province had a protected act that prevented incompetent people from calling themselves architects, and at the same time ensure that competent architects got legitimate recognition to design, calculate the strengths of a buildings part, and supervise elections.

Until 1920, no registered Architects Act existed in British Columbia.⁵¹¹ In a letter of the Finance Committee of the Architectural Institute of British Columbia, the writers noticed “B.C. is in the unenviable position of being the only Province or State to the East or South where the profession of Architecture is not under Government control or licence.”⁵¹²

After an extensive exchange of letters and telegraphs between the AIBC and the Architecture Associations of the other provinces, the parties agreed to have the profession of BC architects reinforced in an actual act.⁵¹³ On April 17th 1920 a bill was passed as the *British Columbia Architect's Act*. According to this act, the profession of the architect was defined as:

⁵⁰⁶ Luxton, Donald. “Taming the West.” P. 109.

⁵⁰⁷ Letter, Vancouver, May 27th 1913. CAV 540 B 7 File 6.

⁵⁰⁸ Certificate No. 411 “Benevolent Societies Act.” 10th June 1914. CAV 540 B 7 File 5.

⁵⁰⁹ Luxton, Donald. “Building the West.” p.18.

⁵¹⁰ Letter written by Finance Committee Gardner, F.G., Benzie, J.A., and Matheson, R.M.. November 17th 1919, addressed to the Bill Committee, Quebec Association of Architects. CAV 540 B 7 File 7.

⁵¹¹ Luxton, Donald. “Building the West.” p.18.

⁵¹² Letter written by Finance Committee Gardner, F.G., Benzie, J.A., and Matheson, R.M.. November 17th 1919, addressed to the Bill Committee, Quebec Association of Architects. CAV 540 B 7 File 7.

⁵¹³ There were heated debates about the definition of the architect vs. engineer and most AIBC members wanted to make sure that only the profession of the architects not the engineers is described in this act. In a letter to Quebec the AIBC delicately points to the “misapprehension as to the content of the Engineers.” Source: Pattullo & Tobin. “Re: Architects’ Bill.” January 10th, 1920. CAV 540 B 7 File 7. In a telegraph to Fred Townley, Robertson writes “Bill, Got Hold Of Wrong Copy From Bills Committee.” See ROBERTSON, Telegram February 26th 1920. Source: Ibid.

The expression “architect” means any person who is engaged for hire, gain, or hope of reward in the planning or supervision for others of the erection, enlargement, or alteration of buildings for persons other than himself; but shall not include any draftsman, student, clerk of works, superintendent, or other employee of a registered architect, nor any superintendent of buildings paid by the owner thereof acting under the directions and control of a registered architect.

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Victoria’s achievement in establishing BC’s first architecture act also reveals the City’s elitist and precluding attitude towards the profession of the architect. The Architecture Act of 1920 was very discriminatory towards women and non-British immigrants. This is most evident in the somewhat racist and sexist guidelines of the AIBC.⁵¹⁵

For example Section 23.b of their Architect’s Act defines anyone who may apply for a certification in order to practice as an architect as “Any British subject, being at least twenty-one years of age.”⁵¹⁶

The gender inequalities are most evident in the Section

Compared to BC, Eastern Canada was a bit faster in gender equality in the architecture profession: University of Toronto was the first architecture school in Canada to accept female students in 1884.⁵¹⁷ Esther Marjorie Hill (1895 -1985) was the first woman to graduate in architecture in Canada with a Bachelor of Arts in 1920. She then continued on to be registered as a female architect in the Province of Alberta in 1925.⁵¹⁸ She paved the way for many women who wanted to pursue a career as architects.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁴ “An Act to incorporate The Architectural Institute of British Columbia”, Chapter 106. 2, a. p. 669.

In: *Statutes of the Province of British Columbia*. Victoria: William H. Cullin, 1920. (R 345 B86).

⁵¹⁵ Although Section 2.a of the act does not specifically state that women are not allowed to practise architecture the choice of words used, such as “other than himself” or “draftsman” excludes females from this Act.

⁵¹⁶ “An Act to incorporate The Architectural Institute of British Columbia”, 1920, Chapter 106, 23, b. p. 673. The Act does recognise that “citizens of foreign countries or states shall be admitted to practice architecture in this Province (BC)” but only if the standards of qualification equals those of British Columbia, that is standards of the British Empire. Further requirement is that the candidate should provide work experience of at least eight consecutive years as an architect. This requirement cunningly excludes any young architects or those who have been unemployed for longer periods of time. Source: “An Act to incorporate The Architectural Institute of British Columbia”, Chapter 106, 24, b. p. 674.

⁵¹⁷ GRIERSON, Joan. *For the record. The first Women in Canadian Architecture*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008. p. 98-99.

⁵¹⁸ WARD, Robin. “Celebrating women in constructive careers.” *Vancouver Sun*. 17th AUG 1996. D7.

⁵¹⁹ Approximately 100 students were enrolled in the University School of Architecture in 1946. Five of them were women. By 1960 the total number of women in all of Canada graduating from Schools of Architecture rose to 97. Source: Grierson, Joan. “For the record.” p. 100.

Within the next decade, the British male focus of the architecture profession in BC was progressively reduced, introducing a more egalitarian, multi-gendered and multi ethnic approach.

In 1933, Sylvia Holland (1900-1974) became the first woman to be accepted as a member of the AIBC and practice as an architect in Victoria.⁵²⁰ As the first female architect in BC, she set up a practice in Victoria along with her husband, until the family moved to California where Holland became a commercial artist working for Walt Disney in 1938.⁵²¹

The architects' clients also gradually changed, particularly after World War II with the emerging housing shortage and growing housing need. Affordable housing became an issue in Victoria's post World War II era. In combination with the federally organized *Wartime Housing Limited* that was established in 1941, many houses were built in Victoria.⁵²² These houses were financed by the federal government and rented out in order to house those in need on a temporarily basis.⁵²³ However, due to their temporary nature, these prefabricated houses were considered suitable only as a temporary solution.⁵²⁴

With the emergence of the community sector in affordable housing, the involvement of non-profit housing societies in Victoria grew as well.⁵²⁵ Victoria never fully distanced itself from its preference for heritage turn-of-the-20th-century European architecture. This is also reflected in the following two case studies for 21st-century affordable housing.

⁵²⁰ Ward, Robin. "Celebrating women in constructive careers."

⁵²¹ Grierson, Joan. "For the record." p. 118.

⁵²² CHISHOLM, Sharon. "Affordable Housing in Canada's Urban Communities." Report. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 2003. p.6. Wartime Housing Limited existed from 1941 to 1947. A total of 26000 units across Canada's greater cities were built, many of them still exist. Ibid.

⁵²³ Chisholm, Sharon. "Affordable Housing in Canada's Urban Communities." p.6.

⁵²⁴ See for example: BOULTBEE, Horace. "The question of Wartime versus Long-time Housing." *Saturday Night*. 16.9(1942):26-28.

⁵²⁵ *United Way of Greater Victoria* is one of Victoria's oldest non-profit organizations that provides affordable housing for low-income households since 1937. Source: Website: United Way of Greater Victoria. www.uwgv.ca.

4.2 Heritage is Chic: Victoria's 21st-Century Urban Planning Policy

In 1998, the City of Victoria became the first municipality in BC to take advantage of new provincial heritage legislation allowing municipalities to offer significant tax incentives for heritage preservation. With its approval of the Tax Incentive Program (TIP), City Council was trying to “develop a vibrant and healthy Downtown core, which supports residential, business and leisure activities.”⁵²⁶ What it means for the user is that they get a tax exemption for their property for up to ten years when the Heritage Designated building is substantially rehabilitated for residential use on the upper floors.⁵²⁷ TIP was designed to stimulate the conversion of vacant or under-utilized upper floors in downtown heritage buildings to residential use. Economically, the program is attractive to developers as it provides a complete exemption of property taxes for up to ten years, equal to the value of the cost of the seismic upgrading required. It therefore encourages restoration and rehabilitation, and improves the chances historic buildings have to survive natural disasters such as earthquakes. The numbers speak for the Program's well-perceived success: As of 2002, ten projects have created a total of 98 new residential accommodation units in upgraded downtown heritage buildings and have attracted \$ 34 million in private investment.⁵²⁸ Victoria's downtown core has become an attractive and vibrant neighbourhood, bearing some significant heritage buildings built between 1880 and 1900 that were saved from demolition.⁵²⁹ This is the result of The City of Victoria's *Victoria Civic Heritage Trust* (VCHT), established in 1989 with a mandate to develop, administer and financially support programs that preserve, promote, interpret and enhance the cultural and natural heritage resources of the City of Victoria and its environments.⁵³⁰ The efforts taken to preserve and restore heritage buildings have caused a “Back to the City” movement, most reflected in the recent case of the *Hudson Living* residential project (**Pic. 29a**). The project is the renovation of the former *Hudson Bay Department Store* – completed in 1921 by architecture firm Burke, Horwood & White –

⁵²⁶ “Heritage Tax Incentive Program Application.” *City of Victoria*. n.d. PDF. 8 OCT 2012. p.1.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ A HERITAGE STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE CITY OF VICTORIA. Report prepared for the Planning and Development Department. Victoria 2002. p. 12.

⁵²⁹ The buildings that were built in the twenty years of 1880 to 1900 are considered as “numerous and rich in diversity.” See, Mills. “Architectural trends in Victoria, British Columbia.” 1976. Vol. I. p. 18.

⁵³⁰ The program was originally limited to the Downtown area, but expanded in 1996 to include designated buildings city-wide. To date the VCHT has awarded over \$ 1.6 million in Building Incentive Program funds to owners of 61 buildings. This has encouraged approx. \$ 32 million in private investment at an impressive ratio of 1:19 of public investment to private investment.

into 150 private condominium units (high ceiling lofts).⁵³¹ The development shows a trend in BC's capital city that to a great extent supports in a practical manner Zukin's "Loft Living" theory. There is a strong focus on the "character" aspect of the spacious loft style condominiums. Each of the units is designed individually.

The building is set in the heritage district of Victoria's downtown core. The commercialization of old and heritage is successful and "people come here for the historic," as real estate agent Vandermade explains.⁵³² People are willed to pay \$ 399,900 per unit for the fancy, trendy and vitalized condominiums in the former department store (**Pic. 29 b**).⁵³³

The preference for revitalized antique buildings is also reflected in the rent of residential buildings: Statistically rent of pre-1940 built buildings was highest for two- and three-bedroom apartments with \$ 1136 and \$ 1643 respectively.⁵³⁴

While the preference for restored and renovated historic buildings is palpable, this type of architecture seems to exclude affordability, given the high prices for both rent and real estate. Can upgraded turn-of-the 20th-century buildings still be affordable? Hooper's *Pinehurst* (1890) building mentioned in the previous "First Architectural developments" chapter is one prominent example of a conversion of heritage building, whose meaning transformed from lumber baron residency in the 19th-century into low-income rental building in the late 20th century. *Pinehurst* is run by non-profit Capital Region Housing Corporation (CRHC). Because the renovation took place in 1985, it cannot be included as a case study here.⁵³⁵ However, it is an adequate example of how heritage and popular character architecture in Victoria are successfully combined with affordability. This trend continues in Victoria in the 21st century.

⁵³¹ The Hudson - A Brief History. n.d. web. 23 July 2012. *hudsonliving.ca*.

⁵³² Interview Paul Vandermade, MacDonald Realty. 15th June 2012.

⁵³³ A big red sign on the building's exterior advertises with "Change the course of your history today" prices from "\$399,900."

⁵³⁴ The pre 1940 built apartment rents were second highest in total with the 1990+ apartments being the highest. See, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. "Rental Market Report Victoria." Ottawa: CMHC. Fall 2011. Table 1.2.2 "Private Apartment Average Rents by Year of Construction and Bedroom Type."

⁵³⁵ JAARSMA, Amy. "Research on Pinehurst." Email to the Author. 3rd AUG 2012.

4.3 Affordable Residential Projects in Victoria's 21st-century

Victoria's vacancy rate (2.1 percent) is second lowest in BC (after Vancouver (1.4 percent)).⁵³⁶ Its vacancy rate for three-bedroom apartments is exactly zero! Therefore, three out of the four case studies in this chapter were selected because they respond to the scarcity and availability challenge of residential space for low-income families.⁵³⁷

Affordability and availability are major issues in the rental market.⁵³⁸ The City of Victoria offers a variety of affordable residential housing options that are listed in a "Housing Registry."⁵³⁹ The types of houses vary in size and target group; there are three groups of owners or sponsors who manage and own these buildings: the Province through BC Housing, non-profit societies, and housing co-operatives.

The examples depicted in this chapter are those owned by non-profit societies that were funded and supported by BC Housing; in some cases the federal government was involved in the funding through the seed money and the project development funding (PDF).⁵⁴⁰ The federal government, through the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), offers faith-based groups, developers, profit and not-for-profit groups each a \$ 10,000 grant in order for them to develop a housing proposal -an idea of how the building will look on the ground. The grant is designed to cover the initial stages of the project. Any non-profit group or profit group can apply for this grant if their intent is to create affordable housing projects without subsidy.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁶ Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. *Rental Market Statistics Victoria*. Ottawa: CMHC. Fall 2011.

⁵³⁷ Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. *Rental Market Statistics Victoria*. Ottawa: CMHC. Fall 2011. Table 3.1.1 "Private Row and Apartment Vacancy Rates by Zone and Bedroom Type." Particularly those three-bedroom apartments featuring 3 to 5 units have a vacancy rate of 0.0. See Table 1.3.1 "Private Apartment Vacancy Rates by Structure Size and Bedroom Type."

⁵³⁸ TRYPUC, Bri and ROBINSON, Jeffrey. "Homeless in Canada." Report. October 2009. Appendix 3: Canada's Homeless Counts. p. 58. Vancouver's rate is second highest with 6.8 percent. Victoria has the highest percentage (13,1%) of homeless population in the Province of British Columbia.

⁵³⁹ As of June 2011 the City of Victoria listed 35 buildings that are either owned by BC Housing or non-profit societies. An additional 16 buildings that are owned by housing co-operatives offer affordable housing options. Housing Registry "Affordable Housing", June 2011.

⁵⁴⁰ The CMHC offers financial assistance of up to \$ 10,000 to housing proponents who are in the early stages of developing an affordable housing project. Anyone is eligible to apply for this kind of financial assistance, as long as their housing project includes at least 51% affordable housing units. See: CMHC Seed Funding Program Details.

⁵⁴¹ See, interview Debra Yip, CMHC, 26th June 2012. It is important that at least 51 percent of the building's units are for affordable housing.

The four case studies examined in this chapter were selected primarily for their architectural appeal. It is argued that the buildings' architecture demonstrate creativity, livability and adaptability with the surrounding buildings.

At the same time they are considered affordable, as monthly rent required for the units is below the average market rent. That way, those residents with a low-income are given the chance to live in buildings that are architecturally as pleasing as buildings that are only affordable for middle-income households. Each of the housing projects has a different target group comprising different demographics, family status, and occupational background. However, criteria for all of the four projects give preference to residents whose annual income is below average.

4.4 Setting the Cornerstone for Gentrification: The *Cornerstone Initiative* (2006)

Cornerstone Initiative (hereafter referred to as ‘Cornerstone’) is a mixed-use, low-income rental project owned by the non-profit society *Fernwood Neighbourhood Resource Group* (hereafter called *Fernwood NRG*). Cornerstone is a conversion and renovation of a heritage building into a contemporary building, with residential space on the upper floor and commercial space on the ground level (**Pic. 30**). The heart of the building is the *Cornerstone Café* placed on the northwest corner of the building. The two-storey high building was originally built in 1910-1911 by the Parfitt Brothers, who owned several successfully, run businesses in Victorian the late 19th- to early 20th century.⁵⁴² Their buildings were associated with prosperity and pride.⁵⁴³

In 2005, the *Fernwood NRG* bought the building from a private developer for \$1.2 Million.⁵⁴⁴ The cost for the entire renovation was about \$500,000. There were four levels of government that contributed to the building’s funding: The City of Victoria contributed \$ 10,000 per unit, Capital Regional District (CRD) gave \$ 15,000 per unit, BC Housing put in \$ 60,000 in total, and the CMHC, through its Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), was the society’s largest funder with \$ 90,000.⁵⁴⁵ But money can only do such much, and a large proportion of the building’s renovation was due to 10,000 hours of volunteer work on various levels.⁵⁴⁶ The strong involvement of voluntary work and community engagement makes this project a “poster child” in the notion of *The Right To The City* (see Introduction).

The non-profit was brainstorming for an adequate name for the building, and “landed on ‘Cornerstone’ and it stuck!” as Rankin explains.⁵⁴⁷ The renovation took place in 2005 and the building opened in November 2006.

Fernwood is one of the oldest neighbourhoods of Victoria. It has a population of 9575 people living on 175-hectare land, which is an average of almost 55 people per ha.⁵⁴⁸ The Median Family Income for Fernwood in 2005 was \$ 48,067. This makes Fernwood a low-income neighbourhood compared to the Median Family Income of all of Victoria,

⁵⁴² ADAMS, John and MUIR, William. “Fernwood.” In: *This Old House. Victoria’s Heritage Neighbourhoods*. Vol. I, Victoria: Victoria Heritage Foundation, 2004. Print, p. 48.

⁵⁴³ For image material on the original 1911-building see, Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House. Victoria’s Heritage Neighbourhoods.” 2004.

⁵⁴⁴ Rankin, Lenore. Fernwood Neighbourhood Resource Group, Interview with author, 13 June 2012.

⁵⁴⁵ Interview, Lenore Rankin, p.1. (Appendix A).

⁵⁴⁶ “The Cornerstone Initiative.” Housing Awards Winning Best Practice, 2008.

⁵⁴⁷ Rankin, Lenore “Research on Affordable Housing.” Email to the author, 27th June.

⁵⁴⁸ The average population density rate for Victoria is 39,7 %. See, Community Profile City of Victoria. Table 1.2 Population Density by Neighbourhood 1991-2006. Derived from Census Data Statistics Canada 2006.

which is \$55,591.⁵⁴⁹ Consequently, Fernwood is dealing with issues of density and affordability. Many of the buildings in Fernwood are heritage registered (R) or Designated Heritage (D). Many of the houses are distinct with decorative Italianate style, usually two to four stories in height, windows with curved arches, ornamentation, shingled wooden facades, and other aesthetic attributes that allude to Victoria's foundation period. Further examples include segmented arched lintels, decorated bargeboards, and dentil-shaped arches.⁵⁵⁰ Only three percent of the buildings were registered as being over five-stories high, which makes Fernwood a low-density area.⁵⁵¹

These neighbourhood attributes contribute to the community's attachment to its historical past. In order to understand the current Cornerstone building it is necessary to examine it in Fernwood's historical context.

4.4.1 Fernwood's History

Historically, Fernwood is one of Victoria's oldest neighbourhoods. In the late 1850s, the HBC sold 95 acres to its Assistant Colonial Surveyor Benjamin W. Pearse for £ 1 per acre. Pearse owned all of Fernwood with the purchase of the land. He built his house *Fernwood Mansor*— an impressive house that is categorized as “Italianate Style” stone structure – in 1860, and lived there until his death in 1902.⁵⁵² The house was demolished in 1969.⁵⁵³ This house is said to be the source of the neighbourhood's name.⁵⁵⁴ Fernwood's first residential houses were country estates built along today's Fort Street. Many architecturally impressive residences have been built along that street in Victoria's, most dating from the 19th century. For example, the architect John Teague built *Trebatha* in 1887 that is today on 1124 Fort Street.⁵⁵⁵ Its double-piled roof has a steeper lower than upper part, a feature that classifies the house as a “Second Empire Style” building.⁵⁵⁶ This style, amongst other imported and modified European styles, was a

⁵⁴⁹ Community Profile City of Victoria. “Victoria Residents Incomes.” June 2009. Derived From Census Data Statistics Canada 2006.

⁵⁵⁰ Exactly 100 buildings in Fernwood are listed under the Register of Heritage Properties, December 2011. The List is available online under the City of Victoria's website: <http://www.victoria.ca>. “Heritage Inventory.”

⁵⁵¹ Community Profile City of Victoria. Table 2.1 Housing Type, Dwelling Type Distribution 2006.

⁵⁵² For Image material of *Fernwood Manor*, House of Colonel Benjamin Pearse, Victoria, 1860, see BC Archives, Call # A-08746.

⁵⁵³ Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.” p. 12.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁶ A good resource for all the early architectural styles in Canada is BARRETT, Scott. *What Style Is This? A Guide To Historic Housing Styles*. Vancouver Heritage Foundation. 2002.

symbol of the “prosperity of the Victorian professional class”.⁵⁵⁷ Fernwood became a desirable place for Victoria’s middle- to upper class to settle and build houses.⁵⁵⁸

However as the City grew and labour force increased, the working class moved into Fernwood as well.⁵⁵⁹ The first major residential development in Fernwood happened in February 1880, and construction was accelerated through the introduction of the electric streetcar in the 1890s.⁵⁶⁰ Fernwood Road became the terminus road of one of the two streetcar lines running through Fernwood.⁵⁶¹ By 1905 Fernwood was a fully recognised community.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁷ Canada’s Historic Places. Trebatha Statement of Significance. n.d. web. 06 AUG 2012. *historicplaces.ca*.

⁵⁵⁸ Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.” p. 12.

⁵⁵⁹ The City Directory of 1887 listed new settlers into the Fernwood area being nurses, tradesmen, carpenters, painters ect. See ELLIS, John and LILLARD, Charles. *Fernwood Files*. 1989. Print, p. 49-50.

⁵⁶⁰ Victoria was the first City in Canada’s West Coast to introduce the Electric Streetcar Service. It operated until July 1948. The very first streetcars were introduced in Ontario’s St. Catherine and Windsor. See “Fernwood Files.” p. 50.

⁵⁶¹ Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.” p. 14.

⁵⁶² ELLIS, John and LILLARD, Charles. *Fernwood Files*. Orca Books: Victoria, 1989. Print, p.50.

4.4.1.1 From *Parfitt Building* to *Cornerstone Initiative* – the building’s transformation in a Historical Context

The Cornerstone building was then known as the ‘Parfitt Building’ and set at a vital locale in the beginning of the early 20th century. As the *Parfitt Brothers’* headquarter it was placed at the heart of Fernwood’s Gladstone and Fernwood Road.⁵⁶³ Already then the ‘Parfitt Building’ functioned as a mixed-use building serving as a commercial, office and residential building.⁵⁶⁴

Fernwood’s urban core started to develop around the very corner of Gladstone Avenue and Fernwood Road in the 1890s. That spot became the geographical location for socializing and vivid urban life. Besides the Parfitt Brother’s Headquarter several other notable buildings were built: On the South West corner of 1291 Gladstone and 1900 Fernwood opposite of today’s Cornerstone building was Victoria’s “Emmanuel Baptist Church” built in 1892 (possibly by architect Thomas Hooper).

The “Shingle Style” building is still in a very good condition and has been operating as a local theatre under the name Belfry Theatre since 1976.⁵⁶⁵

On the North West Corner of today’s *Cornerstone* was the *Imperial Bakery*, owned by William Rennie and John Taylor. The two businessmen had a clever and innovative automobile bread delivery company. They hired the Parfitt Brothers to build the two-storey brick building for their business in 1911. It was a mixed-use building, as the ground floor was the bakery and the upper floor was for the residential units.

Today the building is a popular Art Gallery.

Nothing of Fernwood’s contemporary appearance such as the brick-façade buildings, beautiful and clean tree-lined sidewalks and creatively decorated coffee shops reveals of the neighbourhood’s notorious past (**Pic. 31**). In the 1990s Fernwood was a neighbourhood in decline since many businesses settled in the adjacent and more popular downtown rather than in Fernwood. Already in a public survey conducted in 1994 the community expressed their wish for Fernwood to be “an integrated complex and a revital-

⁵⁶³ Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.” p. 48.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid, 34. A Shingle Style originated on the northeast coast of the United States. Its defining features are continues wooden shingles that contribute to the irregular “shingled” look of the façade. Most of the time the hipped or gabled roofs are very steep and are featured by asymmetry and Irregularity in structure. See, Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.” p. 147.

ized area.”⁵⁶⁶ It took two decades until this which has been realised initiated by the Non-profit Organization *Fernwood Neighbourhood Representation Group* that was founded in 1979. The society provides affordable housing options for families in Victoria. The criteria for the applicants to be accepted as tenants, is to have children as all of the units the Fernwood NRG offers are three-bedroom apartments.

Prior to the renovation and restoration process the building in a deteriorated and run-down state with unattractive graffiti decorating the façade and interior.

Lenore Rankin, Development Director Fernwood NRG remembers:

It was so bad that when we used to sit over there in the Inn, we looked across the road you could see all of the drug dealers going up and down, people coming up to the door, we also believe there was quite a lot of under aged prostitution, there was a bicycle chop shop were bikes would be stolen and taken upstairs. All the parts would be distributed and there was a lot of bad things like that happening in this building.⁵⁶⁷

Fernwood itself was considered an area with high theft rates, prostitution and other criminal activities.⁵⁶⁸

Within the Fernwood community the renovation of that former *Parfitt Brother's* building was identified as being one of the most critical things that needed to happen in order for the neighbourhood to make it more livable.⁵⁶⁹

Realizing the need to create a sense of community and strengthen the ties in the neighbourhood the non-profit society bought the building in 2005.⁵⁷⁰ The previous owner, who was described as a “Slumlord” in BC media – left the building in a deteriorated and run down condition at the time of sale.⁵⁷¹

Money was tight therefore the renovation needed to be done on a low-budget level. The Fernwood NRG relied on the help, support and involvement of the people of Fernwood.

⁵⁶⁶ City of Victoria. “Fernwood Neighbourhood Plan.” October 1994. PDF. p. 19. At the same time the majority of the survey participants (53%) stated that they don’t mind more non-market housing in their neighbourhood.

⁵⁶⁷ Interview, Lenore Rankin, 13 JUN, 2012.

⁵⁶⁸ In his 2006 tourist guide publication Ross Crockford called Fernwood a “high-theft” area recommending not leaving a bike unattended. See, CROCKFORD, Ross. *Unknown City*. Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 2006. Print, p. 14.

⁵⁶⁹ See, interview: Lenore Rankin, 13 JUN, 2012.

⁵⁷⁰ Originally the Society’s name was “Fernwood Community Centre Society”. The society is involved in the realization of childcare services, senior’s programs, programs for youth, at risk mums and a of environmental initiatives. They try to be all-purpose while working within the mandate of being a non-profit. See, interview Lenore Rankin, 13th June 2012.

⁵⁷¹ MacLeod, Andrew. “Owner of 'infamous' properties running for Victoria council.” *The Tyee*. 17 OCT 2011.

The non-profit trusted in the idea that successful renovation is possible without having to hire heritage consultancy firms, expensive architects and costly construction workers. In order to motivate and move large parts of the community and people from beyond the Fernwood neighbourhood the non-profit society put itself out there.⁵⁷² Over the course of ten months the Fernwood NRG offered sandwich boards that were put outside for the community to enjoy.⁵⁷³ The society also created ‘work parties’ to demolish, repaint and renovate the building from inside out and reached out to the expertise of professionals to help.⁵⁷⁴

One of these professionals was builder Garde Colins who would draw the plans and help the society on a pro bono basis.⁵⁷⁵ Garde’s motivation to help the society was driven by the desire to contribute to the community and his historical interest in the Fernwood neighbourhood. Along with his friend James Paluke they would draw the elevation and floor plans for the building and give advice on how to restore and renovate it from the inside out.

4.4.1.2 It needs to be square: Getting a balanced floor space and other challenges

The building is approximately 22 meters in height and a total of 902 square meters (9708 Square foot) in size.

The current building is comprised of two separate buildings built right together.

Before the renovation the building at 1313 Gladstone contained two small rental apartments. The building at 1301 Gladstone contained two commercial offices.

The basement consists of bike storage and laundry room. While the basement and the ground floor’s layout have remained the same major alterations have been made on the upper floor. Originally, the upper floor consisted of two residential suits and two office rooms. The City of Victoria gave the builders the permission to convert the two existing office rooms into apartments without having to go through any rezoning process. Garde Colins further managed to get a balance of space for the four apartment units as the then upper square footage of the building was not portioned into four equal size spaces for the desired four three bedroom apartments. He reached this balance by breaking through

⁵⁷² Garde Colins, “Cornerstone and Yukon.” Email to the Author, 8 AUG 2012.

⁵⁷³ Interview, Lenore Rankin, p.3.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Garde Colins, “Cornerstone and Yukon”, 8 AUG 2012.

the double thick wall between buildings and borrowing space to make the balance work for the new apartments (**Pic. 32**).

Since the building is a heritage designated one the only alternations permitted were the replacement of the two rear staircases and landings as well as the replacement of the existing concrete stairs with new concrete.

The building's lot is rectangular in shape. The upper floor was converted into four three-bed room residential units that vary in size: From 77 square meters (830 square foot) to 91 square meters (989 square foot). The four units are subdivided in two: The Western and Eastern Part. The entry to the upper level is placed on the westernmost door of the North elevation. Additionally, all four units (western part) can be entered through the rear staircases on the southwest elevation (**Pic. 33**). There is a further rear staircase on the southeast elevation through which the forth and biggest unit can be entered (**Pic. 34**).

The *Cornerstone*'s exterior look as it stands today is dominated by a translucent glass façade on the lower level and a burgundy red painted brick façade on the upper level. The metal cornice that vertically divides the ground floor from the upper floor is still remained (**Pic. 35**). The upper level's façade is structurally emphasised by the vertical lines of the red pilasters; the rectangular windows are grouped in two or three rectangular- or square shaped areas, which are framed by grey brick lintels. The side rear has brick segmental arched lintels. The vertical red pilasters and the continuously run horizontal line above frame this ensemble of windows and grey brick lintels. The building's rectangular symmetry is broken by the concave buckling on its South East corner where the entrance of the coffee shop is. Instead of a continuing wall the upper level of that corner rests on a filigree vertical column that connects the building with the ground. This recessed entry to the coffee shop is the architectural feature of the *Cornerstone* building.

Most parts of the facade and outer appearance have remained in the original 1911 condition. However two elements are missing in the appearance of today's building: the original building of 1911 had a projected roofline with widely overhanging eaves that stood out significantly above the façade. Below the protruding eaves were heavily ornamented brackets. These two features are missing in the current structure.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁶ At the time of research it was not possible to find out when this alteration took place, but image materials of the pre-renovation status show that the alteration of the roofline must have taken place already before the 2005 renovation.

The renovated building is not just architecturally uplifted. The new cornerstone building emphasises the neighbourhood's history and meaning in a positive and articulated way. And the neighbourhood responded greatly. Many of the historic buildings have been restored and renovated. The area experienced a revitalization boom. The Development Director of *Fernwood NRG's* Lenore Rankin calls it the "domino effect."⁵⁷⁷ After the success of the Cornerstone many owners were inspired to restore and renovate their buildings, which made the neighbourhood attractive for the middle class. Fernwood's notorious crime rate fell,⁵⁷⁸ while real estate prices rose⁵⁷⁹ and some displacement took place.⁵⁸⁰

Today, the building is full of life and aspiring vibes. The ground floor consists of commercial space (e.g. a Yoga Studio) amongst them the office of Fernwood NRG. The heart of the neighbourhood is the Cornerstone Café, placed in the southwest side of the building's ground floor owned and operated by the Fernwood NRG. While serving as a socializing place for the neighbourhood the coffee shop is also one major source of finance for the non-profit group in order to finance the low-income rent of their residential buildings. The coffee shop helps the community in many ways: A local coffee roaster company produces the coffee that is sold at the Cornerstone Café. The place also creates new jobs through employing staff for the coffee shop.

The coffee shop's interior is kept in a comfortable atmosphere created through ceiling suspended lamps provide diffused light (**Pic. 36 a**). The Coffee shop's space is simultaneously used as a gallery where art from artists in the neighbourhood is being displayed and sold (**Pic. 36 b**). The 'function' of the art is twofold: The paintings decorated the exposed brick walls of the stylish yet cosy interior of the coffee shop and add to the atmosphere. The money made by the art sold goes to the artists of the neighbourhood. It's a win-win situation for both sides.⁵⁸¹

Spacious windows along the northwest corner are a source for further - natural external - light (**Pic. 37**).

⁵⁷⁷ Interview Lenore Rankin, 13th June.

⁵⁷⁸ In 2004 a total of 4827 calls related to some kind of crime were reported for Fernwood. In 2009 that number significantly dropped to 2944. See Table 1 "911 Calls from Fernwood by call type, 2004 to 2009."

⁵⁷⁹ Average House Prices in Fernwood were \$350,000 in 2006. By 2008 they skyrocketed to nearly \$550,000. See, Figure 2. "House Prices: City of Victoria vs. Fernwood Core." BC Assessment.

⁵⁸⁰ For example, the City evicted those people who used to live in the run-down state of the *Cornerstone*.

⁵⁸¹ What kind of paintings are being displayed in the Coffee Shop is decided by Communications & Event Coordinator, Mila Czemerys, who never has a problem to find aspiring and talented artists to display their art. See, Czemerys, Mila. Interview with the author. 13th June 2012.

Because of the strong involvement of people from different levels and backgrounds on a voluntarily basis four low-income families are able to live in a beautiful building set in a revitalized area. The rent for any of the three bedroom apartments is \$989 per month, which is approximately \$260 less than the average monthly rent (\$1350) for a three-bedroom apartment in Victoria's Zone 1 to 4.⁵⁸²

The *Cornerstone* literally set the cornerstone for the preservation and renovation movement. This is what makes it so unusual in the gentrification context: The project is an affordable housing project that is well-perceived by the public and the neighbourhood, at the same time it actually led to the valorisation of the neighbourhood. While the owners and functions of the heritage buildings around the Gladstone/ Fernwood Corner have changed, their beauty and architectural Excellency remained.

Cornerstone's media, social, architectural and urban planning sensation is the result of a successful execution of 'The Right To The City.' The building as it stands today has brought back life into the neighbourhood but it also has led to gentrification movement in Fernwood. 'Fernwood NRG' continues its efforts to enable livable and affordable residential options for the residents of Fernwood. This is most evident in the next case study (**Pic. 38**).

⁵⁸² Statistical data taken from: Rental Market Report. Victoria CMA. Fall 2011. Table 1.1.2 Private Apartment Average Rents (\$) by Zone and Bedroom Type Victoria.

4.4. 2 A Place by the Park - Park Place

Park Place is the follow up project of Cornerstone.⁵⁸³ Continuing this line of success the ‘Fernwood NRG’ Society set the grounds for their second affordable family housing project on 1222 Yukon Street in 2007.⁵⁸⁴ *Park Place* is placed in Fernwood on the South West corner of a 200 x 300 meter square shaped field where British Columbia’s first school was built in 1876.⁵⁸⁵

The project is a six unit affordable housing building with each unit having three bedrooms that are each 70 square meters (750 square feet) in size.

Architecturally the building is very interesting as it is built completely from scratch and yet aesthetically suggests heritage features (**Pic. 39**). Prior to the realization of *Park Place* it was an empty lot fronting on Yukon Street and Grant Street.⁵⁸⁶ Conveniently when the non-profit bought the land from the previous owner the lots have been already zoned for multifamily housing.⁵⁸⁷ The two lots were zoned into one detached zone for the *Park Place* Building to be built. The building opened its doors in 2008 where it now houses six families in six three-bedroom units for a rent of \$ 980, - per months (compared to \$1350,-/ months for Victoria’s average three-bedroom apartments).⁵⁸⁸

It is close to a high school and other amenities that make housing for families ideal (See zoning map by City of Victoria, victoria.ca). The house is situated in a corner of Yukon Street that bears five of Fernwood’s oldest houses still standing (**Pic. 40**). They are placed on 1203, 1209, 1212, 1217 and 1221 Yukon and designed by William Whittaker in 1892.⁵⁸⁹ In fact the street was called ‘Whittaker’ until 1950 when it was renamed ‘Yukon Street.’ All of the houses have been classified as Italianate Style houses.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸³ There are eight parks placed around the corner of Gladstone Avenue and Fernwood Rd within a radius of 1 km. The parks along with the tree-lined streets make this area a very livable and family friendly neighbourhood.

⁵⁸⁴ Lenore Rankin mentions that their Project made it into the London Times. See Interview with Lenore Rankin, 13th June 2012.

⁵⁸⁵ Victoria High School on 1260 Grant Street is the oldest High School in all of British Columbia. It opened in August 1876 in a wooden Colonial School House built in 1853. In 1882, a Second Empire Style brick building, designed by John Teague, was built on the same reserve, attached to the back of the Public School. The building today is Victoria High School’s fourth Edwardian styled bricked building designed by architects Thomas Hooper and C. Elwood Watkins in 1909.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁶ COLINS, Garde. Phone Interview With Author. 7 AUG 2012.

⁵⁸⁷ MARTELL, Roberta. Letter to the City of Victoria. “Application for 1222 Yukon Street Affordable Housing.” 22 MAY 2007.

⁵⁸⁸ Rental Market Report. Victoria CMA. Fall 2011. Table 1.1.2 “Private Apartments Average Rents by Zone and Bedroom Type.”

⁵⁸⁹ There was a sixth house on 1225 Yukon that was demolished in 1938. Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.”, p. 84.

⁵⁹⁰ Adams, John and Muir, William. “This Old House.”, p. 85.

Characteristic for the exterior appearance of the houses are the shingled wooden façade cubical in form with a hipped roof. All are two storeys in height and all as revenue property and housed by the working class.⁵⁹¹

Even though all five houses look almost the same, the one on 1203 Yukon differs slightly from the rest as it has some ornamental features such as the eaves brackets and two corbelled brick chimneys. The entrance is also slightly different as it is a simple shed-roofed entry porch.⁵⁹²

4.4.2.1 The Project's Background - Empty Spot Coming To Life

After the fruitful and winning collaboration with Garde Colins on the renovation of the Cornerstone building the non-profit hired the builder for the design of their new affordable housing project as well as the organization of its construction.⁵⁹³ Once again the non-profit society was able to win over the community's trust and believe for their second project: 2008 was a year where the City of Victoria was experiencing a construction boom and shortage of labour due to high demand. Despite this labour shortage the mechanical contractor along with his entire crew stayed on this project until it was done.⁵⁹⁴ The high level of commitment of every party involved made Colins' job enjoyable as "a breeze."⁵⁹⁵ At the same time Victoria was also experiencing housing crises especially for those who are in core housing need. This project was a well-needed reaction to that affordable housing crisis.

Once again the non-profit put themselves out there in order to make their project turn from a vision on paper into a three dimensional reality. After months long meetings and proposals to the city council the *Fernwood NRG* finally had the approval to build the building. The realization of this project was even smoother and more carefree than that of the Cornerstone building.

The compact well-drained glacier sand that was dug out was so clean, that organizations for other building projects in Fernwood gladly took the soil over. It was a win-win

⁵⁹¹ Ibid, p. 86. For example the house on 1203 Yukon was occupied by clerks, foremen and salesmen. Whitaker's son Samuel was the owner of all six houses, at least on paper.

⁵⁹² Adams, John and Muir, William. "This Old House.", p. 86.

⁵⁹³ Colins did the drawing for free while was paid for the consultancy. See, Colins, Garde. "Cornerstone and Yukon." Email to the author. 08. AUG. 2012.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

situation.⁵⁹⁶ Prior to the project's realization the non-profit communicated with the neighbourhood about their proposal in order to make sure acknowledgement and approval of the residents of Yukon Street's is also given.⁵⁹⁷ On behalf of the *Fernwood NRG* builder and project consultant Colins asked the City for relaxations of the front (facing south) and rear (facing north) setbacks, relaxation of the parking requirement and relaxation of the lot area.⁵⁹⁸

The relaxations permitted by the City have been executed in the following way:

On the rear side (North elevation) the grass area has been restored. On the Front Side (South elevation) the grass area has been restored and the Fir trees retained. On the West Side (facing the Park) the Ash trees as well as the grass area have been retained. The lower and upper drive way and parking as planned in the original proposal has been integrated on the East side of the building next to the adjacent (Glennwarren Central Park Lodge) building. One of the four parking stalls is reserved for handicapped parking. A total of 14 bike-parking places have been put on the East elevation as well. Further on the East Side the grass area has been restored, the wall and screening trees have been retained and the existing chain-link fencing has been retained.

4.4.2.2 *Park Place's* Design – Blending In

It was important for the non-profit to have a house that is similar in size, style, colour and street set back to the other five heritage houses on the street.

Garde Colins and his colleague James Paluke were both involved with the design of the Park Place building. They took elements of the five surrounding houses on Yukon Street and built Park Place out of it.⁵⁹⁹ That way the house completely blends in with the surrounding environment. In order to understand the building's architecture it needs to be examined in the context of the surrounding houses on Yukon Street that bear five of Fernwood's oldest houses placed on 1203, 1209, 1212, 1217 and 1221. Yukon Street consists of houses with facades each being visually identifiable through their own differing colour: champagne (house number 1203 to 1205), pistachio green (1209), bur-

⁵⁹⁶ ELLINGSEN, Aaron. "Fernwood NRG breaks ground at Park Place." *Village Vibes*. February 2008. Front Cover

⁵⁹⁷ Marrtell, Roberta. Letter to the City of Victoria. "Application for 1222 Yukon Street Affordable Housing." 22 MAY 2007.

⁵⁹⁸ HILL, Stephanie, Chair of the Land Use Committee Fernwood Community Association. "Re: 1222 Yukon Street." Letter to Planning & Development Department Development Services Division. 16 June, 2007.

⁵⁹⁹ Colins, Garde. Phone Interview, 7 AUG 2012.

gundy (1213), dark rose (1217), grey-green (1221). Even though they differ in colour the houses harmonize perfectly well with each other, through their forms and usage of materials of the façade. Whittaker built all the two-storey wooden structure houses as revenue property. Most of the tenants who lived in these houses were members of working class.⁶⁰⁰

The very first house on Yukon Street (house number 1203 to 1205) positioned on the southwest side of the beginning of the street – at the intersection of Chambers Street – differs slightly from the other four original houses as it has some ornamental features such as the eaves brackets and two corbelled brick chimneys. The entrance is also slightly different as it is a simple shed-roofed entry porch.⁶⁰¹ The champagne coloured house with its elaborate ornaments and brackets is the only house in that street surrounded with a solid panel fence from all sides. Nevertheless it invites the viewer into a street of heritage styled houses in Victoria's Fernwood.

The *Park Place* Building is sitting on the North side of Yukon Street opposite the other five houses. The connection to the adjacent park on the freestanding building's north and west side is made through the restored grass area as well as planted trees and bushes. The building is about ten meters in height. The six three-bedroom units are placed on three levels: two are in the basement, two are on the ground floor and the remaining top two units are on the second floor (**Pic. 41**). Each tenant has their own entrance door: the units in the basement access their units (1 and 2) each from the side doors on the east and west. The two units (3 and 4) on the ground as well as the two units (5 and 6) on the upper floor are each accessed through one of the front doors on the south elevation (**Pic. 42**).

Just like the other houses on Yukon Street *Park Place* is set back from the sidewalk allowing space for greenery and flowers in front of the house. This development makes Yukon Street a very friendly and green street matching the architecture with the landscape.

Architecturally the building is very interesting as it is built completely from the foundation up and yet its appearance suggests it is a heritage building like the houses around it. A heritage styled building that is not really heritage enables the designers to have certain freedoms in design and creativity without the limitations that comes with of heritage designated or registered buildings. The most dominant part of the building's outer

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 86. For example the house on 1203 Yukon was occupied by clerks, foremen and salesmen. Whittaker's son Samuel was the owner of all six houses, at least on paper.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid, "This Old House.", p. 86.

appearance is the façade of the south elevation. It is divided in three staggered vertical parts and distinguished through different colours: the southeast and southwest corners are marked by purple-brown façades that consists of horizontally placed wooden brackets. They both flank the façade's middle part that again is broken into two parts: the upper part consists of a rectangular surface made of orange-brown shingled wood with two rectangular windows placed on opposing sides.

The lower part consists of the building's main entry porch that is covered by a black-shingled roof repeating the colour and roof pattern of the building's main roof. The four lean rectangular entrance doors are placed symmetrically next in line (**Pic. 43 a**). The pattern of the orange-brown shingled wood on the façade's upper part is repeated on the three vertical lines that divide the black-framed entry doors. Attention to detail is paid to the numbers 1 to 4 placed on the white lintels above each door. Semi-circled brackets punched with hollow tear shaped patterns in the middle (**Pic. 43 b**) are borrowed from the facing building on 1221 Yukon Street (**Pic. 44**). The late 19th-century Whittaker buildings were sources of inspiration for *Park Place's* hipped roof form, as well as shingled horizontal wooden pattern for the exterior wall. The ascending entrance stairs are divided in two sections through the white painted wooden baluster that runs through the staircases middle. The symmetry of the imaginary line of the staircase baluster ends at the oval shaped white plaque "1222 Yukon – Park Place" that hangs on the porches entry roof (**Pic. 43 a**). That same pattern of purple-brown vertical lines flanking the façade's orange-brown middle part is repeated on the west and east elevation of the house. All these architectural features give the Italianate Style building a harmonious symmetry. At the same time they add a unique touch of individuality to the building.

One major distinction between *Park Place* and the other five houses is that it has no chimney protruding through the roof. The other distinction is *Park Place's* multi-coloured façade that stands out compared to the monochrome facades of the other buildings.

Today the Italianate-styled house is sitting on Yukon Street in a friendly architectural ensemble with the other five surrounding Whittaker houses. Partly, this is due to the fact that visually *Park Place's* design diminishes any class difference and segregation between working-class and middle-class. The house is placed next to a park; it is also close to a high school and other amenities that make housing for families ideal. Within a radius of 1 km around *Park Place* there are several educational institutes as well as a Native Friendship (community) Centre.

Parking space is provided for those tenants owning a car. A total of four parking stalls are available and can be accessed through a driveway facing Yukon Street on the Westside and another driveway on the same site facing Grant Street.

Within a time span of six years Fernwood's cultural and economical value has significantly uplifted. This is evident in two things: The conversion of the Cornerstone building from its commercial function into a new, upgraded mixed-use building along with the renovation of the surrounding buildings at the corner of Fernwood Road and Gladstone. A preference that has been emphasised even more through the Fernwood NRG' affordable housing project *Park Place*, built from its foundation up. The building resembles the surrounding houses on that street. That way the building blends aesthetically into the architectural scenery of Yukon Streets pre-existing houses. On an ethical level, *Park Place* just like *Cornerstone* are both successful examples of livable and affordable dwelling projects as they house people who could otherwise not afford to live in Fernwood.⁶⁰² The next two case studies will depict rather modern and contemporary designs in one of Victoria's areas that are in transition.

⁶⁰² House Prices for Fernwood rose from in \$ 350.000 in 2006 to approx. \$ 550.000 in 2008. Source: Figure 2. "House Prices: City of Victoria vs. Fernwood Core." BC Assessment.

4.5 Affordable Housing in Burnside Gorge – Gentrification in an Industrial Neighbourhood

The next two case studies, *Pembroke Mews* and *Loreen Place* are placed in Victoria's Burnside neighbourhood north of the Downtown core (**Pic. 45**). Burnside Gorge is one of the City of Victoria's less populated neighbourhood's due to its industrial character. Only 5210 people live on 238 hectare land. That is an average of 22 people per hectare (compared to Fernwood: 55 per hectare).⁶⁰³

Like Fernwood the neighbourhood of Burnside Gorge's urban development started with the sale of raw land to the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1860s. Large parts of today's Burnside belonged to Roderick Finlayson (about 103 acre), who was the former chief trader of Fort Victoria and good friends with Chief Factor and Colonial Governor James Douglas.⁶⁰⁴ James Yates who was the HBC shipwright-turned publican owned about 400 acres of Burnside along the waterway. The founding estates were subdivided in the 1861 fore residential development through the expansion of the rustic roads.

Burnside as a neighbourhood served two major purposes:

In 1893 the area along Hillside Ave and Douglas Street attracted the greatest number of residents mostly working-class.⁶⁰⁵

The other purpose of land was industrial use. In 1862 the first gas station, *Victoria Gas Co* on 512 Pembroke was built. A few meters away from that building was Iron Manufacturing Company *Albion Iron Works* on 502 Pembroke (built ca. 1888). Both buildings comprised some of Burnside's most significant buildings in style and size.⁶⁰⁶ The front of the building had a central flat-roofed extension as well as one on each side. The central portion of it was divided into three bays by four plain brick pilasters that were connected by a row of corbelled brick brackets. The rear portion was the superior part of the building. It was divided into regular bays with corbelled bracket courses between the pilasters and had a panelled frieze above.⁶⁰⁷

While the window frames, which were heritage designated have been preserved, the same glazing of the windows was replaced. Further technical changes were the three

⁶⁰³ Community Profile City of Victoria. Table 2.1 Housing Type, Dwelling Type Distribution 2006.

⁶⁰⁴ MINAKER, Dennis. "Burnside." In: ADAMS, John and MUIR, William. *This Old House. Victoria's Heritage Neighbourhoods*. Vol. III. Victoria Heritage Foundation, 2008. p. 12.

⁶⁰⁵ About 55 houses were built in 1893 with most tenants being longshoremen, tannery workers, sawyers and teamsters. See, MINAKER, Dennis. "Burnside." p. 13.

⁶⁰⁶ Minaker, Dennis. "Burnside." p. 14.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 28.

rear windows that were converted into non-opening ones and the glass was replaced with wire fire rated glass.

From the time of the building's opening until its demolition in 2012 the former *Victoria Gas Co* building changed owners and purposes several times while always keeping its architectural outer appearance and industrial purpose. In 2000 the building stopped running and started to deteriorate heavily. Eventually it was demolished in 2012 and now the large area consists of soil that is being contaminated.⁶⁰⁸ This is one prominent example for the City's agenda to rezone parts of Burnside Gore around Rock Bay from industrial into residential or commercial residential.

The proximity to water and the closeness to Victoria's downtown core make this area potential for revitalization developments. Its low population and low density enable enough space for new buildings to be built.

This is what the non-profit society Greater Victoria Housing Society discovered, too. Both of the society's housing projects are owned and managed by the Greater Victoria Housing Society created in 1956. The society's Executive Director, Kaye Melliship explains: "We are usually the first ones to go into a neighbourhood that is in transition. Because when we buy land it needs to be cheap. We can add value through all the rezoning and redevelopment ourselves. On the *Loreen Place* the land cost about \$ 12. Million but now it is worth \$ 15. Million because of what we have done. We could not afford to buy it for that amount of money so we have to add to the value ourselves and the value comes through rezoning. *Loreen Place* was in an area of very run down hotels. *Pembroke* is on the very edge of downtown, two blocks by the water in an industrial area. And on the opposite of this building the soil is being contaminated so they are cleaning it up and eventually there will be more buildings like the *Pembroke* in that area. We are the first however because then the land was cheap."⁶⁰⁹

Greater Victoria Housing Society is a private non-profit organization with a board of directors who is responsible and liable for all the business and assets of the organizations. Originally the society started with the purpose to provide housing for the seniors only.⁶¹⁰ Around 2005 the Society restructured their focus and manner of creating affordable housing buildings and grew in size. Today the society is one of the largest non-profit social housing organizations. It owns a total of 14 residential buildings in Victo-

⁶⁰⁸ BARBER, Steve and BATALLAS, Robert. Governance and Priorities Committee Report. "Environmental Remediation of BC Hydro Rock Bay Property." City of Victoria. 14 FEB 2012.

⁶⁰⁹ MELLISHIP, Kay. Interview with the author. 14th June 2012.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid. It used to be called Victoria Senior Citizens housing society.

ria, Esquimalt, Saanich and Colwood. The Greater Victoria Housing Society has three ways of establishing low-income residential buildings: 1. They buy buildings from smaller societies and renovated them in good standard. 2. They buy buildings on the real estate market funded through fundraising money. *Pembroke Mews* is such an example. The third way to own a building is that they built new apartments from scratch. The *Loreen Place* is one such example.

4.5.1 *Pembroke Mews* – Housing Low-Income, Young Professionals

Pembroke Mews is a mixed-use three-storey building with commercial space on the ground that belongs to Knappatt Projects Inc. and residential space on the second and third floors that are owned by the Greater Victoria Housing Society (GVHS). It is a mix of six studios and 19 one-bedroom apartments. The total residential area comprises 1339 m² while the commercial area on ground level is 420 m². The apartments on the second and third floors have units ranging from 30 m² (323 square feet) for the studios to 48 m² (517 square feet) for the one-bedrooms (**Pic. 46**).

Pembroke Mews opened its doors in February 2012 and houses young professionals whose maximum annual income does not exceed \$ 35,000.⁶¹¹ This is an affordable residential project as rent ranges from \$ 580 to \$ 750 and is about \$ 100 per month less than the average rent in Victoria.⁶¹²

The project was funded through four governmental levels as well as from private funders: BC Housing contributed with \$ 10,000 for the Project Development Funding (PDF) including architect and engineering company. They also managed the process for the banks to compete for the GVHS's mortgage so that they get a better interest rate.⁶¹³

The Regional Government (Capital Region Housing Trust Fund) gave a grant of \$375,000. The City of Victoria gave \$ 250,000.

The Federal Government also contributed with a total of \$ 600,000 through PDF and Seed money. The non-profit was able to convert the zoning from warehouse to residential and commercial space. The money was lent to GVHS as a “forgivable loan” under

⁶¹¹ The non-profit society has also taken few students as tenants, will however keep its focus on low-income professionals. See Kay Melliship, Interview, 14th June 2012. It used to be called “Victoria Senior Citizens housing society.”

⁶¹² Average rent in the City of Victoria for a studio was \$ 679 and \$ 830 for a 1-Bedroom apartment. See, Average Rents Rental Market Report. “1.1.2 Private Apartments.” Victoria CMA, Fall 2011.

⁶¹³ See interview with Kay Melliship, 14th June 2012.

the condition that they keep this building affordable housing for at least fifteen years.⁶¹⁴ Additionally, \$150,000 was donated to the non-profit by private sources.

The original building on 577 Pembroke Street that is now *Pembroke Mews* was a warehouse and manufacturing facility built 1940 (**Pic. 47 and 48**).⁶¹⁵ The last store in that building was a Paddle Sports supplier. The renovation of that building was part of a revitalization process of two adjunct buildings on 575 and 555 Pembroke. The construction management company *Knappatt Projects Inc.* was the owner of both buildings.⁶¹⁶ In 2007 the company decided to renovate both buildings and bring them to new standards. They started with the renovation of the then white cubicle office building on 555 Pembroke and added significant substance to it by turning it into a golden yellow-façade with blue-framed windows.

The *Pembroke Mews* building stands east of the *Knappatt Projects* building that is now a bright yellow coloured building (**Pic. 49**). *Knappatt Projects Inc.* hired the architect Bradley Shuya Architects for the exterior and interior renovation of both buildings. *Knappatt Projects Inc* knew the architect from previous collaboration which was the basis of the trust between the two parties. The goal was to make the design of the building “fit in with the past industrial character of the neighbourhood.”⁶¹⁷ In order to get funding for their projects from various levels of the government the company decided to work with a non-profit society. A real estate agent familiar with both *Knappatt Projects Inc* as well as the GVHS did the “matchmaking” and brought the two parties together.⁶¹⁸ By the time the construction management company chose to collaborate on the development of *Pembroke Mews* with the GVHS the company already preceded down the development path and rezoning. Therefore the GVHS had to incorporate with the status quo and regulate from there.

Pembroke Mews is placed at the corner of the busy Government Street and Pembroke Street. It is opposite the site of the demolished 512 Pembroke building that is as of July 2012 zoned as “Heavy Industrial” heritage designated land.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Shuya, Bradely. “Pembroke 577” Email to the author. 20th June 2012. The architect of the original building as well as further information of it remain unknown.

⁶¹⁶ Knappatt, John. Phone interview with the author, 20th June 2012.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ See interview with Kay Melliship, 14th June 2012.

⁶¹⁹ The site is zoned as M3 meaning “Heavy Industrial.” Within a radius of four blocks to the north the sites are all M1 (Limited Light Industrial) to M3.

Pembroke Mews itself is zoned as Commercial Residential zone that is in the process of being rezoned. While facing this busy corner to the North East, the building's West elevation faces the waterfront of the Rock Bay that is only one block away. This unusual mix of industrial, heavy trafficked street and waterfront makes the location particularly interesting regarding living quality and revitalisation.

In gentrification studies waterfront sites have been identified as sites of major redevelopment.⁶²⁰ At the same time it has been argued that industrial sites, which experience heavy traffic, noise and odour, may not be attractive for investors and middle-class residents.⁶²¹ What makes the location of Pembroke Mews attractive is that people want to live near the downtown core while at the same time have a wonderful water view.

4.5.1.1 Converting Industrial into Residential

Sometimes when the architect 'inherits' a pre-existing building structural and administrative challenges are attached. That was the case with the Pembroke Mews: Originally the two buildings were put on one lot. Knappatt Projects had to apply for a subdivision of the lot along with the rezoning to split the two buildings into two separate properties. This affected the issue of the pre-existing parking space. As the architect Shuya explains: "The parking for the building at 555 Pembroke was historically always accessed from Government Street via a drive through entry sliding door system located at the midpoint of 577 Pembroke. This drive through was shifted to the end of 577 Pembroke to maintain a larger commercial space. There were many complications with this design since the adjacent building at 555 Pembroke also uses the driveway as a secondary exit route. We had to provide a combination vehicular and pedestrian exit roll down security gate. Plus, 577 Pembroke has support spaces located along the common driveway. There were many security concerns, plus the combination of vehicle and pedestrian access complicated the design."⁶²²

Another difficulty was that the site had to be contaminated because of the contaminated soil due to the industrial usage of the building. This slowed down the process, as they had to wait for the rezoning and decontaminated soil.

Despite the challenges Shuya did a great job in converting the inside and outside of this former warehouse and manufacturing facility building into a residential and commercial

⁶²⁰ Ley, David and Dobson Cory. "Are there Limits to Gentrification?" p. 2473.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Shuya, Bradley. "Pembroke 577." Email to the author. 27 JUN 2012.

building. Major alterations of the building's façade were in colour and quantity of windows.

The building's architectural transformation demonstrates the important role architecture plays in giving meaning to the building's content. *Pembroke Mew* consists of three vertical levels with the 25 residential units being on the upper two floors and the commercial space on the lower floor.⁶²³ The residential part is provided with an elevator enabling tenants to reach their units without having to use the stairs. Amenities for the upper two floors such as the recycling rooms and garbage rooms as well as laundry rooms and generator room are set on the ground floor.

The design was driven by the goal to convert the former industrial metal fabrication and melding building into a livable rental housing building. In order to place as many units as possible into the two floors space had to be compromised amongst the units.

Space and sound were two major challenges the architect had to deal with for the conversion from industrial to residential and commercial. The space available for the entire lot is limited. In order to maximize every meter available inside the units the architect had to compromise a lot:

The walk-in closets have inward-going doors. That way no space for opening doors will be wasted. The units are rented out in an unfurnished condition.

The architect was limited to the physical envelop of the building. The challenge was to work with the given space and build as many units as possible, keeping the floors as wide as possible without circulation while at the same time eliminate dead end corridors and inefficient space.

In order to use the limited space for the small studio apartments the architect put a pony wall to suggest where a bed should be.

The use of balconies was also renounced in favour of more living space.

When living space of units is small floor space for amenities needs to be saved and put on a mutually shared level. This is why all the shared amenities that deal with the residential component are on the ground floor so that they don't take up too much space.

There is no parking space for the tenants of *Pembroke Mews*. Instead a bicycle storage room on the ground floor next to the entrance door is provided. Vertical wall racks to

⁶²³ As of July 2012 the commercial space remained vacant. The developer John Knappatt sees this as a reflection of the current recession and believes that the residential space above are "a bonus" to the building.

store the bikes on the walls are a smart and efficient solution to maximize modest space in the storage room.

Since the building is placed on a busy road and next to a beer brewery, sound proof walls and windows were another factor towards increasing the livability of the building. The architecture firm solved the challenge of compromising sound and space through the integration of a double staggered stud system.⁶²⁴ The staggered space – called a “party wall” saved living space and construction money while at the same time being efficient in repressing the sound.⁶²⁵ The well-insulated walls also add to the building’s sustainability as they lower consumption of heat during winter time and.

4.5.1.2 *Pembroke’s* Design – Blending in

The appearance of the building is designed with the purpose to blend in with the surrounding buildings. At the same time the core appearance of the original building has been maintained in order to respect its character. As a result the current building’s design is representing the centre gable of the original roof shape. It is meant to be a reflection of the 1940 building (**Pic. 47**). The building’s original silhouette with the distinct narrowed gabled rooftop has been maintained. At the same time a whole new rooftop has been placed on the building’s top. At its highest point the building’s height is 11.2 meters tall surmounting the adjunct flat roofed yellow building of Knappatt Projects Inc. Some of the foundation such as the timber wood that was the skin in front of the corrugated metal was reused but the entire façade was torn down and built anew. The façade’s dominant colour is galvanized silver accentuated with marine blue mainly along the building’s sides. This choice of colour was deliberate in order to correspond to the yellow of the adjunct flat-roofed building of Knappett Projects Inc.⁶²⁶ The shape of the façade’s north elevation is dominated by a gabled rooftop with two staggered slopes on each side. This is the signature feature of the building. The material of the new façade as it stands today is galbanum metal with a zinc layer to protect the material. Compared to the original material used this one is thicker and rigid and therefore more durable.

⁶²⁴ The wall’s Sound Transition Coefficient is at 55 (minimal acceptance for a condominium apartment building).

⁶²⁵ Ideally the units would have been separated by two separate walls but because of cost issues and because that that system would have taken up too much space that was actually not available the architecture firm insulated and put resilient channels on both sides of the double drywalls.

⁶²⁶ SHUYA, Bradley. “Pembroke 577 Project.” Email to the author. 27th JUN 2012.

The galvanized metal that has zinc and aluminium is rust resistance and waterproof. The design serves also as a rain screen system: A gap between the cladding and the actual frame-wall in creates drainage plain. In case water gets ever behind it, it can drain out.

The usage of metal cladding brought the industrial flavour back to the building. The ensemble of differently sized and shaped windows along the north- and west elevation, and the multi-elevated roofline add much residential character to the building.

The façade's south elevation is accompanied with a wooden replaceable graffiti owned by the adjacent brewery company that was there from pre-renovation phase and had to be put back after construction (**Pic. 50**). The colours and compositions of the graffiti match harmoniously with the appearance of the façade. Everything just blends in together very smoothly and harmoniously without looking too intentionally or too randomly.

Using the galvanized grey cladding for the façade brought the industrial flavour back to the building while at the same time creating something new and innovative. This building could set the tone for the area's architecture and residential population.

What was there before re-emerges again and builds a synergy with the "new." *Pembroke Mews* represents the legacy of an industrial area in transition by keeping the character of an industrial building and adding residential appearance to it in a new and contemporary context.

By putting some "nice" architecture in this industrial building the non-profit GVHS sets an architectural suggestion on what could happen in this primarily industrial neighbourhood. There is a significant potential for Burnside Gore's south to turn industrial into a mixed commercial and residential area. Whether that will be the case only time can tell.

4.5.2 And It Was All Yellow! *Loreen Place*

The *Greater Victoria Housing Society's* most recent project at the time this dissertation was done is *Loreen Place*. The Project was realised in cooperation with their partner non-profit society *Greater Victoria Rental Development Society (GVRDS)*.⁶²⁷

Loreen Place is a residential four-storey building block situated in the north of Burnside Gorge. It houses families with children in 52 one- to two-bedroom apartments. The total residential area comprises 6771,8 m² (72.892,6 square feet) placed on a 2811 m² (30257 square feet) area and is therefore much larger than the *Pembroke Mews Project*.⁶²⁸

Loreen Place opened its doors in March 2012 and houses low-to moderate-income families whose maximum annual income does not exceed \$ 65,000.⁶²⁹ This is an affordable residential project as rent ranges from \$ 580 to \$ 750 and is about \$ 100 per month less than the average rent in Victoria.⁶³⁰

The level of funding was similar to that of *Pembroke Place*: four governmental levels were involved as well as private funders: BC Housing money for the Project Development Funding (PDF) including architect and engineering company. The Regional Government (Capital Region Housing Trust Fund) and the City of Victoria each gave \$ 370.000.

The Federal Government also contributed with a total of \$ 26.000 through PDF and Seed money.⁶³¹ Real Homes Development Company contributed towards the development fees.

⁶²⁷ The GVRDS was created by the GVHS in 2009 in order to reach out more possibilities to create affordable housing projects for low- to middle-income families. See interview with Kaye Melliship, p.4.

⁶²⁸ Project Data. "Proposed Apartment Building Gorge Rd East." 19 April 2010. Courtesy of Chaw Low Hammond Architects Inc.

⁶²⁹ The society also requires a Minimum gross household income on move in allowed \$32,000 (one bedroom) \$45,000 (two bedroom).

⁶³⁰ Average rent in the City of Victoria for a studio was \$ 679 and \$ 830 for a 1-Bedroom apartment. See, Average Rents Rental Market Report. "1.1.2 Private Apartments." Victoria CMA, Fall 2011.

⁶³¹ See interview with Kay Melliship, 14th June 2012.

4.5.2.1 Perfect Planning and Partnership: The Project's Realization

For the realization of *Loreen Place* the GVHS actually created a sister society, *The Greater Victoria Rental Development Society* out of the need to provide more affordable housing for low- to moderate- income households with children in Victoria. *Loreen Place* is the first successful collaboration of the two societies. The surplus of the rents will be split on a “50/50” level and put back to a new project.⁶³²

The two societies selected Jackson Low from the Victoria based architecture firm *Chow Low Hammond Architects Inc.* as the leading architect for the project. Kaye Melliship explains that the architecture firm did “an amazing presentation. They actually put a lot of thought into who we are and what we are looking for. We were very impressed.”⁶³³

Low and his firm have done affordable housing projects in the past and therefore they were familiar with the risks and challenges of taking this project.

When asked about his inspiration for the design of the building, Law humbly mentions, “I am just trying to create an aesthetic with various groups while understanding what their budget limitations are. With this one we tried to create something out of nothing.”

The site where *Loreen Place* stands today was occupied by an old and run-down hotel that was demolished. Law remembers, “It was a drug house actually.”⁶³⁴ It took about two years to turn a drug house into a beautiful, livable and affordable multi-family residential building.

The area lacked consistency and harmony in terms of architecture; Law calls it a “hodgepodge” of differently designed buildings, run down houses and motels. None of the buildings there stood out architecturally nor did they relate to each other in any way.⁶³⁵

“We did not want to follow that,” explains the architect.⁶³⁶ “When we designed that building, we did not intend to be ‘different’. We designed it to create a place for the people in it to have a sense of ownership. A place where they can identify themselves with the building and see it is home.”⁶³⁷

And the building's design contributed a great deal towards this goal.

⁶³² As of the time this chapter was written the two societies were in the process of building another affordable residential building for families place next to the *Loreen Place*. See, Interview Kaye Melliship, 14 June 2012, p.4

⁶³³ Interview with Kay Melliship, 14th June 2012.

⁶³⁴ LOW, Jackson. Chow Low Hammond Architects Inc., with author. 14th June 2012.

⁶³⁵ Ibid. p.3

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ Interview Jackson Low, 14th June 2012.

4.5.2.2 Loreen Place's Design – Standing Out

Loreen Place is situated on a busy main road that has many hotels and single-family houses. The building itself is 12 meters (40 feet) in height and accompanied by one-storey hipped roof detached single-family houses to its south and to its north. Loreen Place's outer appearance consists of a trapezoid-shaped form. This strict geometry is relaxed through the concave U shape in the building's rear on the west elevation.

One of the first noticeable features of the four-story, flat roofed building block is the bright golden yellow colour of the building's east elevation façade made of cement board panel (**Pic. 51**). The yellow is interrupted by four vertical dark brown stripes consisting of stucco finish. The bright red horizontal cement board siding accentuates the façade's corners. The use of expressive colour makes the building immediately recognizable along the busy road. The architect Low explains "the colours were chosen to create some excitement for the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood had been in decline for the last thirty years. The buildings had no life. Colour can create some influence and change over time as fashions and fads come and go."⁶³⁸

The architecture firm managed to translate the element of light and sunshine into the architecture by putting larger windows that go into the living spaces and therefore make the living rooms well lit. The smaller windows were placed for the two-bedroom chambers, as they don't need much light. That way the cost of construction was balanced while at the same time creating a sense of privacy.⁶³⁹ The larger living room windows that are placed in a rhythmical vertical order along the brown-stripped façade are covered by horizontally projecting roofs to protect the rooms from the sun's heat.

All the ground floor units have a private on grade access to their units as well as a public corridor access. Flora and Plants are integrated into the architecture by planting plants in grey concrete boxes placed around the entire building's front.

At the east elevation a number of trees are placed along a line on a green grass strip between the grey sidewalk and the grey entrance area. A sign with the building's name Loreen Place is placed on the south-eastern corner of the building just at the descending stairways.

The building's U-shaped rear (west elevation) features a community courtyard that serves as the building's community space (**Pic. 52**). The U-shape is functional as it

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

serves the purpose of providing the families who live there with green space while at the same time giving them privacy to feel “home.”⁶⁴⁰

The building’s architectural “signature” is the steep roof above the main entrance on the south façade (**Pic. 53**). The steep wooden entrance roof is descending towards the façade. This material of wood and metal as well as its dynamic sloping shape adds some organic touch to the very geometrical building. At the same time the colours correspond very well to the façade’s colour ensemble.

There is an underground parking that provides each unit with one parking stall. For the architect the actual limitation for the building was primarily the fact that the building sits on an underground parkade that spans the entire site.⁶⁴¹

And with this existing parkade underneath there was limitation in soil as well. Only certain trees and plants could be planted around the building. However with the existing plants and trees that challenge has proven to be mastered very well. It also beautifies the area as the busy street of Gorge Road is featured with next to no greenery.⁶⁴²

The two societies have put as much care and thought into the project’s outer appearance as well as its inner life. Therefore the interiors of the 52 units are also worth mentioning. On each of the four floors there are 13 units.

The units are rented out in an unfurnished condition. However the tenants are provided with a fully equipped bathroom that has a bathtub. They are further provided with an open-concept kitchen that floats seamlessly into the living room and vice versa. The kitchen is equipped with a stove, sink, dishwasher and refrigerator. The cabinet doors and drawer fronts are designed with medium brown finish. Combined with the white painted surfaces the colours correlate in a harmonious and pleasing way. The sink-island put separately in front of the kitchen cabinet creates a free-floating atmosphere combining living room space with kitchen. There is also an element of functionality in this concept as enough moving space between stove and sink is provided. Another way of defining the kitchen space is achieved through three pendant lamps that give diffused as well as direct light spot the sink. At the same time they add a rhythmic vertical ensemble to the kitchen atmosphere and correspond well with the ceiling lamps. The carefully chosen kitchen colours blend in harmoniously with the sheet vinyl floor that looks like hardwood floor.

⁶⁴⁰ Interview Jackson Low, 14th June 2012, p.3.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² This observation has been made during a visit to the building by the author in June 2012.

There are energy efficient boilers to create hot water. The light fixtures are energy efficient. Low explains, “The sustainability is kept on a practical level so that more units can be built instead of fancy sustainable features.” However he adds, “The products we used are sustainable.”⁶⁴³

Loreen Place is situated on Gorge Road that is an approximately 4 km long strip. It runs along the shoreline of ‘Gorge Waterway’ from south east to northwest. *Loreen Place*’s proximity to water is one indicator of Ley’s gentrification factor. Another is the proximity to public transportation as several busses run along the street with a bus stop situated almost in front of the building. However that street is also very commercial due to the high number of hotels and motels situated there.⁶⁴⁴

Loreen Place was first not well perceived amongst the neighbourhood. This is despite the neighbourhood’s lacking ‘prestigious’ middle-class residents. The Not-In-My-Backyard prejudice of an affordable residential building was too high amongst the residents. Kaye Melliship did some empirical elucidation in these regards by taking concerned neighbours into the building, showing them around and educating them on their concept and kind of tenants they accept. That way the misconception of the building’s concept will be diminished and crucial concerns resolved. While Melliship acknowledges that homeless people need adequate housing too, she emphasises that the kind of tenants their society houses are low- to middle-income families with children.⁶⁴⁵

The kind of tenants who move here are families with children. The GVHS has no waiting list, when a unit becomes available it is advertised and the potential tenants are met with someone from the society at the building to have a tour.

By the time the non-profit society purchased land and property in Burnside Gorge the area was partly heavily industrial partly just run-down and basically not livable. Through the society’s sense of adequate locality and their economic budget skills along with fundraising ability they turned the area into a desirable residential space and encouraged other developers and societies to follow that path. But most importantly they enabled low- to middle income families and low-income young professionals to have a place where they “can identify themselves with the building and see it is home.”⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴³ Interview Jackson Low, 14 June 2012. p.3

⁶⁴⁴ Within a six block radius (from Harriet Road to Julian Road) eight motels and hotels were spotted.

⁶⁴⁵ See interview with Kay Melliship, 14th June 2012. p.3.

⁶⁴⁶ Interview Jackson Low, 14 June 2012. p. 3.

4.6 Conclusion

Well into the 21st century Victoria is still holding on to the aesthetics of the old Victorian and Edwardian architectural tradition. Despite the new materials and new techniques available Victoria's focus – more than any other of the three cities examined – lies on preservation of heritage buildings. While materials and techniques have developed forward the style and aesthetics of many residential buildings remained in the past century.

The case studies demonstrated in this chapter highlight the urban and political mindset of 'vintage is chic and therefore desirable' most represented in the Province's Capital City, Victoria.

The realization of the *Park Place* project was a case in point. It was built entirely from scratch at the same time it portrayed a heritage styled architecture dubbed as "Italianate", which reflects Victoria's preference for the "old" that is so present in its urban planning as well as real estate market. Realtor Paul Vandermade who observes in his daily business life people's preference for, "Edwardian and Victorian Styled houses" has confirmed this trend.⁶⁴⁷ Another aspect occurring here is the fact that all of the residential projects create a contradiction in the neighbourhood's gentrification process. Fernwood's urban uplifting process started with the renovation of the *Parfitt* Building into the *Cornerstone* Building and the conversion of their meanings: Once a successful place for a flourishing business the building now houses low-income families and offers them adequate housing for a low rent. However this low-income housing project caused the effect of Fernwood's revitalization process that lead to the area's popularity and rising real estate prices. This is gentrification in the classic sense as Ruth Glass described it in her 1964 publication.

Contrasting to those two case studies are *Pembroke Mews* and *Loreen Place* run by the non-profit societies GVHS and the *Greater Victoria Rental Development Society*. They both represent modern and contemporary designs through the choice of materials and looks. Like *Cornerstone Initiative* and *Park Place* they were further examples of revitalization processes triggered by affordable housing projects.

The location of each of the buildings is a further criterion for the choice of projects. Due to the low vacancy rate for two- and three-bedroom apartments with exception

⁶⁴⁷ Interview Paul Vandermade, MacDonald Realty. 15th June 2012. p.2.

of *Pembroke Mews* all the other case studies were built to house low-income families with children, and provide the residents with three- to four-bedroom apartments.

A building's social content hinges on the circumstances of its realization. This realization can be based on democratic values as seen in *Cornerstone* or on profit-oriented motives such as those in Victoria's downtown core. When we talk about gentrification such aspects need to be taken into consideration as well. Ironically affordable housing projects can set the cornerstone for the revitalization process of a derelict area, as seen most evidently in Fernwood. This shows the significant impact architecture has on gentrification. It also shows that gentrification can happen at places where people with a low-income move in. In the case of *Cornerstone* the question also remains on whether it was the tenants who attracted the middle-income or the architecture or both? It supports the role of non-profit organizations in the gentrification process, which Ley already identified non-profit organizations as a group that cause gentrification process in areas.⁶⁴⁸

The question that emerges however is: Can we talk about gentrification, if the architecture of a building that houses exactly those in threat of displacement actually leads to a gentrification process in a run down and socially neglected area?

This ever debated question of displacement or replacement in urban cities is most evident in the City of Vancouver. Particularly since the City's intense policy of preserving and revitalizing the Single Room Occupancy hotels has emerged in recent years. In Canada's least affordable city this policy may be inevitable to house those most in need but also those who work for their money and yet cannot afford decent accommodation.

⁶⁴⁸ Ley, David. "The New Middle Class." p.36.

CHAPTER FIVE : Vancouver – The Innovative City in a “God-Made Setting”⁶⁴⁹

While Victoria shaped BC’s architectural realm in the late 19th and early 20th century, the City of Vancouver quickly outpaced BC’s capital city with the introduction of a distinct architecture style – *West Coast Modernism* – that emerged in the 1940s. The inventiveness and progressiveness in its architectural development that Vancouver demonstrated in the first half of the 20th century continues into its 21st century urban planning design.

Vancouver is a beautiful and expensive city. As the world’s most livable city it also bears the title of North America’s least affordable city.⁶⁵⁰ Its lack of affordability questions its status as a livable city and one wonders: Who is benefitting from this ‘livability’ in the first place?

In 1946 Fred Lasserre⁶⁵¹ recognised "Vancouver has a God-made setting and a God-chosen location if ever any city had."⁶⁵² Since its early foundation in 1886 the city’s unusual geography being surrounded by the physical boundaries of steep mountains, clean water and lush forests are push factors for immigrants to call Vancouver their permanent home.⁶⁵³

It is exactly this landscape that Vancouver’s architects of *West Coast Modernism* discovered as a potential to shape the city into an innovative urban setting. Through their deep commitment and ability to think “outside the box” these visionaries paved the way for future architects to peacefully integrate architecture in the city’s “God-made beauty. They also brought a new understanding of architecture’s role in society as livability in dwelling architecture should be available to a broader target group in society.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁹ LASSERRE, Fred. “British Columbia.” *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Toronto. 23.12(1946):335. Print.

Lasserre’s life had a tragic end, while climbing at the *English Lake District* in 1961. He was doing a research trip there on England’s public housing development. Source: WINDSOR-LISCOMBE, Rhodri. *The New Spirit. Modern Architecture in Vancouver*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre 1997. Print, p.27.

⁶⁵⁰ Demographia Report 2011.

⁶⁵¹ BELLERBY, Greg. *West Coast Residential. Modern and the Contemporary*. Vancouver: Simply Read Books. 2007. Print, p.7. Lasserre was the first director of the *University of British Columbia’s* (UBC) ‘Department of Architecture’ founded in 1946. The school was restructured in 2005 and renamed into School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (SALA).

⁶⁵² Lasserre, Fred. “British Columbia.” p. 335.

⁶⁵³ Vancouver’s immigration population with a permanent residency status ranges from 15% to 11% (2005 to 2011). It is the highest percentage in the Province and the third highest in the nation - after Toronto (43% to 31%) and Montreal (14% to 18%). Source: Statistics Canada. “Immigration Overview: Permanent residents by province and territory and urban area.” Vancouver, Facts and Figures 2011. *Cic.gc.ca*. Web. 13 SEP 2012.

⁶⁵⁴ BERELOWITZ, Lance. *Dream City: Vancouver and the Global Imagination*. 2006. Print, p.198.

5.1 Synthesis of Architecture and Landscape: Emergence of *West Coast Modernism*

West Coast Modernism emerged in Canada's westernmost province during and after World War II.⁶⁵⁵ The style was closely linked to the dramatic and rural sites of the buildings that featured the usage of local woods as well as the emphasis on a post and beam structure and the floor to ceiling windows.⁶⁵⁶ All these characteristics cultivate the architectural synthesis between landscape and architecture. In a country like Canada regional conditions vary so much that there is no sense of 'long-rootedness' or mutual cultural characteristics. The lack of mutual identity and culture is also reflected in Canada's architectural landscape and the question of how to define "Canadian Architecture"?⁶⁵⁷ Canada's lack of identity was very much an issue up until the end of World War II.⁶⁵⁸ With no ties to any past and because of BC's spacious, natural and lush landscape the province was open to the architectural principles of modernism promoted in California as well as the ideas of architect immigrants from Europe. Particularly, the remote, once sleepy coastal region of North Vancouver turned into a prosperous and promising place for gifted architects of Vancouver's 1940s such as Bertram Charles (BC) Binning (1909-1976) and his friend Fred Hollingsworth (Born 1917) and later Ron Thom (1923-1986) and Arthur Erickson (1924-2009) to design some of the most distinct looking dwelling architecture of their time.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ There is no clearly defined time frame as to when exactly *West Coast Modernism* emerged in Vancouver and when exactly it terminated. I have found initial articles on the style in magazines published in 1938. For example: In 1938 Fred Lasserre wrote an essay titled "Modern Architecture: The New Aesthetics and Cement." In this essay he defined the key features of the architecture of modernism, while at the same time acknowledging the difficulty to define modernism as one cohesive style. Source: LASSERRE, Fred. "Modern Architecture: The New Aesthetics and Cement." *Journal of Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 15.6(1938):145. Print.

⁶⁵⁶ MACDONALD, Chris. "Vancouver." In: *West Coast Residential*. BELLERBY, Greg (ed.), Print, p.13.

⁶⁵⁷ Professor Sherry McKay from UBC's SALA department put the problem of Canada's lacking national identity in relation to architecture well by stating: "the idea of Canadian architecture is often nested in a number of concepts – culture, tradition, nationality – all of them problematically related to architecture." McKay, Sherry: "Ideas of Canadian Architecture." In: GRUFT, Andrew. *Substance over Spectacle. Celebrating Contemporary Canadian Architecture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005. Print, p. 191.

⁶⁵⁸ GOWANS, Alan. *Looking at Architecture in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958. Print, p. 216.

⁶⁵⁹ Binning managed to be the first architect in Vancouver to receive a mortgage by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) for building a house with a flat roof. This was considered as a breakthrough in architecture and housing politics. Long before Binning, other architects such as Peter Thornton, Robert Berwick or Ned Pratt had tried to get a mortgage for their flat roofed houses in vain. Source: Kalman, Harald "History of Canadian Architecture." p. 786-88.

The architecture of *West Coast Modernism* brought the definition of ‘livability’ in dwelling to a whole new level. The clean, bright and friendly design along with the usage of local materials added to the houses’ pleasing and comfortable flair.⁶⁶⁰

Vancouver architects reacted with great interest and enthusiasm towards the *International Style*, Germany’s Bauhaus as well as the architecture represented by architects Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe.⁶⁶¹ The premise was that architecture should function as a mediator of social ideas. “Form Follows Function” was the guiding principle. Architects in Vancouver enjoyed the new possibilities offered through materials such as concrete, glass and steel. The architects’ work and accomplishments had the purpose to improve people’s lives as well as work conditions.⁶⁶² While this principle idea of improving livability in dwelling architecture was still limited in the 20th century, British Columbia’s architects of the 21st century extended this to a much broader target group, including those in need of housing the most.

5.1.1 Promoting West Coast Modernism: Vancouver’s Geography and the Role of Architecture Magazines

Vancouver was BC’s most receptive city towards the modernist ideas of Europe and the *International Style* in the United States. While Victoria created BC’s first *Architectural Act*, Vancouver established the first architecture school, which became the exchange locus for aspiring and open artists and architects to meet and engage. It was in Vancouver where livable dwelling architecture for moderate and middle-income households was built; many of them still exist and are celebrated in the 21st century. The reason for this fast and successful development was twofold: 1. The emergence of Canadian architecture magazines. They facilitated creative and intellectual exchange amidst the provinces as well as countries (particularly USA and Canada) without the necessity of physical travelling.

The second reason for Vancouver’s receptiveness towards ‘West Coast Modernism’ was its geographical closeness to California.

⁶⁶⁰ It is important to notice that even though many houses were designed as *West Coast Modernism*, the style also applied to many public buildings, such as library, Hydro building or office buildings.

⁶⁶¹ Frank Lloyd Wright’s “Prairie Style” was particularly famous in the province of Alberta. The materials used for this style were mainly materials such as wood, brick and stucco and because of that it was convenient for the flat desert landscape of Alberta. Some examples are „Banff-Pavillon“ or the „Alberta Temple of the Church of Jesus Christ“. See, KALMAN, Harold. *A History of Canadian Architecture*. Toronto 1994. Print, p. 750.

⁶⁶² Windsor-Liscombe, Rhodri. “*The New Spirit.*” p. 22.

Architecture magazines served as prime promoters for the recognition of the styles and tendencies of modernism. The magazine “Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada” (hereafter JRAIC) was since its foundation in 1924 until 1966 the only nationally written magazine in Canada.⁶⁶³ It was led by editor in chief Eric Ross Arthur from 1927 to 1949.⁶⁶⁴ Arthur was an eloquent speaker and had a pleasant nature. Both features helped to foster a great understanding on current national as well as international events and architectural developments to a broad readership. He particularly promoted the architecture of modern European buildings as well as the *International Style* by publishing themed articles.⁶⁶⁵ UBC’s architecture students were amongst the readers of the magazine and they were greatly influenced by these interesting and inspiring articles.⁶⁶⁶ The JRAIC published a September issue in 1950 dedicated solely to the design and architecture of *West Coast Modernism*.⁶⁶⁷ Contributors to the edition were amongst others architects Robert Berwick and Peter Thornton as well as Fred Lasserre.

In 1966 the JRAIC was discontinued under that name and made way for the magazine *Canadian Architect* that was established in 1955 in Toronto. The *Canadian Architect* fostered the architecture of modernism as well and continues to write about architectural developments across Canada until today.

The magazine *Western Homes and Living* had a focus on houses and residential architecture, particularly those made of wood. The use of cedar, pine and timber were influences from Japan and particularly convenient for BC due to the geographical closeness to Japan. Out of these circumstances and geographical influences from California, Europe and Japan the style of *West Coast Modernism* emerged.

⁶⁶³ One exception was the magazine *Canadian Homes & Gardens* that was published from 1925 until 1962. This magazine only published dwelling architecture. In 1950 it published a feature article on entire five pages on the Sky Bungalow designed by Fred Hollingsworth. See WOODWORTH, J. “House on Site.” *Canadian Homes & Gardens*. June 1950. Print, p.21-26.

⁶⁶⁴ CARR; Angela. “Eric Ross Arthur.” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. thecanadianencyclopedia.com. 2012 web. 23 Jun 2012.

⁶⁶⁵ Austrian born architect Harry Seidler also contributed to the magazine with an article on the “Aesthetics in Modern Architecture”, see *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 23.9 (1946):245-249. Print.

⁶⁶⁶ For example the JRAIC featured a four-page-article on the architecture of Jacobus J. P. Oud. See: ELTE, Hans. “The Modern Movement in Holland.” *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 27.7. (1950): 214-216. Print. Another article depicts the trips of the students of University of Toronto to the USA where they examined the houses of Gropius, Breuer and Professor Bogner all across the United States. The article concludes “modern architecture needs to be seen in order to be really understood and assessed.” See, MURRAY, James. “In Search of Modern Architecture The North-East States.” *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 23.9 (1946):219-223. Print.

⁶⁶⁷ September Issue of *Journal Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 27.9(1950). The then president of AIBC, H. Simmonds mentions in the special issue’s introduction “there appears to be no cramping of style to confirm tradition” in BC as “there is no tradition to conform to.” Source: SIMMONDS, H. “Introduction.” *Ibid*, 285.

The features of the *West Coast style* are the open floor plan inside and a post and beam structure outside.⁶⁶⁸ For the materials the usage of glass, concrete and lots of wood are amongst the most common ones. The post and beam structure is particularly convenient for the usage of timber. It also enabled the architects to build facades with extended windows that would let plenty of light in. The combination of light along with the open floor plan fostered a habitable atmosphere. The abandonment of walls created continuity within the houses interior and combine interior with exterior.

Vancouver artists Fred Amess (1909 to 1970) and B.C. Binning were very influential in developing the *West Coast Modernism* in Vancouver.⁶⁶⁹ Both were graduates of the *Vancouver School of Arts* and strongly believed in a holistic approach of art and architecture to “find new forms with a creative spirit [in order] to express [the] changes in climate.”⁶⁷⁰ In 1944 they initiated the “Art in Living” group in Vancouver that would successfully promote the core ideas of modernist artists and architects. Particularly in connection with the emerging housing need caused by World War II the architects’ focus shifted strongly towards designing residential architecture.

It was also B.C. Binning who managed to convince the University of British Columbia to establish UBC’s School of Architecture with the help of Richard Neutra.⁶⁷¹ The school succeeded in its goal to teach its students “the characteristics of modernism for the development of a domestic architectural style that would adapt to the needs of the Province.”⁶⁷² The architects’ focus shifted away from ornament, cornices and columns towards “simple, clean-cut structures,” in order to save time, materials and cost.⁶⁷³

West Coast Modernism contributed towards defining the architectural landscape of British Columbia that would distinguish the province from other regions in Canada; *West Coast Modernism* had its shining moments during the 1940s and 1950s and is experiencing a renaissance in the 21st century.⁶⁷⁴ It continues to be successfully executed, par-

⁶⁶⁸ For image material on examples of West Coast Modernism see, Bellerby, *West Coast Residential. Modern and the Contemporary*.

⁶⁶⁹ LUXTON, Donald. “The Rise and Fall of West Coast Modernism in Greater Vancouver, British Columbia.” *Association for Preservation Technology International*. Vol. 31.2 (2000):55-61. Print, p.57.

⁶⁷⁰ BINNING, Bertram Charles. “The Artist and the Architect.” *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. SEPT Vol. 27.9(1950):320-321. Print.

⁶⁷¹ “Famous Town Planer Calls City Ideal Site.” *Vancouver Province*. 1953. p.19. The Department of Architecture offered the first architecture degree program west of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. Source: University of British Columbia. “Historical Timeline” *apsc.ubc.ca*. 2012. Web. 12 JUN 2012.

⁶⁷² Lasserre at an interview in the *Vancouver Province*. 17 JAN 1953.

⁶⁷³ BERWICK, Robert. “British Columbia.” *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, Vol. 23.10(1946):43-44. Print.

⁶⁷⁴ For example one of the first houses designed by Canadian Architect Arthur Erickson (1924-2009) in 1950 was featured in the blockbuster *Twilight* film saga as a vampire den in 2011. The house in West Vancouver that has changed several owners since 1950 is currently owned by the Stegeman family. The

ticularly for private residences in the North Shore and West Vancouver by architects such as Brad Lamoureux or Brian Hemingway.

5.1.2 Affordable Housing as the Architect's Concern

"The aim of any plan for town or country must be the welfare and happiness of every individual who lives there."⁶⁷⁵

Aside from the sophisticated aesthetic value of *West Coast Modernism* it is also the attitude and mind set that was behind the architects who would foster and promote this style. The receptivity towards the new and untried reflects the progressiveness of the architects who dared to imagine the unimaginable and take the challenge of turning the impossible into something possible in order to improve people's lives and define the image of the city. Towards the end of 1930s architects were challenged on a broader social level as well: People create war; war creates poverty. What is destroyed in a glimpse of a second takes a life-time to rebuild again. It is true that Canada was not physically attacked by the enemy during the war, however the war left many people homeless or in poor housing conditions.⁶⁷⁶ Those most in need of housing were war veterans, low-income households and particularly widows who became involuntarily single mothers with no one to support them anymore. Architects needed to react to this housing need and shift their focus towards social issues.⁶⁷⁷ Besides politicians, affordable housing became the concern of architects as well. The need for more housing especially affordable housing emerged as point of discussion in architecture magazines such as JRAIC.⁶⁷⁸

popular house was featured in an article in *Western Living* magazine. Source: LITTLE, Tom. "Forever Young." *Western Living*. OCT 2011. Print, p. 45-48.

⁶⁷⁵ TUBBS, Ralph. "Shall we rebuild without a plan?" *Royal Architecture Institute of Canada*. Toronto. Vol. 20.6(1943):82. Print.

⁶⁷⁶ The Ontario Association of Architects placed Canada's housing need for the first ten years after the war at between 1.114.000 and 1.450.000 units. Source: Canadian Institute of International Affairs. "Behind the Headlines." *Homes orhovels*. Vol.3.5(1943): 36. Print.

⁶⁷⁷ Looking to their neighbour in the USA, many Canadian architects considered large-scale modernist housing estates that cover whole areas of land with as the adequate solution to post-World War II housing shortage. Source: LASSERRE, Fred. "Wither Housing?" *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 27.6(1944):237-239. Print. But these housing estates were only short-lived as the large-scale tower blocks turned out to be a rather hapless idea that survived only until the 1970s. Source: Berelowitz, Lance. "Dream City." p.207.

⁶⁷⁸ The rising awareness for affordable housing was even reflected in printed advertisement. For example: "Good Housing For The Many A National Obligation." Advertisement page for sub-atmospheric steam heating. C.A. Dunham Co., Ltd. Toronto. In: *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol.15.6(1938). Print. The topic of affordable and liveable dwelling architecture was continuously discussed well into the 1950s. In 1950 the JRAIC featured a four-page spreadsheet report dedicated entirely on the post-World War II housing situation in Canada and the demand for more liveable and affordable

Realizing that architects need to respond to the need of low-income residents Fred Lasserre himself stated his concern about Canada's post-World War II housing situation and the fact that Canada was missing half of the needed houses per year.⁶⁷⁹ Particularly he criticised the lack of enough subsidized housing for low-income households, warning that "we can no longer waste lives, health and money on petty compromises."⁶⁸⁰

The JRAIC's editor Eric Arthur himself mentions in the October 1944 issue the "feeling of shock and bewilderment" he and his colleagues felt after hearing of the Australian Government's plans to fund 50.000 low-income houses 50.000 houses within the first year after the end of World War II.⁶⁸¹ Arthur finishes his article with the critical remark that points at Canada by stating, "One country is conspicuously missing" from tackling the problem of affordable housing.⁶⁸²

One of the strongest advocates on housing for low-income people was Toronto-based architect Humphrey Carver (1902-1995). He expressed his concern on Canada's World War II affordable housing situation in many well-written articles.⁶⁸³ Carver's sympathy with the housing settlements in Red Vienna, 19th-century England and the Weimar Republic was often reflected in his articles. For example in "The Architecture of Democracy" he praised the "great Housing programme" of the Weimar Republic and pointed to its architecture that used to "symbolise a new world of intellectual honesty and structural beauty."⁶⁸⁴ In his article "The Social Aspects of Housing" he extended his ideas on affordable architecture stating the architects' need to design houses that express "the individual dignity of each family and the rich variety of character out of which society is composed."⁶⁸⁵ His solution towards achieving this goal was that architects should "endeavour to design with economy and grace, playing upon a variety of spaces, masses, materials and textures of building and landscape."⁶⁸⁶ Carver's social aspect of architecture was well received by architects in Vancouver.

houses in the nation. Source: FIRESTONE, O.J. "Housing Need And Housing Demand." *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 27.6(1950):183-190. Print.

⁶⁷⁹ LASSERRE, Fred. "The Houses Are Not Coming." *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol. 23.7. (1946):175-177. Print, p.175.

⁶⁸⁰ Lasserre, Fred. "The Houses Are not Coming." p.176.

⁶⁸¹ ARTHUR, Eric. "Editorial." *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. 27.10(1944).Print.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ For example in one of his earlier articles, "A Housing Program For Canada" 1935 he praised the housing policy of Weimar Republic that has "been accepted as an altogether logical expression of civic pride." Source "A Housing Program For Canada." 1935. Print, p.4.

⁶⁸⁴ CARVER, Humphrey. "The Architecture of Democracy," *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, Vol.15.10(1938): 227-229. Print, p.227.

⁶⁸⁵ CARVER, Humphrey. "The Social Aspects of Housing." *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Vol.15.10(1938): 43-46. Print, p.43.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

Vancouver has proven its receptiveness towards new and innovative forms in dwelling architecture as well as its marketing skills towards promoting architecture that is different already with the style of *West Coast Modernism*.

Such innovative and progressive architectural traits continue into the city's 21st-century architectural development, where they manifest themselves in different forms and outcomes. The attitude of Vancouver's modernist movement can be translated into its 21st century architecture where many architects share a strong and successful involvement in affordable housing for the hardest to house as well as the low- to middle income.

5.2 Vancouver's *Back to the City* movement and Emergence of *Vancouver Model*

Vancouver's beauty is the kind of beauty that had been fought for many times. The "Great Freeway Debate" running from the 1960s to 1970's is reason why until today Vancouver remains amongst the very few cities in North America that has no freeways running along its municipal boundaries.⁶⁸⁷ The prevention of the freeway was a combination of luck, timing and the people's engagement. Vancouverites used the notion of *The Right To the City* to protect their city from profit-oriented developments and foster the beautiful image of their city.⁶⁸⁸ Vancouver's lack of freeways along with the city's natural scenery is main reason why Vancouver has been voted as the world's most livable city five years in a row.⁶⁸⁹ The juxtaposition of nature and urbanism is unique in Vancouver. And while the former may be "God-made" the latter is man-made. People love Vancouver and they all want a nice piece of the pie. Vancouver's increasing popularity results in a decreasing availability in number of vacant apartments and houses. And with the diminishing availability of "scarce costly space" affordability becomes scarce as well.⁶⁹⁰

Numerous studies have been conducted, trying to explain Vancouver's affordability crisis. The most recent findings in the Mayor's Task Force of 2012 identified three major points contributing towards the housing affordability:

1. Lack of rental incentives in Vancouver that hinges on point Number 2:
2. Lack of secure investment options beyond home ownership. Point number 3. Is the lack of security of tenure that is caused by missing incentives and secure investment options.⁶⁹¹ Those who suffer most under these affordability barriers are particularly low-income but also an increasing number of moderate- to middle-income households.

The roots of Vancouver's affordability and availability crisis can be traced back to the late 1980s and early 1990's. That is when there was an abounding amount of vacant

⁶⁸⁷ BERELWITZ, Lance. *Dream City. Vancouver and the Global Imagination*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005. Print, p. 80-83.

⁶⁸⁸ The then conservative Provincial Government along with a profit oriented Mayor, Tom Campbell hired private consultants to suggest most profitable solutions for a freeway that would enable an accelerated flow in traffic of commercial and business goods. This already evoked massive protests amongst the communities and started the "Great Freeway Debate" in 1967. The new elected mayor Art Philips was on the people's side and the proposal of a freeway along the downtown peninsula of Vancouver was abolished once and for all in 1972. Source: VOGEL, Aynsley & WYSE, Dana. *Vancouver:History in Photographs*. Surrey: Heritage Housing Publishing Company Ltd. Print. p. 107.

⁶⁸⁹ "Vancouver most Livable Place." *Economist Press*, December 2006. Web. 23.AUG 2007.

⁶⁹⁰ GLASS, Ruth. "London. Aspects of Change." p. xxv.

⁶⁹¹ Mayor's Task Force on Housing Affordability *Academic Working Group – Summary Report*. 04 MAY 2012. PDF. *Vancouver.ca*

office spaces in Vancouver's downtown peninsula. The city realised that there were too many offices sitting empty in the high-rise buildings. Consequently, the threat of the downtown peninsula turning into a 'Dead City' was very present. In order to attract more residents into the downtown core and avoid a high concentration of dwellers in the suburbs City Council changed its zoning bylaws based on a "Living First" strategy in 1991.⁶⁹² The strategy pushed for housing intensity, insists on housing diversity, builds coherent, identifiable neighbourhoods, and fosters regional architectural principles.⁶⁹³ Homeowners, residents and dwellers were invited to move "back to the city."

What happened in Vancouver is accountable for Smith's Gap Rent theory and "back to the city" premise already explained in the Gentrification chapter. In order to achieve this movement City Council reduced the amount of land zoned for commercial use in favour of more available residential use. It rezoned eight million square feet from commercial to residential areas and turned over old railroads along the waterfront for residential housing. The strategy proved to be a success. Vancouver's downtown peninsula developed a rapid growth in its residential population: with a population of 15 174 people per square kilometre Vancouver's peninsula has now one of the highest densities in all of Canada.⁶⁹⁴ Through that development a new building typology - coined as the "Vancouver Model" with an architectural landscape of high-rise condominium towers that rest on horizontal podiums emerged.⁶⁹⁵ After the *West Coast* modernism, the *Vancouver Model* has become Vancouver's second distinct architectural style. The *Vancouver Model* is an intercultural arrangement between the classic curtain-wall high-rise models in the spirit of Europe's Modernist Movement and a version of Hong Kong's high-rise buildings.⁶⁹⁶ The *Vancouver Model* is composed by a combination of thin, tall vertical towers that rest on horizontal townhouse bases.

This system can be understood like a "LEGO toy" system, where each stone is individually put together into a completed building.

The *Vancouver Model* is an example of how culture and immigration influences architecture. After the announcement of the British Government to hand over Hong Kong to

⁶⁹² Berelowitz, Lance. "Dream City." p.218-220.

⁶⁹³ BEASLEY, Larry. "Living First in Downtown." The City of Vancouver, Reprint. 11 JUN 2006. Web 02.10.2007. Vancouver.ca

⁶⁹⁴ Vancouver Economic Development Commission. "Market Area Profiles." *bizmapbc.com*. 2009. Web. 7 JUL 2012.

⁶⁹⁵ BODDY, Trevor. "New Urbanism: The Vancouver Model." *Places*. Vol. 16.2: (2004): 14-25. Print.

⁶⁹⁶ BODDY, Trevor. "Vancouverism Versus Lower Manhattanism: Shaping the High Density City." Institute for Urban Design. Vol 2.1(2005). Print.

China large waves of Hongkongese immigrated to Vancouver.⁶⁹⁷ Most of them were wealthy immigrants with the aim to come to Vancouver in order to invest and develop in real estate.⁶⁹⁸ One of these wealthy immigrants is real estate Mogul and University drop out Li Ka-shing.⁶⁹⁹ After Vancouver's world fair 'Expo 86' Li Ka-shing bought approximately 240 acres land in the area of False Creek in order to build high-rise towers similar to that of Hong Kong's typology. This was for the pure purpose of investment and financial gain⁷⁰⁰ and the beginning of what would later morph into the *Vancouver Model* typology. Vancouver Model is set in Vancouver's Downtown Peninsula. The most prominent example of this architectural form is depicted in the *One Wall* tower built in 2001 by architecture firm *Busby & Associates Architects* (**Pic. 54 a**). It is placed at the corner of Burrard and Nelson Street that is set between the gentrified neighbourhoods of *West End* and *Yale Town*. The elliptical high-rise mixed-use building comprises hotel suits in the lower twenty-five levels while the three upper stories are "vacation ownership" suits.⁷⁰¹ The remaining seventeen stories on the buildings upper part are private condominiums (comprising 74 market units). The high-rise building is surrounded by important architectural buildings of Vancouver's past: The former *B.C. Hydro* building (built in 1957, now called *Electra*) is reflected at the *One Wall* building's translucent glass façade (**Pic. 54 b**) and the horizontal line of the modern, minimalist and functional *Dal Grauer* (built in

⁶⁹⁷ Between 1991 to 1995 the number of Immigrants from Hong Kong to British Columbia was highest (15.4%) amongst the immigrants followed by China (14.9%) and India (13.6%). Source: Statistics Canada. Census 2006. "Immigrant population by place of birth and period of immigration." Between 1986 and 1995 immigrants from Hong Kong to Vancouver accounted for the largest number of immigrants (20%) followed by China (14%).

⁶⁹⁸ The Canadian government launched its Immigrant Investor Program in 1986. Investors could immigrate to Canada under this category by investing with a net worth of at least \$800,000 and a plan approved by a province to put as little as \$300,000 into a new business. Source: HIEBERT, Daniel. "Big potential, small reward? Business Class immigration to Canada" in OLIVEIRA, Catarina Reis and RATH, Jan (eds.), *Migrações Journal* - Special Issue on Immigrant Entrepreneurship, October 2008, n. 3, Lisbon: ACIDI, p.35. In Hong Kong, whose annual per capita income of \$9,600 (U.S.) ranked second in Asia only to Japan, many residents were able to meet the requirement. This resulted that from 1986 to 1998 over 45 percent of immigrants coming to Canada under this Investor Program were from Hong Kong. Source: WARE, Roger. Et al. "The Economic Impact of the Immigration Investor Program in Canada." March 2010. Figure 4. Top-5 countries of last permanent residence for immigrant investors. *analysis-group.com*. PDF. 13 APR 2012. As of July 2012 this category has been stopped due to too many applications.

⁶⁹⁹ According to Forbes, Li Ka-shing is Hong Kong's richest man and the ninth richest person in the world. His estimated net income is \$ 25.5 Billion. Source: Forbes. "Profile – Li Ka-shing." *Forbes.com*. MAR 2012. Web. MAY 2012.

⁷⁰⁰ Boddy, Trevor. "New Urbanism." p.18.

⁷⁰¹ MILLETTE, Daniel. "Reaching New Heights." *Canadian Architect*, November 2001. Web. MAY 2012.

1953 by Nad Pratt and BC Binning) building contrasts to the tall vertical tower of the *One Wall* around the corner of the *Dal Grauer* (**Pic. 55**).⁷⁰²

Until 2008 the *One Wall* tower was Vancouver's tallest building. In 2008 it was exceeded by the *Living Shangri La* (**Pic. 56**). The building is 201 meters in height and currently the highest building in Vancouver perfectly recognizable on Vancouver's Skyline (**Pic. 57**).

Living Shangri La was built by Hong Kong-Canadian architect James Cheng and completed in 2008. Cheng is the principal of *James K.M. Cheng Architects Inc.* (established 1979); through the course of its existence the firm emerged to a specialist in Vancouver Model high-rise buildings having built over 35 such buildings in Vancouver.⁷⁰³ Vancouver is the first Canadian city that features the famous Hong Kong Hotel Chain, *Shangri La*. This might be a necessity due to the fact that 39 percent of business people who immigrated to Vancouver in 1997 under the Investment and Entrepreneur Immigration Program were either Chinese or come from Hong Kong.⁷⁰⁴ The latter has a strong influence on the architectural development of Vancouver's high-rises. The reason for this is two-fold: The first reason lies in the already mentioned large influx of Hong Kong immigrants to Vancouver.

The second reason is Vancouver's geographic location on the Pacific Rim that is very close to Hong Kong. As a port city Vancouver's proximity to Hong Kong makes travelling to and from both destinations most convenient in a timely manner. The cultural influence of Hong Kong immigrants in Vancouver is also reflected in the architectural landscape. Asian towers were uprooted, swept across the ocean, and landed on Canada's western shores, especially in Vancouver in the 1980s. The *Vancouver Model* has established itself as an integral part of Vancouver's architectural landscape that continues to develop in the 21st century. According to the latest census available as of spring 2006, forty-two condominium towers were under construction and another eight were approved in order to address the needs of

⁷⁰² Named after Edward Albert 'Dal' Grauer who was the head of BC Hydro. For more information see, for example, LISCOMBE, Windsor. *The New Spirit: Modern Architecture in Vancouver, 1938-1963*. Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1997. Print.

⁷⁰³ MAH, Cheryl. "The Renaissance Man." *Design Quarterly*, Spring 2006. Print, p. 6.

⁷⁰⁴ The total number of people immigrating under this program in 1997 was 2,067,255 out of which 810,744 were from China or Hong Kong. Source: EDINGTON, David et al. "Hong Kong business, money, and migration in Vancouver." p.177. In: LI, Wei (ed.). *From Urban Enclave to Ethnic Suburb: New Asian Communities in Pacific Rim Countries*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. Print.

a downtown with a population that has, in the last two decades, doubled to 80,000, with 40,000 more expected in the next 20 years.⁷⁰⁵

The fact that the “Vancouver Model” derives its origins from Hong Kong’s high-density buildings and has been set successfully in Canada’s westernmost metropolis since the late 1980s by Vancouver architects such as Bing Thom and K.M. Cheng⁷⁰⁶ is a reflection of Vancouver’s changing cultural demographics.⁷⁰⁷ Thom’s and Cheng’s highly successful and internationally recognised designs were featured in the exhibit “Vancouverism: West Coast Architecture + City Building,” mounted by the London Festival of Architecture in June 2008.⁷⁰⁸

From an urban planning point of view the typology and building strategy of the *Vancouver Model* serves as an adequate solution for high quality living, offering public amenity in dense residential spaces. The typology also goes along with the City Council’s efforts to improve the quality of design in an increasingly populated neighbourhood particularly focusing on a views corridor, tenants’ privacy, security and usable open space.⁷⁰⁹ In order for developers to get permission to built higher buildings than the maximum height allowed the city would require them to built amenities such as parks or sports facilities accessible for everyone in the community. This kind of “density for amenity” deal became very famous in Vancouver’s urban planning development and is another reason why Vancouver is a beautiful city.

The profitable as well as architectural success of the *Vancouver Model* is apparent. However the condominiums sold or rented are too expensive for the average Vancouverite to afford.⁷¹⁰ The *Vancouver Model* in Vancouver’s downtown core– along with many other residential building types in other popular parts of Vancouver (e.g.

⁷⁰⁵ City of Vancouver. “Downtown Residential Development.” Community Services Group. January 2007. No other current statistical data is available as of July 2012.

⁷⁰⁶ Both architects were born in Hong Kong and protégées of famous modern architect Arthur Erickson.

⁷⁰⁷ According to Statistics Canada 2001 37,5% of Vancouver’s population were foreign born. See, Statistics Canada 2001, Proportion of Immigrants 1991 & 2001.

⁷⁰⁸ The *Vancouverism* exhibit, traveled through Europe (in the *Canadian Cultural Centre*, Paris, until January 16th 2009), reflects Vancouver’s earned international recognition for the high-rise, high-sustainability architecture that it achieved with the “Vancouver Model”.

⁷⁰⁹ PUNTER, John. PUNTER, John. *The Vancouver Achievement. Urban Planning and Design*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. Print, p. 243-244.

⁷¹⁰ I visited one open house in July for a private condominium in a high-rise. The 56 square meter one-bedroom apartment was listed on sale for over half a million dollar. See: leaflet “2203- 1188 W Pender Street - MLS # V931946.” *vancouver-condo.ca*. JUN 2012. Web. 11 JUL 2012. *6717000.com*. Monthly rental prices for a suit at *Living Shangri La* range from \$ 2.950 for a one-bedroom to \$ 9.800 for a three-bedroom suit. Source: “Shangri-La - 1128 West Georgia - Building Rentals.” *6717000.com* 2012 Web. 11 JUL 2012.

Shaughnessy and West Vancouver)⁷¹¹ – challenge the availability of affordable dwelling solutions in Vancouver. With the rising success and popularity the number of people moving into the city rises too and affordability and density become two inextricable issues pulling on two different ends of the string.

While areas such as Shaughnessy, West End or Kitsilano are affected by Vancouver’s affordability crisis, this chapter will only focus on affordable and livable residential housing solutions in Vancouver’s downtown core. This is because the downtown core is regarded as one of the most densely populated places in Canada and one of the most gentrified areas of Vancouver.⁷¹² Vancouver’s downtown core consists of the parts West End, Coal Harbour, The Downtown Business Improvement Area (that includes Downtown South) and the Downtown Eastside.⁷¹³

The selected case studies cover all the geographical parts of the Downtown Peninsula. The introduction and description of the case studies are grouped by neighbourhood starting from east going towards west: Downtown Eastside over to Downtown South and ending in Coal Harbour. As an area in transition Downtown Eastside depicts two housing co-ops, one mixed-income building and two converted Single Room Occupancy Hotels. Downtown South and Coal Harbour are already gentrified areas and the focus will be on how the depicted case studies blend in with the surrounding residential buildings.

5.3 The Downtown Eastside as Canada’s Poorest Postal Code: V6A

“If one room can alter how we feel, if our happiness can hang on the colour of the walls of the shape of a door, what will happen to us in most of the places we are forced to look at and inhabit?”⁷¹⁴

Downtown Eastside (hereafter called DTES) is the complete opposite of what Shaughnessy represents. Historically most parts of DTES have been a working class; one that has been constantly pervaded with a negative connotation. This is especially evident when DTES was described as a “motionless kaleidoscope” that has the “lowest voter

⁷¹¹ Shaughnessy Heights was named after the late Lord Thomas Shaughnessy who was the third President of the Canadian Pacific Corporation. Source: “Honorable Ann Shaughnessy serves in Vancouver with Wrens”. Newspaper article, January 23rd 1942, Vancouver Archives AM1519-:PAM1924. The CPR subdivided the districts in 1910 known as Shaughnessy Heights.

The origins of Shaughnessy’s zoning by-laws allow the development of single family homes that were meant for the elite of the CPR affiliated people only. See, VOGEL, Aynsley & WYSE, Dana. *Vancouver: History in Photographs*. Surrey: Heritage Housing Publishing Company Ltd. Print, p. 13.

⁷¹² Berelowitz, Lance. “Dream City.”

⁷¹³ DTES Community Monitoring Report, City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1999.

⁷¹⁴ Botton, Alain de. *The Architecture of Happiness*, p.13.

turnout, highest rate of alcoholism, lowest income levels, highest crime rates and greatest social problems in the city.⁷¹⁵

This image continues will into the 21st century. Blomely notes the DTES has been “coded as a place of dubious morality, racial otherness, and masculine failure, after World War II the area became labelled Vancouver’s “skid road”⁷¹⁶ and “a pathological space of interlocking moral physical blight.”⁷¹⁷

In recent years the DTES has been reputable for representing Canada’s poorest postal code.⁷¹⁸ The Downtown Eastside consists of five economically and culturally unequal parts: Chinatown, Gastown, Victory Square, Strathcona and the Oppenheimer District.⁷¹⁹

The areas are divided into two postal codes V6A and V6B. To ascertain that Downtown Eastside is no longer a homogenous neighbourhood does not come as a surprising statement: each of the different parts of that enclave represents different cultural and socio-economical groups of people. The V6A, the notoriously poorest postal code of all of Canada, only accounts for Strathcona and parts of the Oppenheimer District and Thornton Park. Chinatown, Gastown and Victory Square do not fall under this economic group anymore. The subdivision is marked by Main Street, the street that is “the historical division in Vancouver between a blue-collar, non-Anglo eastside and a white-collar, middle-class, Anglo-Canadian Westside.”⁷²⁰ Gastown, parts of Chinatown and Victory Square are situated west of Main Street while Oppenheimer and Strathcona are placed East of Main Street. In recent years, V6B is experiencing significant changes regarding its housing and residents.

Two major reasons render the DTES particularly adaptable towards gentrification/ revitalization. First of all, it is set in the downtown core, with a number of pubs, bars and coffee shops and still offers inexpensive housing compared to the rest of downtown.⁷²¹

The location and choice in leisure activities attract particularly young, creative but economically poor populations such as artists and students, which are the pioneers of gen-

⁷¹⁵ Anonymous article in the *Downtown East*. 1973. CAV 1973-113.

⁷¹⁶ COLLINS, Diego. “A Typical Night.” *Downtown East*. 1973. CAV 1973-171.

⁷¹⁷ BLOMLEY, Nicholas. *Unsettling the City. Urban Land and the Politics of Property*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print, p.34.

⁷¹⁸ KALACHE, Stefan & SAWASAN, Christophe. “The Poorest Postal Code”. *The Dominion* 12. JAN 2007. Web 12. DEC 2008.

⁷¹⁹ DTES Community Monitoring Report, City of Vancouver Planning Department, 1999.

⁷²⁰ Ley, David and Dobson, Cory. “Are There Limits to Gentrification?” p. 2479.

⁷²¹ Average monthly rent for an unfurnished Bachelor Apartment in the DTES was \$ 809,- compared to average monthly rent in the rest of the city was \$ 881,-. Source: City of Vancouver, Draft. Downtown Eastside. Locale Area Profile 2012. Unpublished Brochure created by the City of Vancouver, Print, p.13.

trification.⁷²² The second reason why DTES becomes an area in transition is the richness of heritage buildings that has been identified as the kind of architectural form that leads to the valorisation of run-down areas. Therefore when dealing with the topic of gentrification in Canadian inner-city developments the DTES becomes an inevitable part of discussion as it shows different aspects of gentrification that can be interpreted in controversial ways.

The accelerated gentrification processes of the DTES hinges on the strong announcement of Vancouver being the host of the Winter Olympic Games, the city was alert to do something against the ugly side of the city that is represented through its DTES. It has been subject to renovation and revitalization already since the late 1960's and early 1970s. One important architectural type of residential houses in this area are the Single Room Occupancy Hotels (SROs) that have become subject of conversion, renovation and because of that causing major revitalization in the neighbourhood. The DTES neighbourhood has the largest number of affordable housing rental options: As of 2011 the DTES major housing types consists of non-market rental units (32%), private SROs (24%) and non-market SROs (9%) and only 29% are market housing (rental or ownership).⁷²³ The existence of the Single Occupancy Rooms can be traced back to Vancouver's Inter-World-War years where this type of housing was most convenient for single male workers residing in this area.

5.3.1 History of Downtown Eastside in between the World Wars

“In a city like Vancouver the visual frame is dominant – the mountains, the waterways, the land formations.”⁷²⁴

Aside from having Canada's poorest postal the DTES is also one of the oldest neighbourhoods of Vancouver. Particularly its Gastown is considered the area where the city started its formation years. Strathcona, Oppenheimer District and Chinatown traditionally have been male dominated neighbourhoods with most of its residents being single men who hold occupations in the lumber or mining industry.⁷²⁵ Most of the SROs were built in the turn of the 20th century with the intention to particularly house

⁷²² SMITH, Darren. “The Politics of Studentification and ‘(Un)balanced’ Urban Populations: Lessons for Gentrification and Sustainable Communities?” *Urban Studies* 45.12(2008):2541-2564. Print. Or Ley, David “Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification.” Print, p. 2531.

⁷²³ Vancouver. Draft of Downtown Eastside. Local Area Profile 2012. “1.2 A Home for Everyone.”. June 2012. p.13. The remaining six percent are Community Care Facilities.

⁷²⁴ KENNEDY, Warnett. *Vancouver Tomorrow. A Search for Greatness*. Mitchell Press. 1974. p. 88.

⁷²⁵ “Vancouver Housing Survey. Notes on area bounded by Cordova, Main, Prior and Gore Streets.” City of Vancouver. 1938. CVA 1938-112.

these kinds of single, working-class men.⁷²⁶ These types of hotels are usually privately owned and managed buildings consisting primarily of cheap, very small (9m²) and mostly unhygienic rooms with shared bathrooms and kitchens positioned in the hallways.⁷²⁷

SRO units are the most basic shelter provided by the market for low-income individuals. There is a fine fragile line between residing in an SRO and being on the street as a homeless person. The condition of many of these SROs is far from being “livable.” David Ley encapsulates the problem accurately: to live in an SRO may be “affordable but there are issues like fire danger, problems with cockroaches and the tenants have to share the bathrooms.”⁷²⁸ Because of these difficult and questionable living conditions the city has been trying to improve the DTES as late as the 1970s when it started to become subject of rehabilitation funding, by-law enforcement, security of social housing and tenant protection.⁷²⁹

Attempts to upgrade the area while at the same time protecting the tenants from displacement have been demonstrated in the 1970s already: In 1975 the Downtown Eastside was rezoned from industrial area to mixed-use area in order to implement urban planning upgrading measures such as creation of parks, street tree planting, and other improvements.⁷³⁰ As the city was facing a lot of international media and investment attention through its Expo 86 exhibition it tried to polish the image of its notorious neighbourhood by renovations. In the 1980s through the *Downtown Housing Improvement Program* all of the then 51 major SRO Hotels and rooming houses in the DTES had been inspected.⁷³¹ As a result of that inspection in 1982 twelve SRO buildings had

⁷²⁶ An article in the “Downtown East” Magazine stated that 90 percent of the residents of DTES are male. See, No Author. “Supervised Housing.” *Downtown East*. Vol.5.1. Aug 15-30: 1972. p.8.

⁷²⁷ According to a study conducted in 1938 a total of 544 SRO rooms in 27 SRO Hotels existed at that time. Only 19 bathrooms and 40 toilets were available for the entire 544 rooms, number of kitchen not indicated. Some hotels had remarks such as “very filthy” or “bad condition.” See, Survey made by the Greater Vancouver Youth Council. “Housing Survey.” City of Vancouver. January 1938. CVA 1938-112.

⁷²⁸ Ley, David. Interview with the author. 23 JUL 2012. Print, p.5. For example there was a fire that killed three residents of an SRO building in the DTES due to lack of adequate fire exits. The article that reported that incident asked, “Should buildings of such combustible materials be rented?” See. “Are we safe in our beds?” *Downtown East*. CVA 1973-171.

⁷²⁹ For example the architecture firm *Birmingham & Wood* was hired for the revitalization and renovation of two SRO Hotels New Fountain and Stanley Hotel in 1970 in order to conduct a large redevelopment project. Source: CVA 1970-61. The architecture firm is specialized in West Coast Modernism Architecture and was founded in 1930.

⁷³⁰ HOWARD, Ronda. *Downtown Eastside: Housing Rehabilitation*. *Quarterly Review*, January 1984. p.3. CVA File No. 623-C-8.

⁷³¹ The inspected hotels comprised 1800 units in total.

been renovated for a cost of \$ 1.5 million funded by the *Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP)*.⁷³²

The funds were tied to rent-controlled apartments, which meant rent of the buildings that have been renovated remained affordable for the residents.⁷³³ Additionally the City's new zoning by-laws would prohibit the conversion of the residential SRO's into tourist hotels and commercial buildings. Furthermore the amount of newly developed buildings was limited and made easier only if part of the new development involved housing run by non-profit societies.

Despite all these efforts made DTES maintained its negative image. Its economic and social decline worsened in the 1990s with the out migration of the working-class residents after the lumber- and mine industries shut down.⁷³⁴ Drug addicts, dealers and other type of criminals who turned the DTES into an area with the highest HIV, crime and drug abuse rate of all areas in Vancouver replaced the workers.⁷³⁵

Until the turn of the 21st century this area was looked at with worried eyes as a 'troublesome locale.'⁷³⁶ But as Blomley stated, this area has a strong sense of community, "a place of death and love, art and anger," that is about people and individuals worse more than real estate speculations and place of investment.⁷³⁷ How can you protect the local people of a run-down area while at the same time bringing life and economically sound people into the neighbourhood?

In the turn of the century the City started to do massive improvements derived from the premise to replace or renovate the derelict SROs without the displacement of the low-income residents. At the same time the aim was to attract more affluent and economically sound households into the area. These changes have been inspired mainly by two factors: In 2000, former co-director of Planning Larry Beasley stated in his "Living

⁷³² Howard, Ronda. CVA, File No. 623-C-8. p.3.

⁷³³ The funds are primarily for persons with disabilities however landlords who own rooming houses (e.g. SROs) are eligible to apply as well. For an official definition of the RRAP funds see: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. "Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program for Persons with Disabilities." www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca . n.d. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷³⁴ According to a study conducted in 1996 the median household income of residents in DTES was on average \$11,029, which was more than three times less than that of rest of Vancouver, \$35,583. See, Downtown Eastside Community Monitoring Report. City of Vancouver, 1999. p.1.

⁷³⁵ Punter, John. "Vancouver Achievement." p. 277-279.

⁷³⁶ Downtown East Side comprises 22% of the non-market housings of the GVRD (now Metro Vancouver). Sixty percent of the residents of Downtown Eastside claimed that their primary source of income was Income Assistance. See: LEWIS, Martha et al. "Downtown Eastside Demographic Study of SRO and Social Housing Tenants." Report for the City of Vancouver. April 2008. Web. 12. DEC 2008.

⁷³⁷ BLOMLEY, Nicholas. *Unsettling the City*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print, p.35.

First” article⁷³⁸ that the city of Vancouver will be “[...] insisting on a rich housing mix, including market and non-market housing, mixed incomes, family and non-family households, special needs housing, and unique housing choices. The city has emphasised avoiding the creation of the differentiated ghettos that appear in so many other cities. A strong target is to bring security to low-income people who have long resided downtown.”⁷³⁹ That premise is followed by a number of new by-laws and regulations which are connected to the second factor that wielded influence on the revitalization of the DTES, namely the: 2003 announcement of Vancouver being the host of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The latter may have been a stronger push factor as it involved the reputation of Vancouver in front of an international audience. The City needed to look clean, pleasing and attractive for the flux of tourists coming to visit. The challenge was to turn the “poorest postal code in all of Canada” into an attractive and representative neighbourhood (**Pic. 58**).

The two case studies of the housing co-ops Lore Krill I and II account for the “rich housing mix” declared by Beasley. The Woodward’s Redevelopment as a mixed-income housing project set the cornerstone for the City’s attempt to revitalise the area for the 2010 Olympics. Since the Living First Strategy and implementation of by-laws the DTES managed to outgrow from its image of being a troublesome locale. Moreover it turned into an area featuring innovative and creative residential building projects that include a diversity of groups of people comprising those hardest to house, low-income households over to middle-income residents. These housing projects include housing co-operatives, non-market housing (mostly run by non-profit organizations) and mixed-use, mixed-income housing. While some projects include newly built buildings, a strong emphasise is laid on preservation and restoration of the heritage-look of the old buildings in accordance with the image of “old is beautiful.” One could question whether the preservation of the aesthetic image of vintage houses is competing with the ethical impetus to provide affordable housing? But behind this urban planning strategy lies the simple idea to attract more middle class in this area. This impetus is exactly subject of heated debate and academic battle on the definition of revitalization versus gentrification. And like in any battle there are never clear losers or winners. If an area needs to have a chance to survive and prosper properly it needs a healthy mixture of class, race, demographics and profession. The City of Vancouver has acknowledged this realization and works towards the creation of a diverse neighbourhood. Out of

⁷³⁸ Beasley, Larry. “Living First in Downtown.”

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

these efforts some superb affordable and mixed-income residential housing solutions have been realised between 2001 and 2008 in this neighbourhood.

5.4 Co-operative Housing Mixed Income Style

In his July 2012 lecture former UN Special Rapporteur on the “Right to Adequate Housing” Miloon Kathori mentioned that one creative solution for affordable housing are housing cooperatives (or co-ops).⁷⁴⁰ Kathori has a point: As of 2012 an estimated number of 91,846 co-op units in 2,220 co-op buildings exist all across Canada.⁷⁴¹ Most of them were built between 1986 and 1993 under the ‘Federal Co-operative Housing Program’ (FCHP) run by the Canadian government.⁷⁴² Part of this program’s funding money came from the government’s ‘Co-operative Housing Stabilization Fund.’⁷⁴³ As of August 2012 approximately 14,698 housing units in 264 buildings exist in the Province of British Columbia.⁷⁴⁴ They vary in size and quality but share one core value: Co-ops are one of the most democratically run forms of housing options that exist. They can also be very affordable. Everyone who pays a share for a co-op becomes a member and therefore a tenant. The price for the share varies depending on the co-operative housing’s type and whether they are market or non-market co-ops. In Canada there are two types of non-market co-operative housing types: ‘no-equity’ and ‘limited-equity’.⁷⁴⁵ The way these co-ops are designed can be read like simple math: You add tenants’ security of tenure plus the right to have a say in how the building is run and operated minus the equity part.⁷⁴⁶ Those components add up to form one of the most democratically

⁷⁴⁰ I attended the lecture held by Miloon Kathori at the Djavad Mowafaghian Cinema, Goldcorp Center for the Arts Building on July 9th 2012. There is a video clip available online published by SFUNews. “The Right to Adequate Housing: A Talk by Miloon Kothari.” *youtube.com*. 7 AUG. Online Video Clip. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷⁴¹ “Just the Numbers.” Co-operative Housing Federation Canada. *chfcanada.coop*. 2012. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷⁴² Canadian Housing Observer 2011. Canadian Mortgage and Housing Cooperation. p.136. The first Canadian Coop Housing ran from 1973 to 1979 . Within this time span the program created approx. 7,700 units, *ibid*, p. 135.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁷⁴⁴ “Just the Numbers.” Co-operative Housing Federation Canada. *chfcanada.coop*. 2012. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷⁴⁵ “Market rate co-ops” function much like condominiums: the share price of a market rate co-op rises or falls on the open market. Units in “Market rate co-ops” are not subsidized and can be very expensive. In August 2012 prices for available market rate co-op units ranged from \$ 224,800 to \$370,000 for West End. See, GRIFFITHS, Greg. “Vancouver Co-ops. Active Listings.” *www.vancouverco-ops.com*. 1 SEPT 2012. Web. 1 SEPT 2012.

⁷⁴⁶ PAULSEN, Monte. “Affordable Homes: Is a Co-op in Your Future?” *TheTyee.ca*. 5 July 2010 Web. 25 OCT 2011.

formed ways of housing. Factors that add to the affordability of this type of housing are the reduced expenses of some daily activities, such as laundry, gardening, and amenity rooms. Cost of maintenance is reduced as members volunteer to carry out the tasks themselves and the units are usually smaller, too in favour of larger amenity space.⁷⁴⁷ Therefore, co-ops are an intelligently made compromise between capitalism and socialism as no capital accumulation is allowed but members hold rights and shares. Surprisingly, despite this fabulously designed concept that housing co-ops offer, the creation of new housing co-ops has diminished into nothingness since the late 1990s (the Province of Quebec being an exception).⁷⁴⁸

As the Canadian government passed the budget for social housing projects onto a provincial level it is up to the BC government to fund co-op housing. But the Province just doesn't. Why is that? According to director of the 'Co-op Housing Federation of Canada' Nicholas Gazzard, this can be explained by the fact that in the BC Government's focus on low-income family housing and the neglect in cooperative housing.⁷⁴⁹ Why did the Province stop funding housing co-ops? The problem lies in the fact that co-ops are made up of multiple lenders. "If there is a default on the loan: who covers the default?" explains Manager of Regional Development, BC Housing, Naomi Brunemeyer.⁷⁵⁰

There is only so much money available and too many projects to fund. Therefore cooperative housing societies have a hard and almost impossible time to be funded anymore.

Despite the challenges of financing it is argued that co-operatives provide one of the most democratic and sustainable forms of human habitat. They are an excellent alternative to homeownership and rental housing in terms of affordability, security of tenure and livability. The co-ops' concept of social inclusion, enable every member to hold the same rights and duties. This concept aims to diminish social imbalances and includes people from different social and economic backgrounds to manage and run their building on a democratic basis. Because of the way non-market co-ops are run they could also contribute towards the avoidance of gentrification in the sense of displacement. This concept is the closest form to a successful and authentic mixed-income concept. Co-ops allow the creation of high quality affordable residential architecture and the co-

⁷⁴⁷ KRAUS, Deborah. et al. *Affordable Housing Solutions. Fifteen Successful Projects*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation 1999. Print, p.6.

⁷⁴⁸ PAULSEN, Monte. "Affordable Homes: Is a Co-op in Your Future?"

⁷⁴⁹ PAULSEN, Monte. "Government Money Is There to Revive Co-op Housing." *TheTyee.ca*. 5 July 2010 Web. 25 OCT 2011.

⁷⁵⁰ BRUNEMEYER, Naomi, Interview with the author. 19 JUN 2012.

existence in a democratic habitat. They usually create a strong sense of community, due to the tenants' direct involvement in housing matters and selection of residents.

The *Lore Krill* housing co-op embodies all these values mentioned above. The co-op is run by a board of directors who are elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Membership. The position of board of directors is spread over a period of two years in which the board members have a variety of responsibilities. These include the protection of the co-operative's laws and agreements, the management of the co-operative's finances or the education of the cooperative members in the principles of the cooperation.⁷⁵¹

The housing cooperative project *Lore Krill* is a promise in successful co-op models in Canada. The project is split into two different buildings. *Lore Krill I* is set in colourful Chinatown on East Georgia an address with the 'V6A' as a postal code. *Lore Krill II* is in trendy Gastown on West Cordova that has 'V6B' as a postal code. Both buildings are run by the *Lore Krill Housing Co-op* that was established in 1997. The co-op is part of the Canadian Housing Federation of British Columbia (hereafter CHF BC). The federation was founded in 1982 with the goal to expand non-profit co-op housing.⁷⁵² As of August 2012 the society has 115 co-op buildings in Vancouver out of which 85 have candidates lined up on a waiting list.⁷⁵³ These numbers reflect the popularity and necessity of non-market co-operative housings.

5.4.1 *Lore Krill* – A Tale of Two Co-operative Housing Projects

The co-operative's namesake – Hannelore Krill – was an affordable housing activist who ran a job-centre for low-income residents of the Downtown Eastside. She died in 1999 and the co-op society wanted to "recognise her contribution to the community" by naming the co-op after her.⁷⁵⁴ The *Lore Krill co-op housing* aims to provide livable and affordable accommodation for low-income to middle-income singles and families. This "mixture" of economic backgrounds is also reflected in how the rent of the units is organized: 20 percent of the units are at local area rents, while 40 percent have a little subsidy, so-called "shallow subsidy", and 40 percent "deep subsidy" for those with very

⁷⁵¹ Co-operative Housing Federation Canada. "Notice of General Members Meeting. Wednesday, May 30, 2010." Prepared on 16th MAY 2012. Print.

⁷⁵² "Mission and History." Co-operative Housing Federation Canada. *chfcanada.coop*. 2012. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷⁵³ "Find a Co-op." Co-operative Housing Federation Canada. *chfcanada.coop*. 2012. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁷⁵⁴ KITCHEN, Darren. Interview with the author. 16 May 2012.

low incomes.⁷⁵⁵ That means 80 percent of the units are subsidized. This is an unusually high proportion of subsidized units compared to most other co-ops that have about 30 percent of subsidized units.⁷⁵⁶

As of August 2012 the local market rent ranged from \$553 to \$1064 per month.⁷⁵⁷ Rent of the subsidized units – both deeply subsidized as well as subsidized – depends on the tenants’ monthly income and ranges between 30 to 35 percent. This premise makes the housing co-op housing an affordable residential solution in the Downtown Eastside’s Gastown and Chinatown.

Coincidence, luck and unpredictable events lead to the split of the project into two buildings in two different settings with different architecture firms involved. Both buildings were planned in the late 1990s and completed in 2002, by two different but well-known and well-established local architects Joe Wai and Gregory Henriquez. Although built almost at the same time the realization of the buildings have different background stories, which make the *Lore Krill* Project so interesting to examine. Both buildings are run as Lore Krill, but in order to better distinguish the two projects from each other they will be called *Lore Krill I* and *Lore Krill II*.

5.4.2 *Lore Krill I* – Family Friendly Dwelling in Chinatown South

Krill I at East Georgia primarily targets at low-income families with children.⁷⁵⁸ There is commercial space on the ground and second floor that makes this building a mixed-use and mixed-income building (**Pic. 59**). Additionally there are two levels of underground parkade for the tenants to use. Amenities are the rooftop garden on top of the building, the children’s playground and the community room both on the third floor. The ten-storey mixed-use building comprises 97 units spread on eight floors.⁷⁵⁹ The size of units varies: three studio apartments for physically disabled people, 52 one-bedroom units, 23 two-bedroom units, nine three-bedroom units, eight four-bedroom units and two five-bedroom units. The units come unfurnished but with fully equipped kitchens. Criteria for how the tenants are selected, “don’t vary between subsidized [sic] and unsubsidized members, except that subsidized members

⁷⁵⁵ KITCHEN, Darren. “Lore Krill Co-op.” Email to the author. 14 Oct 2011. (Appendix A)

⁷⁵⁶ Kitchen, Darren. Interview with the author. 16 May 2012, Print. p.4.

⁷⁵⁷ City of Vancouver. “Non-Market Housing Inventory. “Lore Krill Co-Op.” *app.vancouver.ca*. N.d. web. 23. Jun 2012.

⁷⁵⁸ Kitchen, Darren. “Lore Krill Co-op.” Email to the author. 14 Oct 2011.

⁷⁵⁹ It was not possible to find the building’s height, neither through the architecture firm nor through the skyscraperpage.com website.

have to verify their income annually to determine the amount of subsidy they need.

We interview prospective members and the main criterion is that they seem like people who will be good neighbours. We also give some preference to people who live or work or volunteer in the neighbourhood and if people are poorly or unaffordably [sic] housing right now that is taken into account,” explains Darren Kitchen, the Government Relations director of the Co-op Housing Federation of B.C.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁶⁰ Kitchen, Darren. “Lore Krill Co-op.” Email to the author. 14 Oct 2011.

5.4.2.1 Right time, Right place: Project's Realization

This is a building that started as a private market-based condominium project and finished as a mixed-income, mixed-use co-operative housing. If this building could talk it had many exiting tales to tell. In 1997 Joe Wai was hired by the developer as the project's leading architect. Wai has established a splendid reputation already in the 1980s by designing the famous 'Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden' that is the first Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644) garden outside of China.⁷⁶¹ According to Joe Wai the reason why the units did not sell as private condominiums is because until 2003 middle-class families considered Chinatown as an inconvenient place to invest and dwell.⁷⁶² It was not safe, clean and family-friendly enough. Consequently the unhappy developer was sitting on his empty units that simply would not sell. Conveniently for the *Lore Krill* Co-op housing they stepped in and bought off the building for a reduced price. BC Housing contributed towards the funding under its HOMES BC program, introduced in 1994.⁷⁶³

In order to get the land the cooperative housing society made a deal with the Province that resulted in the ground and second floor being commercial buildings. The actual habitable units begin from the third floor of the co-op building.⁷⁶⁴

Lore Krill I was completed on a budget of \$ 12 million dollars in spring 2002. The development on East Georgia was solely- funded under the Provincial Housing Program, "HOMES BC."⁷⁶⁵ The Province is committed to contribute towards subsidized units with more than \$19.5 million for the East Georgia building during the next 35 years.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶¹ WAITE, Donald. *Vancouver Exposed. A History in Photographs*. Maple Ridge: Waite Bird Photo Inc. 2010. Print, p. 152. Dr Sun Yat-Sen who was referred to as the Father of Modern China visited Vancouver in 1911. For further information on the history and development of the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden visit the official website at <http://vancouverchinesegarden.com> or visit the garden in person at 578 Carrall Street.

⁷⁶² WAI, Joe. Interview with author, 27th May 2012.

⁷⁶³ BC Housing. "2001-2004 Performance Plan." p.21.

⁷⁶⁴ Robson, Thomas. Interview with author. 17 May 2012.

⁷⁶⁵ City of Vancouver, News Release. "New Housing Will Benefit Most Vulnerable." Nov. 24, 2003. http://www2.news.gov.bc.ca/nrm_news_releases/2003MCAWS0119-001045.htm Web. 23.Jun 2012.

⁷⁶⁶ Butler Associates Consulting and Bazink Solutions Inc. "Best Practice Report". 6 DEC 2010. Print, p.16-17.

How do you convert a market-based condominium building into a multi-family, mixed-income co-op building?

“The challenge was to come to grips with the five bedroom units,” explains Wai. “We worked with the co-op community. They are very dedicated and committed. They have some pretty strong personalities. We got along just terrific because they understood that we are trying to really help make this building livable as opposed to imposing what we want on the project.”⁷⁶⁷ Additionally some of the members’ were involved in the design process so that the units and building’s appearance and amenity space was designed according to their wishes. One result of that collaboration is the building’s U-shaped courtyard and children’s’ playground on the third floor.⁷⁶⁸ This is a practical as well as aesthetical component of the building as, “underneath the third floor are retail buildings so it works very well on the third floor. At the same time we provide a private courtyard for the residents. It is quite big for a city courtyard.”⁷⁶⁹

The building is set in Chinatown South on a quite street on a 1647 meters site that is 36,6 meters deep and 45 meters wide.⁷⁷⁰ According to the bylaws there is a building height limitation of 36,6 meters (120 feet) for that area.⁷⁷¹ Architect Joe Wai explains how his firm combined the challenge of height limitation with density, “You have to have the higher density set back. Instead of pushing the density vertically you set it back horizontally. That is what we did with *Lore Krill*. This has partly to do with the materials we used and the vertical rhythm of the façade. In Chinatown the architecture has an exaggeration on vertical brick. We combined it with a more peaceful third or second level courtyard for the residents that help to set back the building.”⁷⁷² The “M-shaped” building is easily recognizable when viewed from *Google’s Earth View* (**Pic. 60**).

On a more vertical level the building is adjacent to a three-storey high narrow mixed-use building on its west and a two-storey high commercial building placed to its east. Opposite the building are several low-rise grocery stores. They form an interesting mixture of heights and weights, at the same time they correspond to each other through the use of red brick and white concrete.

Wai and his team have combined pragmatics with aesthetics in order for the building to perfectly blend in the neighbourhood. The building’s main façade faces south. It is de-

⁷⁶⁷ WAI, Joe. Interview with author, 27th May 2012.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰ Fact Sheet. “Lore Krill Co-operative Housing.” Print. Courtesy of Joe Wai Architects, Inc.

⁷⁷¹ City of Vancouver. “Rezoning Policy for Chinatown South (HA-1A).” *Vancouver.ca*. April 2011. Web. 23 Jun. p.2

⁷⁷² WAI, Joe. Interview with author, 27th May 2012.

signed by the three major components of aluminium, red brick and white concrete (**Pic. 61**). The most striking feature of the façade is the irregularity in height and the convex-concave rhythmic play of the windows, balconies, canopies and entrance doors. The translucent glass areas loosen the massiveness of the red brick while the white concrete areas emphasise the building's verticality. The red brick and the rhythmic interplay of volumes make the building blend into the streetscape and harmonize with the adjacent buildings, despite its significant height.

The entrance-space is friendly and welcoming through the orange and bright yellow walls that are emphasised by the ceiling lights hidden behind the lowered part of the white ceiling (**Pic. 62 a and b**). These colour ensembles adds to the livability of the buildings' shared space. The wheelchair access's steeply pitched form is functional and contrasts aesthetically the ascending stairs.

Wai explains how he approached the design of the Lore Krill I building:

It has to do with truth and community and what the building is for as opposed to building and designing the projects for oneself. [...] You have to understand how the community works and its nature and what way it is. Otherwise if you think as an architect that you are always right things become very boring. Who it is for, the community and the sight is also important. How does your theoretic design fit the building? It is about mending broken cities. Imagine the City being a hole and they want you as an architect to do a project in that City with the whole; you then face the question: How do you fix that hole?⁷⁷³

Joe Wai managed to fix the hole in design that adds to the beauty of Vancouver's architectural panorama. *Lore Krill's* superb design and integration in the existing landscape is the result of good timing, successful collaboration between architect, co-op housing and government.

⁷⁷³ Wai, Joe. Interview with author, 27 May 2012.

5.4.2 *Lore Krill II* – Apartments for Singles and Couples in the heart of Gastown

Lore Krill II on 65 West Cordova is the more prominent building between the two co-ops.⁷⁷⁴ It comprises 106 units split in two towers. Each of the towers is eight storeys in height and measures approximately 23 meters in height, in accordance with Gastown's height limitation (**Pic. 63**).⁷⁷⁵ Two roof top gardens on the top of each tower add greenery to the static architecture (**Pic. 64**). The towers consist of 14 studio units, 82 one-bedroom apartments and ten two-bedroom apartments. The smallest units are 34 m² and the biggest are 70 m² for the two-bedroom units. Different than *Lore Krill I* this building here aims to house singles and couples. The members can enjoy a beautiful courtyard, an amenity room and a BBQ balcony for collective or private events.

Lore Krill II was funded on two governmental levels: The site was an empty parking lot. The City of Vancouver leased the land for the Cordova Street site to the co-op at 75 per cent of market value, which is a discount of \$313,650.⁷⁷⁶ The provincial government is providing \$18.3 million for subsidies to the *Lore Krill* Housing Cooperative for 35 years starting from 2002.⁷⁷⁷

The City funded the three-leveled underground parking underneath the building.⁷⁷⁸ Rent and selection of members is set on the same basis as that of the *Lore Krill I*.

Originally, both *Lore Krill* Co-op projects were intended to be part of a much larger architectural project: the redevelopment of the old Woodward's department store building on West Hastings and Cordova. But due to lack of funding and inconsistency with the previous owner of the former Woodward's building this never happened.⁷⁷⁹ As a result *Lore Krill*'s site was relocated to 65 West Cordova. This move was also part of the

⁷⁷⁴ This may be due to the fact that the building won a 2003 Lieutenant-Governor of B.C. Certificate of Merit award from the Architectural Institute of B.C. for design excellence and a 2003 Award of Merit from the Vancouver Regional Construction Association (VRCA). In 2004 the design of the building also won a "Governor General's Medal in Architecture." See Royal Architectural Institute of Canada's website: Governor General's Medals in Architecture. *Lore Krill Housing Co-op. Raic.org*. 2004. Web.

⁷⁷⁵ "Lore Krill Housing Co-op. *Canadian Architect*. 1st MAY 2004. Gastown HA-2 Design Guidelines. *City of Vancouver*. 1 AUG 2002. Print, p.6.

⁷⁷⁶ Butler Associates Consulting and Bazink Solutions Inc. "Best Practice Report". 6 DEC 2010. Print, p. 16-17.

⁷⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁸ ZENG, Y. and EDELSON, N. "Draft Victory Square Concept Plan." City of Vancouver. 14. JUN, 2005, p.51. The parking stalls are available for the residents of the neighborhood of Gastown.

⁷⁷⁹ HLAVACH & GRAY. "Woodward's Proposal: Heritage Incentives and Housing Agreement -101 West Hastings Street." Policy Report. City of Vancouver, 22 OCT, 2002. Print, p.4.

City's many attempts to revitalize Gastown, this time through its "Gastown Heritage Management Plan" that was proposed and approved in the late 1990s.⁷⁸⁰

Unlike *Lore Krill I*, this building was not built yet when the society entered to purchase it. The Lore Krill co-op housing society chose architect Gregory Henriquez based on previous successful work with him for affordable residential buildings.⁷⁸¹ "He is highly praised as the architect who "really wants to do affordable housing [...] and is passionate about it."⁷⁸² The architect made sure to include the members of the *Lore Krill* co-op – about half a dozen – in the design process of the building.⁷⁸³

The result is a play of colours and dynamic design with high aesthetic values. The building has many aesthetically appealing architectural features, one of them being the waterfall placed in the courtyard reaching to the residents' visual and acoustic senses (**Pic. 65**). Another feature includes the interlocking bridges that connect the two buildings with each other at the same time engage the dweller in the architecture. The inner courtyard features two pathways shaped as sustained semi-circles whose ends meet in the middle of the courtyard. Should you ever search for the building on *Google's* Satellite View you can easily recognise it through the 8-shaped pathways viewed from above.

⁷⁸⁰ City of Vancouver. D'Agostini. M." Blood Alley Consultant Study - Approval of Funding." Administrative Report for City Council Vancouver. 31 JUL 2001.web. 23 Jun. Report Number No. 02191. *Vancouver.ca*.

⁷⁸¹ KITCHEN, Darren. Interview with the author. 16 May 2012.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

5.4.3 *Lore Krill I and II: How the two compare*

A city is as beautiful as its architecture and as successful as the quantitative representation of its happy residents. Happy residents are happy dwellers who can afford to live in a place that they call home, feel safe and secure. When asked about his opinion on the two buildings, Thomas Robson, who is a resident of the coop on E Georgia explains it in a nutshell: “These are two very different communities: the building on E Georgia is placed in Chinatown; as a tenant it is very convenient to live here as there is everything you expect to find in a healthy community is here: butcher, little grocery stores and pharmacy.

But on West Cordova you are [right in] downtown and on the edge of touristy Gastown, it is the tourist part with lots of bars and pubs and other unauthentic scenarios. Gastown is the entertainment district with many upscale stores. You have a better quality of life in the E Georgia building.”⁷⁸⁴ This statement shows the different qualities and backgrounds of the areas of the DTES.

Gastown in the V6B and Chinatown in the V6A are both placed in the Downtown Eastside but do not represent homogenous neighbourhoods. Particularly Gastown is a neighbourhood in major transition and therefore also called “Crosstown.”⁷⁸⁵

The sophisticated as well as creative design of the *Lore Krill II* challenges existing affordable architectural dwelling projects in Canada. It also set the tone for a revitalization process in the area around West Cordova, West Hastings and Abbotts Street. If co-ops are “first indicators of social upgrading” of areas where predominantly the working-class reside Henriquez’ *Lore Krill* would be a role model in Ley’s theory.⁷⁸⁶

When asked about the building’s design, Darren Kitchen explains, “We wanted a design that fit to the neighbourhood. If you look at the façade you may have noticed that there is three different types of brick. The same is true with the windows. We wanted a part of the old Woodward’s integrated into the Lore Krill. These three different types of brick are actually from the old Woodward’s before it was demolished. So we tried to capture some of the architecture elements of the old Woodward’s in this building. We did not know then that the Woodward’s will be demolished. So that way we kept a bit of a memory of the old Woodward’s in this building (Lore Krill) now.”⁷⁸⁷ *Woodward’s* was a department store that opened in 1903. Placed in the heart of Gastown the depart-

⁷⁸⁴ Robson, Thomas. Phone Interview with author. 17 May 2012.

⁷⁸⁵ GRDADOLNIK, Helena. “Crosstown Examined.” *Canadian Architect*. Vol. 51.1(2006):20-25. Print.

⁷⁸⁶ Ley, David. “The New Middle Class.” p.36.

⁷⁸⁷ Kitchen, Darren. Interview with the author. 16 May 2012.

ment store functioned as a symbol of economic prosperity and vivid lifestyle.⁷⁸⁸ It provided jobs for hundreds of workers; Families would come down to the store on their Sundays to buy school supply for their kids, food for dinner, clothes and even get free X-Rays during shopping.⁷⁸⁹ The store closed in 1993 for good due to bankruptcy and became symbolic with the decline of the area.⁷⁹⁰ Woodward's stood empty for over ten years as nobody dared to redevelop such a big project in such a run-down area. The risk was too high, the project too big and the area too economically unsafe. Finally in 2003 the City purchased the site for a modest amount of \$5 million and hired Gregory Henriquez in 2006 as the leading designer of the project's redevelopment. The "new" old *Woodward's* opened in 2010 just in time for the Olympic Games. It is situated diagonally from the Lore Krill on the corner of Abbotts and Cordova Street.

⁷⁸⁸ "Woodward's Pioneered Self-Serve Food Depts." Newspaper Clip, 4 MAY 1958. CAV M10-558. "Woodward's Internationally Known Food floor." Newspaper Clip, 2 JUN 1942. CAV M10-558. "The Story of a Store" Newspaper Clip, 7 JUN 1952. CAV M10-558.

⁷⁸⁹ "Woodward's To Give Customers X-Ray Exams While Shopping." Newspaper Clip, 26 APR 1947. CAV M10-558.

⁷⁹⁰ On the Woodward's building's south elevation is an engraving that tells the rise and decline of the department store. It calls the closing of the building as a "symbol of the area's intensifying social issues and sense of disenfranchisement."

5.5 From Old To New and back Again: The Woodward's Redevelopment

Woodward's Redevelopment (2003-2010) is a 113 549 m² major mixed-use building complex consisting of four interconnected buildings. Its realization sparked debates on the definition of gentrification, revitalization and displacement of "Crosstown" because of the mighty project's physical presence and significant impact on the area's urban development.

Woodward's Redevelopment consists of two residential towers: the "W Tower" also known as "heritage tower" is 122 meter high (43 storeys) and looking down to the "Abbott Tower" that is only 90 meter height (**Pic. 66**). The two towers are interconnected by a podium that has a number of retail spaces such as stores and restaurants. There is also a bar/ night lounge called "Charles" on the ground floor as well as office spaces on the second to forth floor (**Pic. 67**).⁷⁹¹ The façade of the original *Woodward's* department store building on West Hastings and Abbott Street has been preserved.⁷⁹² Its essential architectural elements were set to function like a "glue between the Heritage initiatives in Gastown and Chinatown."⁷⁹³

This project is very similar to Fernwood's *Cornerstone* in terms of the impact of heritage architecture that sets the tone for revitalization in a run-down area. From all of the buildings examined Woodward's represents the substantial connection of heritage style and valorisation in a neighbourhood the most. There is already a hierarchy amongst the two towers through the building's heights. The "W Tower" (**Pic. 68**) is designed triangular, reminiscent on New York's Flat Iron building (**Pic. 69**), its façade kept in a red brick to suggest 'oldness' while the façade of the original four-storey Woodward's department store has been maintained as a reminder of the economic prosperity of this corner.⁷⁹⁴ The aesthetic value of historic buildings becomes also economically valuable: This is most evidenced in the fact that *Woodward's Redevelopment* was built after *Lore Krill II*, however it is Henriquez' Woodward's project that lead the design of the co-op building. *Woodward's* cleverly relates to the architecture of *Lore Krill II* building through citations such as the triangular metal tower (**Pic. 70**) of the

⁷⁹¹ Numerous books and articles have been published about the pros and cons of the development of this area. See for example SLATER, Tom. 'Gentrification in Canada's cities: from social mix to 'social tectonics', in: Atkinson, R. and Bridge, B. (Eds.) *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, pp. 39-56. London: Routledge, 2005. About the City of Vancouver's impeding gentrification process look at Ley, David and Gobson, Cory. "Are there limits to Gentrification?"

⁷⁹² For image material on the original Woodward's Building see, Vancouver Archives, File#1975-37

⁷⁹³ Grdadolnik, Helena. "Crosstown Examined." p.21.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid. p.24.

original “W” sign on Woodward’s that is also placed on Lore Krill’s roof top garden (Pic. 71). Another citation is the façade’s three different shades of red of brick that was part of the original Woodward’s building from 1903. The former department store became the namesake of the entire 2010 redevelopment project, despite the fact that only few details of the original Woodward’s department store were remained (the department store’s façade, the “W” sign and the metal tower). This is a reflection of the appreciation of the building’s historical value.

Gregory Henriquez’s fame rose synonymously with the announcement of the redevelopment of the former Woodward’s department store building. The architect was praised as the “Vancouver architect at the forefront of social housing innovation” of the 21st century.⁷⁹⁵ In 2006 the architect’s fourth generation firm won the design completion for what is known as one of the “twelve landmarks that define Western Canada” in the 21st-century.⁷⁹⁶ This project is one of the few architectural achievements in Canada’s 21st-century that is eternalized in ink and making history already in numerous publications dealing with the history of the former department store, the supremacy of its architecture, the redevelopment’s realization and the future of the DTES.⁷⁹⁷

5.5.1 Woodward's and the Slippery Tone of Gentrification

Woodward’s architecture, just like its meaning and history can literally and figuratively be viewed from many angles and positions. The building’s realization comprises elements of heritage preservation, public art, mixed-use components as well as mixed-income concepts all in one building concept. Its realization also accounts for nearly any existing gentrification theory: The devalored land that gain in value through recycled land value accounts for Smith’s Rent Gap theory: the decade where Woodward’s was sitting empty, land value was in the blissful state of tabula rasa and the land available was cheap to purchase. The heritage aspect clearly is the most dominant gentrification

⁷⁹⁵ BODDY, Trevor. Design is the mortar in social housing that works.’ *Globe and Mail*. 1 DEC 2006. Web. 14 AUG 2007.

⁷⁹⁶ “The Big 40. Top 40 Places.” *Western Living*. 5 Dec. 2011. Print, p.54.

⁷⁹⁷ See for example, ENRIGHT, Robert. *Body Heat. The Story of Woodward's Redevelopment*. Vancouver: Simply Read Books, 2010. Print. Articles on the project are for example, GRDADOLNIK, Helena. “Woodward’s Takes Shape: Nothing like it in North America.” *The Tyee*. 30 MARCH 2006. Web. 01. Nov 2011. ENRIGHT, Robert. “The Practical Utopian. The Architecture of Gregory Henriquez.” *Border Crossing*. Vol.25.4(2006):55-64. Print. Or RUTHEN, Sean. “Woodward’s Rising.” *Architecture BC*. March (2008):16-18. Print.

For more detailed architectural descriptions and the building’s realization please consult one of the suggested publications.

aspect and closely linked to the project's emphasis on its architecture. The mixed-income concept of neighbourhoods and buildings has sparked recent debates on the effectiveness of mixed-income housing projects in terms of peaceful coexistence between the classes. This has been discussed in Lees' 2012 publication "Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?"⁷⁹⁸ While Lees is rather sceptical towards mixed-income concepts,⁷⁹⁹ Florida praises *Creative Class* developers like Robert Rennie as "pioneers" of gentrification who are the first to spot the potential of derelict areas and uplift their values. He miraculously managed to sell all the condominium units within only one day.⁸⁰⁰ The 'miracle' is not so much a miracle but rather his excellent marketing skills on the basis of urgency and scarcity.⁸⁰¹ The units were sold in the affluent part of downtown's Coal Harbour.⁸⁰² His full double-paged advertising ads appealed to the readers to dive into the experiment and "Be Bold or Move to the Suburbs" hinting on the specialness of this area as it was cheap and yet in downtown.

In media the project was called the "radical experiment in urban design"⁸⁰³ but after its realization it turned into a "symbol of gentrification in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver."⁸⁰⁴

Gregory Henriquez believes in a society that is ruled by a "benevolent capitalism" does not agree with the association of Woodward's Redevelopment with gentrification.⁸⁰⁵ Moreover he describes his project "as a lesson of inclusivity where the full spectrum of housing can be accommodated in single projects."⁸⁰⁶

His fourth generation architecture firm is dedicates 10 to 15 percent of their projects to affordable housing projects, particularly in the DTES.⁸⁰⁷ He promotes a kind of architecture that approaches the subject matter of architecture from a poetic as well as ethical point of view. Inclusivity is what Woodward's is trying to stand for: the two towers comprise 536 residential market units and 200 non-market units. The latter ones are

⁷⁹⁸ Lees, Loretta, et al. *Mixed Communities: Gentrification by Stealth?* The Policy Press, 2012. Print.

⁷⁹⁹ As the editor of *Gentrification by Stealth*, she points out right at the beginning of the book's introduction that "this book acts as a critique of social mix policies that have enacted gentrification in a number of Western cities," *ibid.* p.3.

⁸⁰⁰ SKELTON, Chad. "Sold out: Woodward's condos all gone in one day." 24 APR 2006. *Vancouver Sun*.

⁸⁰¹ Smith, Jessica. Interview with the Author. 8 MAY 20012.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*

⁸⁰³ LaPointe, Michael. "A City, A Hole, A Dream: Woodward's." *Tooth & Dagger. toothanddagger.com* 12th APRIL 2007. Web. 23JAN 2009.

⁸⁰⁴ LEES, Loretta. "The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism." *Progress in Human Geography*. 36.2(2012): 155-171. Print,163.

⁸⁰⁵ Henriquez, Gregory. Interview with the author. 16 JUL 2012.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

operated by two non-profit housing societies: 'Portland Hotel' and 'Affordable Housing Societies.' Most of the non-market unit residents are families with children.⁸⁰⁸ But to what extent does its mixed-income concept really go? The heritage tower has a rooftop garden with a breathtaking view. Additionally, there is the "W Club" that includes the Gym on the 42nd floor and a rooftop Jacuzzi. According to 'Affordable Housing Societies' the tenants of the non-market units do not have access to these amenities.⁸⁰⁹ No gym, no view, no Jacuzzi. Exactly how inclusive is this concept then? If we compare Henriquez's two works: *Woodward's* with *Lore Krill II* the architecture of the former exceeds the design of the later in scale, innovation and impact on the surrounding. However, all the tenants of *Lore Krill II* enjoy the use of common space provided with the amenities. That is the whole philosophy behind a co-op housing: everyone enjoys the same rights and shares the same responsibilities. But this is not the case with *Woodward's*.

Henriquez admits that the Woodward's "has brought more affluent people into the neighbourhood, but that is what you would require in order to have retail activity: people with money in their pockets to be able to shop."⁸¹⁰ But he also emphasises that the "Woodward's is a model of inclusivity rather than some giant mega project that is gonna change the face of the Downtown Eastside or not. If every project that had the same percentage of non-market housing in it as Woodward's does that would be a huge step forward in terms of typical developments in the Downtown Eastside."⁸¹¹

The changing image of Gastown through its revitalization reminds on Florida's "Rise of the Creative Class" as it attracts young, urban people employed in creative and economic fields such as design or media.

Wes Regan who is the Executive Coordinator of the Hastings Crossing Business seconds Florida's Creative Class theory. Regan explains that Woodward's Redevelopment has:

brought a huge influx of students and young workers, many of whom work in the local food and beverage sector or offices nearby (web design, software and other creative sectors) there have been a few upscale developments, haven't seen a real increase in upscale residents so to speak, I get the sense that many of them are investment properties that are rented out or kept as a summer get-away place.

The demographic shift of the area has been noticeably younger, but with 3 major post secondary institutions and dozens of restaurants, cafes and pubs

⁸⁰⁸ ALLIBHAI, Dilly. "One Twenty West." Email to the Author. 22 Aug 2012.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid. However it is acknowledged that the non-market units have their own amenities.

⁸¹⁰ Henriquez, Gregory. Interview with the author. 9th JULY 2012.

⁸¹¹ ibid.

nearby that can hardly be a surprise. Racial background probably much the same as the rest of the city, very multicultural [...] Victory Square park looks very different during lunchtime these days than it did even 5 years ago. That's a telltale sign.⁸¹²

In her 1989 PhD thesis, Caroline Mills accurately noted, “Gentrification is a notoriously slippery term.”⁸¹³ The redevelopment of the Woodward’s is a case in point as the ambiguity of the term manifests itself most evidently in this project. Whether we can call it ‘gentrification’, ‘urban renaissance’ or ‘revitalization’ fact is that this area has the most polarizing effect on people regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the area’s transitional state since the Woodward’s Redevelopment.⁸¹⁴ It took the project over ten years to take shape because of power plays and politics and now it is shaping the politics of the neighbourhood. Only two years after its completion the Woodward’s is attracting more buyers to buy, more tenants to rent and more Vancouverites to come to Crosstown to party, visit coffee shops or study at one of the four educational institutions.

With the redevelopment of the old *Woodward’s* site this area’s history in terms of its traditional and family values and the attitude of “what we know we trust” have been brought back to life. Ironically, an article in the local paper ‘Downtown East’ in the 1970s expressed the hope and desire that “perhaps one day soon we can count on these major stores [including the Woodward’s] to help us bring the people down to rediscover their old part of City.”⁸¹⁵ But you have to be careful what you wish for: cities change, so do people and places. What is valuable for the one is meaningless for the other. Given the project’s recentness only time can tell how this area will develop and to what extent Woodward’s as a mixed-income project will benefit all sides. Its architecture certainly did impact the area, as the next project, *Burns Block* will demonstrate.

⁸¹² REGAN, Wes. “Statistics DTES.” Email to the Author. 24 JUL 2012.

⁸¹³ MILLS, Caroline Ann. “Interpreting Gentrification: Post industrial. Postpatriarchal.” Postmodern?. PhD Thesis. UBC. 1989. p.3

⁸¹⁴ For example Blomley states that the cheap land that the DTES provided attracted real estate business people to buy and invest in this area, drawing on Smith’s Rent Gap theory. While building real estate for the middle class, Blomley states, this development increased social polarization of rich and poor. Blomley, Nicholas. “Unsettling the City.” 2004, p.35.

⁸¹⁵ Author unknown. Newspaper clip. “?” *Downtown East*. Vol. I.11. 1970. CAV File: UND 958.

5.6 Maximum Livability on Minimum Space – Vivid Vintage Style of *Burns Block*

Burns Block and *Healing Lodge* are examples of former SRO Hotels that have been renovated and converted into self-containing units. *Burns Block* is owned and operated by a private developer; *Healing Lodge* is a mixed-used non-market project for low-income Aboriginal artists. While the two projects aim at different target groups both buildings and concepts depict innovative and creative architecture in an area that is in economic transition. Since the realization of the *Woodward's Redevelopment* took place it impacted the aesthetics of its surrounding architectural scenery. *Woodward's* project set a restoration trend in the neighbourhood of DTES that was once reputable for having the poorest postal code. Many SRO buildings have been rescued from their run-down conditions through major renovations, uplifted and brought to a better standard. While some of these buildings kept their purpose to house low-income residents, others attract a more affluent or moderate-income target group. The latter group has been attracted through the aesthetics of the heritage look of the SROs that compliments the taste of the middle-class. This trend in restoring heritage buildings is an economically driven process that goes align with the City's goal to "stimulate economic activity and provide a kick start to area wide revitalization."⁸¹⁶ It also shows that the change in residents' socio-economic background does not need the demolition of old buildings and replacement of these with new buildings. Rather the focus is on maintaining and preserving the heritage look. This trend is also most evident in the case of *Burns Block*, which is one block East of *Woodward's* site closer to the 'edgy' area of DTES. As a former SRO Hotel *Burns Block's* heritage façade was restored and its inside significantly upgraded to a livable level by architecture firm *Bruce Carscadden Architect Inc.* in 2008. The project fills a niche in Vancouver's real estate market: The City's subsidized buildings target a specific income and demographic group only. Young, urban single professionals who have just started to build a career are often times excluded from social housing projects. Compromising space for the sake of affordability and central locality becomes one emerging trend for these households.

⁸¹⁶ D'Agostini, Marco. "Heritage Incentives for Hastings Street." City of Vancouver. 29 JUL 2003. Web. 23 Jun 2012. *Vancouver.ca*.

Small, self-contained apartments, also called *Micro Lofts* are becoming an alternative choice for affordable living for young singles who want to dwell within the context of urban life style, which explains *Burns Block* popularity.⁸¹⁷

The six-storey mixed-use building on 18 West Hastings, opened in 2008. The project comprises the “smallest self-contained furnished rental apartments in Canada.”⁸¹⁸ The sizes range from modestly sized 22.4 m² to 28.4 m² studio apartments.⁸¹⁹ Because of their size *Burns Block* challenges the question of affordability and livability the most. Can studios with such tiny spaces offer livable dwelling solutions? The average monthly rent for the studios is \$ 850,-.⁸²⁰ Because this is not the typical \$375 subsidized rent the “affordability” of these apartments has been questioned and debated many times.⁸²¹ The debates however miss the fact, that most of the non-market housing projects in Vancouver exclude healthy, young professionals with moderate household incomes.⁸²² The project caused replacement not displacement, as the deteriorated building was sitting empty from 2006 to 2008 until *Reliance Properties Ltd.* bought the building, renovated it to a new standard and literally added life into the building.⁸²³ Therefore talks about the project leading to displacement of the poor are also not justifiable.⁸²⁴

The closest the *Micro Loft* apartments can be compared to is the project at *Pembroke Mews* in Victoria. But because there is no non-profit housing society in Vancouver that offers subsidized apartments to young professionals this group of people has a hard time finding affordable rental options within Vancouver’s downtown core.

What is striking about *Burns Block* is its ambivalence in terms of affordability due to the monthly rent of \$850, - monthly that is above that of subsidized projects and the

⁸¹⁷ In countries such as Japan, where space is rare micro-lofts have proven to be a long-known urban high- density living solution. See for example article: “Tiny Living – Japanese Micro Homes.” *apartmenttherapy.com*. 19 MAR 2007. Web. 28 OCT 2012.

⁸¹⁸ CBC News. “Vancouver 'micro-lofts' billed as smallest in Canada.” Videoclip. 19 DEC, 2011. Web. 03AUG 2012.

⁸¹⁹ Murray Johnson Engineering Ltd. “18th West Hastings.” Project Description. 21 DEC 2007. In: Conservation Plan. Bruce Carscadden Architects. 2007. Print.

⁸²⁰ LESHGOLD, Robert. Interview with the author. 21. AUG 2012. (Appendix A)

⁸²¹ For example: HOWELL, Mike. “City eyes affordable housing. Micro lofts' rent for \$850 per month.” *Vancouver Courier*. 28 DEC 2011. Web. 03AUG 2012.

⁸²² See interview BC Housing with Naomi Brunemeyer.

⁸²³ JANCOVIC, Zlatan. “18 W Hastings Street.” Conservation Plan, p.5.

⁸²⁴ For example, Canadian news corporation *The National* featured a report on the micro-lofts with a number of protesters from the DTES who claimed that the building is not an affordability strategy but a homelessness strategy as the project pushes low-income people away. Source: The National. “Vancouver 'micro-lofts' billed as smallest in Canada.” *cbc.ca*. 19 DEC 2011. Video Clip. 21 DEC 2011.

units' sizes. The developer acknowledges that the building has received plenty of media attention – good and bad. Everybody was interested in the project, partly because of questions regarding the affordability of the units and also its livability, due to the small sizes. However considering that the DTES has the highest concentration of non-market and subsidized housing in the City⁸²⁵ this project is an asset in adding variety and responding to the young urban singles – a growing but also neglected demographics in Vancouver's housing policy. That is why *Micro Lofts* Apartments fills this gap in affordable residential buildings for those who do not qualify for subsidized rental buildings. And in an international context *Micro Lofts* like the *West Coast Style* and the *Vancouver Model* became an architectural inspiration for residential dwelling solutions in other countries: In July 2012 Manhattan's millionaire mayor Michael Bloomberg announced a competition for 'micro-units – apartments' built in New York's Lower East Side on 335 East 27th Street.⁸²⁶

Burns Block is a former SRO building converted into self contained units run and operated by the property developer company *Reliance Properties Ltd.* It aims for residents that are mostly young professionals who seek to live in the urban City core but cannot afford renting one of the apartment units in the expensive *Vancouver Model* high-rises. The building itself is 22,7 m high and slightly smaller in comparison to the adjacent buildings (**Pic. 72**). All of the five floors comprise an area of approx. 1.628 m² in size on a 208 m² lot. The ground floor is occupied by a bar/ restaurant *Bitter* that also opened in 2008. It can be accessed through the entrance at 16 West Hastings. The residential part is entered through a separate front door at 18 West Hastings.

⁸²⁵ See chapter "The Downtown Eastside as Canada's Poorest Postal Code: V6A."

⁸²⁶ BEDERMAN, Eric. "Mayor Bloomberg Announces New Completion To Develop Innovative Apartment Model For Small Households." Press release. PR- 257-12. *nyc.gov*. 9 JUL 2012. Web. 3 AUG 2012.

5.6.1 History of Burns Block at the Corner of Carrall and Hastings Street

Like Fernwood's *Cornerstone* and Woodward's the building of *Burns Block* is placed at the corner of the historically meaningful intersection on Carrall Street and West Hastings Street. The original owner of the six-storey building was Canadian businessman and self-made millionaire Patrick Burns (1856 – 1937) who had the building built in 1909 by an anonymous architect or builder.⁸²⁷ Patrick Burns owned a chain of meat-packing factories across Canada. His business was very successful and made Burns a rich man.⁸²⁸

His *Burns Block* building served as the company's Vancouver-based head office "P. Burns and Co. Ltd. Marine Department." Over the century the *Burns Block* changed many owners, purposes, architectural neighbours and tenants but its shape and outer appearance remained mostly the same.⁸²⁹

Already in 1909 it was built to serve as a mixed-use building. The location of *Burns Block* is significant as it marked the physical locale between the industrial working class neighbourhood east of Carrall Street and the higher-class retail outlets and financial institutions west of that same street.⁸³⁰ The railway tracks on the buildings east that can be still seen today are a symbolic reminiscence of the streetcar system that ran in Vancouver from 1891 to 1959. In 1891 that very spot became the *BC Electric Company's* streetcar depot.⁸³¹ The depot stood as a symbol of power and economic growth and symbolized a shift in focus away from the then dominant shopping and commercial junction at Cordova Street and Carrall Street. Instead the junction at Carrall and West Hastings became the physical locus of consume and commerce. This shift in locale happened particularly because of the streetcar terminus and the building of the *B.C. Electric*

⁸²⁷ For image material of the original Burns Block, North Façade facing W Hastings, 1909, see Vancouver Archives, File # AM54-S4 Bu P633

⁸²⁸ GRISCTI, Verity & HULL, Joshua. "Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada. 1800 to 1950." *dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org*. n.d. Web. 12 JUN 2012. Another building was built on January 23rd 1911 by Dominic Burns the younger brother of Patrick that was also called "Burns Block" first. After the building opened in 1912 it was renamed into "Vancouver Block." Dominic Burns lived in that building until his death in 1933. See, THIRKELL, Fred and SCULLION, Bob. *Vancouver and Beyond: During The Golden Age Of Postcards 1900-1914*. Vancouver: Trade Paperback, 2000. Print. p.33.

⁸²⁹ JANCOVIC, Zlatan. "18 W Hastings Street (DE 411818) – Heritage Incentives, and SRA Conversion/Demolition Permit Application." Administrative Report for the City of Vancouver. 16 SEPT 2008. Print, p.3.

⁸³⁰ Statement of Significance. "18 West Hastings Street." Heritage Conservation Plan. Bruce Carscadden Architect Inc. 21st Dec. 2007. A 'Statement of Significance' gives a description of a building and defines its historical value; it also summarizes the Key Defining Elements of the building. (APPENDIX D).

⁸³¹ For image material of the original B.C. Electric Railway Co., 1891 at corner of Carrall Street and W. Hastings, see Vancouver Archives, File # AM54-S4 LGN 1161

Railway Co. headquarters that employed hundreds of men, many who also lived in the area. The *B.C. Electric Railway Co.* building was just east from the terminus placed on 2500 m² area land. When Vancouver's streetcar system was terminated in 1958 the *B.C. Electric Railway Co.* building shut down its doors. This event is another one accountable for the economic and cultural decline of the Downtown Eastside.

Reminiscence of that wearisome historical period is *Pigeon Park* situated just across the *Burns Block* building.⁸³² Its unpleasant name reveals its character: The corner is a popular meeting point of the less privileged residents of the DTES. Despair, drugs and disillusioned souls paint a rather spiteful picture in that very visible public spot.

The economic soundness of an area is closely connected to the socio-cultural status of its residents and their ability to buy and consume. The urban setting reacts to that demand. After all, when businesses shut down, the area's economy weakens as well, as "people with money in their pockets" will move elsewhere.⁸³³

Why did *Reliance Properties Ltd.* invest in this run-down area to begin with? According to project manager Rob Leshgold, the building has a good location as it is near touristy Gastown and near all the amenities – such as pubs, bars and coffee shops – needed for young urban people.⁸³⁴ In a survey all of the participating residents of *Burns Block* stated that they appreciate the building's proximity to the downtown core the most.⁸³⁵

The building itself was suitable for small units because it is cut very narrow. These factors along with the City's 'Heritage Revitalization Agreement' that gave the developer a density bonus for the realization of another building project were reason enough to take the risk and invest in the building. It was a win-win situation, as a run-down building was revitalized, the City saved money, so did the developer, and the corner of Carrall and West Hastings gained another revitalized heritage building that adds "character" to the existing street scale. The result is a heritage building preserved and upgraded to modern standards that is also responsive to the surrounding buildings.⁸³⁶ The units are small but livable. The interiors are creatively designed with furniture handpicked by

⁸³² In a survey conducted with the tenants of the Burns Block in August 2012 five out of nine stated that they are bothered by the presence of the Pigeon Park's opposite their building.

⁸³³ Henriquez, Gregory. Interview with author. 16 July 2012, p. 3.

⁸³⁴ Leshgold, Rob Interview with author. 21. AUG 2012. p.1.

⁸³⁵ Survey conducted by author with 9 residents of Burns Block in August 2012. That number represents 30% of the total number of residents.

⁸³⁶ Burns Block is a municipally designated heritage property and is listed as "Category B" on the Vancouver Heritage Register. Source: Vancouver City Council. "Heritage Revitalization and Façade Grant Agreement 18 West Hastings Street." By-Law No. 9760. 25 NOV 2008. p.4. CAV 719-G-5 File 3. The building is placed on district lot 541 Block 29.

Rob Leshgold.⁸³⁷ Rent is more affordable than the average rent in the quickly revitalizing DTES especially considering that the studios are rented out completely furnished.⁸³⁸ Despite the edgy neighbourhood *Burns Block* is a winning project for the City, the developer and moderate-income singles. Prior to the project's realization signs of economic upgrade were already evident in the seven-story *BC Electric* building that maintained its power-stricken appearance. Since 2006 it has been serving as a mixed-use building. Today, its ground floor that used to be the rail depot of the *B.C. Electric Railway Company* is run by the *Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art*. The conversion of the former railroad terminals into cultural complexes is according to Sharon Zukin an economically driven strategy to attract tourism and promote a city as a centre of art and culture.⁸³⁹

The reopening of the diner/butcher *Save on Meat* diagonally across Burns Block may be another sign of the area's revitalization process (**Pic. 73 a and b**). The diner first opened in 1957 as a butcher store and closed down in 2010 due to lack of business. With the reopening of the building in 2012 the place signals faith in economic soundness and a vital community.⁸⁴⁰ The building's colourful neon lights and vintage-styled advertisement boards are reminiscent of the 1950's and 1960's when business was flourishing. The vintage theme response to the emerging "old is beautiful and trustworthy" trend in the neighbourhood already highlighted with the *Woodward's* project.

⁸³⁷ I took a tour through the building in September 2012 in order to get an idea of how the building's inside looks like. The studio was well equipped with tasteful furniture already provided by the developer.

⁸³⁸ For example, a furnished room – shared bathroom and kitchen - on Carrall Street was advertised for a rent of \$ 750,-/ month in September 2012. Source: "Room in Heritage Hotel in Gastown in the heart of Downtown." kijiji advertising. *Kijiji.ca*. 03 SEP 2012. Web. 05 SEP 2012. Most of Burns Block residents (78%) think rent is "somewhat" affordable. See: Survey Burns Block.

⁸³⁹ ZUKIN, Sharon. "Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption." *Urban Studies*, Vol. 35.6, (1998): 825-839. Print, p. 833.

⁸⁴⁰ NIELD, Jeff. "Building a Downtown Eastside Foodie Empire." *BC Business*, 4th April 2011. Web. 12. SEP 2012. The new owner, Mark Brand knows how to sell his business well: Along the windows of *Save on Meats* are displayed newspaper articles. They describe the closing and reopening of the building, as well as its new concept to integrate residents of the DTES into the business by hiring them as staff members.

5.6.2 The *Burns Block's* Outer Appearance – So Triangular!

Burns Block's setting is defined by its “middleness”: To its west is the affordable housing building *Portland Society Hotel* that was built by famous modernist architect Arthur Erickson in 1999. The *Portland Society* is one of Vancouver's biggest non-profit organizations that is also in charge of running some subsidized units at the *Woodward's* building.⁸⁴¹ East from *Burns Block* is an empty railway lot that was once the terminus of the prosperous *BC Railway Company*. The lot is directly linked to the former headquarter of *B.C. Electric Railway Co. Building* that is placed at the corner of Carrall and Hastings Street. Representing a symbol of power, magnitude and splendour the building still defines the corner of this neighbourhood through its scale and architecture. The restored *Burns Block* building responds to that architecture as well as that of *Woodward's* that can be seen from *Burns Blocks'* rooftop.

A lot of emphasis was put on the exterior in order to maintain the building's outer appearance as much as possible.⁸⁴² In order to achieve this the following features were preserved: the symmetrical design, the glazed brick construction, stone trim, pattern of fenestration and the ground floor storefront with brick pilasters (**Pic. 74**).⁸⁴³ However the storefront construction itself has been completely removed and replaced with a new look that includes spacious floor to ceiling windows. Particularly the removal of the metal gutter on the building's entrance door on 16 West Hastings to the commercial ground floor space gives its main façade a much cleaner, more cohesive and nicer look. The sheet metal cornice along the vertical flat rooftop line was damaged and restored to its original appearance.

Bruce Carscadden, founder of *Bruce Carscadden Architect Inc.* was in charge of the renovation, the preservation of the building's façade as well as the design of the interior units. He transformed this 1412 m² (15200 sq. ft.), multilevel, early 20th century building into a modern and efficient mixed-use building with a superb design.

⁸⁴¹ Portland Society was mentioned in an article that exposed the annual income of many of the non-profit society's directors and Chief Executive Officers. The high income levels of many of the CEOs question these individuals ethical motivation to earn six-digit salaries while serving those most in need in the DTES. See SMITH, Charlie. “DTES Rescue Is Big Business.” *Georgia Straight*. 24 MAY 2012. Print. p.19.

⁸⁴² Bruce Carscadden Architect Inc. ‘Conservation Plan’ 2.1.

⁸⁴³ For more detailed descriptions of the renovation look under the Conservation Plan 2007.

One very distinguishable feature of the *Burns Block* is its triangular shaped form. The building is easily recognizable on a 1969 Map published in the local magazine *Gastown Gazette* (**Pic. 75**).⁸⁴⁴

The main façade is on the building's north side facing the busy West Hastings Street. The façade's material – a bright beige glazed brick – corresponds well with the brick façade of the adjacent former *B.C. Electric Railway* building. *Burns Block's* proportion of the ground floor takes about one-fourth of the façade's surface, which emphasises the building's narrowness. The replaced metal cornice above the storefront forms a horizontal line along the upper most part of the ground floor. The line verticality continues along the cornice of the adjacent Portland Hotel building towards Burns Blocks' west and visually connects the two buildings with each other (**Pic. 76**).

The façade depicts a strong symmetry. This is particularly emphasised through the square shaped window frames that are symmetrically lined in vertical and horizontal lines. The principle shape is repeated in three smaller squares placed on the upper part of each window.

The units on the south side are equipped with small balconies (1,5 m x 0,7 m) where new decorative steel railing has been added. The five vertically lined balconies decorate the south elevation that faces at the empty former *right-of way* spot as well as a parking lot that is affiliated with the *Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art building*. The four x-shaped metal gutters along each balcony are recycled material from the removed fire escape stairs that used to be along the south elevation (**Pic. 77**). They reflect with the “recycling” scheme of the building that achieves the vintage, heritage, old is beautiful and therefore precious theme.

Burns Block corresponds well with the surrounding buildings of West Hastings that are dominated with flat-roofed, early 20th century Vancouver architecture. But the upgraded and new condition of the building's façade signal a “readiness” to correspond with more revitalized and upgraded buildings, even those built completely new.

With units that small, an examination of the interiors becomes inevitable. While the façade was largely preserved and maintained, the building's inside was built completely from scratch. The building envelope had been extended from 28 SRO rooms into 30 self-contained studio units.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴⁴ “This is the Heart of Olde Gastown.” *Gastown Gazette*. 15th Nov. 1969.

⁸⁴⁵ Statement of Significance. “18 West Hastings Street.” Heritage Conservation Plan. Bruce Carscadden Architect Inc. 21st Dec. 2007.

In order to get the most out of the building's inside the architecture firm started with shaping "primarily the most typical unit and did quite a lot of research into how those would work. And then [we] tried to apply those into the less anomaly shaped units that were available. There was a lot of effort put into this plan to find the efficiency and still produce nice living units."⁸⁴⁶

Spacious square-shaped centre pivot windows allow plenty of light into the studios. Space is saved through the centrally pivoting window (**Pic. 78**). Three additional smaller sash windows placed above the main window can be individually opened. That way the amount of noise and air can be regulated on a small to large level. The original wooden frames were preserved and refinished with a protective coating. The exposed brick walls painted in white add some heritage character to the interior similar to the *Cornerstone Coffee Shop* in Fernwood.

With only 22.4 m² to 28.4 m² of available space the challenge is how to provide enough space to cook, eat, work and sleep? A significant amount of the furniture is built into every unit. The kitchen is minimalistic, functional and yet visually highly appealing (**Pic. 79**). The upper portion consists of translucent "milky" white kitchen cabinetry and is well lit through small dotted ceiling lights. The lower part consists of storage room covered by a clean, white and friendly surface. The square shaped metal sink corresponds well to the square shaped windows. The bathroom is a visual joy! Kept behind translucent glass walls it is provided with brown glazed tiles corresponding to the glass shower walls and the white wall tiles (**Pic. 80**).

The bed and the desk share a friendly joint venture on one wall: you flip the desk to the wall and make room for the Murphy bed. Conversely you hide the bed on the wall and make room for the desk. Despite the modest space a couch is provided in the units for social encounters and relaxing moments.

All these factors add to the livability of the studios despite the limited space.

Cascaden explains in order to avoid a "Disney Land Fashion" kind of heritage look for the building the focus was put on a modern look that is most accountable for the interior part.⁸⁴⁷ This has been achieved through the usage of materials such as single glazed glass panels at the windows or hardwood floors. Alterations such as the replacement of the interior partitions and the walls in the lobby, new floor and wooden stairs add to the

⁸⁴⁶ Carscadden, Bruce. Interview with the author. 24 AUG 2012.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.

new and modern look of the building.⁸⁴⁸ It is the architect's opinion that the project's success is due to the productive collaboration between developer, architect and the interior designer.⁸⁴⁹

The hallways on each floor as the first points of entrance inside the building are a sensational experience: Hexagonal-shaped openings at the ceilings reveal the original timber structure of the ceiling while at the same time add a sense of creativity to the clean and bright hallway atmosphere (**Pic. 81**).

The developer chose to decorate the hallway walls with artwork of local photographer Brian Howell (born 1966). His 'Shopping Carts' photographs depict shopping carts filled with items related to our everyday lives (e.g. vacuum cleaners or steal plates) made to be traded, sold and recycled.⁸⁵⁰ In search of the meaning of ownership the photographer tried to raise the following questions: "Where did these carts come from? Who owned them? Was somebody's livelihood impacted by its inclusion in this process? Is it decadent to estheticize [sic] someone else's eked-out living this way?"⁸⁵¹ These issues raised in the photographs reflect what Burns Block's restoration stands for: Throughout its existence the building changed owners, while its looks have been preserved the building's materials have been recycled and reused in a new context.⁸⁵²

The bar *Bitter* on the building's ground floor opened about the same time *Burns Block* apartments opened. Like the *Burns Block* the bar follows the aesthetic vintage theme. The original mosaic tiles that were removed from the entrance lobby have been maintained at *Bitter*'s floor (**Pic. 82**). The wooden ceiling has also been preserved as well as parts of the exposed brick at the inside of the Bar. These elements add a nostalgic atmosphere to the place that has now become a popular location for tourists and locals to meet. The vintage look can be regarded as a marketing tool as it quietly distracts from the unpleasant reality of 'Pigeons Park' across the street.

⁸⁴⁸ Bruce Carscadden Architects Inc. "18 W Hastings Street."p.5. The mosaic tiles in the lobby's entrance had been completely removed.

⁸⁴⁹ Carscadden, Bruce. Interview with the Author. 24 AUG, 2012.

⁸⁵⁰ The exhibition ran in April 2011 at the Winsor Gallery in Vancouver. Source: exhibition catalogue COUPLAND, Douglas. "Brian Howell. Shopping Carts." *Winsor Gallery*, Vancouver. 7th APR to 30th APR 2011. Print. Howell bought each one of the shopping carts off binners in Vancouver for \$ 25,-. He emphasises that binners are not homeless as they consider themselves as "capitalists and valuable to society." Ibid, p.4.

⁸⁵¹ Coupland, Douglas. "Brian Howell. Shopping Carts." p.3.

⁸⁵² Leshgold, Robert. Interview with the Author. 21 AUG 2012.

While the bar is an amenity for the tenants shared with the general public the building's private amenities are placed in the basement where there is a gym, storage room for bikes and extra belongings and the laundry room.⁸⁵³

The rooftop garden serves currently as a community space for the tenants to socialize, make barbeques and hold private parties with a one-day notice.

Looking towards south from the rooftop garden you can see the back of *Skwachays Healing Lodge* mixed-use building, which is the next case study examined.

⁸⁵³ The Bar opens at 5pm and runs until 1am. It has 140 seats to accommodate guests. The owners of *Bitter* also own two other commercial buildings, one called *Judas Goats* and the other *Salt*. Both are placed in the touristy party of Gastown along Blood Alley. See website of Heather Hospitality Group: judasgoat.ca. During a casual bar visit I made on Sept 17th 2012 the *Bitter* employees told me that the bar is a well-visited spot by the residents of *Burns Block*.

5.7 *Skwachays Healing Lodge* – Affordable Housing for Aboriginal Artists

Examining the colonial transition of Vancouver as depicted in a map drawn by white settlers Nicholas Blomley notices, “Native place names have been replaced by names celebrating the British imperial project and corporate capital.”⁸⁵⁴ Indeed Canada’s history and formation is based on the principle of displacement.⁸⁵⁵ The white settlers who came to Canada in the 18th century declared the new land as theirs and First Nations had to comply with the new power relations.⁸⁵⁶ Despite the juridical changes made since the implementation of Bill C-31 in 1985, First Nations are still in a disadvantageous position compared to other minorities. Vancouver’s Aboriginal population belongs to the City’s most vulnerable and marginalized group.⁸⁵⁷ Statistically Aboriginals are proportionally overrepresented in the poverty and crime statistics of Vancouver: While only two percent of all of Vancouver’s population is Aboriginal they account for the second highest ethnic population (16,7%) in the Downtown Eastside.⁸⁵⁸ According to another report First Nations are overrepresented amongst the homeless group of Vancouver, accounting for 36 percent of all the homeless in the City.⁸⁵⁹ Aboriginal households comprise nine percent of the total affordability gap in the rental sector, even though they account for a significantly smaller share of the City’s renter households

⁸⁵⁴ Blomley, Nicholas. “Unsettling the City.” p. 122.

⁸⁵⁵ During the white settlers colonization to BC the First Nations have experienced serious cases of displacement and segregation. For example in 1911 the federal government paid \$ 10.000 to each of the 43 Songhee families residing in what is today James Bay in Victoria to relocate to today’s Esquimalt. The Hudson Bay Company took over the land and other companies built their businesses there. Today the land is occupied by condominium towers that are called “The Songhees”. Source: CROCKFORD, Ross. *The Unknown City*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. 2006. Print.

⁸⁵⁶ The discrimination and displacement of the native people by the white, Christian settlers has been subject of research in plenty of publications already. For further publications on First Nations in Canada and land rights see for example: BLOMLEY, Nicholas and COLLINS, Damian “Private Needs and Public Space. Politics, Poverty, and Anti-Panhandling By-Laws in Canadian Cities.” In Law Commission of Canada (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Public-Private Divide*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2003. Print, pp. 40-67.”; MARCHAK, Patricia. “Who Owns Natural Resources in the United States and Canada?” *Working Paper* No. 20, Land Tenure Centre, North American Program, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1998. Print.

⁸⁵⁷ Aboriginal refers to people who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is North American Indian, Metis or Inuit, and/ or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada. See, “Draft Downtown Eastside. Local Area Profile 2012.” Prepared by the City of Vancouver. 2012. Print, p. 50.

⁸⁵⁸ LEWIS, Martha et al. “Demographic Study of SRO and Social Housing Tenants.” City of Vancouver. April 2008. Print, p. 8. Caucasians are the biggest ethnic population (67,8 Percent). The 16, 7 percent may be a recent trend as the report in the City of Vancouver of 1982 states that “only a small proportion of Native Indians in the City actually live in the Downtown Eastside.” City of Vancouver. *Downtown-Eastside/Oppenheimer policy plan*. Vancouver, B.C. City Planning Department. 1982. Print, 7.

⁸⁵⁹ Eberle Planning and Research. “Vancouver Homeless Count 2010. Off the Street and into Shelters.” Final Report. Print, Table 7 -Aboriginal Identity.

(about four to five percent).⁸⁶⁰ These statistics make the need for adequate housing for Vancouver's First Nation population objectively apparent.

One of the biggest providers of First Nation's affordable housing is the non-profit 'Vancouver Native Housing Society.' Since its foundation in 1984 the non-profit has owned and operated 13 buildings in 483 units across Vancouver.⁸⁶¹ Their most recent affordable housing project is the *Skwachays Healing Lodge* (**pic. 83a and b**) (hereafter *Healing Lodge*) on 31 West Pender just one block south of *Burns Block's* south.

It aims specifically to house Aboriginal low-income, working artists from all of Canada. The rent is also agreed in the Act, according to the "maximum shelter allowance" for a single person on income assistance.⁸⁶²

Joe Wai is the kind of architect Charles Jencks calls "the least classifiable", which means he is amongst the best.⁸⁶³ Wai has proven this most evidently with the design of the very creative, innovative as well as culturally meaningful Healing Lodge. The application of North West Coast themes are said to be generally traditional and conservative.⁸⁶⁴ The architecture of the *Healing Lodge* however outwits that clique by combining art and architecture in a challenging synthesis of old and new, western culture meeting aboriginal culture and tradition meeting commerce.

The building is a former SRO building renovated and converted into a mixed-use building.⁸⁶⁵ It consists of an art gallery on the ground floor. On the first to fourth floors are 24 self-contained studio units and 13 guest lodges for out-of-town visitors who seek medical treatment in Vancouver.

⁸⁶⁰ Will Dunning Inc. "Rental Housing Strategy – Study 1." *tenants.bc.ca*. November 2009. Web. 14 March 2012.

⁸⁶¹ See: "Vancouver Native Housing Society." Our History. n.d. web. 20 July 2012. *vnhs.ca*.

⁸⁶² Such an allowance amounts for \$ 350,- per month as of 1st of July, 2010.

⁸⁶³ Jencks, Charles. "Modern Movements in Architecture." p. 29.

⁸⁶⁴ MacNAIR, Peter "Her Place By The River." In: WATT, Garry (ed.). *Susan Point.Coast Salish Artist*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre. 2000. Print, p. 39-41.

⁸⁶⁵ See Interview with Naomi Brunemeyer, BC Housing, 19 June 2012.

5.7.1 Building's Historical Setting

Similar to the *Burns Block* the *Healing Lodge's* building has a history of changing owners and purposes in a changing setting.

Its setting is important from a historical perspective as it is situated in between the triangle of Gastown, Chinatown and Victory Square a few blocks west of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer⁸⁶⁶ District.

One block away from the *Healing Lodge* – set on the same street - is the world's narrowest commercial building, *Sam Kee* built in 1913. The building is said to mark the line between White and Chinese Vancouver.⁸⁶⁷ Between the block of Abbott and Carrall is "Shanghai Alley" that still has some buildings depicting a distinct style associated to that very area: deeply recessed balconies, "cheater" stories (inserted between the first and second floors like a mezzanine but not assessed for taxes), and spires.⁸⁶⁸

Historically this area is one of the oldest and most multicultural areas of Vancouver.⁸⁶⁹ Around 1900 there was a considerable outmigration of middle-class families who moved further west of the city. They were replaced by working-class families and immigrants. This changed the picture of the Oppenheimer District in a negative way: Particularly Pender Street (then called Dupon Street) lost its family friendly status when it became Vancouver's first red-light district in 1903 and drug haven (**Pic. 84**).⁸⁷⁰ Opium was legal in Canada until 1908 and some streets of that area were decorated with Opium stores.⁸⁷¹

Besides the large Chinese community the area also quickly gained a significant population of Japanese immigrants and was called "Japantown" by 1930.⁸⁷² Many Japanese settled particularly around the blocks of Powell between Gore and Heatley not far away

⁸⁶⁶ Named after Vancouver's second mayor, David Oppenheimer [1834 until 1890] who was from Munich originally. See, KLUCKNER, Michael. *Vancouver The Way It Was*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books Ltd., 1984. Print, p. 31.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid, p.36. Sam Kee was an importer. The reason why the building is so small is because the city of Vancouver decided to fill in the False Creek Swamp on Carrall Street that left Kee with a tiny piece of land, with a depth of four feet and 11 inches.

⁸⁶⁸ See Kluckner, Michael. "Vancouver. The Way It Was." 1984.

⁸⁶⁹ City of Vancouver. *Downtown-Eastside/Oppenheimer policy plan*. Vancouver, B.C. City Planning Department. 1982. Print, p.4.

⁸⁷⁰ WAITE, Donald. "*Vancouver Exposed*." p. 143.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid. In 1906 the district was removed to the block of Jackson/Alexander Street to Princess/ Alexander Street and turned that area into a notorious Red Light District. Source: City of Vancouver. *Downtown-Eastside/Oppenheimer policy plan*. Vancouver, B.C. City Planning Department. 1982. p.5.

⁸⁷² Alternatively the area was also named 'Little Tokyo' and 'Japtown.' Almost 8000 out of the approximately 30.000 Japanese in British Columbia lived in Vancouver. See, Kluckner, Michael. "Vancouver. The Way It Was." p. 29.

from where the *Healing Lodge* is situated today.⁸⁷³ However after *Pearl Harbor* fear of the Japanese attack on British Columbia's shores rose. The then Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared war on Japan.⁸⁷⁴ All the Japanese immigrants were dispossessed of their properties, put into internment and all their belongings were taken away.⁸⁷⁵ The remaining houses of the Japanese were left empty and quickly fell into poor shape. After World War II the area experienced a new renaissance in redevelopment and city planning that would last into the late 1960s. But it never fully gained the image of a desirable place to live, particularly not for the middle-class.

Contrary the declining setting the building's original purpose was to serve as the headquarter of a very successfully run saddler and leather company owned by British born Jonathan Storey and Canadian Roderick Campbell. In 1913 they hired architect William Tuff Whiteway for the design of the four-storey mixed-use building on 31 West Pender, known as "Palmer Rooms."⁸⁷⁶ Whiteway was well known in British Columbia for being the architect of Vancouver's 'World Building' (now called the *Sun Tower*, built in 1912) that remained the highest building in the British Empire until 1914.⁸⁷⁷ He was also the architect of the original four-storey timber-framed Woodward's department store building.⁸⁷⁸ "Palmer Rooms" building's façade consisted of brick, sheet metal detailing and terra-cotta, and depicted some of the characteristics of Whiteway's 518 Beatty building such as the clear symmetry in horizontal and vertical lines and the flat roofline that has a slight elevation in its roofline's centre (**Pic. 85**). Despite the simple and modest overall appearance the façade encloses some small details such as the horizontally laid circular-shaped ornaments along the lower frieze as well as the projecting orna-

⁸⁷³ Pender Street, (then address was 29 Dupont) was the address of Yip Sang's Wing Sang Company, which was one of the wealthiest companies in Vancouver by exporting salted herring to China and Japan. The Chinese immigrant went from rags to riches. With is growing wealth he grew his family members, too. The man had three wives all at once, 19 sons and 14 daughters who had children on their own. To house them all he expanded the property in 1912, where he built a six-storey addition onto the back the Wing Sang building. Source, Waite, Donald "Vancouver Exposed." p. 146.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Macdonald, Bruce. "Visual History", p. 48. Canadian author George Woodcook (1912-1995) called this incident as one of the most horrible crimes committed in Canadian history. In 1988 the Canadian Government officially apologized for the injustice and compensated the victims with a financial reimbursement of 10 cents for every dollar taken away from them.

⁸⁷⁶ WAI, Joe. Director of Planning. "Administrative Report. 31 W. Pender Street - Facade Grant - DE 413839 - 08847." 20 OCT 2010. For image material of the original Palmer Rooms buildings, see Vancouver Archives, File # 58 Roll 17A.

⁸⁷⁷ PARKER, C.W. *Who is Who and Why. A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Men and women in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: Canadian Press Association, Ltd. 1912. Vol. 2. Print, p. 614. The *Sun Tower* is 82 meters high and remained the tallest building in the British Empire until the construction of the 'Optima Business Centre' in Toronto in 1914. In his oratory Whiteway's wife stated her husband designed the building and "watched every rivet and pound of concrete that went into it. It cost \$ 400.000." Article in the *Vancouver Sun*, 19 MAY 1958. CAV- M10, 378.

⁸⁷⁸ Hlavach. "Woodward's - 101 West Hastings Street: Urban Design Guidelines." 6 APR, 2004.

ments along the cornice that add some architectural uniqueness to its façade. The business of Storey and Campbell flourished well until the 1940s. Those were the prosperous years of the building. The Chinese immigrant Lai Hing bought up “Palmer Rooms” in 1946 and ran the building as a hotel, called “Wingate Hotel” until the 1970s. From the 1970s to 2008 it changed into a SRO called “Pender Hotel” until it was rundown to an extent that the Provincial government shut it down in 2008. David Eddy, CEO of VHNS recalls, “What was here before was an absolute dump.”⁸⁷⁹

It would take six years until the building on 31st West Pender would transform from “absolute dump” into “head turner and showstopper”.⁸⁸⁰

5.7.2 Project’s Realization

The project started to take shape as “31 West Pender” in May 2008 when BC Housing purchased the property as part of its restoration program of old DTES hotels.⁸⁸¹

In 2002 David Eddy paid a visit to Toronto where he was inspired by a project that housed First Nations permanently while at the same time provided housing for those out-of-town visitors who were sick temporarily.⁸⁸² It took the society ten years to have that inspiration realised. The project was made possible due to a true collaboration between the not-for-profit society, the [Federal – and Provincial-] government, the architect and the community and Eddy remembers:

Originally BC Housing was going to provide us with what we would need to renovate it but we ended up getting \$ 3.5 Million from the Federal Government. It was just being at the right place at the right time.

We were telling BC Housing we don’t want to renovate we want to built new and we want to put the totem pole on top. But they gave us a hard time as \$ 3.5 Million was not enough and it got to a point where they said you have to make a decision! Just at that time our architect Joe Wai got a call from Libby Davis, a Member of Parliament from Downtown Eastside. She is a leftist-centre MP and youth-supporter. She called Joe and asked him if he has a project that is shuffle ready as the Federal

⁸⁷⁹ EDDY, David. Interview with the author. 9 July 2012. Prior to the Province’s purchase ‘West Pender Hotel’ was owned by private real estate developer Robert Wilson who bought up a number of these SROs. Along with the “West Pender Hotel” he also bought the building next to it that is now the ‘33 W Pender’ in 2007. At that time it was unclear what would happen to the ‘Pender Hotel.’ Source: PAULSEN, Monte. “Poverty Hotel Buying Binge.” *The Tyee*. 12 FEB 2007. Web. *TheTyee.ca*. 20 JUN 2012.

⁸⁸⁰ HOWELL, Mike. “Vancouver housing project provides ‘healing’ for First Nations.” *Vancouver Courier*. 7 JUN 2012. Found in the *Vancouver Native Housing Society* Press Kit.

⁸⁸¹ The regulations and the collaboration between City of Vancouver and Provincial Rental Housing Co-operation (BC Housing, quoted as the “owner”) have been set under a by-law for the Housing Agreement. Source: By-Law No. 10136. 23rd Sep. 2010. CAV 718-D-3 File 66. BC Housing is quoted as “the owner.”

⁸⁸² See Eddy, David. Interview with author. 9 July.

Government has stimulus Dollars ready. And Joe initially reacted and introduced our project. She told him to tell us to get a proposal within 40 hours, which we did and this is how we got that \$ 3.5 Million.⁸⁸³

Out of an agreement between BC Housing and the City the original 40 rooms were restructured and converted into the 24 self contained studios that house residents permanently.⁸⁸⁴ In addition another 13 rooms have been converted into temporary two- and three- bedroom for those First Nations that travel from out of town to Vancouver in order to get medical treatment.⁸⁸⁵

The agreement made between the City and BC Housing is permanent and consists as long as the Building on West 31st Pender is standing.⁸⁸⁶ That way the durability of the project is secured.

The *Healing Lodge* was opened in June 11th 2012 with a BC-wide media event happening in front of the building on Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, 31st West Pender. Amongst the prominent members attending the event were Gregory Robertson, Vancouver Mayor and the Federal Minister of Energy and Mines, Rich Coleman (who is also responsible for Housing in the Province of British Columbia).⁸⁸⁷

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ "31 West Pender." By-Law No. 10136. 23rd Sep. 2010. CAV 718-D-3 File 66.

⁸⁸⁵ Housing Agreement "31 West Pender Street." 23rd Sep. 2010. #134128v4. Section A to D. CAV 718-D-3 File 66.

⁸⁸⁶ "Housing Agreement" Point 7.

⁸⁸⁷ For example the *Vancouver Sun*, Vancouver's popular newspaper released a report on the opening ceremony immediately. See: ALLDRITT, Benjamin. "Vancouver Healing Lodge Opens After 10 Years of Work." *Vancouver Sun*. 11 JUN 2012. One of the first residents of the building, jewellery artist Randy Wisla spoke up showing his gratitude for this building that enables him as a "starving and carving" kind of artist to have a decent place to live. I attended the opening ceremony but did not take any minutes. There are however numerous *YouTube* clips available online, see for example: Aha Media. "5 Skwachays Residence and Healing Lodge Opening Ceremony in Vancouver." 11th JUN 2012. Online Video Clip. *YouTube*. 16 JUL 2012.

5.7.3 The Façade: Preserving the Old and adding something New

For this building, the sky is not the limit (it is only 21 meters in height) but rather imagination. *Healing Lodge's* aesthetics is strongly defined through its façade that consists of a pre-existing and restored Edwardian heritage part and a newly integrated traditional Northwest Coast Aboriginal longhouse placed on the building's top (**Pic. 86**).⁸⁸⁸ Despite these two elements, the façade is visually coherent and viewed as one harmoniously looking front achieved through the choice of colours and materials.

Listed as a "B" category of the Heritage Register, *Healing Lodge* "may have some documented historical or cultural significance in a neighbourhood,"⁸⁸⁹ which is why a lot of emphasis has been put into the restoration of the "Edwardian" heritage façade that was retained and reintegrated into the new construction.⁸⁹⁰ To revive that historical and cultural significance the heritage consultancy firm *Donald Luxton and Associates Inc.* was hired by architect Wai for the accurate restoration of the façade.⁸⁹¹

The major challenge for the restoration team was the replication of the missing parts of the cornice in a way to match the historic profile as well as its repainting.⁸⁹² At the time of the restoration progress the original storefront was lost completely.⁸⁹³ Through archival research the consultancy firm suggested to install a storefront according to the original photographs and drawings found.⁸⁹⁴

The high quality of the building's façade and elements such as the ornamented windows and materials reflect *Storey's and Campbell's* "intention of catering to a higher class of

⁸⁸⁸ The name 'longhouse' refers to rectangular and shed-roofed buildings that were built by southern aboriginal tribes. The special feature about longhouses is that they can have additions joined to them. Source, GILBERT, Jim and CLARK, Karin. *Learning by Designing*. Pacific Northwest Coast Native Indian Art. Union Bay: Raven Publishing, 2007. Print, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁹ Vancouver. "Heritage Register. Land Use and Development Policies and Guidelines." *Vancouver.ca*. September 2011. Web. 12 AUG 2012. p. 1. Point 2.2. There are three building categories in total: A, meaning building represents the best example of a style; B meaning represents a good example of a style and C meaning the building contributes to the historic character of an area or streetscape. However if a building is registered under any of the categories it does not mean it cannot be demolished. See, "Heritage Register." September 2011, p. 3.

⁸⁹⁰ The remaining West, East and North elevations of the original building have been demolished. Source: Donald Luxton & Associates Inc. Conservation Plan. Prepared for the Vancouver Native Housing Society. March 2010. Revised February 2011, p.13.

⁸⁹¹ The firm was familiar with Joe Wai and his work through previous successful collaborations such as the restoration of the *Pennsylvania Hotel* situated at *Burns Block's* corner of Carrall and West Hastings. The façade is defined as an "Edwardian-era Classical Revival Style. Source: "Character Defining Elements." In: Donald Luxton & Associates Inc. Conservation Plan. Prepared for the Vancouver Native Housing Society. March 2010. Revised February 2011. Print, p.10.

⁸⁹² Ibid, p. 15.

⁸⁹³ Ibid, p. 17.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

clientele.”⁸⁹⁵ For example, given the building’s high-end function the façade’s original material was made of “high quality pressed tan brick.”⁸⁹⁶ And now in the 21st century it regained in value as being the most striking feature of the whole building due to its combination of cultural and historical elements represented by its European Edwardian façade and Aboriginal traditional longhouse.⁸⁹⁷ This combination turns the building into an eye-catcher.

Since the turn of the 21st century increasingly architects and artist introduce First Nation forms and images into modern buildings.⁸⁹⁸ One of the longhouse’s most striking elements is its triangular shaped front that consists of a vertical totem pole and a stainless steel metal panel flanking that totem pole.⁸⁹⁹ The totem pole is the most daring but also most extraordinary element of the facade (**Pic. 87a and b**). Designed by First Nation carver Francis Horne Sr. (aka Khut-Whee-Mul-Uhk) it consists of 1200 year-old red cedar wood.⁹⁰⁰ In a vertical order from top to bottom the pole depicts carved faces of: three watching men each looking at a different direction, underneath is carved the face of the Eagle holding the moon, next a Man holding copper, then a Raven and at the very bottom is the face of the Guard against evil spirits.⁹⁰¹

The totem pole is flanked by a triangular laser-cut stainless steel metal panel that consists of just one solid colour.⁹⁰² Simon Daniel James was the artists who did the metal panel that depicts the face of a whale looking *en face* at the viewer.⁹⁰³ The artist’s grandfather, Chief James Sedwid reconstructed a painting made by an old man who lived in

⁸⁹⁵ “Statement of Significance.” In: Donald Luxton & Associates Inc. Conservation Plan, p. 10.

⁸⁹⁶ Donald Luxton & Associates Inc. Conservation Plan. p. 7. Terra cotta has been used for parts such as the molding along the upper frieze with projecting motives.

⁸⁹⁷ In fact in the City’s Administrative Report of 2010 the façade is referred to as “the principal façade.” Director of Planning. “Administrative Report. 31 W. Pender Street - Facade Grant - DE 413839 – 08847.” 20 OCT 2010.

⁸⁹⁸ For further information on that topic see MacNair, Peter “Her Place By The River.”

⁸⁹⁹ There are generally four Totem Pole types: 1. House Poles, 2. Frontal Poles that stands next to the house façade, 3. Memorial Poles that honor the deceased noblemen and Poles that are grave markers that indicate the location of burials. For further information on Totem Poles, see for example: JONAITIS, Aldona. *From the Land of the Totem Poles*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.1988. Print.

⁹⁰⁰ This information was kindly provided by historian Joseph MacLean during a tour through the Healing Lodge building on 30th June 2012.

⁹⁰¹ The vertical structure and meaning of each faces was explained to the author after the Opening Ceremony by the artist Homes himself on June 11th 2012.

⁹⁰² The Pacific Northwest Coast Native style form line system is based on the principle that a creature’s shape or form, as well as its parts can be represented by a continuous outlining line that is called a form line. Contained within this form line are design elements, or units, which usually represent body parts but may be purely decorative. In most designs, the primary form line is constantly curving and varying in width. At places where design units come together or at divisions within the design, this line can taper to form a flowing smooth joint or it may enlarge and incorporate negative units, such as crescents, which relieve the weight of an otherwise heavy black line. See, Gilbert and Clark “Learning by Designing.”

⁹⁰³ James, Simon Daniel, Phone Interview with author. 26th July 2012.

Chief Sedwid's old village.⁹⁰⁴ Simon Daniel James was inspired by the old man's story and his grandfather's reconstructed whale painting to redesign the face of the whale and translate it into the stain-less steel panel.

Two multi-media video animations are placed behind the spacious front windows on the gallery's ground floor. The videos are themed to the two underground installations on the pavement placed in front of the building.⁹⁰⁵ That way the viewer from outside is invited to the gallery. The art displayed at the gallery also includes that of the six residents who are currently residing in the low-income units of the *Healing Lodge*.

One of these artists is Lou Anne Neel, from the Kwagiulth tribe. She is currently an art student at Vancouver's prestigious *Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design*. Before she moved into the *Healing Lodge* Lou Anne changed her place four times within eleven months and had a hard time finding an adequate place that she could live and work in as an artist on a limited budget.⁹⁰⁶ She heard about the opening of the *Healing Lodge* by coincidence and was accepted within only two weeks after submitting her application to the Vancouver Native Housing Society.⁹⁰⁷ What Lou Anne appreciates most about her new home is the habitual space of her unit and the ability to combine live and work space in one (**Pic. 88 a and b**). She tells with great enthusiasm about the artists' plan to put a Workshop space in the building's basement that will give the artist "a sense of great ownership and respect in order to create something collectively together."⁹⁰⁸ This workshop place is one of three connecting architectural elements between *Healing Lodge* and the VHNS' adjacent 98-unit building, called *Ian Leman Building* that was also built Joe Wai in 2000 (**Pic. 89**). On the ground floor the two buildings are connected through the mutual courtyard placed in the centre of the rear sides of both buildings (**Pic. 90**). On the sixth floor there is a bridge that connects both buildings and enables the residents of the *Healing Lodge* to share the community room of the *Ian Leman* building. Such architectural interfaces serve to foster the community spirit amongst residents.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁵ The idea behind this instalment of the video animations comes from historian Joseph MacLean who works for the Vancouver Native Housing Society and owns a multimedia company, *Numediagroup*. See: interview David Eddy, p.5. MacLean was kind enough to explain the video's depiction to me: the animation to the left depicts the story of the animal world on an island. The animals find themselves again in the pavement animation that depicts the water of the lake. The animation to the right depicts a surrealist video animation that shows the mural "Through the Eye of the Raven" filmed with a robotic camera on a helicopter. The top of the building where the mural is placed is shown in the video animation on the floor.

⁹⁰⁶ NEEL, Lou Anne, Interview with the author. 30th July 2012.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid.

The materials used for both building's façade are similar in colour and yet through the different styles they differ. That makes them connect with each other while at the same time enables them to remain their own individuality.

Healing Lodge is towered on its west by an eight-storey private condominium building, named *33 West Pender* (**Pic. 91**). This building was built in 2009 and is a result of the redevelopment of Woodward's that is now increasingly attracting private condominium buyers and investors in the neighbourhood.⁹⁰⁹ Besides *33 West Pender's* significant height, its predominant glass façade and vertical symmetry clearly distinguishes itself from the heritage style of the adjacent *Healing Lodge*. And yet, the two adjacent buildings perfectly harmonize. Because of its creative design and cleverly combined heritage elements with First Nations architecture the façade of *Healing Lodge* stands out amongst the building trilogy on (33 West Pender and Ian Leman) West Pender Street.

5.7.4 Why Artist are not always Pioneers of Gentrification

The opening of *Healing Lodge* received a lot of media attention accompanied by the presence of high ranked figures in BC's political realm. One may wonder why the City of Vancouver along with the Province put so much effort into reaching out to the public so much? But behind the subtext is a pretext: The Province also understands the importance of attracting market developers into areas of the Downtown Eastside.⁹¹⁰ The Vancouver Native Housing Society has put a lot of effort in communicating with the owners of '33 West Pender' in order to make sure that coexistence between the non-profit society, its residents and the owners of the private condominium units functions harmoniously.⁹¹¹ The Art Gallery on the ground floor is a further attempt to attract financially sound tourists who will help revitalize the area.

Signs of change in Vancouver's notorious area can be seen in real estate advertising campaigns such as that of *Eastvancouver Homes*, which depicts Downtown Eastside as "the oldest neighbourhood of Vancouver," that is "home to some of the most historically significant buildings and areas in the city."⁹¹² Old neighbourhoods are valuable

⁹⁰⁹ On Sotheby's realtor website the neighbourhood is described as "Centrally located between Gastown, Yaletown and Downtown, 33 West Pender offer convenient access to all of downtown Vancouver." Source: Sotheby's International Realty. "33 West Pender." N.d. Web. 22 JUN 2012.

⁹¹⁰ Interview Naomi Brunemeyer, 19 June 2012.

⁹¹¹ Interview David Eddy, 9 July 2012. Prior to the construction the VHNS arranged a meeting with the president and vice-president of the 33 West Pender Building in order to clarify any questions and concerns regarding construction and meaning of the building.

⁹¹² WEEKS, Patrick. "Downtown Eastside Houses." *Eastvancouverhomes.com*. n.d. Web. 23 July. 2012.

and heritage buildings historically significant. In order to use this as a marketing trend in urban planning, City of Vancouver announced in July 2012 a Renewal Strategy Plan for Chinatown, that will include plans to decorate “vacant store- fronts, revitalizing laneways, restoring heritage buildings and deteriorating building facades, organizing regular cleanup events, and working to attract new tenants into the area.”⁹¹³

There are too many non-market and converted SRO buildings in this area. How will the city be able to attract new tenants in this area? A building such as the *Healing Lodge* that houses low-income artists may be in tune of the City’s intention to “bring life back to the neighbourhood.”⁹¹⁴ After all numerous gentrification theories identify artists as the pioneers of gentrification.

But *Healing Lodge* brings another aspect into light that challenges the theory of gentrification: ethnicity! When I told Professor Ley about the housing project he said: “I doubt it will valorise the area. The reason for that is that the presence of Aboriginal people will not contribute to a neighbourhood’s attractiveness.”⁹¹⁵

Even though he puts artists in lieu of the “New Middle Class” in this case he questions the attractiveness of Aboriginal people for the middle-class. Ley concludes that the area around West Pender and Abbotts Street will only have the potential to valorise if more art galleries will settle there on a permanent basis.⁹¹⁶ Ley has as point in a different context: Affordable housing is about inclusivity and diversity. One needs to question whether the concept of a building that houses exclusively members of one particular ethnic group is too exclusive and limited in possibilities. Matt Herrn once said: “All culture is about forgetting and suppression, and sometimes (maybe even often) it is an excellent idea. The issue is: who is remembering what, in what ways, and why? If we are going to build a real city, we have to get our ideas about our place - both within history and natural world – clarified.”⁹¹⁷

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored dwelling options for low-income households in Vancouver and demonstrated that “North America’s least affordable city” does have some very innova-

⁹¹³ MA, Suzanne. “Chinatown Renewal Strategy.” *Metronews.ca*. 26 JUL 2012. Web. 26th JUL 2012.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid.

⁹¹⁵ Interview Professor David Ley, 23rd July 2012. p. 2-3.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid

⁹¹⁷ HERN, Matt. *Common Ground in A Liquid City. Essays In Defense Of An Urban Future*. Oakland: AK Press, 2010. Print, p. 25.

tive housing solutions that are set in and connected to the DTES's urban transformation process.

Vancouver demonstrated its innovativeness and progressiveness in architecture already in the 1930s with the emergence of its own distinct dwelling architecture of *West Coast Modernism*. Its modernist architects emphasised that building homes should be less bureaucratic, more creative and daring. BC's architects expressed a concern for housing for the low-income due to the housing shortage that was caused by World War II. This expression of concern blossomed into action in BC's biggest city in the beginning of the 21st century. This time the affordability problem is not caused by a World War but by Vancouver's scarcity in space caused through its growing popularity as a livable city that also makes it the least affordable city in North America. Vancouver's second distinct architectural style, the *Vancouver Model* was developed in the 1990s in order to solve the shortage problem in space. The typology of the buildings consists of long vertical towers resting on horizontal podiums. However these high-priced, high-rise buildings keep out Vancouver's low-income population to dwell in these buildings.

In order to solve this affordability crisis Vancouver set its focus on innovate housing solutions for low-income households in the Downtown Eastside, an area that is known for being Canada's poorest postal code. DTES is also the scene for committed architects, such as Joe Wai or Gregory Henriquez who (re-)designed co-operative houses, social houses and mixed-income houses that lift up the residents' livability to better standards as shown in *Healing Lodge* or *Lore Krill I* and *II* co-ops.

Similar to Victoria's Fernwood the DTES has gained significantly in value through a dynamic revitalization process of derelict buildings. Aside from the heritage look the buildings' original function and purpose as places of power and economic success are being revived as well. This becomes most evident in the case of the redevelopment of the former department store *Woodward's* in Vancouver's DTES.

Woodward's Redevelopment comprises the heritage renovation aspect of Fernwood's *Cornerstone* and heritage imitation of *Park Place* in one complex. The façade of the original Woodward's department store has been preserved and renovated. The newly built "W" Tower is an imitation just like *Park Place*.

Healing Lodge and *Woodward's* can also be understood as part of the City's attempt to attract affluent buyers and renters into this derelict area. By doing so, affordable housing projects gain a double function: On the one hand the preservation and restoration of old run-down buildings improve the livability of low-income residents without displac-

ing them. On the other hand the City has discovered the middle-class' taste for the aesthetics of old buildings. Therefore revitalizing these early 20th century buildings to a livable standard becomes an incentive for middle class households to move into the Downtown Eastside. This has been demonstrated in the case of the *Burns Block* building that targets at moderate-income young, urban singles who seek to live near the Downtown core with rent at an accessible price.

All the examined buildings in the DTES form a new contextuality in a city that is desperately trying to accommodate all its residents in a livable and affordable way.

It was suggested that mixed-income co-ops, such as *Lore Krill I* and *II* are a promising solution for affordable and livable dwelling options amongst different income classes. Due to the democratic way they work the buildings can be used by all members of the co-ops on an equal level.

Mixed-income dwelling projects in the DTES such as the *Woodward's* are an inviting topic to discuss in many disciplines in academia due to the DTES' socio-economic position that has proven to be a troublesome locale throughout its history. However these debates focus only on the valorisation process of already economically poor areas. Little research has been done in well-established middle-class neighbourhoods that experience change through the migration of lower-class households.

In the following chapter, "Vancouver II" case studies in Vancouver's neighbourhoods *West End* and *Downtown South*, the architecture of affordable housing projects in already valorised neighbourhoods will be examined.

CHAPTER SIX The Real Mix – Low-Income in Middle-Class Neighborhoods

Look East [from Cambie & Hastings] and you can see the poorest urban area in Canada: people all over the streets, shooting up openly, huge lines in front of soup kitchens, lots of people running very low on hope.

Turn around 180 degrees and look west up Hastings and you see gleaming towers, parking lots full of hedge-funders, and lots of people running very low on ethics.⁹¹⁸

The economic and cultural landscape of Vancouver's neighbourhoods *Downtown South*, *Coal Harbour* and *West End* contrasts sharply to that of Vancouver's DTES.⁹¹⁹

The former three are well-established middle- to upper class neighbourhoods set on the city's downtown peninsula. Each of the three depicted case studies is set in one of these neighbourhoods with a brief description of the neighbourhoods' economical status and the neighbourhoods' real estate rentals and prices.

In academia, there has been a strong focus on the gentrification process of run-down inner-city neighbourhoods and the displacement of the poor by society's affluent population. This may also have today with the origin of the term "gentrification" as Glass' focus on this process was set in London's "working class quarters [...] have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower."⁹²⁰

However little attention has been paid to the reverse: What happens when low-income households establish, a habitable terrain in middle-class or even upper-class areas?

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate Vancouver's ability of social mix in already valorised neighbourhoods – contrasting to the kind of mix happening in DTES.

Charles Jencks defines architecture as "a political art because it crystallizes the public realm, shared social values and long-term cultural goals."⁹²¹ Taking his statement into account this chapter will explore the question to what extent architecture serves as a mediator for shared social values and cultural goals by compromising the sloping class differences in a neighbourhood? And what role do non-profit organizations that run the projects play? This will be particularly interesting to examine in the context of middle-class "Not In My Background" mentality that can occur with the relocation of low-income households into already established middle-class neighbourhoods.

The modest quantity of this chapter compared to that of "Vancouver I" is a reflection of the recentness of this type of affordable housing concept in Vancouver. It needs to be

⁹¹⁸ Hern, Matt. "Common Ground in A Liquid City." p. 12.

⁹¹⁹ For example in 2006 annual Median Employment Income of the DTES was \$20,002 compared to \$38,397 for Downtown South. Source: Canada Revenue Agency, 2006 Neighbourhood Income and Demographics, "Table Median Employment Income." BC Stats, April 2008. PDF. 3 AUG 2012.

⁹²⁰ GLASS, Ruth et al. *London: Aspects of Change*. London: Maggibbon & Kee, 1964. Print. Introduction, xviii-xix.

⁹²¹ Jencks, Charles. "Modern Movements in Architecture." p.30.

explored and tried out more in order to be a fully integrated part of the greater city's urban planning process. In this chapter it is argued that this is one of the most winning ways to diminish social imbalances, avoid ghettoisation and acknowledge the importance of a building's architecture in the wider urban planning landscape.

It is further argued that all types of low-income households can contribute towards a peaceful coexistence in middle-class areas if the housing projects are kept small in size and supervised properly. In order to undermine this statement the three case studies depicted in this chapter include projects for those who are hardest to house, that is the homeless and mentally ill, low-income singles and families and the last project houses working artists, who, according to Ley get along with the Middle Class the most due to their high cultural disposition.

6.1 Downtown South

Downtown South comprises an approximately 35.6 hectare-wide area from Burrard Street to False Creek North (**Pic. 92**). Most of the *Living First Strategy's* conversion from office space to living space in the *Vancouver Model* high-rise towers took place in this area, which is one reason why this is one of Vancouver's most densely populated areas (135 people per hectare).⁹²² The high density of this area is a reflection of its popularity due to its many amenities, its location and proximity to work place and availability of public transportations. With growing popularity the area loses affordability:

Downtown South is part of the "Vancouver Business Improvement Area" where almost 70 percent of its residents are renters living in a single person household.⁹²³ You can expect to pay a monthly rent of \$ 1.600 to \$ 2.500 for a one-bedroom apartment on blocks such as Hamilton Street and Seymour Street and Robson Street and Homer Street.⁹²⁴ This is more than double the average monthly rent (1194,-) for the rest of Downtown.⁹²⁵ The need for affordable residential buildings in this area becomes obvious. Affordable housing projects in costly areas such as Downtown South are the true definition of mixed-income neighbourhoods as economically sound households share common space with people who are financially less fortunate. Part of this successful integration of social housing projects in Downtown South is due to the City's 'Development Cost Levy' (hereafter DCL) that was introduced in 1992.⁹²⁶ Part of the money made through this levy enables the City to provide affordable housing for those who are displaced due to a new development.⁹²⁷

The DCLs are one of the city's major revenue sources, as any developer who wants to build new property in the city has to pay this fee per square foot.⁹²⁸ However the non-

⁹²² City of Vancouver. "Downtown South." PDF. *Vancouver.ca* n.d. 23. AUG 2012, p.42.

⁹²³ WHITLOCK, Rob. *Selection of Sponsor for 788 Richards Street*. 26 JUN 2007. Report RTS No. 06849. Print, p.4. According to the website of *Blocktalk*, 63,1 percent of Downtown South's residents live in a single person household with an annual income of \$ 43.658 in 2012. Source: "Downtown Vancouver Lifestyle & Demographics." *Blocktalk.ca*. n.d. web. 23. AUG 2012.

⁹²⁴ These data have been taken from the RE/MAX Crest Realty on *www.6717000.com*. 2012. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁹²⁵ Rental Market Report - Vancouver and Abbotsford CMAs. Fall 2011. Table: 1.1.2 Private Apartment Average Rents (\$) by Zone and Bedroom Type. 2011.PDF. 8 AUG 2012.

⁹²⁶ The DCL was first amended On March 21, 1989. Downtown South was the first area out of 11 to have this levy introduced in 1992. It allowed the city to levy where new development contributes to the need for new parks, day care facilities, replacement affordable housing and engineering infrastructure. Source: MADDEN, John & KUHLMANN, Thor. "Downtown South Development Cost Levy: Rate Update." City of Vancouver. August 27, 2004. PDF. 8 AUG 2012.

⁹²⁷ SLACK, Enid. "Development Charges in Canadian Municipalities: An Analysis." ICURR Publications, Toronto. JUL 1994. Print, p.9.

⁹²⁸ Levy for the general area is \$134.55 for each square meter of floor area. The fee varies according to purpose of usage and type of building. See, City of Vancouver. "Vancouver Development Cost Levy By-Law NO. 9755. 25 Nov 2008. Vancouver City Archives. File - By-law no. 9755.

market rental project *Doug Story Apartments* is to date the only example of affordable housing where the City actually *waived* this DCL.⁹²⁹ And yet the project turned into a win-win situation for all parties.⁹³⁰

⁹²⁹ GRAY, Cameron and MAUBOULES, Celine. "788 Richards Street: SRA Permit Application for the Passlin Hotel." Administrative Report. City of Vancouver. 28 SEP, 2004. The City would waive the "Downtown South Development Cost Levy" funds worth of \$720,000.

⁹³⁰ "Doug Story Apartments." Housing Awards. Best Practices in Affordable Housing. 2010. PDF. OCT 2012.

6.2 *Doug Story Apartments* – Precedence in Urban Planning

Doug Story Apartments is one of the most architecturally inviting projects that seamlessly “blends in” with the adjacent high-end residential building *L’Hermitage* (Pic. 93). This is achieved through the project’s setting in the middle-class neighbourhood of Downtown South as well as the building’s architectural design.

The high-end *L’Hermitage* project consists of a two-storey commercial podium, a luxury boutique hotel, and market condominium residential components and shares the same site as the *Doug Story Apartments*. The total building area comprises 27313 square meters of space built on a 3341 square meters site area.⁹³¹ *L’Hermitage’s* developer is *Millennium Robson Group* (hereafter *Millennium Group*) who was also one of the few who proposed for the design of the *Woodward’s Redevelopment* in 2003.⁹³² The developer is specialized in luxury condominium projects such as the Brownstone English-style townhouses in Metro Vancouver’s most expensive municipalities West Vancouver.⁹³³ With their *L’Hermitage* project they have demonstrated that luxury can blend in with affordability perfectly well.

The project’s realization is a precedence case in the City of Vancouver’s Urban Planning history: The site where *Doug Story Apartments* stands today was part of a larger site belonging to *Millennium Group* who in 2004 applied for the demolition of the very derelict *Passlin Hotel* in order to redevelop the entire site for the developer’s mixed-use luxury hotel and condominium real estate project.⁹³⁴ The potential consequence of the SRO’s demolition would have been the displacement of the 37 tenants who lived in the former *Passlin Hotel*. In order to protect the status of the building as a social housing building and its 37 tenants the City and developer agreed on a “density for affordability” deal:

The developer, *Millennium Group* agreed to provide the City with the renovation and conversion of the former *Passlin Hotel* as a turn-key building.⁹³⁵ This means in return the developer got permission to have additional bonus density of 6967,5 square meters

⁹³¹ Project Data Gomberoff Bell Lyon Architects Inc. prepared by for “*L’Herminage* 788 Richards Street”. 30 March 2004. Courtesy *gBL Architects*.

⁹³² MITHAM, Peter. “Feds put pair of Vancouver landmarks on the sales block.” *Business in Vancouver*. 13 March 2007, p.12.

⁹³³ For further information as well as image material of the buildings, see the developer’s website: www.lhvancouver.com.

⁹³⁴ Gray, Cameron and Mauboules. “788 Richards Street”

⁹³⁵ Whitlock, Rob. Selection of Sponsor for 788 Richards Street. 26 JUN 2007. PDF, p.3.

(75,000 sq. ft.).⁹³⁶ More density means more money for the developer as they can build and sell additional amounts of condominium units. By waiving this fee the City contributed majorly towards the project's realisation, which was a win-win situation for both parties.⁹³⁷

The project was realised through a joint venture between developer, the City of Vancouver, the Province through BC Housing and the non-profit society *Coast Mental Health Foundation*. The architecture firm *Gomberoff Bell Lyon (gBL Architects Inc.)* was in charge of the entire development from condominium-, hotel towers to affordable housing project.⁹³⁸

The cost of the entire demolition and new construction of the former SRO Hotel building was \$ 5,765,000 and was financed by Millennium Group itself.⁹³⁹ BC Housing gave rent supplements through Shelter Aid for Elderly Renters (SAFER) for five to seven of the units.⁹⁴⁰ The City chose *Coast Mental Health Foundation (Coast)* to run and operate the building, by arguing that, "Coast has extensive experience with projects involving both independent and supportive living environments."⁹⁴¹ Further reason for the selection of *Coast* was the fact that they already demonstrated successful work with community homes in the Downtown South.

Doug Story Apartment aims to house low-income seniors as well as people dealing with mental illnesses. The building comprises 38 self-contained studio apartments for a monthly rent of \$375 and another seven studios for seniors for \$700 a month through BC Housing's SAFER program. One additional unit for is the resident manager who also resides in the building.⁹⁴² It is the non-profit's purpose to provide its residents a place that "fosters an environment that promotes restoring health, personal growth, and a return into society."⁹⁴³

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ WONG, Catherine. Council Report "Single Room Accommodation SRA By-Law status Report." *Vancouver.ca* 30 NOV. 2006. PDF. 20. Sept. 2012.

⁹³⁸ Stu Lyon founded the firm in 1999. His partners are Amela Brudar and Tom Bell.

⁹³⁹ Gray, Cameron and Mauboules, Celine. "788 Richards Street" p.2.

⁹⁴⁰ Leaflet "Doug Story Apartments. Housing Awards Best Practices 2010." Prepared by CMHC.

⁹⁴¹ Whitlock, Rob. "Selection of Sponsor for 788 Richards Street."

⁹⁴² Ibid.

⁹⁴³ Coast Mental Health. "About Us. Coast Mental Health's Mission And Purpose." n.d. Web. 12 OCT 2012. www.coastmentalhealth.com.

6.2.1 *L'Hermitage* and *Doug Story* - Luxury Blends in with Affordability

Doug Story Apartments is a replacement of an SRO building, called *Passlin Hotel*.⁹⁴⁴ The building was built in 1911 by an anonymous architect. The former SRO Hotel was described as a “drug-infested” derelict building ready to be demolished in media.⁹⁴⁵

It was then torn down and replaced by *Doug Story* in 2008 (**Pic. 94**).

Unlike *Burns Block* and *Healing Lodge*, the *Doug Story* building was not a heritage-registered building, which made the demolition of the entire site possible.⁹⁴⁶ The architecture firm *gBL Architects Inc* built and designed the new building 6-story building from the ground up in 2004 and opened in May 2008 as *Doug Story Apartment*.⁹⁴⁷

The six-storey building is run by the non-profit society *Coast Mental Health Foundation*. The current building is named in memory of former member of the Coast Resource Centre who died in 2006 at the age of 47. Doug (last name not known) lived in SROs most of his life. The Foundation thinks his life could have been longer and healthier would he have had decent and livable housing situations.⁹⁴⁸

Not only did the City manage to maintain the existing space for low-income residents it also enabled more individuals to move into the new building with more livable space while keeping the apartments affordable.

The *Doug Story* building that comprises a residential area of 2289 square meters (24,639 ft.²) is placed on the north elevation of the 3341,73 square meters *L'Hermitage* lot facing towards the intersection of Richards and Georgia Street.

The entire *L'Hermitage* project consists of 29-storey tower, 122 meters in height (**Pic. 95 a and b**). The third and fourth floor offer 29 luxury hotel suits. The remaining upper floors as well as ground and second floors offer a total of 223 residential units ranging from one-to three bedroom condominiums and two penthouses (on the 29th floor). The tower rests on a horizontal podium 82 meter in height. It places a high-end restaurant, supermarket, several commercial stores and a luxury-furnishing store on six stories. The entire complex is a play vertical and horizontal volumes and heights, the usage of different materials and colours and distinctions of transparency and opaque surface. The

⁹⁴⁴ GRISCTI, Verity & HULL, Joshua. “Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada. 1800 to 1950.” Online. *dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org*. The building’s original architect was William Marshall Dodd (1870-1948).

⁹⁴⁵ RENNIE, Bob. “New Models of Affordable Vancouver Housing.” *2 BC Business. bcbusinessonline.ca*. 3 JUN 2009. Web. 23 AUG 2012.

⁹⁴⁶ “Doug Story Apartments.” Housing Awards 2012.”

⁹⁴⁷ Lyon, Stu. Interview with the author. 23 AUG, 2012.

⁹⁴⁸ “Doug Story Residence.” *coastmentalhealth.com*. 25 JUN 2008. Web. 27 JUN 2012.

122-meter tower consists of a slimmer part that erects from the ground through the highest floor and two shorter but wider parts. This disposition of volumes creates three vertically lined facades that are also visually distinct from each other. The tallest part of the tower is made of a lucid glass tower, the second tallest part is made of the bright limestone and the shortest part is made of a red brick. The podium's façade comprises all the vertical elements with limestone material on the lower part, the red brick on the upper and the lucid glass on the recessed podium part.

The interiors are furnished with *Armani Casa* furniture, equipped with wide planked hardwood floors in Ebony or Natural, floor to ceiling windows, and luxury kitchen and marble-floored bathrooms.⁹⁴⁹

The luxury Hotel features an intimate library lounge, club lounge and a fully equipped health club available for the residents and hotel guests.

All the luxury comes with a price: At the time of construction the buildings were sold for a price range between \$394.000 to \$ 1.699.900.⁹⁵⁰

One primary focus of *gBL Architects* was the architectural reduction of class differences of the two buildings. This has been achieved primarily through good quality finishes, such as limestone, for the *Doug Storey's* façade.⁹⁵¹ Clearly the site's dominant façade consists of painted brick making the *L'Hermitage* tower and podium easily distinguishable from the surrounding buildings. While *Doug Story's* bright limestone façade contrasts from *L'Hermitage's* red brick the two buildings connect again through the *L'Hermitage's* usage of the same limestone along the luxury building's lower part of its entire west elevation. That way affordability elegantly and effortlessly blends into luxury. *Doug Story's* glass entrance door is recessed from the sidewalk and covered by a round-arched design that complements the appearance of the entire façade (see **Pic. 96**). It was the architecture firm's intention to design the lobby visually at the same level as the adjacent lobby of the *L'Hermitage* building.⁹⁵² The rectangular lobby is well lit by two larger pendant lamps and several smaller built in ceiling lights forming a rhythmic pattern on the ceiling. The lobby's floor is made of square-shaped mosaic design adding a touch of artistic space to the entrance (**Pic. 97**).

The high quality and elegant architectural solutions continue in the building's interior spaces: The studios are between 32 to 35 square meters in size, which makes these units

⁹⁴⁹ "L'Hermitage offers an oasis of style on Robson Street." *Westender*. 27 OCT to 2 NOV 2005, p.37.

⁹⁵⁰ "Downtown Living on Robson. L'Hermitage." *lhvancover.com*.

⁹⁵¹ Lyon, Stu. Interview 23th AUG, 2012.

⁹⁵² *Ibid*.

slightly bigger than those of *Burns Block* yet not big enough to ignore any available space.

To compromise the limited space the architect made the most out of the floor layout through an open floor plan: Inspired by the architecture of *West Coast Modernism* the unit's L-shaped footprints begin at the door and float seamlessly into a square shaped well-lit living room. Another element of the *West Coast Modernism* is shown in the floor-to-ceiling windows placed at every living room that let enough day-light into the living space (**Pic. 98**). A small kitchen is smoothly integrated in the hallway space (**Pic. 99**). A small 2 x 2,5 meters space opposite the kitchen provides just enough room to put a king sized bed in. Two closets integrated into the wall and a built walk-in closet measuring about 1 x 1,2meters provide storage space without taking any extra living space away. The floor is made of dark brown sheet vinyl that responds in a strong but balanced contrast to the clean, white walls. The units face west-, north- and east. Fourteen units are provided with small balconies (six towards the west looking at Richards Street and eight on the east looking at a back alley) (**Pic. 100**). A spacious amenity room (72 m²) is placed on the second floor with a large terrace in front facing east. The amenity room is equipped with a basic kitchen, a flat screen TV, bookshelves, couches, tables and chairs (**Pic. 101**). This is where the residents meet once a month to socialize, cook, eat and discuss unresolved issues. Because of the kind of tenants the *Doug Story* building houses there are quite a lot unresolved issues.

The residents of the Doug Story Apartment consist of 37 males and only 8 females (excluding the male building manager). Only three have an occupation the remaining ones live on some kind of support. The superior number of male residents leads to many tensions and aggressions amongst the tenants, which is one reason why the transitional service worker Hamish MacDonald wishes for more female tenants in the building.⁹⁵³ Another reason is that he thinks females are most vulnerable and therefore need adequate housing, too.

Extra room for bikes is provided in the first level of the parkade underneath the site. There are also seven parking stalls provided for *Coast* employees and residents. Most

⁹⁵³ I visited the Doug Story Apartment in August 2012 and talked to Hamish MacDonald about his work and the building. The eligibility criteria for getting a subsidized housing with *Coast Mental Health* are based on age, financial need, the ability to live independently without constant supervision and diagnosis of a serious and persistent mental illness. Source: "Coast Mental Health. What We Do." Supported Housing. n.d. Web. 12 OCT 2012. www.coastmentalhealth.com.

people who live on welfare or a modest pension cannot afford owning a car. Consequently it is only one resident actually uses the stall for her car.⁹⁵⁴

Evidently, one can question the authenticity of the project given its small size compared to the very present and dominant *L'Hermitage* complex. This argument can also be reinforced by the fact that the green rooftop garden on top of the *Doug Story Apartments'* building belongs to the residents of the *L'Hermitage* building only. But it is exactly the modest size of the non-market building that contributes towards the successful balance of low-income and upper-class residents living on one site. According to the architect Stu Lyon this building enables the residents of both buildings to "coexist quite comfortably with each other."⁹⁵⁵ Factors that contribute to this coexistence are the separate entrance doors for each building and the "big wall between the two buildings."⁹⁵⁶

In the case of Woodward's the concern was that the building will rise the value of land and displace the low-income population of the DTES through the migration of middle-class. The opposite was the case in Downtown South: The developer *Millennium Group* did have some concerns regarding the value of their property in connection to the residents next door. It showed that architecture's ability to peaceful coexistence and diminished class differences is valid to a certain extent only.

What helped to solve issues was reconciliation between the non-profit and the developer. Talks and reconnaissance lead to problem-solving and the decreasing of prejudices amongst the two different clienteles.

⁹⁵⁴ According to Hamish Macdonald this parking stall is reserved for a female resident of *Doug Story* who is working full time as a manager of a company.

⁹⁵⁵ LYON, Stu. Interview 23 AUG, 2012.

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid.

6.3 West End – the “Urban Miracle”⁹⁵⁷

Mole Hill and *Performing Arts Lodge* are examples of mixed-income residential projects located in the popular and affluent neighbourhood of West End and Coal Harbour. The West End neighbourhood covers 1.3 km square meters of land ranging from Beach Avenue to West Georgia Street along Lagoon Drive in the west, and Beach Avenue to Haro Street along Burrard Street in the east. This area is also said to be North America's highest residential densities.⁹⁵⁸ Gordon Price calls it “an urban miracle.”⁹⁵⁹ The miracle refers to the juxtaposition of the quantitatively high number of high-rise buildings that emerged in West End from the 1970s on and suggest anonymity through urban density and the community feeling along with the amount of green space that causes security and a sense of neighbourhood.⁹⁶⁰ This is most evident in West End's *Mole Hill*, the last intact heritage block in Vancouver. Walking along the blocks of Comox, Thurlow, Pendrell and Bute (**Pic. 102**) makes you feel you are travelling back to the late 19th century. A total of 36 market and non-market houses – 34 heritage-designated – paint a picturesque picture of cosy and colourful two storey houses with gabled rooftops and front porches set back behind green front yards along tree lined streets. Life is good at *Mole Hill!*

With an average number of 1.5 people per household, the neighbourhood's population is slightly below Vancouver's average (2.2) and reflects the need for more studio and one-bedroom apartments.⁹⁶¹ West End has an unusually high percentage of renters (81%) compared to the rest of Vancouver (56%) with approximately 99% of the dwell-

⁹⁵⁷ PRICE, Gordon. “The Deceptive City. How Vancouver Built a City for the 21st Century on the Foundations of the 19th.” Essay, n.d. p.5. Gordon Price was City Councillor of the City of Vancouver from 1986-2002. He posts frequently on his blog “Price Tags,” <http://pricetags.wordpress.com> on issues regarding Vancouver, e.g. bike or no bike lanes in the city.

⁹⁵⁸ BODDY, Trevor. “Downtown's Last Resort.” *cdnarchitect.com*. Canadian Architect. August 2006. Web. 29 APR 2007. Until the 1990s, the West End had the highest population density of any neighborhood in the Vancouver. But in the 21st century it is only the 4th most dense neighborhood with 217 people per hectare land. Source: Community Statistics 2012. “Population Density.” Census Canada 2011. 2012. PDF, p.19.

⁹⁵⁹ Price, Gordon. “The Deceptive City.” p.5.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid, p.6.

⁹⁶¹ City of Vancouver. Community Statistics 2012. “West End. Exploring the Community.” “Household Size.” Census Canada 2011. 2012, p. 23. The West End has an above average percentage of Common Law households (85%) compared to the rest of Vancouver (83%). This might be due to the historically high percentage of gays and lesbians living in that area. The Davie Village along Davie Street is the City's most visible gay neighborhood and host of the annual Gay Parade that takes place in August. See, City of Vancouver. “West End.” *BizMap*. 2006 Neighbourhood Area Profile. PDF. Figure 10: Family composition, p.5.

ing types being apartments.⁹⁶² Scarcity and high value of land make affordable housing for low-income households nearly impossible. The vacancy rate for a studio or for a one-bedroom apartment in the West End was a modest 0.8 percent, which is below the average vacancy rate of 1.0 percent for overall Vancouver.⁹⁶³ The area's popularity is also reflected in the value of the land: West End has the second highest value (\$551) per square meter for owner and investor occupied units after the Downtown Business District (\$616).⁹⁶⁴ Mixed-income housing projects add a valuable and much needed component to this area.

Mole Hill, the first example of affordable architecture, is located in the heart of West End adjacent to Nelson Park.

6.3.1 *Mole Hill* – Vancouver's last intact Neighborhood of Heritage Houses

Mole Hill is the last remaining intact residential block of Vancouver's oldest residential houses. It consists of 36 Edwardian and Victorian styled buildings, ranging from two to three stories, which are interspersed in, the West End's block of Thurlow and Bute, and Comox and Pendrell. The oldest house, located at 1104 Bute, was built as early as in 1893. The newest building originates from 1942.⁹⁶⁵ Out of the 36 houses, 27 are city-owned and provide low- to middle income residents with 168 mixed-income residential units.⁹⁶⁶ The houses accommodate in total 60 studio apartments, 78 one-bedroom, 30 two-bedroom and ten three-bedroom apartments.⁹⁶⁷ The maximum capacity to house people in the 168 units is up to 300 people depending on demographics and household income. Rent for the market ranges from \$548 to \$ 1161 per month.⁹⁶⁸ Rent for the non-market units depend on the tenants' income (30 percent).

The renovation of the entire block took place in two phases going from 1999 to 2003. The total cost for the renovation was \$27 million.⁹⁶⁹ Out of this amount, BC Housing

⁹⁶² Block Talk. "West End Lifestyle & Demographics." *blocktalk.ca*. n.d. Web. 03 SEP 2012.

⁹⁶³ "Rental Market Report. Vancouver and Abbotsford" CMA. Fall 2010. Table 1.1.1.

⁹⁶⁴ Vancouver Condominium Rental Study. CitySpaces Consulting, December 2009. Section 1—21. Table 1.13: Average Value of Unit. Average cost of land for Vancouver was \$529 per square meter.

⁹⁶⁵ The house on 1104 Bute Street is now privately owned by a couple who also live in their residency.

⁹⁶⁶ There are 111 non-market units and 67 market-rent units. There is no distinction in space for the market and non-market units as each can be placed and mixed in one house at the same time.

⁹⁶⁷ Housing Awards 2006. Winning Best Practices in Affordable Housing. "Innovative B.C. Partnership Revitalizes Vancouver Heritage Community From the Inside Out." 2006. CMHC.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid.

covered the capital cost of \$21.5 million. The remaining money needed was raised through the financial support of various foundations.⁹⁷⁰ The 27 houses salvaged through this project are run by the Mole Hill Living Heritage Society active since 1999. This not-for-profit society was founded as a result of massive anti-gentrification protests in the West End by its residents. The society's mission is to secure affordable housing for low and middle-income singles, seniors and families within the Mole Hill community. It also manages the surrounding land and the "Living Lane." Its office is placed in one of the restored old houses on 1169 Pendrell Street. The City of Vancouver agreed to lease the land to the Society at a no fee for 60 years.⁹⁷¹ The renovation and restoration of the houses have been realised in a joint venture between architecture firm Hotson Bakker and the architect Sean McEwen. *Donald Luxton & Associates* was the heritage consultancy company. For the landscaping part the landscape architecture firm *Durante Kreuk Ltd.* Additionally to the restoration of the heritage houses the project also included the construction of one new building, three daycares, gardens and greenway links, as well as the Dr. Peter Center day care center facility for people living with HIV/AIDS.

This project is reminiscent of the ensemble of heritage buildings next to a park in Victoria's York Street only six times bigger in quantity and presence.

⁹⁷⁰ McEWEN, Sean. Interview with the author. 24 May 2012.

⁹⁷¹ JESSUP, J. "Block Plan, Lease Terms, Tenant Relocation Program and Other Arrangements for the Mole Hill Non-Market Housing Project." Administrative Report. Director of the Housing Centre, 6 JUN 2000.

6.3.2 From *Nelson Park* to *Mole Hill* - History and project's Realization

Mole Hill's function and aesthetic features as it stands today are the results of a 'Right to the City' Movement that took place in the 1990s. The movement's goal was to prevent gentrification and displacement, preserve heritage character and enable low- to moderate income residents a place to live. Mole Hill also stands for a city's strong community involvement and the successful negotiations between an umbrella group of more than 30 organizations and individuals, called "the Friends of Mole Hill" and their former opponent the City of Vancouver.

In the 1940s the eastern part of the West End experienced a decline in its population, which led to houses being left to deteriorate.⁹⁷² The area became more and more undesirable.⁹⁷³ From 1951 and 1984, the City, in an attempt to revitalise the declined area, bought and demolished properties in order to make space for more green parks and lanes.⁹⁷⁴ An unfortunate turn of event of this is that during the period of demolition and expansion the apartment units began to be rented out by the city on a month-to-month basis to tenants at a low cost.⁹⁷⁵ This was because the city officials prioritized the creation of parks and green spaces over secured affordable housing.

Such a development project was considered disrespectful towards low-income residents and the nature of heritage architecture. It provoked a "public outcry" against the city's plans to demolish the heritage buildings that were considered too valuable in terms of heritage and affordability to be demolished.⁹⁷⁶

Owing to the active participation of the residents of *Mole Hill* and "Mole Hill Living Heritage Society", some of the oldest buildings of Vancouver were able to survive and renovated instead of being demolished.

The protests attracted sufficient media coverage so that the anti-demolition demonstrations remain well documented in newspapers. In fact the Society was so successful in earning media coverage that then City Councillor George Pull who was the initiator of the pro-demolition project remarked in an interview with disdain: "If I am going to congratulate you on anything it would be on the aggressiveness of your organization and

⁹⁷² PETRIE, Blair. *Mole Hill Living Heritage*. The Mole Hill Living Heritage Society. Vancouver. 1995. Print, p.13.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ BULA, Frances. "Heritage Fight Pays off as City Agrees to save Mole Hill Area." *Vancouver Sun*. 3rd APR 1996, B1.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁶ Petrie, Blair. "Mole Hill Living Heritage." p.12.

the tremendous public relations you have managed to pull off in the last few years.”⁹⁷⁷ His point is demonstrated in the fact that the Society’s efforts paid off tremendously and saved this block from demolition and sinking into oblivion. Mole Hill as it stands today is the result of these efforts.

Architect Sean McEwan, who was involved in the anti-demolition movement from the beginning, was asked by the “Mole Hill Living Heritage Society” to do the conversion of the old houses. Realizing that he could not undertake such a large-scale project on his own, McEwan asked his colleague Norm Hotson to join forces. Hotson founded the architecture firm Hotson Baker Boniface Haden, a large and well-established architecture firm in 1973. Donald Luxton’s consulting firm (already mentioned for the restoration of the Healing Lodge Project) was in charge of the restoration of the façade’s colours restoration. The decision was made to paint each of the houses in its original colours. This involved thorough documentation and sampling on each building. The colours “invented” by Luxton’s team (e.g. *Pendrell Red*, *Bute Taupe*, *Comox Gold*) have their own names and were included in Benjamin Moore’s colour palette.⁹⁷⁸

When the renovation projects materialized 60 tenants had been living in the houses along the block. In order to avoid any displacement the architects along with the City and the non-profit split the renovation in two phases: Phase I includes the first ten houses along Comox Street (1114, 1120, 1122, 1136, 1140 and 1146) and Pendrell Street (1127, 1129, 1137 and 1139) (**Pic. 103**).⁹⁷⁹

The original tenants were temporarily housed in one of the Phase II houses until the Phase I houses were fully renovated.

The first three houses of *Phase I* were ready for occupancy in July 2001. The second cluster of three houses was ready in August, and the third cluster of four houses in September 2001.

The Phase II houses include four houses on Comox Street (1154, 1160, 1164 and 1170 Comox), two houses on Bute Street (1110 and 1122 Bute Street), three houses on Thurlow Street (1107, 1113 and 1119 Thurlow), and seven houses on Pendrell Street (1103, 1147, 1157, 1159, 1163, 1169 and 1173 Pendrell Street)⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁷ PULL, George as quoted in *The Province*. See, McCUNE. “Comprise Plan Salvages most of Mole Hill Heritage.” *The Province*. 29 OCT 1997. A16.

⁹⁷⁸ See: Benjamin Moore. “Historical True Colours Palette.” Leaflet. 2003.

⁹⁷⁹ JESSUP, J. “Mole Hill Phase II Lease Terms and Block Plan Implementation.” Administrative report. Director of the Housing Centre. 24 MAY 2001.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid.

The tenants of the second phase houses were able to move into their new homes in 2003.

Interestingly enough the remaining 60 tenants in the pre-phase I renovation were also involved in the design process. Their vision and preferences has been taken into account as much as possible.⁹⁸¹

The result of the citizen's protests as well as the architects' and heritage consultants' work manifests itself in a colourful and vivid ensemble of Victorian and Edwardian houses along the block of Comox, Thurlow, Pendrell and Bute Street.⁹⁸²

The core of this residential block is the community garden, called the "Living Lane" (**Pic. 104**). It bisects the block between Comox and Pendrell streets. The function of the Living Lane is twofold: Besides its obvious beauty of green and lush plants, trees and the pond, this place serves as a community space, where tenants can come together and create a sense of community by planting vegetables and trees.

Its second function has an eco-friendly connotation as it is used for recycling and storm water management. McEwan explains it best:

Part of the high cost of the City infrastructure is the storm systems to collect rainwater and what you do with them. And it is actually much cheaper to use green roofs and have a more open area on the ground to allow the rainwater to prickle through. So you do not collect everything. Everything has to go into a pipe that goes into a bigger pipe and then has to go somewhere else and be purified before it goes back into the Ocean. That is very expensive to do that. But if you do a localized ground permeable storm system where you let the rain fall into the ground and then get absorbed into the Earth. This project was done before LEED and we did not care for LEED.⁹⁸³

Mole Hill reminds on a magical fairytale place that is too idyllic to be true, too picturesque and charming compared to the rest of the high-rise plastered downtown core. Set in between the architectural scenario of high-rise *Vancouver Model* towers you will find this block of Vancouver's last intact Victorian and Edwardian residential houses.

The architects McEwan and Hotson kept the outer appearance of the consecutively lined houses along southwest corner of Pendrell Street (House number 1169 to 1159) in the same shape and colour as built by the original builder. This makes them easily identifiable through the fir green-shingled ('Pendrell Green' in Benjamin Moore terminology)

⁹⁸¹ McEwan, Sean. Interview with the author. 24th May 2012.

⁹⁸² The irregularity of the house numbers may be confusing for the German mind. The numbers run for 100 in each block, e.g. 1100 block Comox is one block. Within that 100, however, the exact house number is assigned at the point at which the house is built (and there were no numbers when the first houses were built on the block). The first houses were originally spaced further apart - they had larger yards for gardens and also they had septic fields. As the lots were subdivided and new houses built they were assigned numbers that reflected their location. Therefore some houses will have numbers quite close together when they are built at the same time.

⁹⁸³ McEwan, Sean. Interview with the author. 24 MAY 2012.

façade and deep red (Pendrell Red) for the triangular pediment. The pastel blue house on 1145 Pendrell Street is the only house on the block that has been added in 2008 and is not heritage house (**Pic. 105**). It was an eight-unit stacked row house addition on a lot where the rooming house addition of the house on 1147 used to be. McEwan designed the new house to be “sympathetic in form and scale with the adjacent houses, but obviously a modern construction.”⁹⁸⁴

The original massing of the house on 1147 Pendrell Street was restored by the architecture team Norm Hotson and Sean McEwan and heritage consultant Donald Luxton (already mentioned for the *Healing Lodge* project). Prior to the renovation it was visibly buried in a later rooming house addition that was added to the front and east side of the original house.

Mole Hill was formerly called *Nelson Park* in accordance with the City’s initial plans to turn the entire block into a green parking space. But this name was inappropriate anymore as architect McEwan remembers, “In the public’s mind it was that: if it was *Nelson Park* than what are the houses doing here? So the residents decided to name the block after the first European Resident who came to this area, whose name were Elizabeth and Henry Mole who were farmers who lived on the Fraser River.”⁹⁸⁵ The Moles were the first known couple, who lived in that area consequently the place was renamed “Mole Hill” in 1994.⁹⁸⁶ Now Nelson Park is only referred to the 20 square kilometres park opposite the houses on Comox Street. Most houses along that street were built around the year of 1900. The houses’ outer appearances are distinguished through the pillars placed in the entrance that feature the Doric and Ionic order. The porch patio of the houses on 1110 and 1114 resembles porticoes of the antique. The façades also feature ornaments and decorations. Opposite the Comox houses is Nelson Park, a reminder of the protests and community’s fight to preserve *Mole Hill*. Today the park is also an important component in the every day lives of Mole Hill’s residents.

According to a survey conducted in July 2012, most of the residents who participated (39.5%) stated that they visit the park four to seven times per week.⁹⁸⁷

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁶ Petrie, Blair. “Mole Hill Living Heritage.” p.16. Henry Mole migrated to BC in 1862. He first moved to New Westminster where he made a living and built a little fortune by farming.

⁹⁸⁷ Mole Hill. Survey “Understanding your relationship to Mole Hill’s Public Spaces.” Part II, Question 4. March 2012. Courtesy of Mole Hill Community Housing Society.

Mole Hill is an interesting case in architecture and urban planning design, as it comprises heritage conservation, the Right to the City movement, mixed-income housing as well as changing ownerships. All of the houses in *Mole Hill* belonged to private owners in the turn of the 20th century. In the turn of the 21st century the houses were upgraded and put to a much more livable standard while remaining affordable to low-income households. The renovated and preserved heritage-look of the houses along the block blends in to the existing architectural landscape. *Mole Hill*'s architecture also corresponds well with the surrounding green and lush environment concealing the class differences between the residents. Through this constellation West End remains a desired place for the middle-class while it also enables low-income households to live in livable and affordable housing conditions as well.

McEwan thinks the reason why *Mole Hill* had such a massive support from within the community and outside was because "Mole Hill was the only [intact] block left in this area."⁹⁸⁸ Another more practical reason may be because of the need for affordable housing in Canada's least affordable city. Combining heritage look with affordability is a productive recipe for successful coexistence in a neighbourhood. All the hard work and fights paid off: The block has happy residents as 91 % who participated in the 2012 survey stated they are "happy" with their living situation.⁹⁸⁹ *Mole Hill* can be considered as the initiator of a development in housing projects that leads towards more affordable housing solutions in Vancouver. The success of the collaboration of various levels of government who worked together with the "Mole Hill Living Heritage Society", the communities, the architects and the private sector enabled many low-income citizens of Vancouver to live in livable housing conditions and have a voice in the kind of environment and conditions they seek to live in.

Walking through *Mole Hill*, nothing reveals the economical status of the residents. But the colourful and multifaceted front gardens around the houses reflect the residents' involvement in their living space and the creation of a community. And the beautifully kept "Living Lane" filled with life and joy adds to this community spirit that is promised to last another sixty years at least.

⁹⁸⁸ McEwan, Sean. Interview with author. 24 MAY 2012.

⁹⁸⁹ Mole Hill. Survey, "Understanding your relationship to Mole Hill's Public Spaces." Part I, Question A. March 2012.

6.4 Coal Harbour

Coal Harbour is part of the West End, which lies on downtown peninsula's west side. There is a sharp difference in the socioeconomic residents of Coal Harbour and the rest of West End. The average annual income of Coal Harbour's population is \$97,310, which is almost twice as much as that of the rest of West End \$48,552.⁹⁹⁰ Within the West End housing prices in *Coal Harbour* are almost twice as high (\$493,646) as the rest of West End (\$282,079).⁹⁹¹ This might be due to the fact that Coal Harbour benefits immensely from its location and setting surrounded by water and view to the mountains, its proximity to the adjunct Stanley Park that covers the northwest tip of the peninsula, surrounded by a scenery of beaches and the ocean. All these factors add to the livability and popularity of Coal Harbour and takes away affordability. Since Vancouver's world exhibition *Expo 86* real estate prices in *Coal Harbour* have been rising on a continuous pace. To own a condominium in this popular area is a safe growing investment. However to be able to rent an apartment almost is impossible. Coal Harbour is the place where Rob Rennie advertised and displayed models of the *Woodward's* by taking advantage of the successful high-rise flair of the tall *Vancouver Model* glass towers in Coal Harbour. At the same time, Coal Harbour is the place where low-income performing artists have a place they can call home.

6.4.1 Coexistence of Affluent *Digerati* and Poor Artists

Coal Harbour has an unusually high percentage (83%) of residents holding a post-secondary education.⁹⁹²

The population of Coal Harbour is said to "consist of the nation's tech-savvy singles and couples" also called "Digerati" that live "in fashionable in-town neighbourhoods in a handful of big cities. Affluent, highly educated and ethnically mixed, Young Digerati communities are typically filled with tasteful, high-rise apartments and expensive condos with home offices, fitness clubs, clothing boutiques, casual restaurants and all types of bars - from juice to coffee to microbrew. With their deep pockets, Young Digerati residents enjoy shopping for the latest styles at *Banana Republic*, *The Gap* and *Eddie*

⁹⁹⁰ Block Talk. "Coal Harbour Lifestyle & Demographics." *blocktalk.ca*. n.d. Web. 03 SEP 2012.

⁹⁹¹ Vancouver Neighborhood Profile. 2006 "West End." *BizMap*. PDF. Figure 12: Age of Housing Stock.

⁹⁹² Block Talk. "Coal Harbour Lifestyle & Demographics." *blocktalk.ca*. n.d. Web. 03 SEP 2012.

Bauer. But they're not simply acquisitive materialists; many are socially conscious consumers who support arts causes and donate money to environmental groups.

What better place than this to put an affordable housing project for senior artists who can mingle with the young and affluent Digerati. What happens in Coal Harbour reminds on Florida's Creative Class meets Ley's high creative value but low economic value artists.⁹⁹³

Artists enrich the lives of those who wish for sensational excitement but lack the creativity to generate that excitement.

According to a study, residents in British Columbia have higher than average participation rates in art galleries, classical music performances, historic sites, science-related venues (e.g. planetarium, zoo ect.), conservation areas or nature parks, magazine reading, and book reading. Consequently there is a high demand for provided by authors, art historians, artists and performing artists.⁹⁹⁴

Despite this obvious demand most people in Canada working in those professions earn in \$23,600, which is 75 percent less than the average earnings of all occupational groups.⁹⁹⁵

At the same time a high percentage of artists holds a university degree: According to a survey conducted by Hill Strategies Research in February 2010 the percentage of artists holding a bachelor degree or higher degree is 50 percent or higher in Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa. In Calgary 48 percent of the artists hold a BA or higher degree.⁹⁹⁶

There is a gender discrepancy in earnings as female artists earn only \$ 19.400, which is about \$ 10.000 less than their male colleagues earn, which puts female artist deeper into jeopardy of poverty.⁹⁹⁷ This low economical situation puts artists on a par with degreeless occupations such as clerks, secretaries or delivery drivers. Within the

⁹⁹³ Block Talk. "Young Digerati." *blocktalk.ca*. n.d. Web. 03 SEP 2012.

⁹⁹⁴ "Arts Research Monitor." Hill Strategies Research, Vol. 10. No. 10. March 2012. Web. 06.May 2012. PDF, p.4.

⁹⁹⁵ Hill Strategies Research "A Statistical Profile of Artists in Canada." *www.hillstrategies.com*. 17 Sep. 2004. Web. 06 May 2012. PDF, p.11.

⁹⁹⁶ Hill Strategies Research, February 2010. Web. 06.May 2012. PDF, p.6.

⁹⁹⁷ The survey understands the term *artist* as a person who holds one of the following twelve occupations: writers, visual artists, craft artists, film and video artists, dancers, choreographers, playwrights, artistic directors, actors, musicians, singers, composers and interdisciplinary and performance artists. See, Hill Strategies Research "A Statistical Profile of Artists in Canada." *www.hillstrategies.com*. 17 Sep. 2004. Web. 06 May 2012.

arts sector the performing (dancer, musician, singer, actors) artists are amongst those who earn the lowest with median earnings of about \$10,000. A rental model for performing artists in Canada's least affordable city works like a more than welcoming necessity.

The target group of PAL Vancouver is similar to that of the *Burns Block* besides the differing demographic as neither one of them falls into the category of subsidized housing despite the need of affordable housing for these groups.

6.4.2 *Performing Arts Lodge* – Affordable Housing for Artists

Performing Arts Lodge (hereafter called PAL), located in Coal Harbour, is a project that is a multi-purpose, multi-demographic and mixed-income project building constructed by funds drawn from multiple sources in Vancouver's Coal Harbour (**Pic. 106**). This 8-storey building is horizontally attached to a 25-storey market housing high-rise building in the northwest corner of Cardero and West Georgia overlooking Vancouver Harbour (**Pic. 107**).

PAL was built above an already existing five-storey underground parking space.⁹⁹⁸ The building is operated by a non-profit society called *Performing Arts Lodge Vancouver* (hereafter called PAL Vancouver), founded in 2002. The project's target users are artists in the performing arts sector who are at the age of 55 plus or younger with disabilities.⁹⁹⁹ The building's units are placed on the second to seventh stories. There are 99 one-bedroom units with a size of an average of 56 square meters. Another 19 two-bedroom units are spread along each floor and placed in the northeast corner of the building; most come with a balcony. There is retail space on the ground floor, such as a coffee shop. In addition, PAL is equipped with amenities such as a day-care centre on the second floor and a 139 square meter theatre studio on the eighth floor. The total costs for constructing the PAL part was \$ 16.3 million. All three levels of Government were involved in the financing of the project: federal, provincial, and municipal. The Province of BC made a contribution of \$ 386,000 and the Canadian Government through the CMHC with \$ 250,000. The City of Vancouver gave PAL Vancouver a \$ 1 million grant and a 60-year lease for \$ 10 towards the project's realization for the air-space parcel.¹⁰⁰⁰ The building opened its doors in May 2006 and is fully occupied. Twelve of the 19 two-bedroom units are life leases that are semi-owned by the buyers.¹⁰⁰¹ The value of each lease is approximately \$276,000. The money received through the life-lease contributed with \$ 3,144,000 towards the building's realization.¹⁰⁰²

The 99 one-bedroom apartments are rented. Rental costs depend on the residents' income and are split in two categories: those tenants with an annual income below \$ 35,000 qualify for a Premium Rental Assistance and those who earn more than \$ 35,000

⁹⁹⁸ GRAY, Cameron. "Performing Arts Lodge - Bayshore Gardens." City of Vancouver, Administrative Report. January 23, 2004, p.1. Print.

⁹⁹⁹ GLACKEN, Gary, Interview with the author. 5th JUN 2012.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰¹ The life-lease is a semi-ownership form where the buyer owns the unit as long as they are alive or until they move out. PAL repays lease price on move-out or death Equity stays with PAL on re-lease.

¹⁰⁰² "Performing Arts Lodge." Powerpoint Presentation. Courtesy Jane Heyman.

annually pay rent below market value. In numbers this means the monthly rent is between \$500 and \$900 and depends on the resident's income.¹⁰⁰³

The building was designed by Vancouver-based architecture firm *DA Architects* and supervised by the firm's associate Alan Johnson.

PAL is the brainchild of two exceptionally creative and committed women, Jane Heyman and Joy Coghill. Heyman is an award winning theatre director and Acting Instructor with extensive knowledge and experience in the performing arts world of British Columbia.¹⁰⁰⁴ The two women were inspired by the first performing artists lodge built in 1993 in the heart of Toronto and houses 212 artist residents.¹⁰⁰⁵

The PAL Vancouver project has been realised as part of the City's "objective of creating mixed income communities in the new neighbourhoods being developed throughout the City including the affluent part in Coal Harbour."¹⁰⁰⁶

PAL is the affordable housing component of the Bayshore Gardens development. Bayshore Gardens is a mixed-use real estate project that already started to take shape in the 1990s.¹⁰⁰⁷ It was financed and lead under developer Blue Tree for *Bayshore Gardens*. The Japanese real estate development company is well recognised as high-rise residential developer in Vancouver, particularly for the development of the luxury hotel *Westin Bayshore* that was also designed by DA Architects.¹⁰⁰⁸

The PAL building was interwoven within the 25-storey high rise mixed-use "1616 Bayshore" building, serving as the horizontal low-rise component. In order to get permission to built 1616 Bayshore on the 3448.5 square meters partial city block the developer had to agree to allow 13 percent of the development to be affordable housing.¹⁰⁰⁹ At the time this research was conducted two condominium units were listed for \$ 999.999 and \$1.189.000 respectively.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰³ Glacken, Gary, Interview with the author. 5th JUN 2012.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Heyman won a Jessie Richardson Award for best director in 1991. Along with being the Co-Founder of PAL Vancouver she also served as the non-profit's Board President from 2005 to 2009.

¹⁰⁰⁵ HEYMAN, Jane. Interview with the author. 14th AUG 2012.

For further information see, website of PAL Toronto, *paltoronto.org*.

The building in Toronto is run and operated by the umbrella non-profit organization PAL Canada which consists of seven performing arts organizations across Canada. For further information on the organization see, "About Pal Canada@" Web. 23 AUG 2012. *palcanada.org*.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Gray, Cameron. "Performing Arts Lodge - Bayshore Gardens." January 23, 2004. Print.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid, p.1.

¹⁰⁰⁸ KALMAN, Harold and WARD, Robin. *Exploring Vancouver*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2012. Print, p.182.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Gray, Cameron. "Performing Arts Lodge - Bayshore Gardens." January 23, 2004, p.1

¹⁰¹⁰ The prices are for two-bedroom condominiums excluding tax and strata fees. See, Mazaheri & Soo Team. "Bayshore Garden - 1616 Bayshore Drive." *mazaherisooteam.com* 06. SEPT. 2012. Web. 10. SEPT. 2012.

There is a reality in social housing: Despite the strong emphasis to make the social housing of the complex seamlessly blend in with the market high-rise buildings architect Al Johnson admits, “The reality is that the podium of the building had to be efficient and straightforward. There was a certain economy with the lower portion and a more exuberant aspect in the tower portion where the developers could get their money.”¹⁰¹¹ But part of making sure the developers get their money is to keep the appearance of the affordable residential building low key.

To avoid any misconceptions on class and purpose on the developer’s website, the PAL project is being describes as “senior housing” that is part of the Bayshore Gardens development.¹⁰¹²

6.4.3 Why artists need Livable and Affordable Dwelling Solutions

As stated above the economic status of performing artists in Canada is similar to that of people working in low- to no degree kind of jobs. Heyman and Coghill founded the non-profit organization “out of the necessity to have adequate housing for the performing artists of Vancouver and enable them to house with dignity as well.”¹⁰¹³ The realization of the project is a combination of hard work, smart people committed to make their vision become true, knowing the right people and a fortunate constellation of events happening at the right time and right place that can be called luck.

In retrospect Heyman remembers:

There was an enormous amount of luck involved in this whole thing.

The timing when we decided to do it. We put together a board of directors for all the things that needed to be done. We gathered together a body of advisors who were mainly people that Joy was connected to. One of the advisors was Richard Archambault – he is dead now. He was one of the founders of *DA Architects*.¹⁰¹⁴ The A in *DA Architects* was Archambault. He was no longer with DA but he became our advisor. And low and behold who are the architects for the entire *Bay Shore Area* (then called Bluetree)? DA! So through Archambault we found that there is going to be an RFP put out very soon. So we got ourselves organized accordingly. We were ready. In order to get recognized as providers of affordable housing we pointed to PAL Toronto and said we are chapter of that. So that gave us legitimacy. The funny thing is we thought of Coal Har-

¹⁰¹¹ JOHNSON, Alan. Interview with the author. 8 JUN 2012.

¹⁰¹² Bayshore Gardens. “Real Estate Development & Investment.” *bayshoregarden.com*.

¹⁰¹³ Heyman, Jane. Interview with the author. 14th AUG 2012.

¹⁰¹⁴ Together with Barry Downs, Richard Archambault was a founding partner of the reputable Downs/Archambault Architects, one of the leading West Coast Style Architecture firms in Vancouver’s 1960s. Archambault was considered as a passionate supporter of the arts and active in the local arts community. He died in November 2010.

bour as what a beautiful place it is and that we want our project to be built there.
And then we really got it!¹⁰¹⁵

Despite all the hard work and luck funding was not an easy task for the non-profit. It was faced with the general perception in society that affordable housing for artists is an adequate concept, as they are not considered as those in need or financially disadvantaged.¹⁰¹⁶ The government-funded contribution only covered one third of the costs. In order to cover the other two-third, the non-profit raised the remaining money through Unions, private funders and by selling naming rights. People like to be remembered and one way in doing so is to have their names eternalized in ink and put on a display for everyone to see and admire. The non-profit PAL Vancouver happily took advantage of this method. The society sold the names of sponsors who in return had their names put on oval shaped plaques or rectangular boards placed all along the entrance hallways, the elevator and the walls. Through all these efforts and the hard work the society was able to raise almost \$ 16 Million to give over to Blue Trees in May 2006 and open the doors for the first residents to move into the new building.

6.4.4 The Rooftop Garden: An Oasis in the Concrete Jungle

PAL is well integrated into an architectural accumulation of concrete and glass high-rise condominium towers placed in a green park setting along the water. The main façade of the PAL low-rise is facing south towards Cardero Street. The horizontal line of the building flows from west to east and merges with the vertical tower of the 1616 Bayshore building that is placed on the southeast corner of the building block. The PAL component bulks out of the vertical 25-story tower making the latter set back from the streetscape. The 1616 Bayshore tower is connected to the high-rise tower on 1601 Bayshore through a three-storey townhouse low-rise component that creates a continuous street wall along the Bayshore Drive.

The main materials used for PAL and the 1616 Bayshore's façade are concrete and glass. This usage of same materials and patterns "It makes it a seamless pictures where you cannot tell where the subsidized and where the market houses are."¹⁰¹⁷ The "heaviness" of the concrete has been broken through the extensive use of green glass along the

¹⁰¹⁵ Heyman, Jane. Interview with the author. 14th AUG 2012.

¹⁰¹⁶ During an interview with David Ley, the scholar and gentrification expert stated his surprise on the Government's involvement to sponsor affordable housing for "artists and not for the poor?" See Ley, David, interview with the author. 23rd JUL 2012.

¹⁰¹⁷ Johnson, Alan. Interview with the author. 8 JUNE 2012.

high-rise tower's windows and the opaque spandrel glass within a silver grey frame of the balconies. This gives the building's outer appearance a light and translucent flair while at the same time corresponding to the façade of the adjunct two towers that existed prior the "1616 Bayshore" project. Repetition and rhythm is created through the articulation of concrete slab extensions that serve as sunshades and balconies. Through the different nuances of the concrete the various architectural elements have been emphasised. The curved roof of the PAL building is a silver-grey and is therefore easily recognizable from a bird's-eye-view. The grey also corresponds with the window mullions. PAL building's entrance is placed on the first third of the east elevation side. Approaching the building from West Georgia Street towards west the entrance is easily recognizable through the visible backlit curved marquee above the entrance (**Pic. 108**). PAL blends in a modest manner into the surrounding Vancouver Model architectural landscape without competing with any of the adjunct building or being the odd one out.

By the time PAL bought the building off from Blue Tree, the entire project was in its final stage. DA Architects designed the building according to the developer's vision not that of PAL Vancouver.

There were however two components that PAL Vancouver had a say in: The rooftop garden and the 100-seat multi-purpose blue box theatre both placed on the eighth floor. Landscaping is one of the most important elements creating the West End character.¹⁰¹⁸ With the PAL building the landscaping happens on the building's rooftop on the 8th floor (**Pic. 109 a**). The rooftop garden is the heart of the building. Seen from a bird's eye view it is easily identifiable through the three rhythmically aligned round whole of its Westside rooftop (**Pic. 109 b**). The realization of this rooftop garden was one of PAL's continues "luck-and-coincidence" episodes: PAL Vancouver non-profit through Jane Heyman and Henry Hawtham who is also an architect got together in order to discuss the creation of a rooftop garden.¹⁰¹⁹ Coincidentally, Hawtham also happened to be Jane Durante's husband, who was the landscape architect for the entire Bayshore development.¹⁰²⁰ This coincidence served extremely beneficially for the non-profit as Hawtham would represent PAL's board of directors and serve as the mediator between landscape architects and the non-profit. This is why elements such as covered parts of the rooftop garden, planted trees along the fence and little built-in corners serve to give the

¹⁰¹⁸ City of Vancouver. "West End." Land Use and Development Policies and Guidelines. January 1989, Print, p.18. CAV PUB-: PD 1885

¹⁰¹⁹ DURANTE, Jane. Interview with the author. 09 JUL 2012.

¹⁰²⁰ Heyman, Jane. Interview with the author. 14 AUG 2012.

residents the privacy of a home while at the same time the feeling of being right in the centre of urban life. The landscape architects made sure to design the garden in a way that enables the residents to take care of it on a self-suffice manner. Therefore this rooftop garden was a very community based decision-making process. It gives the resident's a sense of ownership and responsibility and they have made the best of it: a rich variety of trees, plants and flowers decorates the space. A green house enables the residents to plant their own vegetables. In a survey 26 percent of the 24 participants stated that they appreciate the rooftop garden the most on living in the PAL building.¹⁰²¹

Moreover on a broader level the rooftop serves as a place for the residents to socialize, take care of the plants, trees and flowers, and organizes events (e.g. annual *Canada Day* neighbourhood party taking place on the building's eighth floor). The space is also conveniently visited during the interludes of the plays at the theatre that is on the same level. The theatre was another component that the non-profit designed.

Aside from the entertainment part, the theatre is also a major source of financial resource. The units in PAL are not government subsidized. In order to keep the rent as low as it is the non-profit rent the theatre space out to third parties.¹⁰²² It also helps to raise recognition for the project, the PAL Vancouver non-profit and their cause within a wider audience. The theatre is a win-win idea that opened in 2007 and is always well visited and booked. Beautiful minds create beautiful ideas. This building breathes creativity, taste and individuality.

Other amenities are the spacious and beautifully decorated lounge that connects the blue box theatre and the rooftop garden with each other on the eighth floor. Colourful and tasteful paintings decorate the walls of the hallways and that of the lounge. The fireplace and comfortable armchairs extend the living room atmosphere from the units into one commonly shared space (**Pic. 110**). The common kitchen facility invites for events such as the weekly soup dinner organized and shared by the residents of PAL.

A reading room on the third floor close to PAL Vancouver's administration office provides another common space as well as the opportunity for the residents to share their books with each other.

There is also a childcare facility placed on the second floor opening onto the adjacent outdoor courtyard space facing the North. The childcare is owned and operated by

¹⁰²¹ Survey PAL Vancouver. The survey was designed and conducted in August 2012 by the author. In total 24 residents participated in that survey which represents about 21% of the total residents.

¹⁰²² Glacken, Gary. Interview with the author. 5th JUN 2012.

the City and was a result of the City's "child care endowment reserve" was created in 1991. The purpose of this endowment reserve is to ensure the availability of start up and operating subsidies needed to sustain those new childcare facilities being opened in high-density neighborhoods.¹⁰²³ The childcare adds to the mixed demographic component of the building and is well perceived among the residents and the non-profit society.¹⁰²⁴

The units are modest in size but superb in cut and quality. Spacious floor to ceiling windows allow enough light inside. Open floor plans maximize the space and create a flow between kitchen and living room. The balconies' translucent glass walls extend the interior space into the exterior.

The built-in-kitchens are fully equipped with dishwasher, stove and a fridge leaving enough living space available.

Affordability is what distinguishes the PAL Vancouver building in Coal Harbour from those luxury-high-rise condominium buildings in Vancouver's Downtown core. In total 69 percent of the survey participants stated that they think the value-for-money-ratio of their residency is adequate.¹⁰²⁵ The success of PAL as a residential building and its entertainment component through the theatre are evidence enough of the need for more affordable residential projects in Coal Harbour particularly aimed at artist residents. Most (78%) of the residents of PAL stated that they feel either satisfied or very satisfied with the range of shops, services, parks and public transportation in their neighbourhood and 39 percent appreciate the neighbourhood (including the community) the most in living at PAL.¹⁰²⁶ At the same time 57 percent stated the need for more artists units in Coal Harbour followed by the need for social housing (26%).¹⁰²⁷

From the outside nothing reveals the difference between the residents with an annual income of \$23,000 versus those with an annual income of \$97,310. In that sense the PAL project is a success story in affordable residential architecture set in the urban core.

¹⁰²³ YOUNG, Carol Ann. "Bayshore Gardens Child Care Centre." Administrative report for the City of Vancouver. 18 APR 2006. Print, p.4. The developer agreed to pay the City \$391,160.52 for operating funding, and in 2006 paid the required \$94,000 for the childcare's furniture and equipment. Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴ Johnson, Alan. Interview with the author. 8th JUNE 2012.

¹⁰²⁵ Another 10% stated it is not adequate and 21% think it is "somewhat" adequate. See, Survey PAL Vancouver. August 2012.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁷ *ibid.*

More building's like that would be an asset for Vancouver. The waiting list is long and Glacken recognises: "We could build two new buildings and have them filled by tomorrow."¹⁰²⁸

6.5 Conclusion

While the last two chapters "Victoria" and "Vancouver I" depicted case studies of affordable housing projects that are set in derelict or industrial areas, this chapter focused on case studies that are set in middle- to upper class neighbourhoods of Vancouver's densely populated downtown peninsula.

Doug Story Apartments set in Downtown South was the smallest in size (44 units) but also the most difficult one as its target group, homeless and mentally ill – are typically the hardest to house. The fact that it is part of a luxury condominium and hotel project *L'Hermitage* challenged the architects' creativity and sense to compromise. Nevertheless *gLB Architects'* brilliant work contributed to the peaceful coexistence between the former SRO building in a way that it seamlessly floats into the adjacent luxury *L'Hermitage* project.

Mole Hill combined heritage preservation and affordability in one project. The 27 houses were rescued from demolition due to the active participation of residents who saved through their "Right to the City" these old houses in Vancouver's last intact heritage block. As the amount of rent for each of the units' hinges on residents' income, *Mole Hill* is also a successfully executed model of a mixed-income housing project set in one of Vancouver's most desired neighbourhoods of West End. Residents are actively participating in the community and contributing towards the livability of *Mole Hill* through gardening and other activities.

The last Example *Performing Arts Lodge* in Coal Harbour depicted a case study of affordable housing for working artists. Artists may be the most successful low-income target group that integrates in a middle- and upper-middle class area due to their high cultural and educational disposition. The artists contribute as one reason why PAL building so peacefully harmonizes with the surrounding luxury Vancouver Model high-rise buildings in Coal Harbour. The building itself perfectly blends in with the surrounding buildings and the high-rise tower. Its rooftop garden is the hallmark of the project and an inviting place for the residents to socialize, plant their flowers and vegetables

¹⁰²⁸ Glacken, Gary. Interview with the author. 5th JUNE 2012.

and invite outsiders to use the space during theatre interludes. PAL is a joy inside and outside and an architectural asset for the expensive Coal Harbour. It's the point of intersection between the poor artists meet the affluent Digerati.

Vancouver is a brave, bold and beautiful city. Most of these results from determined and dedicated people and their commitment to make and shape their City through the notion of the "Right To The City." The case studies of *Woodward's*, *PAL* and *Mole Hill* have demonstrated the effectiveness of this notion that contributes towards shaping a city in a successfully democratic way. They also undermine the attempts of the City and the Province to diminish social imbalances between the less privileged and wealthy by putting emphasise on architecture that blends into the surrounding valorised or valorising neighbourhood.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Kelowna - Living the good life in the Okanagan Valley

My friends all laughed when I said I was coming to Kelowna. They asked me what I'd do with myself. Well, I've found much more opportunity for pleasurable living here than I ever did at the coast. In Vancouver I went downtown about once a month – and had to drive 11 miles to get there. Here I'm into something all the time. Here it is so easy to live a full life.¹⁰²⁹

Kelowna's 21st century architectural and urban planning development distinguishes itself through growth, progress and innovation. Kelowna is particularly progressive in terms of setting a healthy balance between low-income housing projects into well-established middle-class neighbourhoods. As argued and demonstrated in the previous chapter this form of mixed-income neighbourhood can be very progressive and beneficiary for all parties alike. Mix-income neighbourhood's can work out well if the low-income buildings in already valorised areas are kept to a modest amount in quantity, size and height. Two examples have been already demonstrated in the Vancouver case studies *Mole Hill* and *Doug Story Apartments* in the previous chapter.

This form of class-mix works particularly successfully in Kelowna. To underline this hypothesis, five examples of recently completed low-income housing models in selected middle-class areas of Kelowna will be examined in this final chapter.

Kelowna is British Columbia's third largest City, with a population of 179,839 people.¹⁰³⁰ It is also the fourth least affordable City in the 2011 Demographia Study (Median Multiple Factor 6.6), which is reason enough to include the city in this thesis.

The lack of affordable housing is partially but not entirely due to the lack of rental stock in Kelowna in general as the favoured and dominant dwelling type is privately owned condominiums and homeownership.¹⁰³¹ According to BC Stats in 2006, approximately 72 percent of Kelowna's occupied private dwellings were owned while only 28 percent were rented.¹⁰³² But there is a growing need of affordable rental units in Kelowna for the next years. For the purpose of this study, this chapter will focus on latter type only.

¹⁰²⁹ STAINSBY, Donald. "Co-operation built Kelowna." Newspaper article.

¹⁰³⁰ Statistics Canada. 2012. *Kelowna, British Columbia (Code 915) and British Columbia (Code 59)* (table). *Census Profile*. 2011 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-XWE. Ottawa. Released May 29, 2012.

¹⁰³¹ EICHLER, Theresa, City of Kelowna, Interview with the author, 25 April 2012. Some of these condominiums are "Accessory Apartments." Accessory Apartment are small apartments inside a condominium apartment as part of the single ownership in a condominium.

¹⁰³² BC Stats, 2006 Census Profile, Kelowna C, March 2009. PDF. 13 MAY 2012, p.3. That same report revealed that 50.6 percent of the dwellings are single-detached houses, while only 1,7 percent are apartment buildings with five or more story. Ibid, p.9.

Kelowna is divided into five “Urban Centre Areas” consisting of City Centre, Midtown, South Pandosy, Rutland and Capri/ Landmark Centre (**Pic. 111**).¹⁰³³

With the exception of Rutland, all the other case studies are situated either in the downtown core or within a 2 km radius of downtown Kelowna in the adjacent South Pandosy. The project’s target groups are low-income seniors, females and single mothers, formerly homeless people and people with mental or physical illnesses. Because there are no affordable housing options in Kelowna directly aiming at housing students, this group has not been included in this chapter. It is however acknowledged that the need for affordable housing for this group is very high.

The depicted projects are considered affordable, because monthly rent for these apartments is below the average rent. According to Statistics Canada, the average rent in Kelowna for a bachelor apartment in 2010 was \$ 591, - for a one-bedroom apartment \$747, - and for a 2-bedroom apartment \$915, -.¹⁰³⁴ These data are the grounds for comparison in rent of all of the depicted case studies.

7.1 A Very Short History of Kelowna – Orchards, Apples, Wine and Religion

When Kelowna was incorporated in 1905 its population accounted for a modest 500 people.¹⁰³⁵ The name Kelowna is derived from the native name Kim-ach-touch that stands for the Brown Bear.¹⁰³⁶

Unlike Victoria and Vancouver where mining, coal and gold industry were the prime incentives for settlers to build houses and start a living, Kelowna started as a settlement for farmers and religious people.¹⁰³⁷ This is also most reflective in the fact that in 1913 Kelowna had five Churches but only two public schools.¹⁰³⁸ In the 1820s missionaries

¹⁰³³ Statistics Canada. 2006.Census Boundaries. Rental Market Report. Fall 2010. Map of Zones 01 and 02.

¹⁰³⁴ “Private Apartment Vacancy Rates by Zone and Bedroom Type in Kelowna.” Table 1.1.1. Rental Market Report Kelowna Fall 2010. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

¹⁰³⁵ KNOWLES, Bill. “S.S. Sicamous.” *One Hundred Years – It’s a Birthday to be proud of*. Kelowna: Kelowna Publishers. 2005. Print, p.12.

¹⁰³⁶ BUCKLAND, F.M. “Ogopogo’s Vigil. A History of Kelowna and District.” Vancouver Public Library. 1948. Print, p.82.

¹⁰³⁷ Even though agriculture and religion were the prime incentives for settlers to settle down in Kelowna, gold was found along Mission Creek in 1860 causing a large flow of miners moving to that area, which is only 43 km east of Kelowna. For more on gold in the Okanagan see, OHS, Judy. *Our History, Our Heritage*. Kelowna: Okanagan Historical Society, 2004. Print.

¹⁰³⁸ Kelowna Board of Trade Minute Book, 1912-1913 as cited in SURTEES, Ursula. *Kelowna. The Orchard City*. Burlington: Windsor Publications. 1989. Print, p.42.

followed into the footsteps of the trappers and founded the settlement that would become Kelowna. Word of Kelowna spread, and the city was well established by 1890.¹⁰³⁹ It is said that where Kelowna is today used to be an open range existing of nothing but hay meadows which had been cut a field of wheat in stalk.¹⁰⁴⁰ Within two decades this forestland transformed itself into land existing of sellable flowers and fruit trees.¹⁰⁴¹ In 1891 the Okanogan Valley was subdivided into land plots of 40.469 square meters to 161.874 square meters (10 to 40 acres) with the intention to plant flowers and orchards.¹⁰⁴² Because of the beautiful mountains and flora the Okanogan Valley was also called the “Eden” and “land of promise.”¹⁰⁴³ By 1910 there were 31 established growers in Kelowna that had successfully planted orchard fields and could live off by selling them.¹⁰⁴⁴

Kelowna is famous for its wine having over 25 wineries spread all across the Okanogan Valley. The beginnings of wine industry in Kelowna started with the plantings of Father Charles Pandosy who was a French Oblate priest. He established a mission on Kelowna in 1859 where the first apple trees have been planted. Pandosy is also known as the “father of British Columbia wine industry.”¹⁰⁴⁵

Apples were the signature items of Kelowna. In an apple show, the City won 15 out of 18 first prizes in 1908. At the Vancouver International Exhibition in 1910 Kelowna won the highest possible award for “the most perfect boxcar of apples.”¹⁰⁴⁶

With the growing number of the fruit and particularly apple industry more workers were needed in the Okanogan Valley and Kelowna. Despite its religious connotation Kelowna had its little emancipation turn around moment when in 1913 a widow paved the way for female packers by starting as the first female fruit packer with a full packer degree in her pocket. Because of her speed and accurate work she became the instructor for other women in the Okanogan who wished to become fruit packers. This was par-

¹⁰³⁹ Surtees, Ursula. “The Orchard City.”, p.17. In 1891 a Priest from the Catholic Mission visited Kelowna. The City did not have a Presbyterian Church, which made the then Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen step in as the “preacher.” Aberdeen managed to impress the Priest with his multi-tasking skills. See Buckland, F.M. “Ogopogo’s Vigil.” 1948. Print, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid. p.70.

¹⁰⁴¹ Surtees, Ursula. *Kelowna*. “Kelowna. The Orchard City.”, p.45.

¹⁰⁴² The fruit and flower farms were put up for sale on \$ 60 per acre. Other lots were sold for \$ 10 per acre. See, Buckland, F.M. “Ogopogo’s Vigil.” p.77.

¹⁰⁴³ REKSTEN, Terry. *The Illustrated History of British Columbia*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre. 2001. p.140.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Surtees, Ursula. “Kelowna. The Orchard City.”, p.41.

¹⁰⁴⁵ HAYES, Juliana. “Okanagan Wines.” *One Hundred Years – It’s a Birthday to be proud of*. Kelowna: Kelowna Publishers. 2005. p.24.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Surtees, Ursula. “Kelowna. The Orchard City.” p.42. Apples were sent to the United Kingdom to reach the British aristocracy in 1919. A thank you letter was sent to the Kelowna Mayor by her Majesty the Queen of England as sign of her gratitude.

ticularly handy as due to World War I British Columbia like any other province in Canada was facing a shortage of male workers.¹⁰⁴⁷

The completion of the steamship “Sicamous” and Okanagan Railway in 1892 in Vernon served as a great impetus for the farming, fruit growing, grazing and mining industry in the Okanagan Valley. In 1911 Kelowna shipped 400 carloads of fruit and produce to other parts of the country.

Besides a happy place for apples, wine and orchard, Kelowna was also a popular place to buy land and build houses. The Lequimes were one of the most powerful families and played a vital role for the foundation of Kelowna. Eli Lequime “King of Okanagan” and his son Bernard Lequime were the pioneers of the Okanagan Valley who helped to lay out the new town site of Kelowna. They built and established the first post office in the Okanagan in 1873. Religion and the prospect of financial growth were incentives for Frenchman Eli Lequime to move from California to Okanagan Mission. The Lequime became one of the best-known and well-respected families in the Okanagan.¹⁰⁴⁸ Bernard Street – one of Kelowna’s major streets is named after Eli’s son.

In 1904 southeast of Kelowna, the “**Kelowna Land and Orchard**” company – KLO – was selling acreages to new settlers. This company, with directors E.M. Carruthers, W.R. Pooley and T.W. Stirling, had bought the Lequime estate in East Kelowna. That land was subdivided into one to twenty acre lots.

The KLO Road is a reminder of a prosperous foundation time when from 1906 to 1912 new investors and developers came to Kelowna and bought their land from the companies with initials that set them apart. That prosperity in land use continued well into the 20th century: Robert Cherot discovered Kelowna’s high potential for successful real estate market. He established the head office for his real estate franchise chain RE/MAX in Kelowna in 1982. The franchise is so successful, that it owns the Western Canadian Rights for Alberta, British Columbia and Saskatchewan. Kelowna’s location, its small size and the proximity to the airport, which is one of Canada’s busiest airports were pull factors for the entrepreneur to set up the head quarter in this city.¹⁰⁴⁹ Kelowna was the very first RE/MAX office to be opened in British Columbia. The success of the

¹⁰⁴⁷ Surtees, Ursula. “Kelowna. The Orchard City.” p.42.

¹⁰⁴⁸ When Eli died in 1898 he owned an estate in BC worth \$ 38,755. Source: OHS, Judy. *Our History, Our Heritage*. Kelowna: Okanagan Historical Society, 2004. Print, p.4.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Surtees, Ursula. “Kelowna. The Orchard City.” p.129.

office resulted in the foundation of over 30 offices in British Columbia within three years.¹⁰⁵⁰

7.1.2 Examples of Early Houses in Kelowna

Unlike Vancouver and Victoria none of Kelowna's areas experienced significant economic decline or gentrification. This might be due to the city's recentness, its small size in population or to the fact that it started as a place for farmers, settlers and growers. With the growth of the fruit and particularly apple industry more workers were needed in the Okanagan and Kelowna. By 1910 there were 31 established growers in Kelowna that had successfully planted orchard fields and could live off by selling them.¹⁰⁵¹ Interestingly enough, the modest cottage style houses of Kelowna's early working-class was built around the city's downtown core near the water. One example of such a cottage styled house still existing today is the one on Ethel Street in Kelowna's downtown core. The first owners were James B. Knowles and his wife Annie Louise MacKinle, who were some of the most prominent first white settlers of Kelowna (**Pic. 112**). The Knowles moved from Nova Scotia (rumour has it the couple chose Kelowna over Vancouver because of the Lake) to Kelowna in 1905.¹⁰⁵² The Knowles bought an acre of land on Ethel and Bernard Ave and built a modest, one storey cottage styled house there in 1907. This cottage represents one of the first architectural residential styles 'invented' by settlers in Kelowna. Characteristic features of these housing styles are the foursquare hipped-roof that holds the inset front porch and the wood frame construction with double-bevelled wooden siding. Significant colours such as the yellow used here are further expressions of the Kelowna cottage style.¹⁰⁵³

Another popular architecture style for residential houses was the *Queen Anne Style*. These kinds of houses identify themselves through their asymmetrical composition, their vertical proportions and bay windows. The eaves usually flare outward near their lower end. The Queen Anne Style is a reflection of Kelowna's attempt to hold on to the

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵¹ Surtees, Ursula. *Kelowna. The Orchard City*. Burlington: Windsor Publications. 1989, p.41.

¹⁰⁵² SIMPSON, Sharron. *The Kelowna Story: An Okanagan History*. Vancouver: Harbour Publishing, 2011. Print, p.84. James Knowles was the first jeweller in Kelowna to settle down and open up his business. He also helped to serve at the town council and also an active advocate for the preservation of Kelowna's history.

¹⁰⁵³ The Knowles family lived in this house until 1913. In 1925 the next owner, Harold Blakeborough altered the house moderately, including a side extension for electricity and indoor plumbing. The fact that the house is still standing at Bernard Ave is a testimony of the settlers' ability to combine simplicity, functionality along with sustainability. Today the house is occupied by the *Alzheimer Society of British Columbia*.

old European tradition while at the same time finds its own architectural identity. The style is still commonly found in Kelowna's architectural landscape today. One such example is the *Muirhead House* on 763 Bernard Avenue (**Pic. 113**). Built in 1910 by a builder called I. Mawhinney the house was mainly inhabited by W.F. Muirhead, a shoe storeowner in 1916.

A few meters further down the Bernard Avenue towards west is the *Leckie House*, named after its owners, Davied Leckie, who was one of the first city councillors of Kelowna and his wife Date. The house was built in 1906 by an unknown builder and represents an example of a late Queen Anne styled house (**Pic. 114**). The grey shingled house has two-storeys and an asymmetrically shaped gabled rooftop. The entrance facing south has a semi circular porch with Doric columns and a semi circular balustrade above the porch. The house has been altered many times since it was built but its core appearance has been maintained which makes the house easily recognizable and superb in style.

Many of these Kelowna 'proto-type' houses still exist from its original years, along downtown Kelowna's Bernard and Richter Street. Many newly built houses still imitate this style.

However Kelowna's dwelling architecture is predominantly (24 percent) built from 1971 to 1980.¹⁰⁵⁴ Today Kelowna's housing stock consists primarily of post World War II with 25 percent of its buildings being under five-storey high, which is slightly above the provincial average (21 percent).¹⁰⁵⁵ Therefore, a leading design pattern is already established through the existing buildings and urban environment. Consequently, architecture of the new residential non-market houses needs to blend into the existing neighbourhood rather than shaping it. This is the opposite of what is in the case with Fernwood's Cornerstone or Gastown's Woodward's, where the areas' derelict condition allowed for these buildings to shape the architectural landscape. The challenge for the non-profit societies involved in social housing depicted in this chapter is therefore to diminish the existing 'Not-In-My-Backyard' (NIMBY) attitudes in already established, middle-class neighbourhoods. Unlike Victoria and Vancouver all of the Kelowna case studies are buildings built on empty lots. None of the buildings are conversions or renovations.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Statistics Canada. "Occupied private dwellings by period of construction and condition of dwelling by census metropolitan area." Census 2006. 05 NOV 2007. Web. 12 OCT 2012.

¹⁰⁵⁵ BC Stats, 2006 Census Profile, Kelowna C, March 2009. Only 1980 houses from Kelowna's total 67,000 housing stock were listed as before 1945. Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2006 "Occupied private dwellings by period of construction and condition of dwelling, by census metropolitan area." 5 NOV 2007. Web 13 JUL 2012.

7.2 From 1905 to the 21st Century: Kelowna the growing City

As a city experiencing rapid growth and change in demographics Kelowna has also become adaptable to recognise and act on the tangible and realistic challenges of a 21st-century urban city. Its setting is very different than that of Victoria and Vancouver. Kelowna is located on the site of a fort and placed in the Vineyard area of the Okanagan Valley approximately 700 km east from Vancouver. The lack of a surrounding ocean is what geographically distinguishes Kelowna most from Vancouver and Victoria. The City of Vernon to Kelowna's north and Penticton to its south form an alignment along the 135 km long Okanagan Lake that features many attractive leisure possibilities such as parks, beaches and cliff diving areas. Despite Kelowna being very young, modest in population and geographically out of site, its speed in increasing in population and geographical size is what puts it into the limelight of urban planning and affordable residential housing solutions. Kelowna has had an increase of its population of almost 11 per cent between 2006 and 2011, which is the highest amongst the three examined cities in British Columbia (closely followed by Vancouver with 9,2 Percent and Victoria 4,1 Percent increase).¹⁰⁵⁶

It is a small city with a very recent history and yet lots of potential to grow and prosper: The City's development started on approximately 5,46 square kilometres land along the Okanagan Lake in 1905 and expanded towards east in the 1960s and onwards.¹⁰⁵⁷ It's biggest addition of 193,73 square kilometre land in the southeast part happened only recently in 1973. That was when the New Democratic Party came into power and decided to expand Kelowna towards east. This decision more than doubled Kelowna's population size: from a modest 20.000 residents to 50.000 residents.¹⁰⁵⁸ It kept gaining in land size until 2006 and now Kelowna's land is now measured to be approximately 214,46 square kilometre.

Consequently, with an ever-increasing population the demand for housing rises too. Kelowna's lack of availability in purpose built houses, land and vacant renting units affects the affordability of rental units and homeownership.

The need for affordable housing in Kelowna is evident and the City has reacted to this need with a number of initiatives beginning in the 21st century. The *Independent Living*

¹⁰⁵⁶ Statistics Canada 2012. *Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-10-XWE2011004. Ottawa, Ontario. Analytical products, 2011 Census. Last updated May 29, 2012. PDF 13 MAY 2012. Squamish (14,6%) has the highest growth of all of the Cities in BC followed by Chilliwack (11,9%) and Kelowna (10,8%).

¹⁰⁵⁷ City of Kelowna. 'Historical Municipal Boundaries Map.' 16th APR 2010. PDF. 13 MAY 2012.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Surtees, Ursula. "Kelowna. The Orchard City.", p.75.

BC program was launched by British Columbia, through BC Housing, in partnership with the federal government, regional health authorities, and the private and non-profit sectors in 2002. The program is designed to enable low-income seniors with special needs to live independently and be able to use support services at the same time.¹⁰⁵⁹ And the impact is significant: As of March 2012 Kelowna listed 59 properties run by non-profit organizations, Christian societies and other charitable organizations dedicated to provide social housing for their clients. An additional 28 buildings offer subsidized inventory for seniors' special needs housing.¹⁰⁶⁰

This shows that there is a significant amount of stock for social housing in Kelowna. Yet they vary in size, location and quality.

While it is acknowledged that some of the buildings in the last couple of decades of the 20th century are worth examining, in this chapter, only five of the most recent case studies from 2004 until 2012 will be examined.¹⁰⁶¹ *Mountainview Village* has been realised under the provincially initiated *Independent Living* program; *Cardington Apartments* was realised under former BC Premier's Task Force on Homelessness, Mental Illness and Addictions. The three case studies of *Willowbridge*, *Tutt Street Project* and *New Gate Apartments* were carried out under the "Memorandum of Understanding" of 2008 between the City of Kelowna and the Province.¹⁰⁶² All five projects demonstrate the "Orchard City's" potential of being more than just about apples and farmland.

The strong importance of not-for-profit societies for the realization of these projects along with the architect's commitment for them will be emphasised. Architecture's role is only as strong or weak as the mutual understanding of the involved parties on what is important for a livable and affordable habitable living environment. Mutual understanding is key to a building's success. Its presence improves people's lives, beautifies the

¹⁰⁵⁹ BC Housing. "Independent Living BC." *bchousing.org*. 2010. Web. 13th SEPT 2012.

¹⁰⁶⁰ City of Kelowna Housing Resource Handbook. PDF. March 2012, p. 26-34. The *New Gate Apartments* building is not listed in this publication as it opened in May 2012.

¹⁰⁶¹ For example the project *Rosemead* is run by the Canadian Mental Health Association under the Independent Living program and was opened in 1999. The four-storey hipped roof building offers its residents - singles with mental illnesses - many livable features such as one-bedroom apartments with own balconies and amenity rooms. Rent is subsidized by BC Housing and geared to tenants' income. For more information see: the website of Canadian Mental Health Association www.cmha.ca. The Housing Society Columbian Centennial offers a number of housing options for seniors and singles. The buildings were built in the 1980s. One of the most beautifully designed examples is the three-storey building *Columbus Manor*, built in 1982. It is placed at the heart downtown Kelowna. For more information on their buildings, see website of the Columbian Centennial Housing Society <http://www.cchs-housing.ca>.

¹⁰⁶² "Memorandum of Understanding between BC Housing Management Commission (BC Housing) and the City of Kelowna (the City) regarding the development of City-owned sites for social and supportive housing." 2008. PDF. 29 SEPT 2012.

surrounding area and helps diminish social imbalances. Its absence on the other hand can lead to growing poverty, rising tensions and growing prejudices.

Most data included in this chapter had been collected through empirical research including onsite visits at the buildings, interviews with architects, not-for-profit societies, and interviews with tenants, quantitative questionnaires as well as an interview with an authority representing the City of Kelowna. The goal was to gather a holistic picture of the demand and supply for affordable housing in British Columbia's small, young and yet economically strong city.

7.3 Senior Housing in Kelowna

Like many of the G8 countries, Canada's demographic is aging at a fast rate.¹⁰⁶³ A census by *Statistics Canada* from 2011 revealed that the number of citizens in Canada at the age of 65 plus increased from 13,7 percent in 2006 to 14,8 Percent in 2011.

Seniors love BC, or perhaps BC loves the seniors? The Province has the fifth highest percentage (15,7 percent) of seniors 65 years and over.¹⁰⁶⁴ And within British Columbia the City of Kelowna comprises the highest percentage of citizens aged 65 years and older (19,1 percent) followed by Victoria (18,9 percent) and Chilliwack (17,5 percent).¹⁰⁶⁵ These senior citizens are demographically inclusive but divided by different economic backgrounds and health status.¹⁰⁶⁶ Consequently a higher demand for a heterogeneous senior housing that would meet the requirements of each of these groups amidst the seniors is needed. From the early 1980s the City of Kelowna has been engaged in finding solutions for a livable, affordable and convenient housing for all its senior citizens while at the same time enabling them to dwell in an environment that meets their individual requirements.

One of the oldest senior housing projects called *Hawthorn Park* is situated at the heart of Kelowna. *Hawthorn Park* is a model example on how not to proceed in urban planning and residential architecture. The residential seniors' condominium project consists of beige wood frame houses with gabled rooftops that were built in 1993. The entire area comprises of everything; from 180 apartment unit-buildings for seniors who can live independently to another 46-unit building for seniors who need intensive care.¹⁰⁶⁷ Additional 87 strata units in different houses for couples and for families are available.¹⁰⁶⁸ Urban planner Teresa Eichler from the City of Kelowna calls this mosaic of

¹⁰⁶³ Canada is the smallest one of all the G8 countries in terms of population. With an average overall increase of 14,8 percent it is still behind most other G8 countries such as Germany (20.6%) or the Japan (23.4%). See, for example, EGAN, Louise. "Aging population poses new challenges" *hrreporter.com*. 30 May 2012. Web. 07 Jun 2012.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Statistics Canada 2012. *Focus on Geography Series, 2011 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-310-XWE2011004. Ottawa, Ontario. Analytical products, 2011 Census. Last updated May 29, 2012.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Statistics Canada 2012. *Chilliwack, British Columbia (Code 930) and British Columbia (Code 59)* (table). *Census Profile*. 2011 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-XWE. Ottawa. Released May 29, 2012.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁷ The unit sizes range from studio apartments to two-bed room apartments and are rented out for a monthly rent between \$ 2225 and \$3155. For more on the *Hawthorn Park* project and community, see the organization's website at www.hawthornpark.com.

¹⁰⁶⁸ A one-bedroom condominium unit was sold for \$148,800 in 2012. Source: Mark Jontz & Associates. Listing. "224 -877 KLO". n.d. Web. 13 SEP 2012.

unrelated architectural components a “mess”.¹⁰⁶⁹ So the city went away from this model towards smaller more cohesive types of senior housing models. And affordability is one strong aspect in these models.

As of March 2012 Kelowna had 1365 units for subsidized seniors housing in 27 buildings.¹⁰⁷⁰ One of the most interesting and vivid subsidized seniors housing examples is the Mountainview Village Project in Kelowna’s South Pandosy.

7.3.1 Senior Housing Rural Style - *Mountainview Village*

Mountainview Village is a mixed demographic and mixed-income senior housing project. It is owned and operated by the non-profit Lutheran organization *The Good Samaritan Society* founded in 1949 (Pic. 115). The society operates senior housing projects in British Columbia and Alberta. It is the society’s goal to provide those with physical and mental illnesses with adequate and affordable housing options as well as health care support for the elderly.¹⁰⁷¹ Despite the society’s religious motivation to “extend Christian Hospitality” the selection of residents for their housing programs is not based on religious beliefs.¹⁰⁷²

The society offers three dwelling options with different levels of care within the *Mountainview Village* project: 1. The *Complex Care* program supports people with dementia, Alzheimer’s disease or other kinds of illnesses that require intensive care on a 24-hour basis.

2. *Independent Living* is designed for seniors who can live independently and do not require any health assistance.

3. *Assisted Living* aims for seniors and young adults with chronic illnesses either mental or physical. It is also the only program out of the three that covers residents younger than 55 years old. And it is the only program that also offers subsidized units.

Mountainview Village’s concept is to mingle the different groups on one site in two building complexes. The two-storey building for *Complex Care* residents is placed on the eastside of *Mountainview Village* but because its residents are not in the target group of this thesis, that building will not be examined.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Eichler, Theresa. Interview with the author. 25th April 2012.

¹⁰⁷⁰ “Housing Resource Handbook.” *City of Kelowna*. March 2012.PDF.

¹⁰⁷¹ For more on the *Good Samaritan Society* look at: The Good Samaritan Society. www.gss.org. “About Us.” Web.

¹⁰⁷² *Mountainview Village* pamphlet. “A New Lifestyle.”

The *Independent Living* and *Assisted Living* Programs are both combined and located on the southwest site of *Mountainview Village* partially facing the busy road at KLO Road. There are 83 units for the *Independent Living* residents. These units are rented as life-lease apartments, similar to those at PAL Vancouver. The life-lease apartments are fully furnished, leased as either one-bedroom or two-bedroom apartments that range in size 52 m² to 144 m². The 94% refundable entrance fee for a life-lease apartment amounts from \$46,900 to \$120,750.¹⁰⁷³ In addition residents have to pay monthly rent \$635, - for a single person in a one-bedroom apartment or \$1190, - for a couple that lives in a two-bedroom apartment.

While the residents' tenure is secured for a lifetime by this model, it excludes those who cannot afford such an entrance fee. That is why the society also offers the *Assisted Living* Program that is differently modeled than the *Independent Living* Program. *Assisted Living* is subsidized through BC Housing and coordinated by the *Interior Health Authority*, which is provincially operated.

There are 89 one-bedroom units specially designed for this target group. Out of those 26 are reserved for younger residents with mental or physical disabilities. The average size for the one-bedroom *Assisted Living* units is 53 m². Rent is subsidized by the Province and geared to the residents' income and comprises 70% of their net monthly income. This seems very high for an affordable housing project, however it includes "rent, care, 2 meals per day, weekly housekeeping and linens and TeleCare (a 24-hour emergency response service)."¹⁰⁷⁴ The amount of extra service puts things into perspective again. The *Assisted Living* model can be placed between *Complex Care* and *Independent Living* as residents are housed in private apartments where they can live independently but are also offered meals, laundry services and other services. All the apartments for the *Independent-* and *Assisted Living* programs come unfurnished but with a fully equipped kitchen. They are fully wheelchair and walker accessible through widened entrance doors and automatic door openers. Additional aids are for example grab bars in the bathrooms and levers on most doors and plumbing fixtures.

¹⁰⁷³ MANCER, Kate. "Financing Seniors' Housing Projects Using Resident Equity." Final Report funded by Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia and BC Housing. October 2008. Entrance fees are deposited in a trust account. The Good Samaritan Society may use the funds in the trust account post-occupancy in order to cover costs such as repaying construction financing or to refunding entrance fees owed to outgoing residents.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Info Brochure: Good Samaritan Society. "Make Yourself At Home." 2012.

Because the residents' economic backgrounds differ so much from each other the project can be considered as a mixed-income housing project. The different age groups of the *Assisted Living* add a mixed-demographic component to the project. *Interior Health* assesses the condition of potential residents in order to be placed in the adequate level of care. The 'Home and Community Care office' of every region assesses the eligibility of a person for the *Assisted Living* based on the following main criteria:

1. Requirement for personal assistance and supportive services
2. Ability to make decisions on your own behalf, or live with a spouse who can make decisions on your behalf
3. If people are at risk in their current home
4. Ability to function safely in assisted living¹⁰⁷⁵

These criteria seem fair-based and enable residents to live a decent and livable life in dignity. That is why it is important that architecture of the habitual place adds to this dignified living.

7.3.2 Mountainview's and Realisation

Peaceful coexistence between people of different socio-economic backgrounds is not demographically limited. It can also work amongst the elderly and those with disabilities. *Mountainview Village* in Kelowna's South Pandosy is a project that understands this reality and made it a possibility.

Mountainview Village had been built in three phases: *Independent Living* and the *Assisted Living* program were built in Phase I and II finished in 2002 and April 2006 respectively.¹⁰⁷⁶ Phase III that comprises 90 units for the *Complex Care* program consists of two-storey congregated buildings and was finished in November 2006.¹⁰⁷⁷ Phase I and II that comprised the subsidized *Assisted Living* units (52 for phase I and 37 in Phase II) were financed by the Province as part of BC's *Interior Health* project in 2005 that invested \$75 million in providing 490 new senior beds for private and

¹⁰⁷⁵ For more on the exceptions and further requirements as well as the Assisted Living Program see the website of Interior Health: "Eligibility." www.interiorhealth.ca. n.d. web. 13 SEPT 2012.

¹⁰⁷⁶ "Construction starts on Kelowna Affordable Housing Units." BC Housing. 22 NOV 2004. Web. 13 SEPT 2012.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The Good Samaritan Society. "Chronology of The Good Samaritan Society Growth." n.d. web. 13SEPT 2012.

not-for-profit care providers in BC.¹⁰⁷⁸ Phase II cost \$10.7 Million and was funded under the *Independent Living BC* (ILBC) Program.¹⁰⁷⁹ There were three levels of Government involved in the funding. The Federal Government through CMHC contributed with \$1.3-million capital grant. BC Housing provides operating subsidies of \$4.4 million over 35 years. The Province will additionally provide interim construction financing. The City of Kelowna contributed \$205,610 in order to reduce the development cost charges. The non-profit society itself provided \$535,000 in land equity, cash and fundraising.¹⁰⁸⁰

7.3.3 United Colours of Agriculture – Design in an Earthy Urban Setting

Local architect Philip MacDonald was hired for both projects. The buildings of Phase I and II are composited in a way that they form an “h-shaped” outline. This can be seen particularly well from a birds-eye view (**Pic. 116**). Mountainview Village Phase I and II each consist of three storey buildings with the *Assisted Living* units on the main floor and the *Independent Living* units on the second and third floors. Phase III is placed on the northeast of the site. The development is built on an elevated lot on the corner of Burtch Road and the busy KLO Road. The area *Mountainview Village* is placed is distinctly characterized by one- to two-storey detached low-density residential houses with hipped- or gabled rooftops similar to the style of Kelowna’s early residential development (see Knowles Cottage). Additionally the development is surrounded by nature and agricultural land. A park is adjacent to *Mountainview Village*’s west. To its east is a green 0,2 km² area of agricultural land and more agricultural land at the rear of the site on the north.

Philip MacDonald had to creatively ‘juggle’ between making the architecture blend in with the surrounding agricultural scenery and at the same time including the client’s wishes. The development is set about 6 meters back from the street with a sidewalk and a green laneway in front of the site. That way the feeling of being right

¹⁰⁷⁸ “Economic Profile. Regional District of Central Okanagan.” Economic Development Commission. June 2005, p.66.

¹⁰⁷⁹ For more on the provincial program see: BC Housing. “Independent Living BC.” *bchousing.org*. 2010. Web. 13th SEPT 2012.

¹⁰⁸⁰ BC Housing. “New Assisted Living Homes Open In Kelowna.” *Bchousing.org*. 16th NOV 2006. Web. 13th SEP 2012.

on the busy and noisy road has been impeded. Two inner courtyards surrounded by the buildings emphasise the green and habitable atmosphere.

The buildings of Phase I and II are attached with each other through a connecting building that runs horizontally on the north side of the development. That connecting building element houses the spacious and well-designed community kitchen as well as dining-rooms for the residents (**Pic. 117**).

The North East portion on the site was added in 2006 as Phase III and comprises the *Complex Care* units. All the buildings can be accessed through a common circular driveway that runs along the eastside of the development. Central to this driveway is the one-storey octagonal-shaped entrance building that features a dome. Seven white Doric pillars surround the building's outside. They have no supporting function and are therefore only decorative. Natural light fills the entrance space through skylights along that dome creating a 'heaven-like' atmosphere at the visitors' first point of contact (**Pic. 118 a and b**).

The façade of the building cluster features three principal colours that run horizontally along the buildings: the lower part consists of a brown-red brick veneer. The most visible part of the façade is the middle part that encompasses the first and second floors. It consists of horizontal layers of wood boards kept in a taupe tone and corresponds visually with the protruding taupe collared chimney caps that form the roofline silhouette through rhythm and repetition. The shingled brown hipped-roof is accented with projected gabled dormers that create a triangular geometry (**Pic. 118 c**). The shingled sloping rooftops correspond to the sensitivity of the seniors' wish for a smooth transition from familiar home environment to a seniors housing environment. MacDonald realizes that seniors "don't want to move from a family car into a 'supped up' sports car or a go-cart. They want these cultural and traditional forms to be continued to make them feel like they are still within their comfort zone."¹⁰⁸¹ In order to achieve this level of comfort zone the architecture has been limited to a low-key but friendly appearance.

The façade's triple colour-palate reminds on earth, clay and wood and therefore refers to the surrounded agricultural land. It can also be interpreted as an element of *West Coast* modernism as the emphasis of this style was to merge the surrounding nature with the architecture.

¹⁰⁸¹ MacDONALD, Philip. Interview with the author. 27th APRIL 2012.

While some of the *Independent Living* apartments are equipped with a balcony, none of the Assisted Living units offer a balcony.¹⁰⁸² Other than this exception the dwelling situation between the two programs does not differ in quality and livability.

The amenity rooms of Phase I and Phase II buildings include amongst other things lounges with fire places, large kitchen and dining room and a chapel; the amenity rooms can be accessed by every resident. The residents can participate in a number of mutual activities offered by the non-profit society. That way the residents' independence is maintained while the community spirit amongst the dwellers is fostered.¹⁰⁸³

Given the young age of the City of Kelowna itself many of its seniors may be amongst those who helped to shape the City in the first place.

What a nicer way to give gratitude back than by enabling them to live in a beautiful environment and share their every-day lives.

This part of South Pandosy displays a challenging and at the same time interesting neighbourhood due to the strong presence of agricultural land. Philip MacDonald managed the task of blending the exterior architecture of *Mountainview Village* with the adjacent park and agricultural land very well. At the same time through the hipped roof form and domestic character of the architecture MacDonald executed the residents' wish to create a habitual environment where the residents have a sense of home and familiarity.

¹⁰⁸² This information was collected through a phone conversation between the *Good Samaritan Society* and the author on 17th September 2012.

¹⁰⁸³ Information on the kind of activities offered is displayed in the commercial info brochure of the *Good Samaritan Society*. The brochure also mentions the additional choices of activities for residents of the Life Lease program. See, Brochure, Good Samaritan Society. "A New Lifestyle."

7.4 Willowbridge – Transitional Housing Deluxe

“If the building is dignified, then the people in the building will become dignified as well.”¹⁰⁸⁴

In March 2008 British Columbia and the City of Kelowna mutually agreed in a Memorandum of Understanding to build and finance three new buildings that consist of supportive housing units on three city-owned sites for singles and women with children who are in core-need (having to pay more than 30% of their gross household income to rent a studio unit in the private market).¹⁰⁸⁵

Two of these projects - *Willowbridge* on Kelowna’s Boyce Street and *New Opportunities For Women* on Tutt Street – were designed by *Mountainview Village* architect Philip MacDonald. He has demonstrated his creative and functional skills by being involved as the leading architect for these buildings that aim to house those in society who are most in need. In 2008 the City has identified 279 homeless individuals living on the street or in temporary refuge on any given night in the City of Kelowna.¹⁰⁸⁶ The need for livable and affordable residential architecture for this target group becomes a necessity.

Willowbridge is a solution between living on the street and having permanent accommodation.¹⁰⁸⁷ It is a transitional, short-term housing that encompasses 40 studio apartments on four floors. The units are between 41 to 46 m² in size. The monthly rent is \$375,-.¹⁰⁸⁸ This is approximately 37 percent below the average rent (591,-) for a studio in Kelowna.¹⁰⁸⁹ On average the residents stay for eight months in the building before they move on. The building opened in October 2010 and is run and operated by the non-profit society *Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA)*. The non-profit society was founded in 1918 and is Canada’s oldest national mental health charity.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁴ MacDonald, Philip. Interview with the author. 27th APRIL 2012.

¹⁰⁸⁵ City of Kelowna. “Memorandum of Understanding between BC Housing Management Commission (BC Housing) and the City of Kelowna (the City) regarding the development of City-owned sites for social and supportive housing.” 2008. PDF.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Willowbridge Pamphlet. “CMHA Kelowna Supportive Housing Project.” Canadian Mental Health Association. 2012.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “Private Apartment Vacancy Rates by Zone and Bedroom Type in Kelowna.” Rental Market Report Kelowna Fall 2010. See, Table 1.1.1. PDF. 09 SEPT 2012. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

¹⁰⁹⁰ For more on the non-profit see the website: Canadian Mental Health Association. “History.”

Cmha.ca.

The society provides homes for people who are either homeless or at risk of being homeless. Additionally the society also offers job-training skills, life-skills, educational training and counselling. Its goal is to provide its clients with as many skills as possible so that they learn to live financially and socially independent at some point. The majority of the residents are male (74 percent).¹⁰⁹¹ The “success rate” of the project is very high: From April 2011 to March 2012 over 80 percent of the residents moved out of *Willowbridge* in order to move on living an “upgraded life style.”¹⁰⁹² More than 40 percent of them moved into market housing while 21 percent moved into subsidized permanent housing.¹⁰⁹³

The project is funded by the City and the Province: The City of Kelowna has leased the land on the corner of Boyce Crescent and Pandosy Avenue to the province of BC for 60 years. The funds to construct the building are provided by BC Housing; CMHA Kelowna has been selected to oversee the building and manage the ongoing program.

7.4.1 The Setting – On an Island close to Downtown, Beach and the Park

Willowbridge (**Pic. 119**) is placed on a formerly empty lot on a triangular “island” along Water Street, Pandosy Street and Boyce Street (**Pic. 120**). To the building’s south is a flat roofed, three-storey cubicle private residential building and a series of low-rise gable-roofed strata attached buildings that were built in 1964. To *Willowbridge*’s west on Riverside Avenue are several detached, two-storey single-family houses with green fenced yards in their fronts. The area looks quite “idyllic” and serene.

According to Shelagh Turner, Executive Director of CMHA Kelowna Branch there was a significant NIMBY attitude in the community after City Council announced the construction plans of a transitional low-income housing project in that neighbourhood. In order to provide reconciliation and clarification the society immediately networked with the community, made itself available for questions and concerns and invited the neighbourhood to visit the building after completion.¹⁰⁹⁴ Since its completion and opening the project along with its residents are well accepted parts of the neighbourhood.

¹⁰⁹¹ CMHA Kelowna *Willowbridge* Statistics. July 2010 to March 2012. Courtesy Canadian Mental Health Association, Kelowna & District Branch.

¹⁰⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁴ This information was obtained during a phone interview with Shelagh Turner, Executive Director at Canadian Mental Health Association, Kelowna & District Branch on 19th SEP 2012.

Aside from the active commitment of the non-profit to diminish any prejudices in the neighbourhood, it was also the design of the building itself that suggests hope and positive achievements the society thrives for.

The area profits from its proximity to the downtown core, the nearby Skateboard Park (300m) and the access to the beach (600m).

7.4.2 The building's Façade – West Coast Modernism meets Contemporary

The main façade faces the south. It consists of various levels of heights, shapes, facets of colours and materials that correspond well with each other. Horizontal, vertical, circular and diagonal silhouette add a dynamic and variety to the building's shape.

Wood is the dominant material used for the building (**Pic. 121**). The post-and-beam timber frame structure is exposed and reminds of the form of a "spider." Along with the flat roof it encompasses some of the prime features of the 1940s *West Coast Modernism*. Indeed MacDonald did take this style into consideration when designing the building. He explains that *West Coast Modernism* "was in my interpretation all about honesty and clarity and simplicity in a way. Wood was expressed in a very honest way and celebrated the texture of wood and grains."¹⁰⁹⁵

A circular fragmented brick fence covers the building's north, east and west elevation. Bushes and plants are planted on a green lane that circulates around that fence.

Small squared wholes punctuate the brick and let the viewer look through the fence (**Pic. 122**). MacDonald explains his choice of the building's outer shape, as such, "[T]his is a very, very important corner where [the building] is placed. The corner does not work with a building that is a demure kind of muted type of form. That corner needed an architecture that has an expressive form to give energy and significance.

I wanted this building to have a very clear and somewhat influencing form because of the corner it is on. Apart of what kind of typology a building as a social housing has, this building had to function on another level to succeed. I was trying to marry that kind of idea and goal into the consideration of 'how does this idea work with this typology?' How does the resident sense that this is not a forbidden kind of form? We did not want an aloof and cold type of building that does not care about them. So one of the things that we did with the integration of the walls is punctuate the walls so that you can see through. It is saying 'I want you to see me and I want to see you – I am not here to keep

¹⁰⁹⁵ MacDonald, Philip. Interview with the author.

you out, I am just here to define an edge and give a nice clarity of privacy in private and public spaces. Take those forms, if those forms had been done in concrete, that form would have been very intimidating for a building of that scale. It has a multitude of colours in it. There is a complexity. Wood has a beautiful element, in such a way that can be done without becoming these intimidating hostile kinds of forms. Of course all materials can be done and used to work but there is an inherent opportunity with wood elements that you can use them in bold ways and make them look less intimidating.”¹⁰⁹⁶

The high standard on the building’s outer appearance continues in the building’s interior, that is kept simple, functional and yet inviting. All the units are equipped with basic furniture such as bed, an armchair, desk and a desk-chair. Built-in wardrobes provide enough storage room. Each unit also has a bathroom with a bathtub. The temporary nature of the units is most apparent in the kitchens that are kept very basic (there is no stove or dishwasher). The idea is to foster the community spirit amongst the residents and have everyone cook together in the community kitchen. There is a large, spacious dining room for everyone to eat together. A birch wooden ceiling with exposed horizontal beams along the ceiling supported by vertical posts along the walls covers the dining hall. The inside is extended to the outside through the repeated post-and-beam timber structure. The tables and chairs are kept in the same beige tone as the colour of the ceiling and walls.

Other amenities are the large double volume communal lounge equipped with comfortable couches and the outside patio area. The idea behind the mutual cooking and dining is to foster the sense of belonging and community spirit amongst the residents. Additionally the tenants have to volunteer 5 hours per week toward “house maintenance” duties such as cleaning rooms, laundry, common areas, maintaining grounds outdoors.”¹⁰⁹⁷ All these concepts that are “built in” the building structure help to strengthen the skills and self-esteem of the former homeless individuals and enable them to pursue a self-chosen and independent life-style.

¹⁰⁹⁶ MacDonald, Philip. Interview with the author.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Willowbridge Pamphlet. “CMHA Kelowna Supportive Housing Project.” Canadian Mental Health Association.

The building itself has won a number of design awards and attracted lots of positive media attention.¹⁰⁹⁸ It was featured in a design magazine – NICHE - on a 17-pages spreadsheet on design award residential buildings, most of them luxury private homes.¹⁰⁹⁹

The publication of *Willowbridge* in these design magazines challenges statements such as that of Patrick Coulombel, Director, Architects De L'Urgence, who said: “grandiose projects, designed and built by prominent architects, are splashed across the covers of architectural reviews and journals, but not a word is published about social housing projects in the same countries.”¹¹⁰⁰

Willowbridge as a social housing project also questions the premise that good architecture hinges on matters of class, socio-economic background and budget. It also raises the question on who gets to decide what is “good architecture” on what basis and for what clientele? Out of all the case studies examined in this thesis, *Willowbridge* may be the one that demonstrates the impact of architecture on diminishing class differences the most. According to BC Housing, “Willowbridge has enhanced the neighbourhood and its appearance has helped it be accepted by the surrounding community.”¹¹⁰¹ That is one way to see the success of it. On a more human and moral level, the project along with involved people of the non-profit society help the residents of this transitional housing to get up on their feet, be the master of their domains and live fulfilled independent lives. And that is the real enhancing achievement of *Willowbridge*.

While Willowbridge houses primarily male residents, the next case study’s target group is females only.

¹⁰⁹⁸ For example, MacDonald won both the *Tommy Design Award* for Design Excellency and the *Georgie Award* in 2010.

¹⁰⁹⁹ CHBA-CO STAFF. “2010 Tommy Awards Gold.” *NICHE Magazine*. April 2011:10.

¹¹⁰⁰ As quoted in: AQUILINO, Marie. *Beyond Shelter. Architecture and Human Dignity*. New York: Bellerophon Publications, Inc. p. 287.

¹¹⁰¹ BC Housing. “The Story of Willowbridge.” 26 JAN 2011. Web. 14th SEP 2012.

7.5 “In the Middle of Difficulty lies Opportunity” – *New Opportunities for Women Canada*

2970 Tutt Street in Kelowna is the address where successful collaboration between the non-profit society, an architect, a builder, a developer and levels of Government are a real possibility (**Pic. 123**). Women and children are amongst the most vulnerable in society. According to a study by Legal Momentum 2011 single mothers are the group most at risk of poverty.¹¹⁰² According to a survey conducted by the Canadian Government in 2006, women who live in poverty are more likely to suffer from mental illnesses. The report states, “Many women’s psychological and physical problems are responses to multiple traumas over their lifetime. The impact associated with violence is compounded if a woman is socially marginalized, is living in poverty, or has serious mental illness.” These findings raise the old chicken-egg dilemma: Are single mothers more likely to be mentally ill because they live in poverty or do they live in poverty because they are mentally ill? A study revealed that violence against women in Canada costs approximately \$ 6.9 million annually.¹¹⁰³ To cut the costs, ease the pain and shed light into the darkness, support and educational work are inevitable needs.

The non-profit society *New Opportunities for Women Canada* (hereafter NOW Canada) has recognised this vulnerability and need for habitable, emotional and social support. Founded in 1989 it provides residential solutions, counselling, life skill training and many other programs for women, youth and children who are marginalized in society. Its mandate is “to offer women a comprehensive range of programs and services, designed to provide a continuum of care so they can live healthier, safer and more fulfilling lives.”¹¹⁰⁴

Affordable residential housing is one way to help *NOW Canada*’s clients that is women, to come closer towards this goal. *Tutt Street Place* is the non-profit society’s most recent affordable housing project opened in July 2011. It is a four storey building situated in South Pandosy adjacent to the Downtown Core (**Pic. 124**). The building houses a total of 39 units that range from one- to three-bedroom apartments. Apartments at *Tutt*

¹¹⁰² According to the study conducted in 2011 women are 34 percent more likely to be poor than men. This gender disparity is even more devastating for single mothers who are 87 percent more likely to live in poverty than single fathers. See Legal Momentum. “Women’s Poverty in the United States, 2011. *Poverty Rate Remains High, Gender Poverty Gap Grows*” PDF. 13 JUL 2012.

¹¹⁰³ University of British Columbia. “Annual cost of violence pegged at \$6.9B after women leave abusive partners: UBC research.” Media Release. 11 OCT 2011. Web. 13 JUL 2012. The study was conducted by Professor Colleen Varcoe from the School of Nursing, University of British Columbia.

¹¹⁰⁴ TALBUT, Liz as quoted in “\$10.7-Million Women’s Housing Breaks Ground In Kelowna.” BC Housing. 10th NOV 2009. Web. 19 APR 2012.

Street are affordable as monthly rent for the apartments is from \$375 to \$660, - depending on size and number of bedrooms.¹¹⁰⁵ The project aims to give low-income single mothers who are at risk of homelessness a place to live and stabilize their lives. Some live with their children here, others are in the process to get their children back.

The proximity to the downtown core, the wide choice of amenities such as parks and the lake as well as the many educational institutes make South Pandosy to an attractive area for Middle-Class households to reside. Low-Income households have a hard time finding housing options they can afford in this area. The successful realization and continuation of the *Tutt Street* project is the result of innovative architecture and extensive reconciliation skills between humans. NOW Canada did far-reaching mediation and resolution talks within the sceptical neighbourhood in order to make the project be not only accepted but also celebrated.

7.5.1 2970 Tutt Street - Project's Realization

What is the recipe for an accomplished and successful social housing project? You take a committed non-profit society experienced in safe, low-income residential housing projects and good knowledge of fundraising, pair them with a talented and creative architecture team and add a consultant who is experienced in affordable housing. Additionally a major contribution comes with the support of a young City that recognises the need for housing for the marginalized people. The result is a tasteful, attractive and functional building in a middle-class area.

The idea for the project started in 2006 and took shape in 2008 when it was the first affordable residential housing project approved by the City under its Memorandum of Understanding 2008.¹¹⁰⁶

Most of the money came from the three levels of government. The Province provided \$9.1 Million in capital infrastructure funding for the \$ 10.7 million-project. The non-profit itself contributed with \$671,140 in cash equity. Cost of land has been diminished through the City of Kelowna that reduced \$ 848.400 in land lease and municipal levies. The Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia provided an additional \$100.000 capi-

¹¹⁰⁵ TALBUT, Liz. Interview with the author. 26th APR 2012. Average monthly rent for a three-bedroom apartment was \$991,- in Kelowna in 2010. Source: Table 1.1.1 "Private Apartment Vacancy Rates by Zone and Bedroom Type in Kelowna." Rental Market Report Kelowna Fall 2010.

¹¹⁰⁶ "Memorandum of Understanding between BC Housing Management Commission (BC Housing) and the City of Kelowna (the City) regarding the development of City-owned sites for social and supportive housing." 2008. PDF, p.2.

tal grant.¹¹⁰⁷ However in order to cover the cost for the remaining \$ 100.000 that were needed the non-profit did active fundraising that required people committed to the cause. *NOW Canada's* executive director Liz Talbott is an energetic, positive-minded and convincing person. She is very devoted to what she does and the *Tutt Street Place* is in great part a result of this commitment. She explains very clearly the society's early aims in the design. In order to make it work for everyone (neighbours, non-profit, residents) the society wanted the building to look "very, very different from your normal building."¹¹⁰⁸

Conveniently the non-profit had the chance to work with architect MacDonald who already demonstrated his ability to make affordable housing look different from the average "size ten shoe," social housing building in order to make it work in a broader scheme. The choice in working with Philip MacDonald was due to the non-profit's focus to have a local architect, who is "vested in this project," and who has a passion for working with the community.¹¹⁰⁹ The society took a democratic and effective approach towards the building's realization: Residents' of *NOW Canada's* older low-income housing building – *1720 Ethel Street* – have been asked about their ideas on the new project.¹¹¹⁰ The society included their recommendations in the new project. The residents' recommendations included hard wood floors, open-space kitchen, natural light and microwave.¹¹¹¹

Philip MacDonald and his partner Brett Sichelto along with the non-profit were on the same page with the agenda and made it work.¹¹¹²

The success of the project is apparent on all levels: The design won the architecture 'Tommie', the non-profit was awarded as Kelowna's *Volunteer Organization of the Year 2012*, the neighbourhood gained a nice building that adds to the neighbourhood's value and the residents of *Tutt Street* are pleased with the livable and affordable residential option given to them. In a survey 16 (88%) out of 18 participating residents stated that the value-for-money ratio of the building is adequate.¹¹¹³ Moreover, 15 tenants (83%) think that the building is very livable and all of the participating tenants stated

¹¹⁰⁷ Talbut as quoted in "\$10.7-Million Women's Housing Breaks Ground In Kelowna." BC Housing. 10th NOV 2009.

¹¹⁰⁸ Talbott, Liz. Interview with the author. 26 APR 2012.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p.2.

¹¹¹⁰ The building on Ethel Street was opened in 2001 and provides long-term housing for low-income females.

¹¹¹¹ TALBOTT, Liz. Interview with the author. 26th APR 2012.

¹¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹¹³ Survey with the Residents of *2970 Tutt Street* conducted by the author in 2012. The number of the survey participants represents about 46% of the total number of residents.

that the proximity to public facilities (such as public transportation, public services or schools) is very convenient. The latter survey result might be due to the building's setting, right across Tutt Street Place is a park, the beach is only 600 m away towards west, and several grocery stores within a 600m radius make grocery shopping convenient. An elementary school, secondary school and Montessori pre-school simplify the lives of the single mothers and contribute to a time-efficient lifestyle.

7.5.2 The building's Design – “Very Different from Your Normal Building”¹¹¹⁴

Once again Philip MacDonald proved his talent as a superb architect through his ability to combine colour, form and volume into one. The butterfly rooftop (**Pic. 125**) is a bit of the architect's freedom to plant that desired form of rooftop on that building, as it is the most efficient and aesthetically appealing rooftop to his mind.¹¹¹⁵ On a functional level it saves maintenance time and money as the butterfly roof captures water in the centre and gives a platform for all the mechanical services you needed safely and “you never have to have somebody on the ladder trying to clean the gutters,” he explains enthusiastically.¹¹¹⁶ Indeed the rooftop gives *Tutt Street* building its “Same but Different” look while responding to the surrounding buildings that mostly have defined flat roofs. The main façade faces east. A serious white and taut vertical create a rhythmic pattern at the façade (**Pic. 124**). The southeast part of the main façade is painted in burgundy red that makes the building's outer appearance more vibrant and alive. The same burgundy is repeated on the façade's north and south side.

Rhythm is also created through convex and concave volumes along the main façade. The portions with balconies are set back while projected parts highlight the translucent part defined by the windows.

The quality and creativity in design continue in the interior of the building. A slim and long hallway defines the tastefully decorated entrance (**Pic. 126**). Most of the walls are kept in a clean white; a crimson red painted part of the hallway wall accentuates individuality and taste.

Each of the apartments is equipped with a roofed balcony that adds to the livability of the building. Following the residents' wish the floors are made of beautiful chestnut

¹¹¹⁴ Talbott, Liz. Interview. 26th April 2012.

¹¹¹⁵ MacDonald, Philip. Interview with the author.

¹¹¹⁶ Ibid.

brown hardwood vinyl floor and the kitchen is integrated into the living room in order to create more visual space (**Pic. 127**). Large windows allow natural light into the living space. The khaki coloured walls in combination of the chestnut brown floor reminds on the *Banana Republic* colour scheme, which is in itself elegant and classy.

The laundry room, a room that requires patience and can cunningly create boredom is kept in a bright and friendly yellow turning boring into beautiful (**Pic. 128**). The children's playground designed for the residents' of *Tutt Street Place* can be accessed from the very bright and yellow laundry room.

Through all these components the building blends in to the existing architectural scenery. At the same time it stands out as a creative and bold architectural statement. And that was surely the architect's goal as he explains, "I can work with the forms in such ways as well as a building design that has an enduring value, meaning that it looks beautiful aesthetically, it functions well and it will continue to serve a very important purpose in the community."¹¹¹⁷

However factors that remind on Tutt Street's purpose and the tenants' vulnerability are also reflected in the building's design: The non-profit's office space is placed on the ground floor (**Pic. 129**). So are several training rooms for the female tenants where they can take self-defence classes or other life-skill classes.

Security is a vital part of the building, in a subtle way: There are no apartments on the ground floor due to security reasons. Cameras and a 24-hour reception additionally help to keep the building secure and avoid access from unwanted visitors from outside. Visitors can access the building via the intercom. Each resident has to grant permission of outside visitors into the building via the intercom. That is why there are two parallel sliding doors at the entrance set as a security measure.

7.5.3 NIMBYism – Limits in Architecture Possibilities in Mediation

The fact that architecture can contribute to the community only to a certain degree has been most evident in case of *Tutt Street Place*. The building is placed in an area that is economically and architecturally a hub for business and commerce.¹¹¹⁸ Value of South

¹¹¹⁷ MacDonald, Philip. Interview with the author.

¹¹¹⁸ On a city issued zoning map the entire area along Pandosy Street, Richter Street and KLO Road that encompasses Tutt Street is marked as Commercial Zone, C1 to C 10. Source: City of Kelowna. "Generalized Current Zone." N.d. Web. 27 AUG 2012.

Pandosy's housing stock is also slightly above average.¹¹¹⁹ Evidently businesses need parking space for their clients to conveniently park their vehicles within a proximate distance of their buildings. The fact that *Tutt Street Place* was built on a former parking lot signalled a threat to businesses that feared having to face financial losses.

Particularly the planned rezoning of the then existing parking lot into residential space troubled the business people. Parking space accommodates businesses as a pull factor to attract clients. The lack of it might keep clients away. The non-profit also faced Not-In-My-Background (NIMBY) attitudes of well-established residents in the neighbourhood, because of the perception about housing for low-income households and the wearisome stigma attached to it. In order to diminish this prejudice the non-profit put itself out there in some unorthodox ways.

Talbott remembers,

People did not want us here [...] People were thinking this place was for people straight out of prison, people with addiction, there was going to be drug dealing, there was going to be needles in the playground of the school. Somebody told me that there are people waiting outside the schools, waiting for the mums to come out of the bus and telling them 'Do you know what building is going to be here?' and telling them all kinds of scary stories. That made me think: I need to find out what is going on there! So I borrowed my friend's little boy and put him in a buggy – this was all before they knew who I am. I would stand outside school with my buggy and they really came up to me saying, 'Do you know what building is going to be put up there?' I would pretend I did not know, and they would say 'it is going to be mums that will be drug dealing and so on.' I would just listen and know what is going on.¹¹²⁰

To be informed is vital in order to diminish these prejudices. Therefore the non-profit's executive director took action in the form of reconciliation. "I went and talked to the school. I told anybody who has an issue with NIMBY please come and talk to me. I would take them around our building and show them what it was. It turns out a lot of what they thought was misunderstanding and prejudices," as Talbott explains.¹¹²¹

Communication is key to a successful coexistence amongst residents, people and businesses. Talbott knows how to turn a difficulty into an opportunity: During a period of vibro-densification for the building's soil she talked to the adjacent Optometry Clinic about the disturbances that can occur, for example during a "delicate eye surgery," and managed to have the workers work around the clinic's schedule. And the hard reconciliation efforts worked out to everyone's benefit. Today the Optometry Clinic, along

¹¹¹⁹ Average value of owned dwelling in 2006 was \$ 414,434 compared to average value of \$ 390,013 for the rest of Kelowna. Source, Statistics Canada, Census 2006. "Census tract profile for 0010.03 (CT), Kelowna (CMA) and British Columbia." 2. APR 2010. Web. 12 JUL 2012.

¹¹²⁰ Talbott, Liz. Interview with the author. 26th APR 2012.

¹¹²¹ Ibid.

with other formerly opposing businesses initiates fundraising activities for *NOW Canada* in recognition of their work and efforts.¹¹²²

This building's success is due to the commitment of many people who were willed to put their Ego's elsewhere before entering the field of negotiation. Because of the collaborative effort between non-profit, Government, private sector and architect *Tutt Place* managed to make what was once disdained, avoided and labelled as "different" to be now celebrated and understood. The label is off and recognition is in. The residents of this place profit the most from this.

Tutt Street Place had problems with NIMBYism after it was built but the next project to be examined; *Cardington Apartments* was facing prejudices and rejection even before its realization.

¹¹²² Ibid.

7.6 Finding Harmony From Discord - *Cardington Apartments*

Cardington Apartments (hereafter called *Cardington*) is placed right in the core of Kelowna's downtown, two blocks away from the water and park. It houses formerly homeless people with mental illnesses and/or substance abuse issues. The tenants can stay up to two years as residents in this building. As an example of transitional housing its concept is similar to that of *Willowbridge*.

Cardington opened in October 2008 and has 30 one-bedroom units. It is operated and owned by the non-profit society *John Howard Society*. The society has a long and successful history of providing affordable housing for people with mental illnesses, addiction concerns and other problems that marginalized them from society. Its mandate is to make "Effective, just and humane responses to the causes and consequences of crime."¹¹²³

This building is special as its "design is based on the feel and the need of these people and the understanding of what they require from that building," explains architect Shelly Ng from *MEIKLEJOHN Architects Inc.*¹¹²⁴ In order to understand what the residents need they were involved and asked about their ideas and visions as well as what kind of habitual space they want to live.

Cardington was one of the initiatives from former BC Premier Gordon Campbell's *Task Force* to end homelessness and help people with mental illnesses and addictions in the Province. However *Cardington's* realization took very long to happen. The project received confirmation of funding through the BC government already in 2005 but was not open until 2008. The Province and city blamed each other for this delinquent delay; Gordon Campbell described the absurdity of the situation by stating, "as long as it takes for a world war to be fought, it takes to get a (social-) housing project through."¹¹²⁵ Indeed there was a war fought for the realization of the building. The tendency to turn away from things that we do not understand is human nature. The fear is if we spend time trying to understand, chances are we end up realizing we do not like it. Then we feel betrayed and deceived, as if we wasted our time giving the benefit of the doubt to something we should have left unknown in the first place. Similar but worse to the NIMBY issues NOW was having with their *Tutt Street Place*, the *John Howard Society*

¹¹²³ John Howard Society. Leaflet, 2012. Print.

¹¹²⁴ NG, Shirley. Interview with the architect. 25th APR 2012.

¹¹²⁵ NICHOLL, Shelly. "Social Housing tops budget agenda." Newspaper Clip from the *Kelowna Capital News*.

faced prejudices even before the building was built. Their project was not welcomed in the valorised downtown core. The setting was what concerned many people; particularly business people. That spot chosen for the project is set in an area with real estate stock for leisure activities such as beauty spas, high end hair salons, fancy art galleries and restaurants; high end amenities for high end clients. Why should former drug addicts and mentally ill people live here? On top of everything, the designated land was a parking spot for clients with high purchasing power. A housing project for formerly homeless people would look like a pink elephant in a room full of blue peacocks.

That's why a group of downtown business merchants expressed their serious concerns regarding the damage the project will do to their business and the neighbourhood. Predicting that the building "will scare away customers and drive down property values," they decided to take legal action and prevent the project's realization with a lawsuit.¹¹²⁶ Experientially one can argue that fear of the 'other' can be accounted for by understanding that what is strange and different is scary. But rationally thinking one has to wonder about the logic behind suing something that is not even there yet? And ethically, how much understanding is justified for citizens to take legal action against a project that has the purpose to help society's most marginalized people?

The lawsuits – also unsuccessful for the suing party – resulted in a 2-year delay of the building's realization. It took three years for this project to be realised, from approval to court fight over to opening its doors. As people are less hostile towards what they understand and realize the *John Howard Society* organized a number of open house events and invited individuals and corporate companies in the neighbourhood to come and experience the project and the building first hand.¹¹²⁷ John Howard's executive director Shelly Cook was there from the project's very beginning. She explains, "We also had an advisory committee, including business people, the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mountain Police] and the Chamber of Commerce to work with us as we opened the building and to work with us for the first two years after opening the building to make sure that if there is any problem we are working as a 'good neighbour'."¹¹²⁸ Again architecture played a vital role towards reconciliation, understanding and acceptance in the neighbourhood. The non-profit chose the architecture firm *Meiklejohn Architects* out of many applicants. Cook and the selective committee were all impressed by the firm and the architects' understanding of how the neighbourhood works and what each involving

¹¹²⁶ PLANT, Don. "Addict Housing Still Facing Hurdles." *The Daily Courier*. Newspaper Clip.

¹¹²⁷ COOK, Shelly. Interview with the author. 25th APR 2012.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid.

party desired to see in this building. Cook explains that she and the firm's leading designer Jim Meiklejohn "did massive consultation work with the community including non-profits and lots of clients [meaning residents]. Talking about how the building should be designed, consideration and what we should do. Because of the opposition with this building we knew we wanted the smartest, safest and most secure and well thought-out building. And we wanted to make sure we got input from all parties involved."¹¹²⁹

The efforts and Public Relation work was worth the while: until today 30 individuals aged 19 plus are given a place to dwell, socialize, recover and develop essential life skills for today's job market. And the project truly works: The building is partly run by the residents on a volunteering basis. Building manager Brian Keating is happy that each resident actually offers their time to volunteer on their own, in order to contribute to the building's maintenance.¹¹³⁰ The volunteering work also fosters the sense of belonging and community spirit within the residents as it helps to appreciate the space and opportunity given.

7.6.1 What is the Architecture's Impact?

Both the interior and the exterior of *Cardington Apartments* stand out through very earthy features caused by the choice of colours (**Pic. 130**). The architecture stands as a mediator between two worlds: that of economically disadvantaged people and that of middle-class residents in a well established, middle class area.

In conjunction with the architecture firm the non-profit has put a lot of thought to the impact of placing a building that comes with so much "baggage" into a middle-class area. Similar to *Tutt Street Place* it was important to have a building that "quietly blends into the landscape and makes it look like it had been [t]here forever," as Shelly Cook emphasises.¹¹³¹ This design concept also diminished some of the major disagreement and prejudices against the project in the neighbourhood.

The non-profit hired a group of artists from Vancouver for their project *Arbre De Vitae* or *Tree of Life*. The arts project was a joint venture between artists, non-profit and residents. The residents chose words such as "Courage, Choices, Integrity" which were then

¹¹²⁹ Ibid

¹¹³⁰ KEATING, Brian. Interview with the author. 25 APR 2012.

¹¹³¹ Cook, Shelly. Interview with the author. 25 APR 2012.

sandblasted into the stone along the door frame by the artists (**Pic. 131**).¹¹³² Artists meet people; meet architecture. Together they form an inviting friendly and habitable environment welcoming a variety of social classes into the neighbourhood.

Cardington is a three-storey high flat-roofed mixed-use building. The main façade faces the east. Its dominant colours taupe, ochre and beige give it a very ‘earthy’ appearance. Through this congenial choice of colours the building harmonizes with the adjacent building as well as the flat-roofed community centre opposite from it. This harmonization of the two buildings is particularly evident with the reflection of *Cardington* in the glass façade of the community centre (**Pic. 132**). At the same time the building keeps its own uniqueness through its multifaceted look caused through different materials, colours and patterns. The façade’s lower part is kept in the same taupe nuance as the sidewalk, which creates a visual impression of the building “melting” into the sidewalk (**Pic. 133**). The windows remain unimposing however attention to detail has been paid in the red pieces of the patio running horizontally along the lower part of the façade that accentuate the building’s outer appearance as well as the stone mosaic patterns along the entrance frame on the building’s north. That same red patio pattern is repeated along the roof. All these factors make the building’s outer appearance blend in just fine with the surrounding buildings as well as the pave way, while at the same time maintaining its own uniqueness. Isn’t that what architecture of every residential building should do? The building’s ground floor houses a coffee shop, called *One Cup At A Time*. It is also run and operated by the *John Howard Society*. While it is one way of raising money for the non-profit it also serves its clients as a training place. They are taught how to become baristas while also develop other skills such as cooking- and social skills here. The interior of the coffee shop is decorated with large murals and other art works made of the residents. The artwork is functional as it is a way of therapy for the residents. It is also aesthetical as it beautifies the Coffee Shop’s interior in a subtle yet profound way (**Pic. 134**).

John Howard’s offices are placed on the ground floor of the building. There is an open patio on the third floor facing west. On that same floor is a roofed community room for the residents to use. Large windows allow plenty of light to come inside the room. The beige carpet floor and the wooden rooftop keep the space open, bright and friendly. The architecture suggests a welcoming place for the residents to gather and socialize.

¹¹³² This way of visual representation of impactful words is reminiscent of Gregory Henriquez’ early affordable housing oeuvre on the *Bruce Erickson* building in the DTES.

The studio apartments are kept in beige and ochre and appear friendly and inclusive through an open floor plan and the bright colours used.

Conclusively it can be said that the *Cardington Apartments*, is a successful example of an affordable and livable housing project. Architecturally the project's realization included the residents' opinion and wishes in design and concept. Ethically the project changed the perception of opinionated and sceptical members of the community on affordable housing. By doing so it successfully diminished existing prejudices against residents living in the building, which again fostered peaceful coexistence of different classes in a middle-class neighbourhood. Is that a successful example of mixed-income housing? I think it is. During very brief interviews with six residents of the *Cardington Apartments* five stated to be very satisfied with the livability of the building. The importance of one's own engagement towards shaping the habitual space has been expressed by one resident who stated, "[T]he surrounding is up to you, if your heart is looking to the good. I think it is a very nice place, there is enough of everything."¹¹³³

¹¹³³ The brief interviews were taken during my visit at the Cardington Apartments on 25th April 2012. The participants (one female, five male) all lived in the building for more than one year.

7.7 Far Out in the Rutland – *New Gate Apartments*

The last case study of this chapter is the *New Gate Apartment* building in Kelowna's Rutland (**Pic. 135**). *New Gate Apartment* was the third and final project realised under the City of Kelowna's 2008 *Memorandum of Understanding*. The project comprises 49 units, which makes it is also the largest one in size out of the three projects. The match-box shaped three-storey building is a mixed-use building, with office space and residential space on the ground floor and residential apartments on the first to third floors.

The self-contained units are each 28 square meters in size and come unfurnished.

There is a community garden placed in the northeast corner of the site and an additional amenity room on the ground floor's northwest.

The project's biggest funder was the BC province that provided a mortgage of approximately \$7 million for cost of construction of the development.¹¹³⁴ It will also provide annual operational funding of more than \$725,000. The City of Kelowna provided land valued at \$650,000.¹¹³⁵

Many residents who have managed their lives successfully at the *Cardington* move to *New Gate*. The residents here need less supervision and support, as they are able to master their lives on an independent level. But Cook emphasises that the *New Gate* project "is not about transitioning the former *Cardington* tenants to somewhere else.

It is about giving them a sense of home and make sure they have the skills and support they need. And also make them feel that they are part of the community and the neighbourhood."¹¹³⁶

In this regard *New Gate* is a continuation of John Howard Society's *Cardington Apartments* (See Fig.1 Housing Continuum): It moves the residents from supportive housing to affordable housing and gives them more independency and freedoms.

Because Rutland is 5 km east from downtown Kelowna, the area is the only neighbourhood examined in this Kelowna chapter that is out of the downtown core radius of Kelowna.¹¹³⁷ Historically the Rutland was occupied in its early settler years by workers, farmers and other ordinary people that wanted to settle down in the Okanagan Valley

¹¹³⁴ WATERS, Alistair. "Premier opens new supportive housing project in Kelowna." Kelowna Capital News. 25 MAY 2012. Web. 19 SEP 2012.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹¹³⁶ Cook, Shelly. Interview with the author. 25 APR 2012.

¹¹³⁷ Census Boundaries. Rental Market Report. Fall 2010. Map of Zones 01 and 02. Statistics Canada 2006.

and built a life.¹¹³⁸ The first houses consequently were modest in style and size as well, but also functional. From the 21st century on most (49 percent) of the residential architecture in this area consists of single detached houses.¹¹³⁹

This circumstance gave the architects the freedom to set the tone with their style and colour of their building. That liberty in style was quite the intention of the non-profit and architecture firm. Cook explains that “with the *New Gate* we were going to do something very different and modern, something ‘*pow*’ and we had that opportunity.”¹¹⁴⁰

The three-storey detached building was built on an existing parking lot that was removed for the construction of the building. The outer appearance of the building reflects the multi-faceted nature of its residents within: The entire façade is an irregularly arranged mosaic of forms, colours, shapes and materials (**Pic. 136**). Yet there is no chaos or disorder, but rather peace and harmony in the outer appearance. This is mostly achieved through the straight lines and symmetry of the building). Nuances of grey appear in smaller quantity along the east and the south façade. The main facade faces east to Rutland Road (**Pic. 137**). The choice in colours is a statement in itself: The southeast corner is kept in a burgundy vertically upright rectangular façade while the southeast corner, towards the building’s entrance, depicts a white rectangular facade with aluminium silver and brick. A subtle playfulness is given in the irregularity in the windows’ size, arrangement and orders. The windows along the northeast corner are square shaped, narrow and rectangular along the southeast and almost ordinarily looking aligned in a rhythmic order along the east façade. The design of *New Gates* is a visual reminder on Germany’s 1920s Bauhaus School: clean, simplistic and geometric.¹¹⁴¹ There is noteworthy Bauhaus influence in the building’s style, emphasised through its strict and yet filigree horizontal and vertical linearity, the protruding and reset elements that remind on composited toy blocks. The design guidelines of Germany’s Weimar Republic find hints of a renaissance in Kelowna’s 21st century and remind on the cultural and inspirational interconnectivity of architecture.

As *New Gate* was not opened yet at the time of my visit to Kelowna in April, it was not possible to get visual material from the building’s interior. However in a survey con-

¹¹³⁸ HAYES, Robert. „Accommodation in and around Kelowna.” in Wilson, Wayne. *Kelowna 100 years of history 1905-2005*. 2005, Print, p.38.

¹¹³⁹ BC Stats. “Occupied private dwellings by type of dwelling as a percentage of the total for census tract 0017.00.” 2. APR 2010. Web. 12 JUL 2012.

¹¹⁴⁰ Cook, Shelly. Interview with the author. 25th April 2012.

¹¹⁴¹ For image material of Bauhaus School in Dessau see school’s website: *bauhaus-dessau.de*.

ducted post-visit in June seven out of 15 participating residents stated to think of their new place as “very livable” and 13 think proximity to public facilities is “very” convenient.¹¹⁴² These statements are promising, so is the design. It is bolder and more significant than that of the *Cardington*. Its setting is different as well, as it is surrounded by only few residential buildings. Unlike the *Cardington* building that quietly and friendly blends into the existing landscape, the *New Gate* building sets the tone, through its size, choice of colours and style. It is the kind of affordable housing project that makes a statement and wants to be celebrated. Once again the BC Government demonstrated its marketing skills at the project’s opening in May 2012. All levels of Government, the John Howard Society and new residents celebrated the building’s opening by commemorating the event.¹¹⁴³

The City of Kelowna contributed financially towards the realization of these affordable housing projects. This is even more affirmed by its recent announcement to offer \$200,000 in grants “to encourage the construction of affordable rental housing units. Funds are distributed based on the number of dwellings that qualify (up to \$5,000 per unit of non-profit affordable rental housing and up to \$2,500 per unit of affordable rental housing that does not involve a non-profit society. In addition, \$120,000 has been budgeted annually for waiving a portion of the applicable DCCs [Development Cost Charges] for eligible units of non-profit rental housing.”¹¹⁴⁴

Kelowna learned to “sell” the image of affordable housing as something desirable and respectable: *New Gate Apartment* had an opening celebrated with politicians as high ranked as the BC Premier Christy Clark attending the event in May 2012.

The kind of media attention this building received implies that Kelowna has created a place of recognition in British Columbia’s architectural world as well as in the realm of successful social housing projects. All this is the result of a successful collaboration between the City, a group of committed and skilful people and organizations that have the ability to create effective set of contacts that mediate and network with the neighbourhood, community and potential sponsors alike. This engagement turns enemies into allies, prejudices into understanding and failure into success.

¹¹⁴² Survey conducted by author with fifteen residents of *New Gate Apartments* in June 2012. The participating number of 15 residents represents about 30 percent of the total number of residents. Seven participants stated to be “somewhat” satisfied with the livability of their new residency, while only one stated to be “fairly” satisfied

¹¹⁴³ WATERS, Alistair. “Premier opens new supportive housing project in Kelowna.”

¹¹⁴⁴ “Downtown Plan Report.” City of Kelowna. 28 FEB 2012, p.16.

Conclusions

The focus of this thesis was the livability and affordability of 21st-century dwelling architecture in Canada's westernmost province, British Columbia.

I argued that British Columbia develops affordable housing strategies that are “win-win” situations for tenants, cities and entire communities alike. The success of the affordable rental projects in British Columbia is twofold: First, the design of these buildings is set in an innovative and creative way that again plays an important role in formerly derelict areas, where housing stock is typically run-down and in a neglected condition. Second, the reason for British Columbia's successful affordable housing development is because of its urban development policy opposite of gentrification: placing low-income households into already well-established middle income neighbourhoods. In academia the focus has been mostly on the transformation of run-down neighbourhoods into middle-class neighbourhoods. But in some cases, there is also a migration of low-income into middle-income. Beginning in the 21st century, the province represented through its crown corporation BC Housing, along with architects and non-profit societies put valuable thought and effort into dwelling projects that seamlessly blend into the existing architectural landscapes of middle-class areas. That way the social imbalances between the different classes diminish to a significant extent. In all cases architecture plays a vital role through its innovation and inventiveness and the way it relates to the existing architectural landscape.

In order to undermine my arguments I structured the thesis in three levels. The first part was of introductory nature: Beginning with the terms and definitions of gentrification I gave a brief overview of the term gentrification that was coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964.

Because the roots of affordable housing are in Europe, moreover in England's 19th century, part one also included a historical overview on England's Domestic Style, Arts-And-Crafts movement and Garden City concept that evolved into housing co-operatives and estates in England's late 19th century. Architects such as Parker & Unwin created housing estates for a broader range of people who could afford to own or rent their own habitable space (see, Chapter Three). Germany and Austria also developed their own affordable housing policies in the inter World War era. Large-scale housing projects such as Karl Ehn's Karl-Marx Hof (1927) during the Red Vienna reflect the idea of a just society that includes housing for every member of Vienna in the 1920s

and mid 1930s. In Germany, the notion of affordable housing as a constitutional right was already enshrined by law in the constitution of the Weimar Republic in 1919. Berlin was one of the cities that made use of this right the most. Building societies such as Siemensstadt (1929) by Hans Scharoun and Walter Gropius (amongst other architects) or Carl Legien (1929) by Bruno Taut were results of the successful execution of legislative power and the architect's creativity and commitment. Berlin's progressiveness in innovative housing solutions under the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) ceased drastically in the 1990s. Instead Germany's capital city is experiencing a politics of super-gentrification as demonstrated in the case of Marthas Hof in Prenzlauer Berg. Nevertheless, Germany still has some splendid examples of creatively executed designs in quality housing for low-income households. This has been demonstrated in the depicted case studies of Germany's student city Bonn, Germany's most expensive city Munich and Hamburg that is developing the biggest interurban development in Europe's the 21st century with HafenCity.

During World War II Canada turned to the housing policy of Europe's Weimar Republic in order to get inspiration for solving their housing shortage (See, subchapter 5.1.2). In his article, "A Housing Program For Canada" (1935) Canadian architect Humphrey Carver praised the housing policy of Weimar Republic that has "been accepted as an altogether logical expression of civic pride."¹¹⁴⁵ The main link between Europe's architecture and that of Canada has been demonstrated in the emergence of West Coast Modernism in subchapter 5.1.

Part two and three of my thesis elaborate my argument that contrary to the *Demographia Report of 2011*, British Columbia does have affordable dwelling options that are superb in design, livability and quality.

In order to support my hypothesis I centred my examination around case studies in Victoria, Vancouver and Kelowna. These three cities have been identified as the most expensive cities in Canada in terms of housing in the Demographia Report. This was reason enough for me to examine rental affordable housing options based on the creativity and innovativeness of their design, the way they correlate within the surrounding building ensemble, the circumstances of the projects' realization and area of location. With exception of *Loreen Place* in Victoria and *New Gate Apartments* in Rutlands all of the

¹¹⁴⁵ Carver, Humphry. "A Housing Program For Canada." 1935. Print, p.4.

depicted case studies are located either in the downtown core or within a 2-kilometer-radius. Placing affordable housing projects within or near the downtown core is important in order to avoid segregation and ghettoisation. Large scale public housing projects, such as *Pruitt Igoe* in St. Luis demonstrated the ineffectiveness of such projects and are considered a failure in social housing (Appendix B).

The focus on the case studies' location is directly linked to the topic of gentrification. By linking the architecture of affordable housing projects to areas that are in the process of gentrification or already gentrified this thesis attempted to add to the existing literature on gentrification in the discipline of art history.

In part two of my thesis, I examined affordable dwelling solutions in Victoria's *Fernwood* and *Burnside Gorge* and Vancouver's *Downtown Eastside*; all these neighbourhoods were in the process of gentrification at the time of the projects' realization. Through the restoration of these old buildings, the housing stock was preserved and brought to a new, refurbished and multi-times more livable standard. The refurbished houses contribute towards an enhanced living quality of the low-income tenants. Many of these buildings, particularly the Single Room Occupancy Hotels are character buildings, sometimes even heritage registered. The restoration of character buildings in poor and run-down neighborhoods has often times been accounted to the migration of middle-class, as, according to David Ley, the preservation of heritage buildings applies to the taste of the middle-class. In the case of Victoria's affordable family housing project *Cornerstone Initiative*, the architecture literally set the cornerstone for a gentrification wave in the Fernwood neighbourhood. The deteriorated former *Parfitt Brothers* building was restored and brought up to an enhanced new level. It was due to the non-profit society as well as resident's commitment of Fernwood and the use of the Right to the City that this building was rescued from demolition. At the same time the architecture of the *Parfitt Brothers* building classified as "Italianate" caused a domino effect in restoring other deteriorated old buildings in the neighbourhood. This development attracted middle-class families who since 2006 moved into Fernwood. *Park Place* is a reflection of Fernwood's preference for character houses: the affordable family housing project was built in 2008, but consists of architectural citations – such as shed-roofed entry porch or ornaments and brackets along the pillars of the surrounding turn-of-the-20th-century buildings.

In Vancouver the mixed-income housing project *Woodward's Redevelopment* set the tone in Downtown Eastside that was known as the poorest postal code in all of Canada. The mixed-use and mixed-income project consists of four interconnected buildings out of which three are designed in a heritage-styled look (See, subchapter 5.5). Particularly, the highest building of the entire complex - the "W"- Tower, - is reminiscent of the Burnham's Flat Iron Building in New York's Manhattan. The cooperative housing, *Lore Krill II* that is placed diagonally from *Woodward's* has citations from the former Woodward's department store integrated in its architecture. Since the realization of *Woodward's* started to take shape in 2007 it attracted many private investors in Downtown Eastside and changed the architectural picture of the area. This has been suggested through private condominium developments such as *33 West Pender* that was opened in 2009 and offers market-units starting from \$ 399,000. The condominium building is adjacent to the low-income mixed-use building *Healing Lodge* that houses First Nation working artists.

Typically, the migration of middle-class into lower-class neighbourhoods causes the displacement of the latter; a process coined as "gentrification" in urban geography and sociology. But despite the common negative connotation of gentrification, the valorisation of land and buildings does not necessarily lead to the displacement of low-income households. Moreover, it can result in a healthy "class-mix" out of which everyone can enjoy peaceful habitable coexistence.

The third part of my thesis focused on the province's policy to place affordable dwelling projects in middle-class area in Vancouver and Kelowna. The aim was to examine how the architecture of affordable housing blends into the existing architectural ensemble of already valorised neighbourhoods.

Unlike Victoria, Vancouver's appreciation for character architecture has emerged only from 2003 on. This is most evident in the fact that in the 1990s Vancouver council wanted to demolish the last intact block of old heritage houses, called *Mole Hill*. Through the notion of the "Right to the City", these houses were rescued from demolition and restored to a livable standard. Today, the block is a mixed-income housing project consisting of subsidised and market housing rents. The 27 restored heritage-registered houses along with nine other gabled-roofed and shingled houses are placed in West End which is an area that has been gentrified already since the late 1990s and depicts luxury high rise *Vancouver Model* buildings such as Busby & Associates' *One*

Wall Centre. Because of its high proportion of gay residents (see footnote 934), West End is accountable for Florida's theory, who places gays as members of his "Creative Class."

Doug Story Apartments was the most unusual of all the projects examined as it is built for the hardest to house – mentally ill and homeless – and placed right next to a luxury mixed-use building, called *L'Hermitage* in the heart of Vancouver's Downtown South. Doug Story's architecture reveals nothing of the tenants' status and situation as the architects used the same materials for the façade outside as they did for *L'Hermitage*. Doug Story's small scale adds to the harmonized coexistence of the two differing clients (See, subchapter 6.2).

Out of the three cities examined, Kelowna is the youngest and smallest one. And yet, despite its recent history and modest size it is the most progressive city in terms of placing low-income housing projects successfully in neighbourhoods with predominantly middle-class households. The award-winning architecture of the transitional housing project *Willowbridge* in Kelowna's downtown was so superb in design that was featured in the Canadian fashion and design magazine, *NICHE*, next to luxury villas. The project's design is reminiscent of that of *West Coast Modernism*, which emerged in Vancouver's 1940s and defined British Columbia's residential homeownership style well into the 21st century (see subchapter 5.5).

Despite the main architectural focus of this thesis, it is acknowledged that architecture alone cannot diminish social imbalances in a society entirely. That is why significant credit has been given to the work of the non-profit organizations that run these buildings and supervise the residents. Particularly, in Kelowna the depicted case studies demonstrate that non-profit organizations played the most vital role as active agents of mediation and reconciliation between low-income households and well-established middle-class neighbourhoods. This was due to the fact that NIMBYism occurs many times in the placement of low-income households in middle-income neighbourhoods (see subchapter 7.5.3).

The target groups, next to architecture and the non-profits' engagement play an important role towards the projects' success. The tenants of affordable housing are not homogenous and therefore differently perceived in neighbourhoods. The most accepted low-income households in middle-class neighbourhoods are low-income families, seniors and artists. The latter group goes align with David Ley's "New Middle Class" theory and Richard Florida's "Creative Class" theory (see subchapter 2.2.2). These two

were the most used gentrification theories in this thesis. Both Florida and Ley start from the premise that artists and creative people valorise neighbourhoods through their creativity. The key difference between these two theories is however, that Ley's artists hold a low economic value despite their high cultural value. It is the latter that attracts the middle class to areas where artists reside, despite them being poor. Florida on the other hand rejects the idea of creative people being poor bohemians. His Creative Class include professions such as graphic designers, professors, writers, actors and people holding positions in high-tech industry such as computer animators and engineers.

The case study of Coal Harbour's *Performing Arts Lodge* in Vancouver is where Ley's and Florida's artists meet. Coal Harbour is a valorised neighbourhood where many people holding jobs in the high tech industry called "Digerati" – reside. The *Performing Arts Lodge* is an affordable housing project designed for low-income performing artists. Because of their high cultural value they integrate perfectly into Coal Harbour. Moreover, the architecture firm designed the building intentionally in a way that it effortlessly blends in with the surrounding market condominium buildings. The well-received perception of artists as the "cultural new" (see page 49) may be a reason why Hafencity's first mixed-income dwelling project – *Losepark* - is going to house artists in the subsidised units.

The thesis ends with the most recently built affordable housing project, *New Gate Apartments* in Kelowna's Rutland. The resemblance of New Gate's design to that of the Bauhaus architecture suggests the historical and geographical interconnectivity of affordable housing in Europe and Canada that is still present in the 21st century.

Regardless of design and appearance architecture needs to be understood as an art created by people for people. Its high functionality and user value may place it above all other arts as without it humans cannot dwell. Architects and builders have the ability to provide humans a sense of belonging, a space of security and safety through the result of their work. Failing to do so may result in a life of instability and fear. Professor Sam Davis stated the need of livable dwelling space most accurately: "Housing in the end, is building; it is what we see after all the regulation, process, and politics have run their course and the money is spent. The buildings stay much longer than the remembrances of how they came to be. The lives of the people who live in them, and of those who live near them, are forever affected by their design."¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴⁶ DAVIS, Sam. *The Architecture of Affordable Housing*. UP Berkley, 1995. p.5

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List of ABBREVIATIONS

Architectural Institute of British Columbia	AIBC
British Columbia	BC
British Columbia Institute of Architects	BCIA
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation	CBC
Canadian Mental Health Association	CMHA
Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation	CMHC
Canadian Pacific and Railway Corporation	CPR
Capital Regional District	CRD
Capital Region Housing Corporation	CRHC
Chicago Housing Agency	CHA
Cooperative	Co-op
Development Cost Charges	DCC
Development Cost Levy	DCL
Downtown Eastside	DTES
Federal Co-operative Housing Program	FCHP
Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-Aktiengesellschaft	GEHAG
Greater Victoria Housing Society	GVHS
Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere	HOPE VI
Hudson Bay Company	HBC
Independent Living BC	ILBC
New Opportunities for Women Canada	NOW
Not-In-My-Backyard	NIMBY
Performing Arts Lodge	PAL
Project Development Funding	PDF
Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program	RRAP
Revised European Social Charter	RESC
Royal Architectural Institute of Canada	JRAIC
Royal Canadian Mountain Police	RCMP
Shelter Aid for Elderly Renters	SAFER
Single Room Occupancy Hotel	SRO
Tax Incentive Program	TIP
Value Added Tax	VAT
Vancouver Regional Construction Association	VRCA
Victoria Civic Heritage Trust	VCHT
World War I	WWI
World War II	WWII

Appendix – A

Interviews – By Order of Appearance in Dissertation

VANDEMADE, Paul. Realtor, MacDonald Realty. Victoria, 15 June 2012.
YIP, Debra. Corporate Representative, Affordable Housing Centre, CMHC, Vancouver, 26 June 2012.
RANKIN, Lenore. Development Director, Fernwood Neighborhood Resource Group, Victoria, 13 June 2012.
CZEMERYS, Mila. Communications. Fernwood Neighborhood Resource Group, Victoria, 13 Jun 2012.
COLINS, Garde. Architect and builder. 7 AUG 2012.
MELLISHIP, Kay. Executive Director, Greater Victoria Housing Society, Victoria, 14 Jun 2012
LOW, Jackson. Chow Low Hammond Architects Inc. Victoria, 14 Jun 2012.
LEY, David, Chair of Geography, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 23 JUL 2012.
BRUNEMEYER, Naomi, Homeowner Protection Office Branch, BC Housing. Vancouver, 19 JUN 2012.
KITCHEN, Darren. Government Relations Director, Co-operative Housing Federation of British Columbia. Vancouver, 16 May 2012.
WAI, Joe. Joe Y. WAI ARCHITECT, INC., Vancouver, 27 May 2012.
ROBSON, Thomas. Tenant, Lore Krill I, 239 East Georgia, Vancouver, 17 May 2012.
SMITH, Jessica. Realtor, ReMax, Vancouver, 8 MAY 20012.
HENRIQUEZ, Gregory. Henriquez Partners Architects, Vancouver, 16 JUL 2012.
LESHGOLD, Robert. Reliance Properties Ltd, Vancouver, 21. AUG 2012.
CARSCADDEN, Bruce. bruce carscadden ARCHITECT inc. Vancouver, 24 AUG 2012.
EDDY, David. CEO, Vancouver Native Housing Society. Vancouver, 9 July 2012.
JAMES, Simon Daniel, Artist,. Phone, 26 July 2012.
NEEL, Lou Anne, Artist and tenant Healing Lodge, Vancouver, 30 July 2012.
LYON, Stu. Principa, GBL Architects. Vancouver, 23 AUG, 2012.
McEWEN, Sean. Sole Architect. 24 May 2012.
GLACKEN, Gary, Executive Director, PAL Vancouver. 5th JUN 2012.
HEYMAN, Jane. Director and Artist. Vancouver, 14 AUG 2012,
JOHNSON, Alan. DA Architects + Planners. Vancouver, 8 JUN 2012.
DURANTE, Jane. Landscape Architect, Vancouver, 09 JUL 2012.
EICHLER, Theresa. Community Planning Manager City of Kelowna, 25 April 2012.
MacDONALD, Philip. Founder, pma Architects, Kelowna, 27 APRIL 2012.
TALBUT, Liz. Executive Director at NOW Canada, Kelowna, 26th APR 2012.
NG, Shirley. Architect, jim-mai architects inc. Kelowna, 25th APR 2012.
COOK, Shelly. Executive Director, John Howard Society, Kelowna, 25 APR 2012.
KEATING, Brian. Housing Coordinator John Howard Society, Kelowna, 25 APR 2012

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GOTTSCHALK, Anna “Re: Hamburger Hochstrasse.” Email to author. 26 Oct 2011.
SUDHOLZ, Ute. “Re: Projekt Arche Nora”. Email to the author. 25 Oct 2011.
JAARSMA, Amy. “Research on Pinehurst.” Email to the Author. 3rd AUG 2012.
RANKIN, Lenore “Research on Affordable Housing.” Email to the author, 27th June.
COLINS, Garde. “Cornerstone and Yukon.” Email to the author. 08. AUG. 2012.
SHUYA, Bradely. “Pembroke 577” Email to the author. 20th June 2012.
KITCHEN, Darren. “Lore Krill Co-op.” Email to the author. 14 Oct 2011.
ALLIBHAI, Dilly. “One Twenty West.” Email to the Author. 22 Aug 2012.
REGAN, Wes. “Statistics DTES.” Email to the Author. 24 JUL 2012.

APPENDIX B: Pruitt-Igoe - the wonderful Place

Pruitt Igoe had this element of life; Engaging and Electing Life.¹

Pruitt-Igoe was established out of the necessity for decent inner-city housing and the abolishment of a growing slum development. After World War II planners and politicians alike in St. Louis were busy with finding solutions for the growing housing crises in the inner-city.

Faced with the question on how to fit a million into the city they decided that large-scale housing was the solution to go. The United States Housing Act of 1949 provided the money for construction and Japanese architect Minoru Yamasaki to build the 33 block large scale Public Housing. The design guidelines were clear: simple, functional and modernist. The buildings were set apart in order to let enough “air, sunshine and light” in just like the credo of Germany’s pre-World War II architects.

North and West of Downtown St. Louis, construction in a newly 57-arcad site began in 1952. The Wendell Pruitt and William Igoe homes became a proud symbol of St. Louis’ rebirth. A modern break with the crumbling past that surrounded it.

In a documentary by director Chad Freidrich former tenant of Pruitt-Igoe Jacquelyn Williams remembers “When we first moved in it was the most exiting things in the world, everybody had their own bed and a room with a door. At First Pruitt-Igoe was just a wonderful Place.”

That romantic vision did not last very long as already in the late 1950’s too many people moved out of the buildings leaving many apartments empty.

Cities were emptying out and loosing their middle-class and loss of jobs and businesses. Class, Race and Gender played key roles in the Pruitt-Igoe project: The very name of that project was synonymous for the politics of USA’s segregation agenda. Wendell Pruitt (1920-1945) was a black Tuskegee (Alabama) Military Pilot² and William Igoe (1879-

¹ Sylvester Brown, former resident, interviewed in: “The Pruitt Igoe Myth.” Directed by FREIDRICH, Chad. Unicorn Stencil. 2011. DVD.

² Pruitt’s life was short just like the building named after him, he died in 1945 at the age of 25 in a plane crash.

1953), a white congressman from St. Louis.³ Even though Pruitt-Igoe was built for low- to moderate-income blacks and whites the buildings were soon occupied by blacks only, mostly those who had low- to no income.

The paramount flaw of the project was that the 33 Buildings were under-maintained from day one. It is true that the Federal Government paid for the construction of the building but the maintenance cost was going to be covered through the rent paid by the tenants. What if the buildings end up having a low vacancy rate? Nobody thought of that. The rental income from the buildings' tenants was strong at first but the city was changing, whites and middle-income would move out of the inner-city into the suburbs and St. Louis was facing a free fall in land and value of property.⁴

Inner-city growth and development did not have a chance from the start: There was a national pro-suburban policy during the years that Pruitt-Igoe was being built.

The federal government only took efforts to make the suburbs more affordable for the middle-class and the white working-class. Consequently the poor, low-income would migrate into the inner-city while the middle-class, white people would move to the suburbs where schools were built, businesses flourished and jobs were created. In fact Economy in the USA flourished only outside the City after WWII. Ghettos were closed to the Industrial and economic realm. The Black Ghetto was very far from where jobs were moving. The blacks who moved to the City in order to find jobs found themselves in an economy that was dying.⁵

By the mid-1960s the Estate of Pruitt-Igoe was gradually and drastically falling apart. Tenants were faced with rising vandalism, run-away maintenance cost and growing numbers of vacancies in an increasingly poor and emptying city. The latter caused rising rents for the remaining tenants to a point where they could not bear it anymore.⁶

³ BRISTOL, Katharine. The Pruitt-Igoe Myth. *Journal of Architectural Education*. Vol 44.3 May 1991: 163-171. p.165.

⁴ Between 1960 to 1970 the City faced a population loss of 28 percent.

⁵ BIRMINGHAM, Elizabeth. "Reframing the Ruins: Pruitt-Igoe, Structural Racism, and African American Rhetoric as a Space for C." *Western Journal of Communication*." Vol. 63.3 (1991):291-309.

⁶ By 1970 rents were increase three times in one year in order to compensate for the high vacancy rate. Some ended up paying three-quarters of their income.

In January 1969 the tenants went on a rent strike that was the first strike in the history of Public Housing. The Pruitt-Igoe housing authorities finally gave in to the strikers' demands, limiting rents to only one quarter to every tenant's income.

Residents also had a much greater voice in the operation of the St. Louis Tenant Affairs Board and Board of Commissioners Meeting.⁷

But the victory was short lived as all these years the buildings were neglected placed physical collapse.

The damn broke in winter 1969. Entire apartments were swamped with water and no heater working. Tenants had to move out, the unoccupied units started to fill with drug addicts, criminals and dealers turning the entire estate into a place of drug heaven. The estate became too big, too unmonitored and too uncontrollable.

The dream was over: In 1972 three buildings were exploded with dynamite. In 1974 a whole nation watched on national television the end of an architectural dream when all of the remaining buildings were demolished. By 1976 the site was cleared and the residents were to move elsewhere.

The End of the Wonderful Place “Boom, Boom, Boom”

Pruitt Igoe started as an architectural dream and ended as the “Death of Modern Architecture”⁸ less than two decades later. The larger than life public housing block Pruitt Igoe was built out of necessity and a vision for a better habitual place for everyone.

There are multiple reasons as to why Pruitt-Igoe failed: First one being largely due to the miscalculation of planners and politicians.⁹ The politics of segregation of the United States' at that time – even though not legally executed but practically still tangible –

⁷ Housing Board to Cut Rent and Boost Services. June 26, 1969, p. 76.

⁸ JENCKS, Charles. *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. London: Rizzoli International Publications Inc. 1981. p.9.

⁹ In an interview, Irvin Dagen from the Pruitt Igoe Authority Poor blamed the housekeeping practices, stating that there was :“Not enough money to operate as well as we should.” See, “The Pruitt Igoe Myth.” Directed by FREIDRICH, Chad. Unicorn Stencil. 2011. DVD.

fostered the ghettoization of blacks in a concentrated poor powder keg ready to explode any minute.¹⁰

The failure of Pruitt-Igoe from an architectural point of view is that while it was eager to serve the ethical justification it failed to also accomplish an aesthetic justification. It was too big, too incoherent in design and ignorant towards the surrounding.

Until this wonderful and progressive idea turned into an impossible and farfetched myth, ending in the demolition of the entire block: “boom, boom, boom.”

In order for the building to succeed it has to reflect a sense of appropriateness, meet the “Zeitgeist” and at the same time represent the inhabitants’ needs as well as blend into the surrounding neighborhood.

¹⁰ The small municipality of Black Jack incorporated itself as a municipality and passed a zoning law that prohibited the construction of new apartment buildings for low-income housing in the end of the 1950s. Citizens feared that such a project would become like a suburban Pruitt-Igoe. In an interview Zoning Commission Chairman Dr. Robert Schuchardt stated: “People who are middle-income and behave like middle-income worry about their, houses, their lawns and schools if such a building would come to their neighborhood.”

Appendix C: *München Modell*: The case of Pandion Mirador

At the time this dissertation was in the making only one developer, PANDION Real Estate GmbH was offering apartments for sale and homeownership, subsidized according to the *München Modell*. However no new projects have been started as of August 2011 according to Munich's Urban Planning Department.¹¹ Therefore the project *Mirador* that is set in Munich's north-western neighbourhood, Moosach will be subject of examination for a *München Modell* case.¹²

The *Modell* offers the buyers two income options divided by Income Group II and III (Einkommensgruppen). The latter being up to € 200,- per square meter more expensive, while at the same time allowing buyers to earn a higher annual gross income.¹³ There are also certain regulations on dwelling size and number of rooms according to number of residents. However the buildings that are subsidized under the *MM* are not limited to specific areas or parts of towns. This means, a building which is built under the *MM* can be set in an expensive, already gentrified part of Munich just as well as a less expensive, not gentrified one.¹⁴

Moosach is a gentrified area. It is 7 km northwest from Munich's downtown core and one of the less densely populated parts of Munich (44 people per hectare land).¹⁵

The neighbourhood used to be a working class area until the 1950s and gradually turned into an area primarily with single-family homes.¹⁶ Therefore through the migration of

¹¹ Landeshauptstadt München. Referat für Stadtplanung und Bauordnung. "Geförderter Wohnungsbau in München. Angebotsliste. Stand August 2011." www.muenchen.de. 01. Aug. 2011. Web. 19. Sept. 2011.

¹² *München Modell* primarily aims to help its middle-class citizens. For example: the maximum allowed annual gross income for married couples without children is € 42.300 for the 3. Model; a family with two children is allowed to have a maximum annual gross income of € 49.500 for the second Model and € 70.9000 for the third Model.

¹³ For a brief overview on income regulations and other requirements see the leaflet, available for download at the website of Munich's urban planning department, Landeshauptstadt München. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung. "München Modell und Sozialgerechte Bodennutzung." www.muenchen.de. n.d. web. 01. Jul. 2011.

¹⁴ Notice: the loans assigned under the *München Modell* are not limited to private developers only. Building societies and co-ops are entitled to participate in the development of the buildings under this agreement as well, as long as the rent of the apartments stays at least below € 1,50/ m² the average rent set on the free market.

¹⁵ Statistisches Amt, Direktorium, Landeshauptstadt München. "Statistisches Taschenbuch. Table, *Die Fläche, Einwohnerzahl und Einwohnerdichte am 31.12.2010 nach Stadtbezirken*." <http://www.mstatistik-muenchen.de>. n.d. Web. 19. Sept. 2011. p.6.

middle-class and white-collar workers the neighbourhood's socio economic dimension shifted from a working-class- to a middle-class-family-neighbourhood from the late 1970s on. The gentrification processes of rural areas of town have been coined as "rural-gentrification".¹⁷

This is where the real estate developer Pandion AG set its real estate project *Mirador*. The project will consist of buildings that comprise an L-shaped complex consisting of three attached houses and one solitary standing house, called "Solitär".¹⁸ The setting of the project excels in idyll and nature. All buildings will be either surrounded with green nature or by water.¹⁹ While the detached Solitär will be five-storey high, the other three buildings will be modest in high with only four-storeys.²⁰ This is where a total of 13 apartments will be sold under the *München Modell*. The subsidized apartments comprise those on the L-shaped buildings.²¹ That means Solitär will be excluded from the MM. Following the selling development of "Mirador's" *München Modell* apartments from September 2011 until February 2012, all 13 units available under MM were sold out.²² The model on the developer's website depicts *Mirador's* architecture consisting of white, almost heavenly shiny façade, prominent balcony part centring the building's core, translucent windows placed on very distinct horizontal and vertical axis.

A picture of the apartment's interior on PANDION's website reveals spacious floor to ceiling windows, allowing light and air to shine and circulate in. Natural wood and an under floor heating system in the bedrooms and ceramic tiles in the bathroom upgrade

¹⁶ Landeshauptstadt München. Referat fuer Stadtplanung und Bauordnung. " Moosach. Stadtteilbild.

¹⁷ PARSONS, D."Rural gentrification: The influence of rural settlement planning policies." Department of Geography Research Paper 3. University of Sussex. 1980.

¹⁸ Exposé. PANDION Mirador. p. 6.

¹⁹ The river Anger and a little stream are running by where the buildings will be set.

²⁰ PANDION Mirador. Allgemeine Baubeschreibung. 1.1. Allgemeine Angaben zum Bauvorhaben.

²¹ Eichhorn, Christian. "Re: Pandion Mirador in Moosach." 13. March 2012, Email to the author. In a phone interview on 12. March 2012 Eichhorn confirmed that the units sold under the MM are place on the ground till the 2nd floor. Meaning no penthouse units are subsidized in this project.

²² The available apartments are displayed on the developer's website under <http://www.pandion-mirador.de>. As of February 28th 2012 the developer had only six apartments that were on sale, none of them offered as MM. Eichhorn confirmed that the last unit under MM was sold out in February 2012. See Email, 13. March 2012. The time span of the selling was from July 2012 till February 2012.

this project to a high scale real estate plan.²³ The fact that each apartment will be equipped with either its own terrace (for the top floors) or balcony makes *Mirador's* architectural principles be align with those of the Bauhaus masters from the 1920s. Moreover each one of these balconies will be separated by little storage rooms that will be “invisibly” integrated in the design of the balconies. This aesthetic and pragmatic detail will enable the residents with enough privacy.²⁴

The real estate prices are indicated on the developer's website, making the cost of the units transparent:

A One-Bedroom-Apartment for a regular buyer is sold for € 174.9000 (€ 3429/ m²) whereas a subsidized apartment one-bedroom-apartment sold under the *München Modell* is worth €149.329 (€ 2928/ m²). Consequently the price difference lies in € 501 per square meter between the open market units and the subsidized ones. It fosters a diverse mix of household sizes and a slightly mix of income groups.

At a selling price of € 2928 per square meter the *Mirador* apartments are still an exclusive option for buyers and investors who can afford taking a mortgage and paying a significant amount of their monthly income on mortgage installments. But without this government model of subsidized real estate, middle-income households²⁵ in Germany would most likely not be able to afford buying and living in their own apartments in Germany's most expensive city. The fact that buildings offered under the *München Modell* are sold out in such a fast period of time is a reflection of the subsidized housing concept's success. Friedrich Engels might object to the affordability part of Pandion's *Mirador*, while Herman Muthesius might see the true manifestation of the problem of housing for the middle class in this project.

But taking Harvey's Right To the City into account, *Mirador* does bring the ordinary people closer to their right to choose their own dwelling concept.

²³ All information has been derived from the website of PANDION GmbH. www.pandion-mirador.de n.d. Web. 16. Sept. 2011

²⁴ Exposé. PANDION *Mirador*. p. 9.

²⁴ Exposé. PANDION *Mirador*. p. 9.

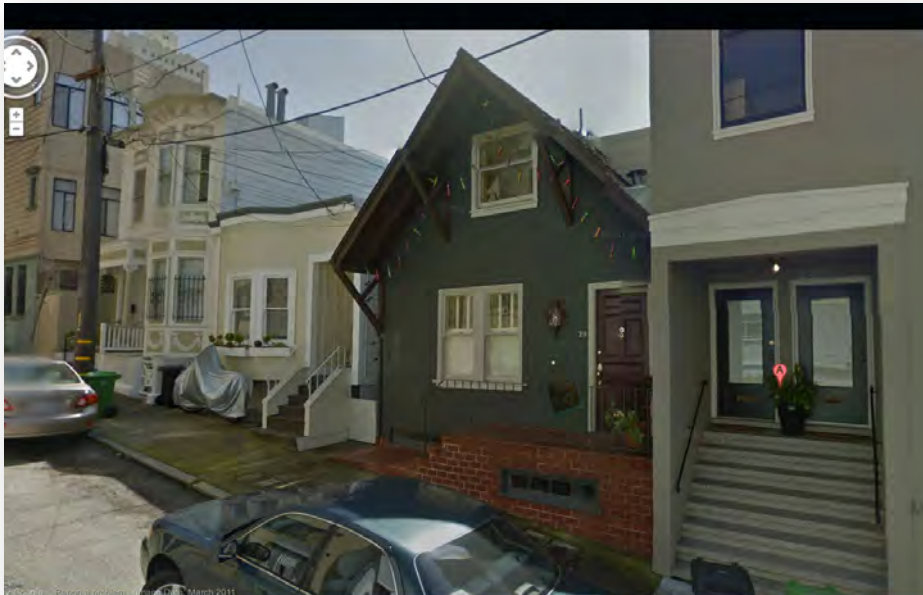
²⁵ For example: the maximum allowed annual gross income for a married couple without children is € 42.300 for the 3. Model; a family with two children is allowed to have a maximum annual gross income of € 49.500 for the second Model and € 70.9000 for the third Model.

Illustrations

II Chapter Gentrification

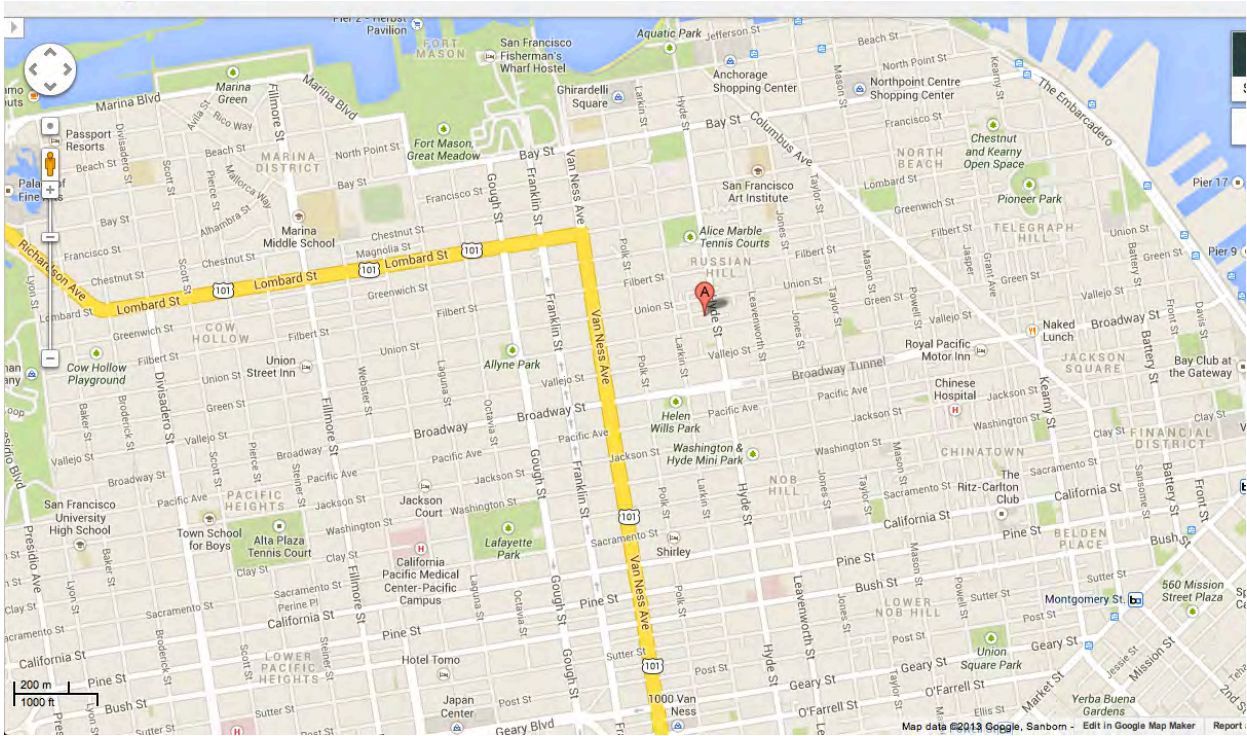


Pic. 2: Carrie Bradshaw's Apartment, 71 Perry Street, Greenwich Village.
Pictures: Google Street View



Pic. 3: House of Neal and Carolyn Cassady, 29 Russel Street, Russian Hill.
Pictures: Google Street View

II Chapter Gentrification



Pic. 4: Map depicting 29 Russel Street, Russian Hill.
Source: Google Maps

III Chapter

Affordable Architecture in Germany's 21st-Century



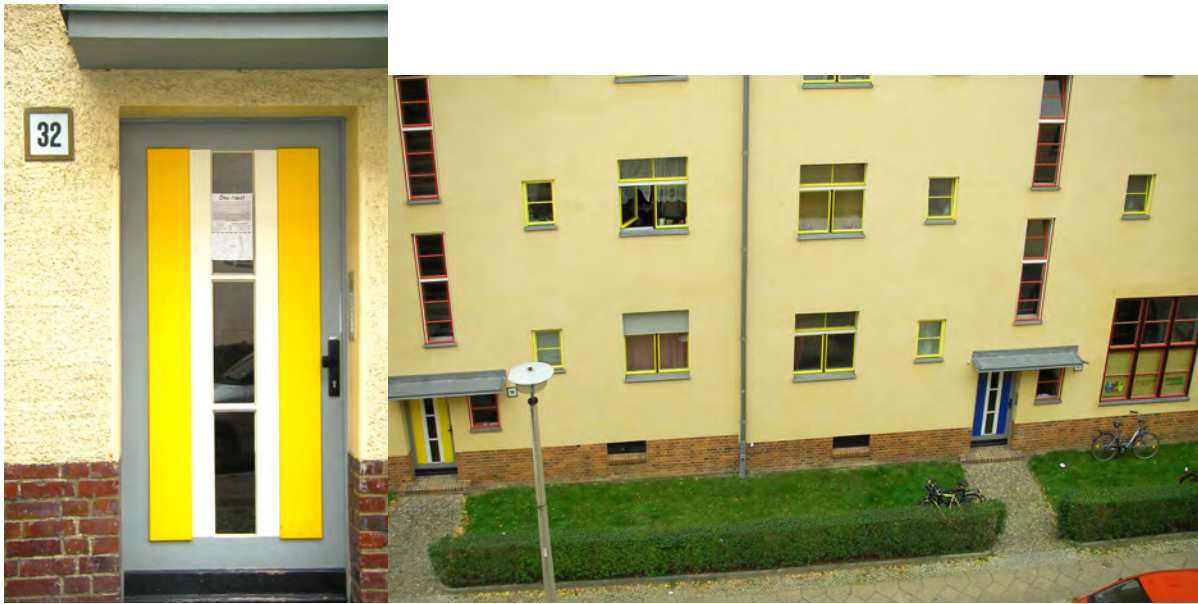
Pic.5: Berlin, Bird's Eye View of Carl Legien depicting all six Estate
Source: Google Earth 2012



Pic. 6: Berlin, Carl Legien Estate, Façade facing Inner Courtyard
Source; Ulduz Maschaykh

III Chapter

Affordable Architecture in Germany's 21st-Century



Pic. 7 a and b: Berlin, Carl Legien Estate, Façade from Sodtkestrasse
Source; Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 8 a and b: Berlin, Carl Legien Estate, Originally Maintained Interior of Bathroom and Living Room, Apartment at Sodtkestrasse 32
Source; Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 9: Berlin, Map of Prenzlauer Berg, Location of Marthashof and Car Legien Estate
Source: Google Maps 2012

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Pic. 10: Bonn, Rheinische-Friedrich-Wilhelms University, Bonn, Main Campus
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 11: Bonn Tillmann-Haus, Lennestr. 26
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 12: Bonn Carl-Schurz Haus, Kaiserstrasse 57
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 13: Bonn Werner-Klett-Haus, Lennestr. 3, Bonn and Slavistic Institute, Lennestr. 1
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 14: Bonn Arithmeum Museum, Lennestrasse 2
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 27a and b: Bonn Werner-Klett-Haus, dorm room and kitchen
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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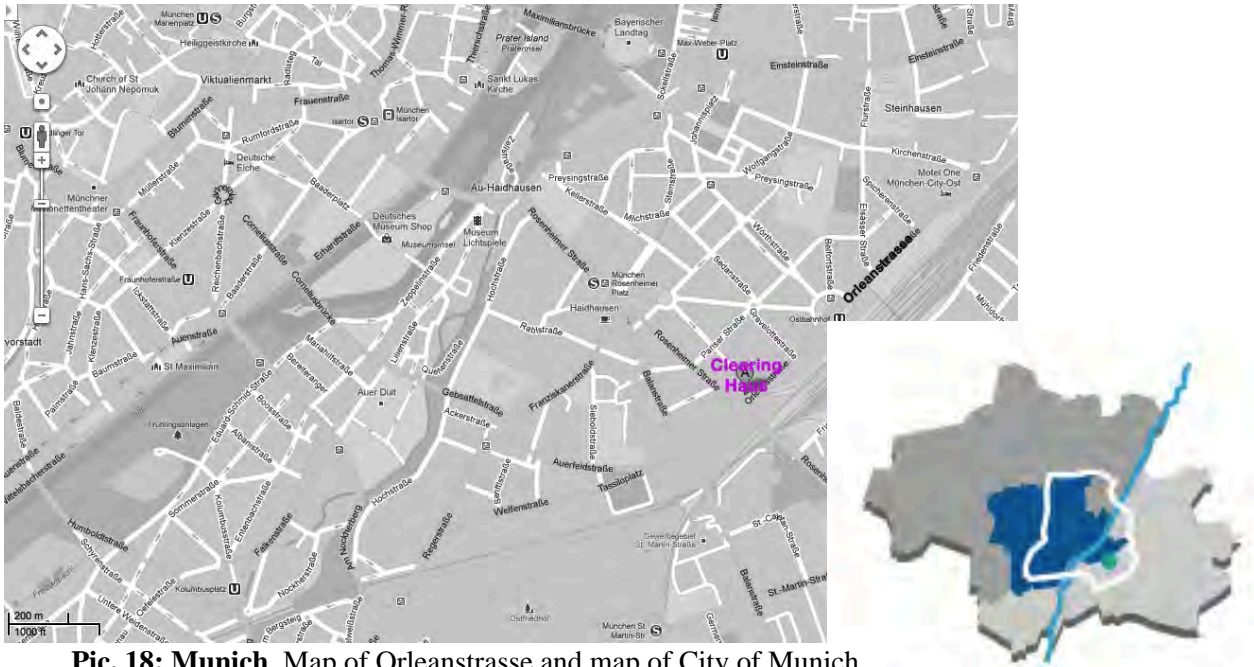
Pic. 16 a and b: Bonn, en face view of stairway from ground floor and from above 4th floor, Werner-Klett-Haus, Lennestr. 3, Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



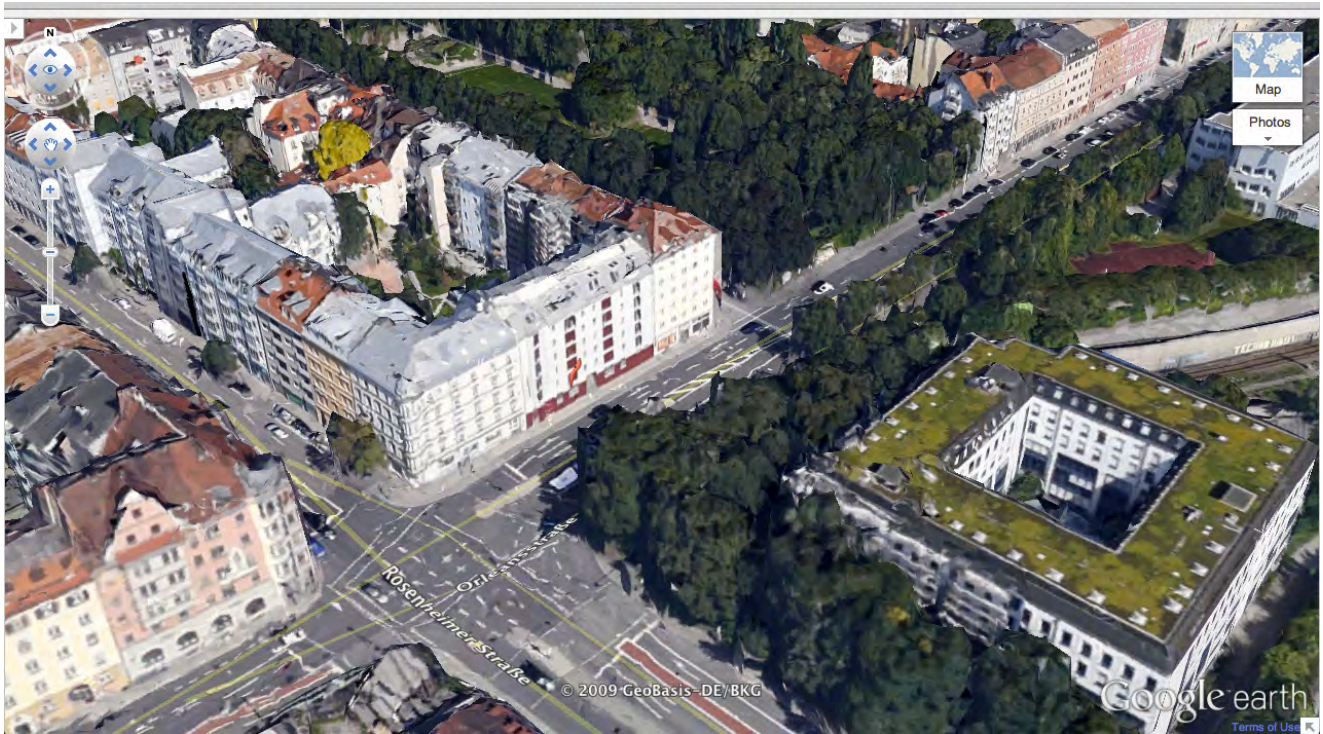
Pic. 27: Bonn, Emergency Staircase, from rearview, Werner-Klett-Haus, Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 18: Munich, Map of Orleanstrasse and map of City of Munich
Source: Google Maps and city of Munich



Pic. 19: Munich, Bird's-Eye view of Orleanstrasse 17, CLEARINGHAUS
Source: online, Muenchener Gesellschaft fuer Stadterneuerung, mgs-muenchen.de

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Pic. 20: Hamburg Map of St. Pauli and Hamburger Hochstrasse 23
Source; edited Google map and Google Earth



Pic. 21 a: Hamburg, North Facade of Hamburger Hochstrasse at Pepermoelenbeck Strasse
Source: Courtesy of Huke-Schubert Berge Architekten

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Pic. 21b: Hamburg, South Facade of Hamburger Hochstrasse with balconies
Source: Courtesy of Huke-Schubert Berge Architekten



Pic. 22: Hamburg, Interior of Hamburger Hochstrasse living room with floor to ceiling windows
Source: Courtesy of Huke-Schubert Berge Architekten

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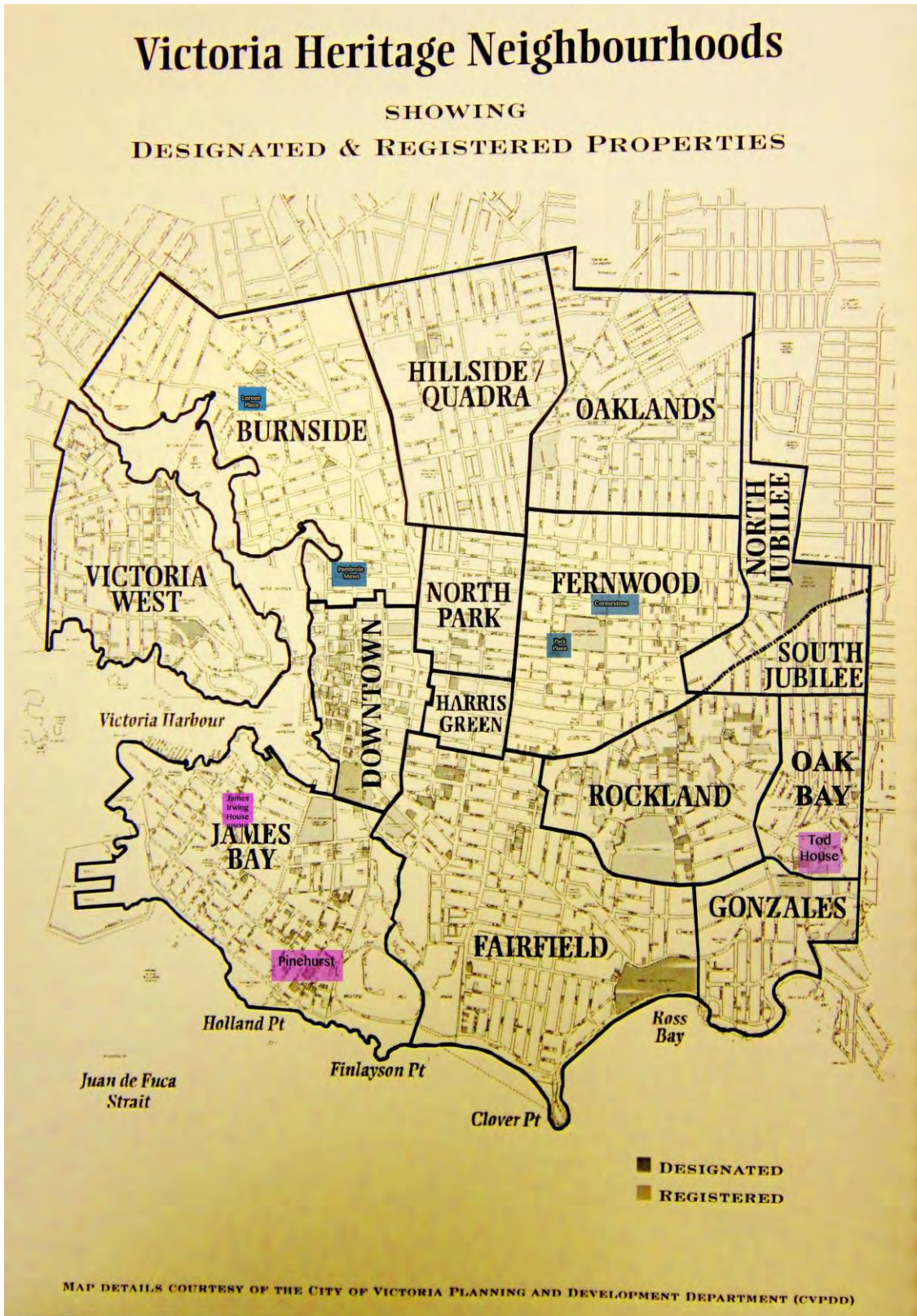


Pic. 23: Empress Hotel, Francis Rattenbury, 1908
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 24: British Columbia Parliament Building, 1898
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 25: City Map of Victoria Including Neighbourhoods and Case Studies
Source: Adams, John and Muir, William. "This Old House. Victoria's Heritage Neighbourhoods." 2004, edited by Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 26 a and b: Pinehurst, Thomas Hooper, 1890.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 27 a and b: House on 301 Kingston Street by Thomas Hooper, 1892.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 28 a and b: John Jervis House, by John Lewis, 1900.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 29 a: Hudson Living Building , former Hudson Bay Department Store, 1921.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 29b: Hudson Living Building , advertising placed on west façade of building.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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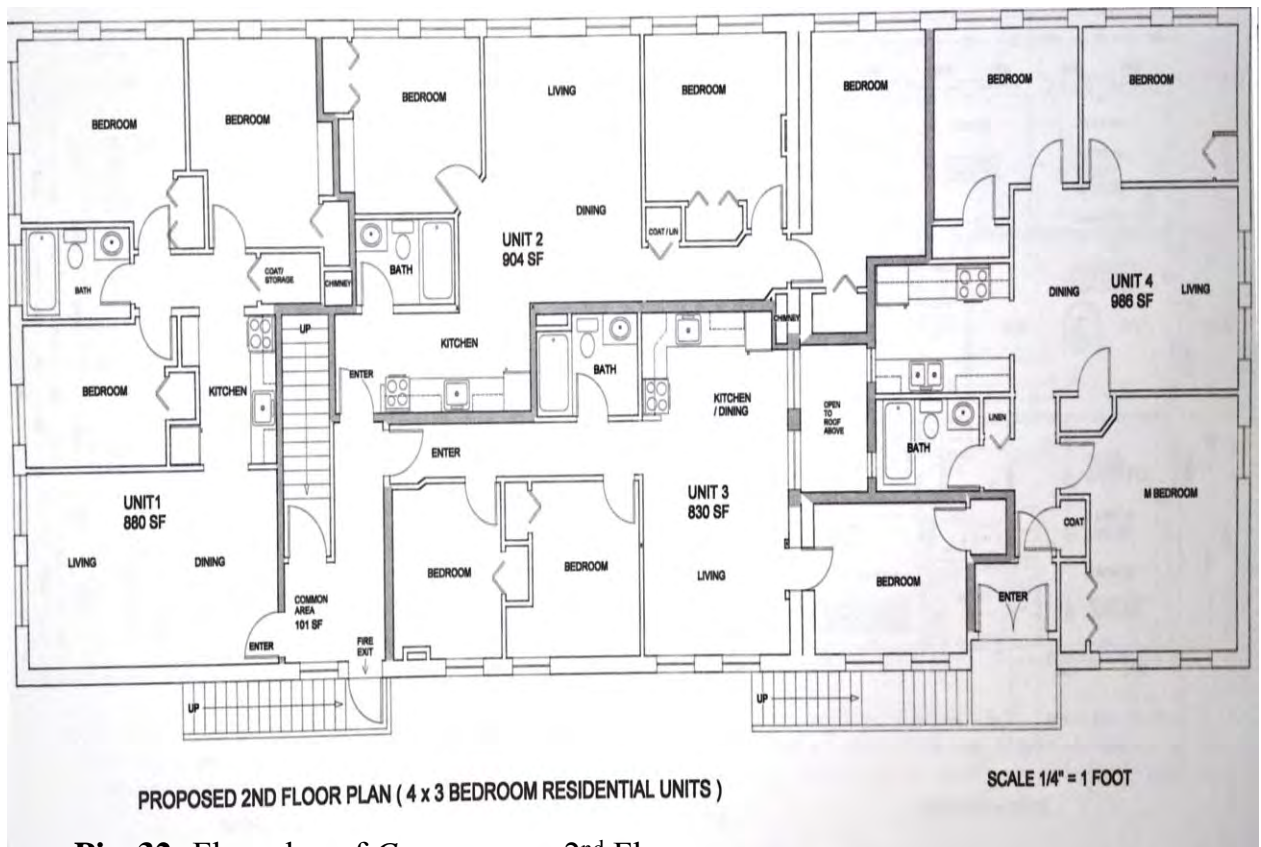
Pic. 30: *Cornerstone Initiative*, as renovated in 2006

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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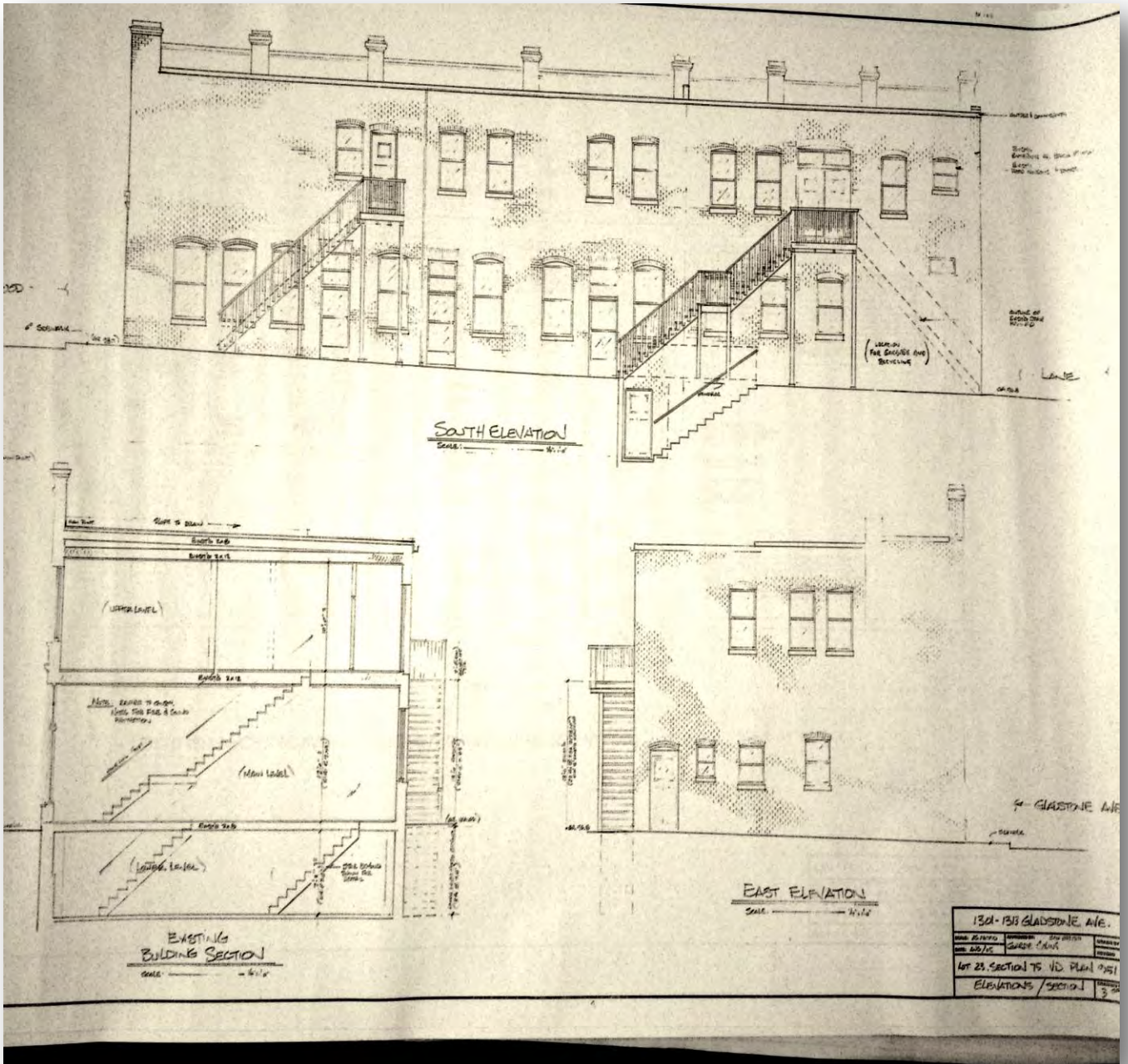


Pic. 31: Corner of Gladstone Avenue and Fernwood Rd. in 2012.
Source: Online, Google Streetview 2012



Pic. 32: Floorplan of *Cornerstone*, 2nd Floor
Source: Courtesy of Garde Colins

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Pic. 33: Drawings of South- and East Elevations of *Cornerstone*, Basement, 1st and 2nd Floor

Source: Courtesy of Garde Colins

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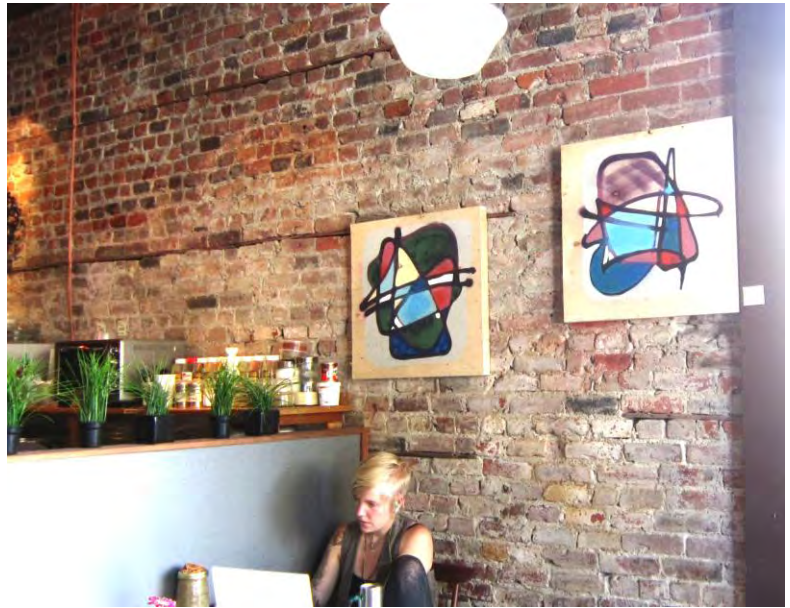


Pic. 34: Staircase Southeast Elevation of *Cornerstone*.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 35: North Façade depicting metal cornice, vertical pilasters and rectangular windows.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 36a and b: Inside Coffee Shop, ceiling suspended lamps (left) and local art (right)
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 37: Inside Coffee Shop, Northwest corner with large windows
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 38: Map of parts of Fernwood depicting location of Cornerstone and Park Place in PINK.
Source: Google Earth 2012

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Pic. 39: Park Place. South Façade, 2008
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 40: Yukon Street with Whittaker Houses 1203 to 1221
(from right to left) on the south and Park Place building on the North
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 41: Drawing of East Elevation of 1222 Yukon Street. Entrance door Unit 2.
Source: Courtesy of Garde Colins



Pic. 42: Drawing of South Elevation of 1222 Yukon Street. Units 1 to 6.
Source: Courtesy of Garde Colins

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Pic. 43a and b: Entrance Doors 1 to 4 of Park Place on 1222 Yukon Street and close up of semi-circled brackets

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



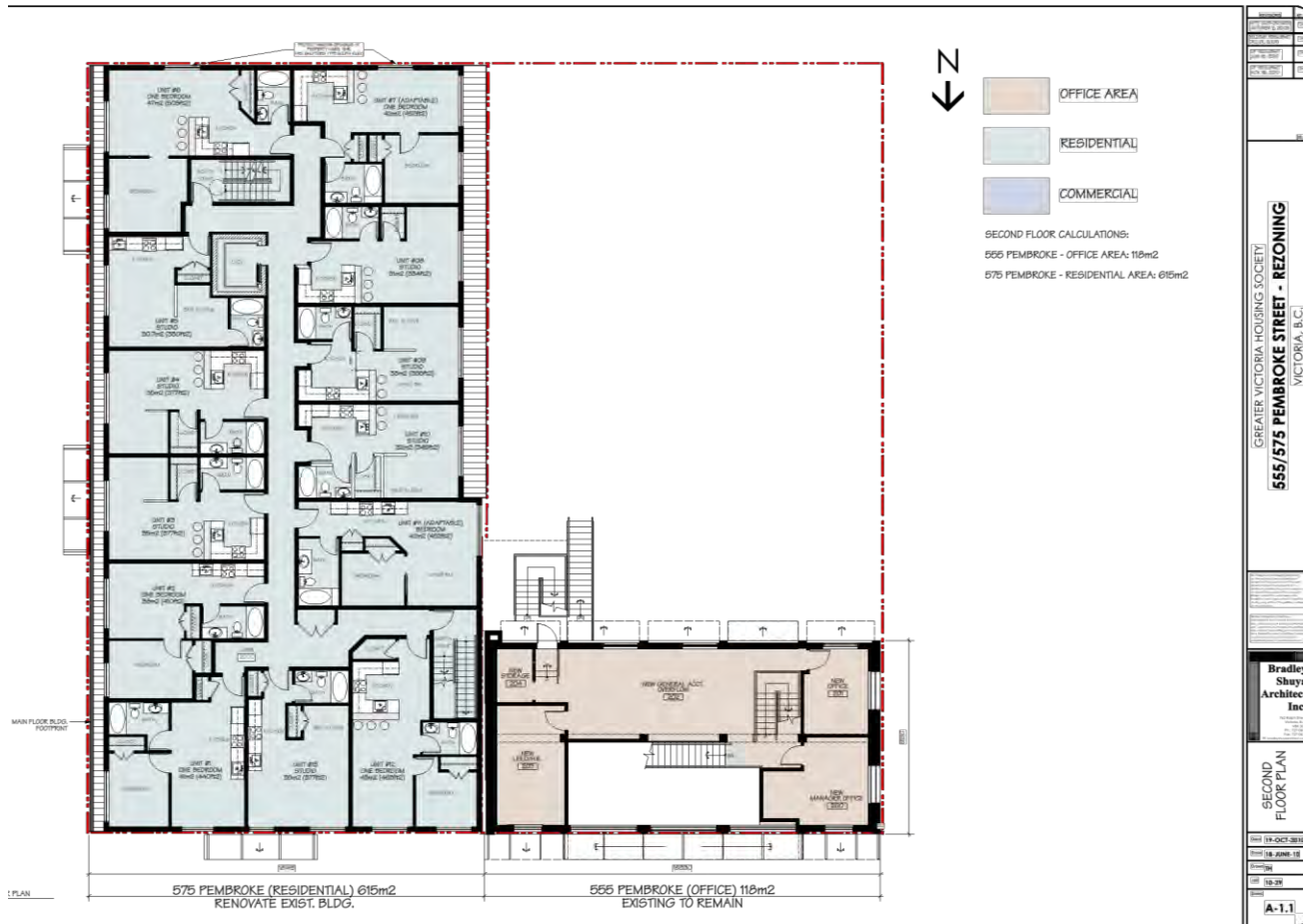
Pic. 44: House on Yukon Street 1221, facing *Park Place* building.

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic.45: Bird's-Eye View Burnside depicting locations of PEMBROKE MEWS (left) and LOREEN PLACE (right).
Source: Google Earth edited by author

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Pic. 46: Floor Plan of *Pembroke Mews*, 577 Pembroke, 1940.
Source: Courtesy of Brad Shuya



Pic. 47: Old Building 577 Pembroke, 1940.
Source: Courtesy of Brad Shuya



Pic. 48: New Building 577 Pembroke, 2012
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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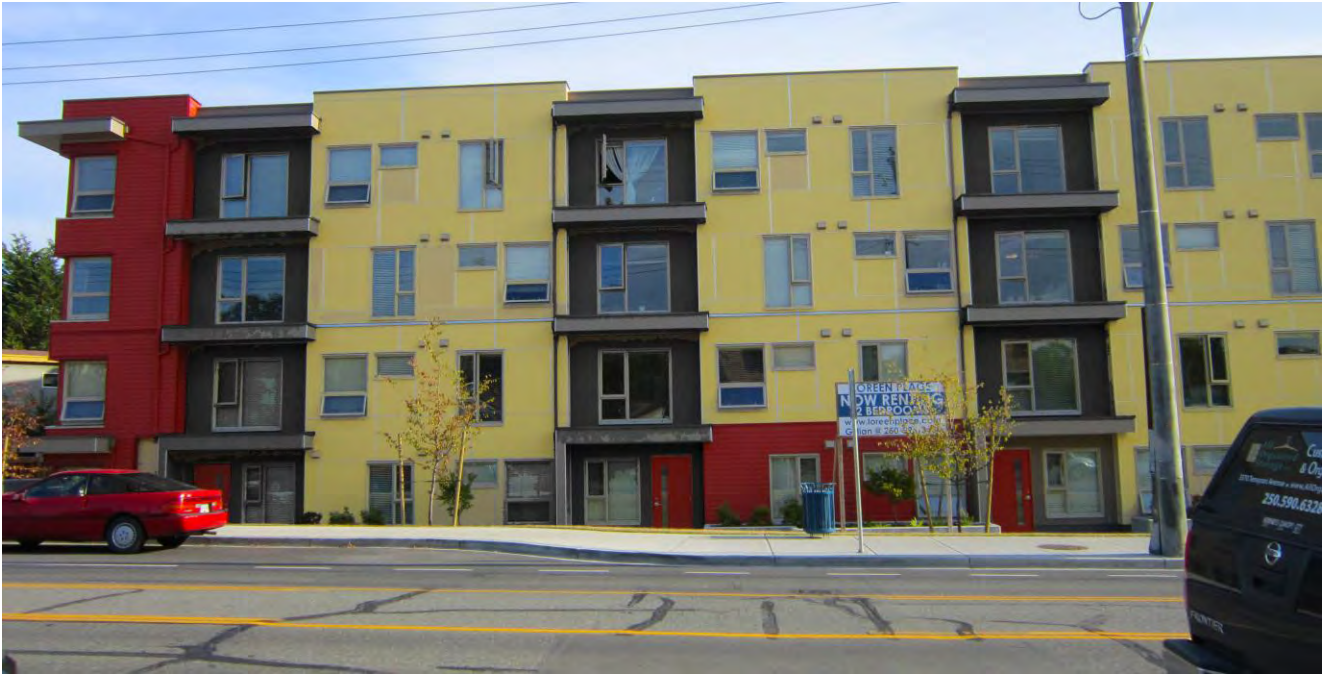


Pic. 49: *Pembroke Mews* and Knappett Building Corner of Government Road and Pembroke
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

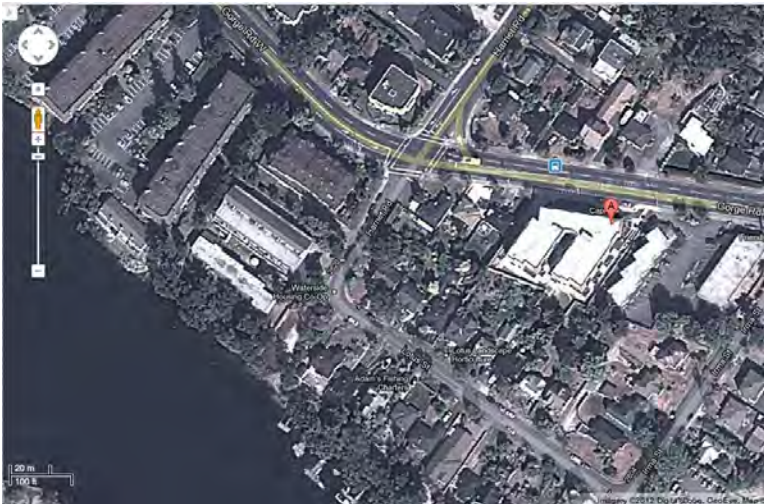


Pic. 50: South Elevation of *Pembroke Mew* with Graffiti.
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 51: *Loreen Place*, East Elevation facing Gorge Road
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

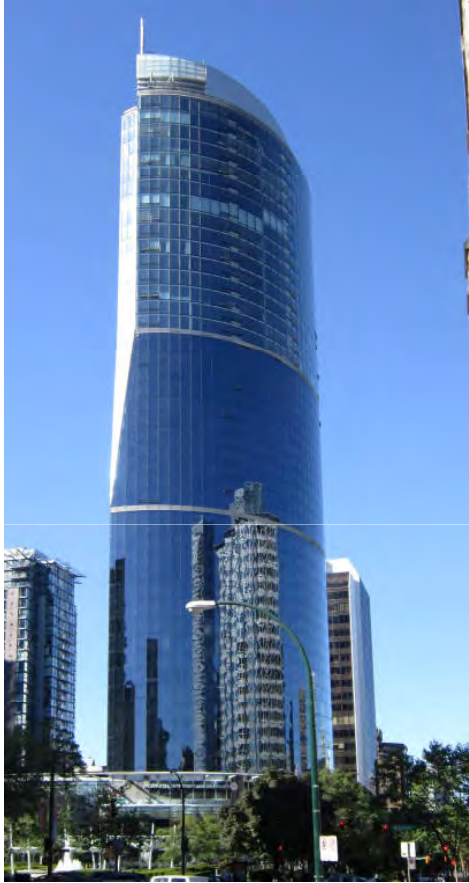


Pic. 52: Bird's-Eye View of *Loreen Place*,
trapezoid Shape and U-Shaped courtyard
Source: Google Earth



Pic. 53: *Loreen Place*, Main Entrance Door
South Elevation
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

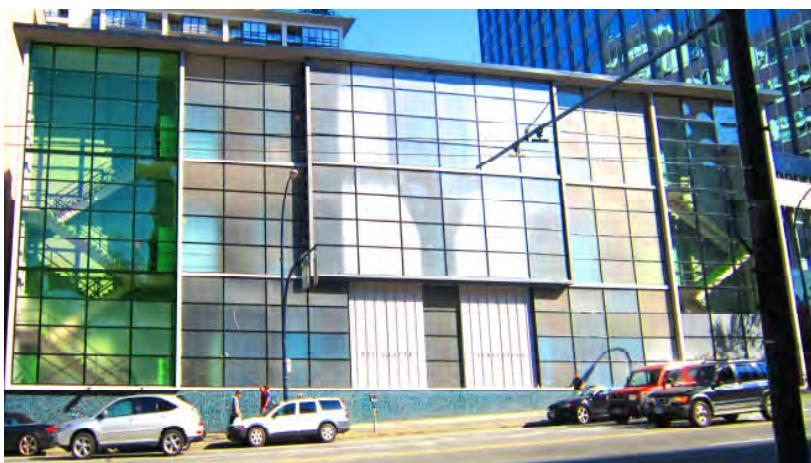
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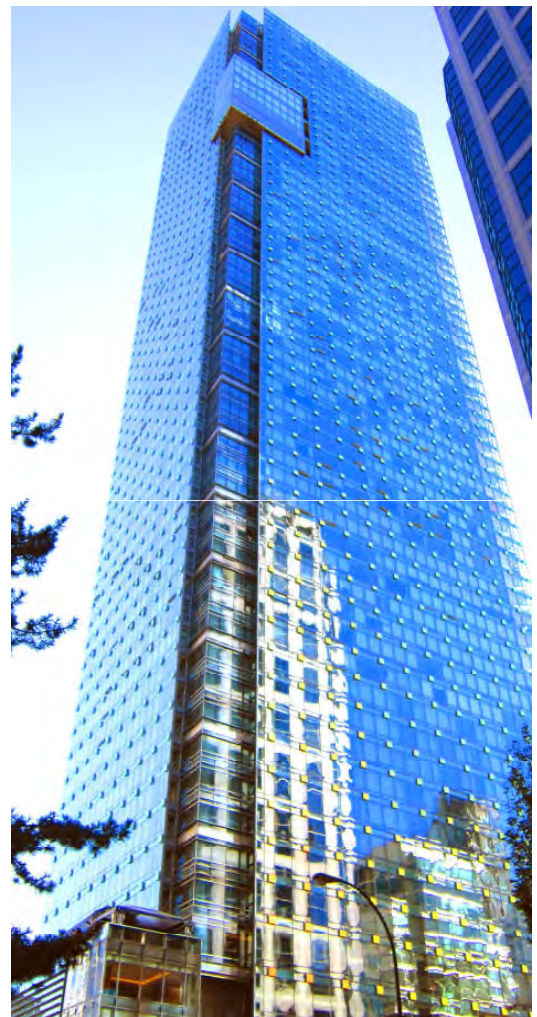
Pic. 54a: One Wall Centre, Busby & Associates, 2001
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 54b: One Wall Centre and reflection of Electra, 1957
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 55: Dal Grauer, Nad Pratt & BC Binning, 1953
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 56: Living Shangri La, James K.M. Cheng Architects, 2008
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 57: Skyline of Downtown Vancouver including *Living Shangri La* from North Vancouver
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 58: Map of Downtown Eastside including location of Case Studies
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 59: Lore Kirll I, South Façade, Joe Wai, 2001
Source: Google Street View



Pic. 60: Lore Kirll I, Bird's Eye-View of South Façade,
Source: Google Earth 2012

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Pic. 61: Lore Kirill I, South Façade, Joe Wai, 2001
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

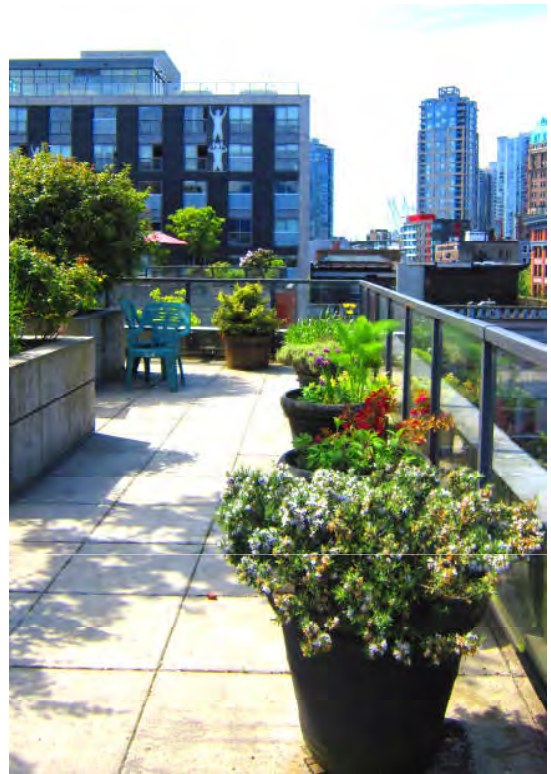


Pic. 62a and b: Lore Kirill I, Entrance Hal looking south and looking north
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 63: Lore Kirll II, West Façade , Gregory Henriquez, 2001
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

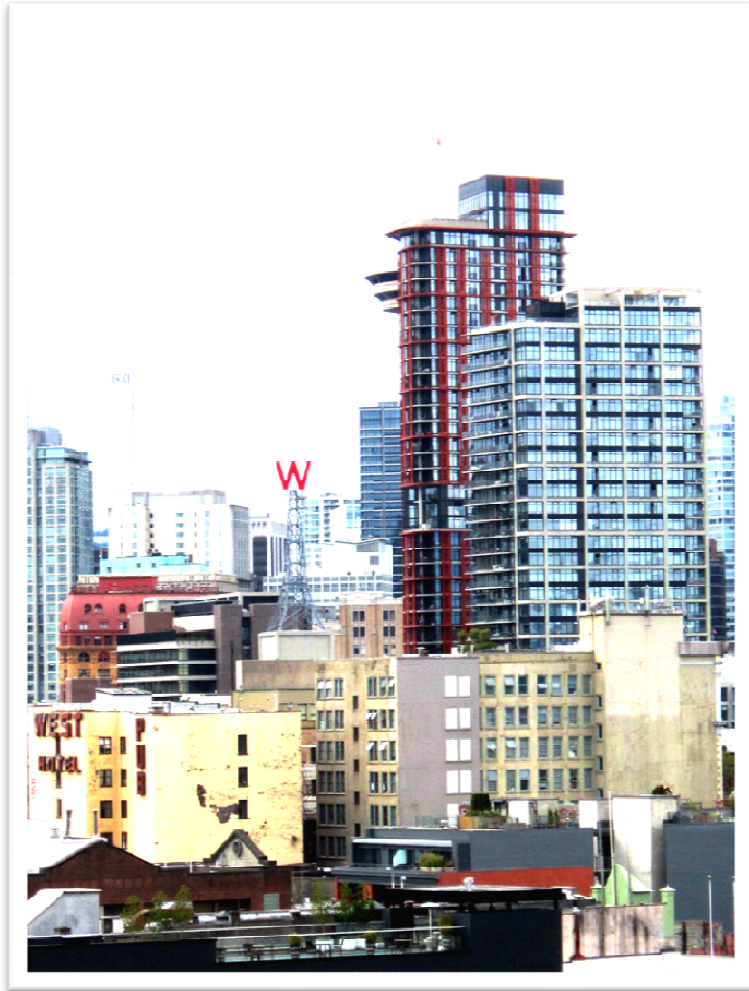


Pic. 64: Lore Kirll II, Rooftop Garden
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 65: Lore Kirll II, Waterfall in the Inner Courtyard
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 66: Woodward's Redevelopment Abbott Tower and "W Tower" from East
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 67: "W" Sculpture in front of W Tower and Charles Bar
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 68: W-Tower viewed from West
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 69 Flatiron Building , Burnham Architects, 1902, viewed from North
Source: Courtesy of Taran Matharu



Pic. 70: Woodward's W-sign on Metal Tower (left) and Abbott Tower (right)
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



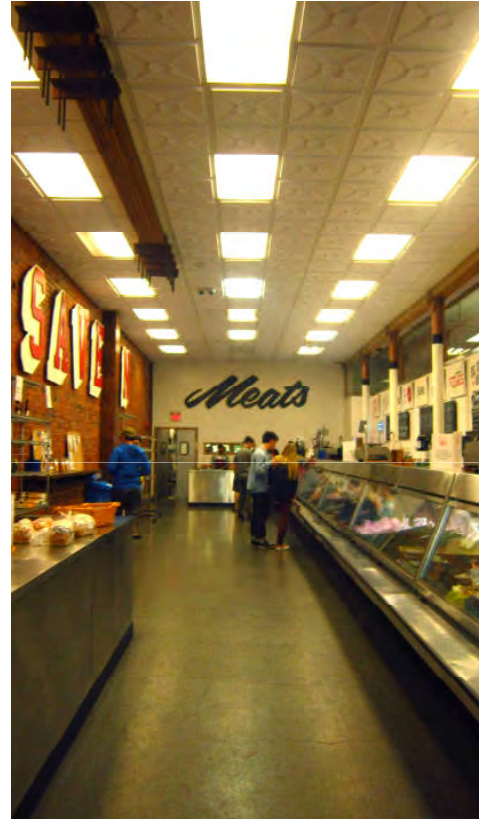
Pic. 71: Lore Krill II, Citations of Metal Tower at Rooftop Garden
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 72 :Burns Block from East facing West Hastings, 2008
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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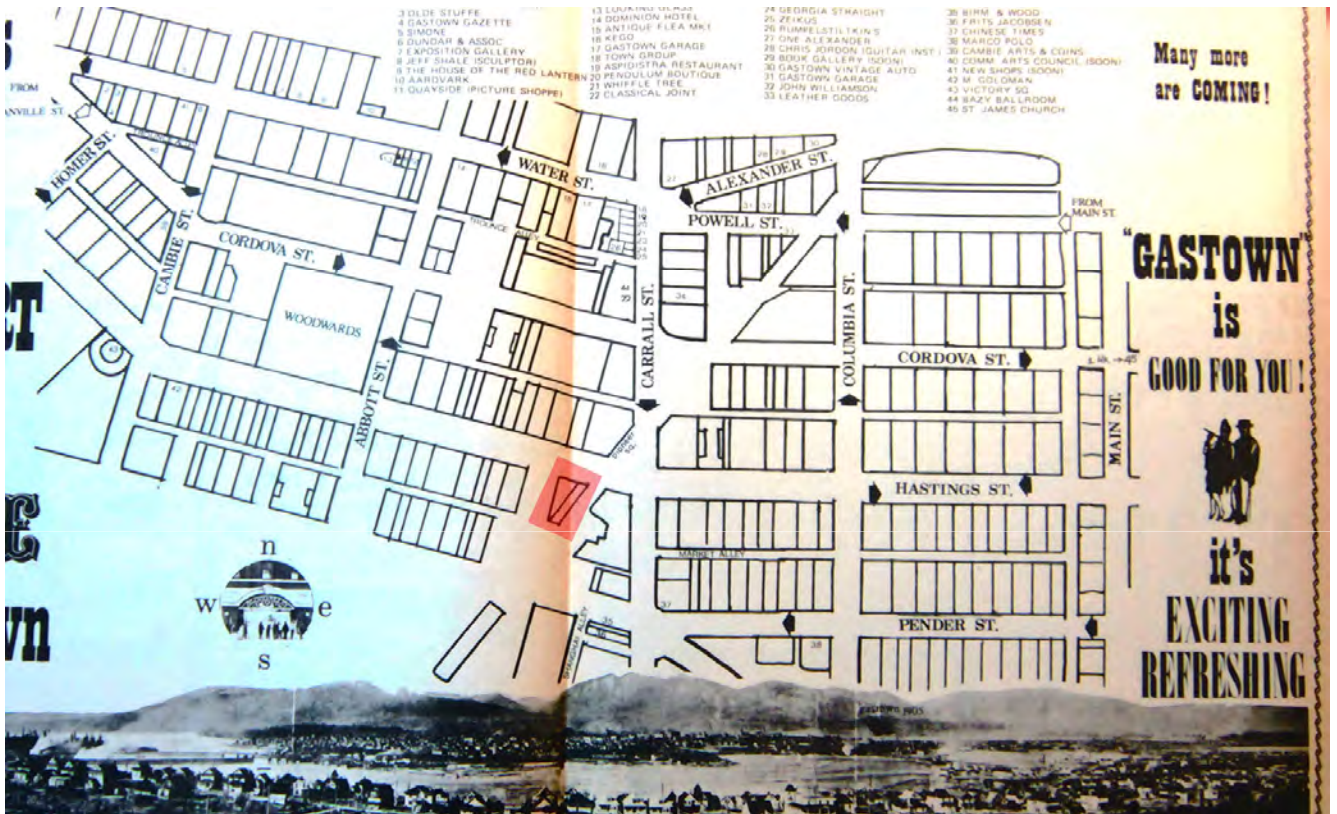
Pic. 73a and b :Save on Meats on West Hastings Neon Signs and Inside
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 74: Groundfloor Front of Burns Block (right) and Bitter Bar (left)
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 75: Map of DTES Gastown, 1969
 Source: Gastown Gazette, Vol. 1. No. 9 November, 1969



Pic. 76: Portland Hotel (right) and Burns Block (left)
 Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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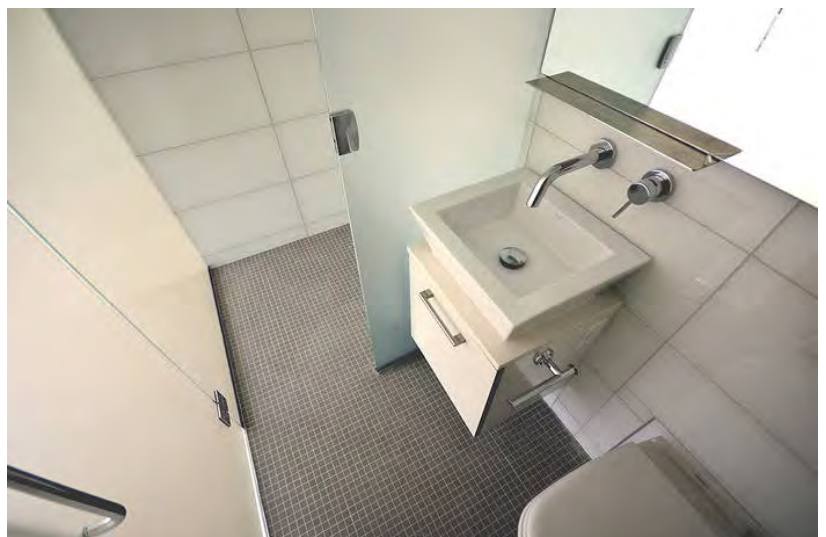
Pic. 77: Burns Block, South Elevation
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 78 Burns Block, Interior
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 79: Burns Block, Kitchen
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 80: Burns Block, Bathroom
Source: Courtesy of Bruce Carscadden

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Pic. 81: Burns Block, hexagonal opening at ceiling
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 82: Bar *Bitter* floor with tiles
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 83 a and b: Healing Lodge and detail of façade, Façade facing South, Joe Wai, 2012
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 84: Water colour Painting depicting Alexander Street in 1900, Michael Kluckner, 1984
Source: Courtesy of Michael Kluckner

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Pic. 85: Façade of 518 Beatty Street, William Whiteway, 1911
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 86: Façade of Long House on top of 31 W. Pender Building, Joe Wai, 2012
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 87 a and b: Healing Lodge, Totem Pole, Francis Horne
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

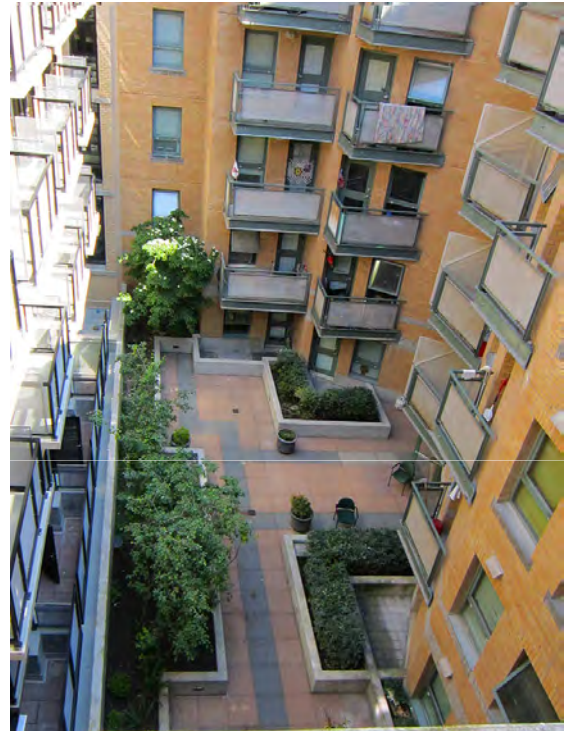


Pic. 88 a and b: Healing Lodge, Example of Apartment and Kitchen
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 89: Ian Leman Building, South Façade, Joe Wai, 2000
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 90: Healing Lodge, Inner Courtyard,
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 91: Building, 33 West Pender
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 92: Map of Coal Harbour, West End and Downtown South
 Source: Ulduz Maschykh

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Pic. 93: Drawing of L'Hermitage (right) and Doug Story (left), South Elevation
Source: Courtesy of gBL Architects



Pic. 94: Doug Story Apartments, gBL Architects, 2008
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 95 a and b: L'Hermitage Tower (above), Facing South and commercial podium facing East (right)

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

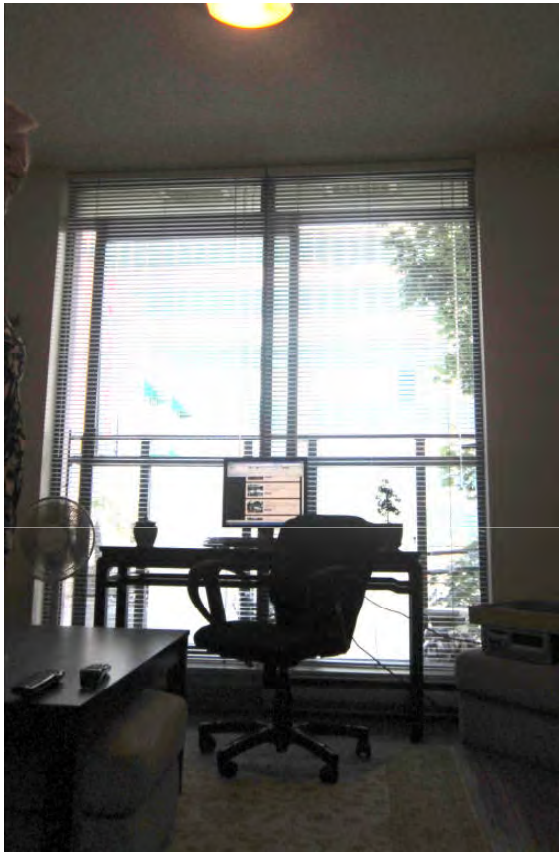


Pic. 96: Doug Story, arched Entrance Door
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 97: Doug Story, Inside Lobby
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 98: Doug Story, Inside Apartment
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 99: Doug Story, Inside Kitchen & Bath
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 100: Doug Story, Balconies facing East
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 101: Doug Story, Amenity Room
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 102: Map of preserved heritage houses at *Mole Hill* around the block of Pendrell, Comox and Bute, 1890

Source: Mole Hill Community Housing Society 2012

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Pic. 103: Restored Houses 1114, 1120, 1122 and 1136 Comox Street, 2001
Source: Google Street View 2012



Pic. 104: Living Lane
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 105: New House 1145 Pendrell Street, 2008
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 106 Map of Coal Harbour, Vancouver and location of PAL Vancouver Building
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



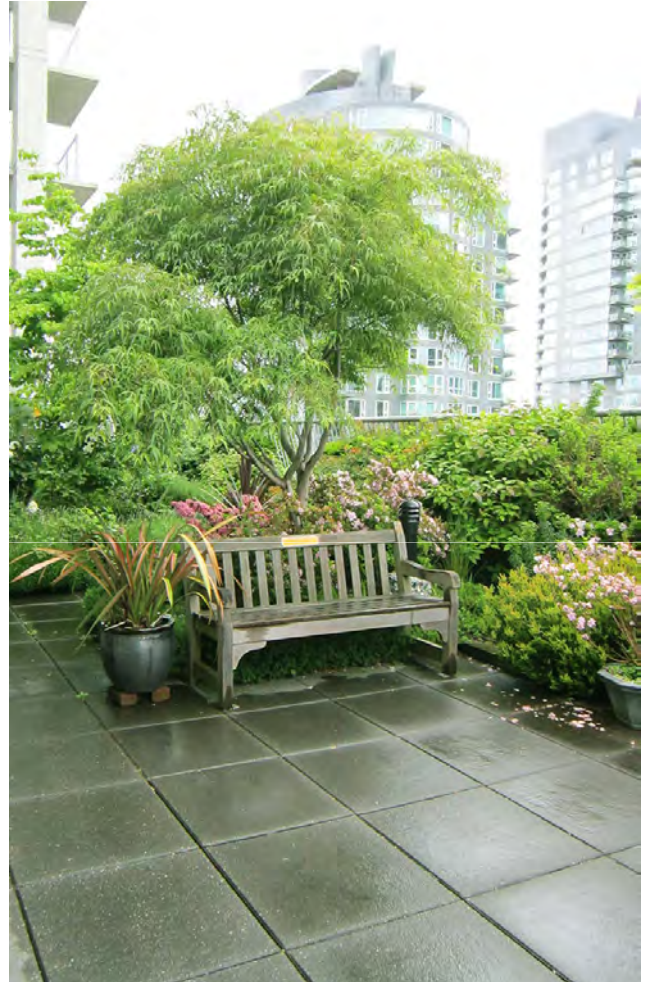
Pic. 107: Model of Bayshore Garden Tower and PAL Vancouver Podium, 2006
Source: Courtesy of DA Architects

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Pic. 108: Marquee above PAL Vancouver's Entrance

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

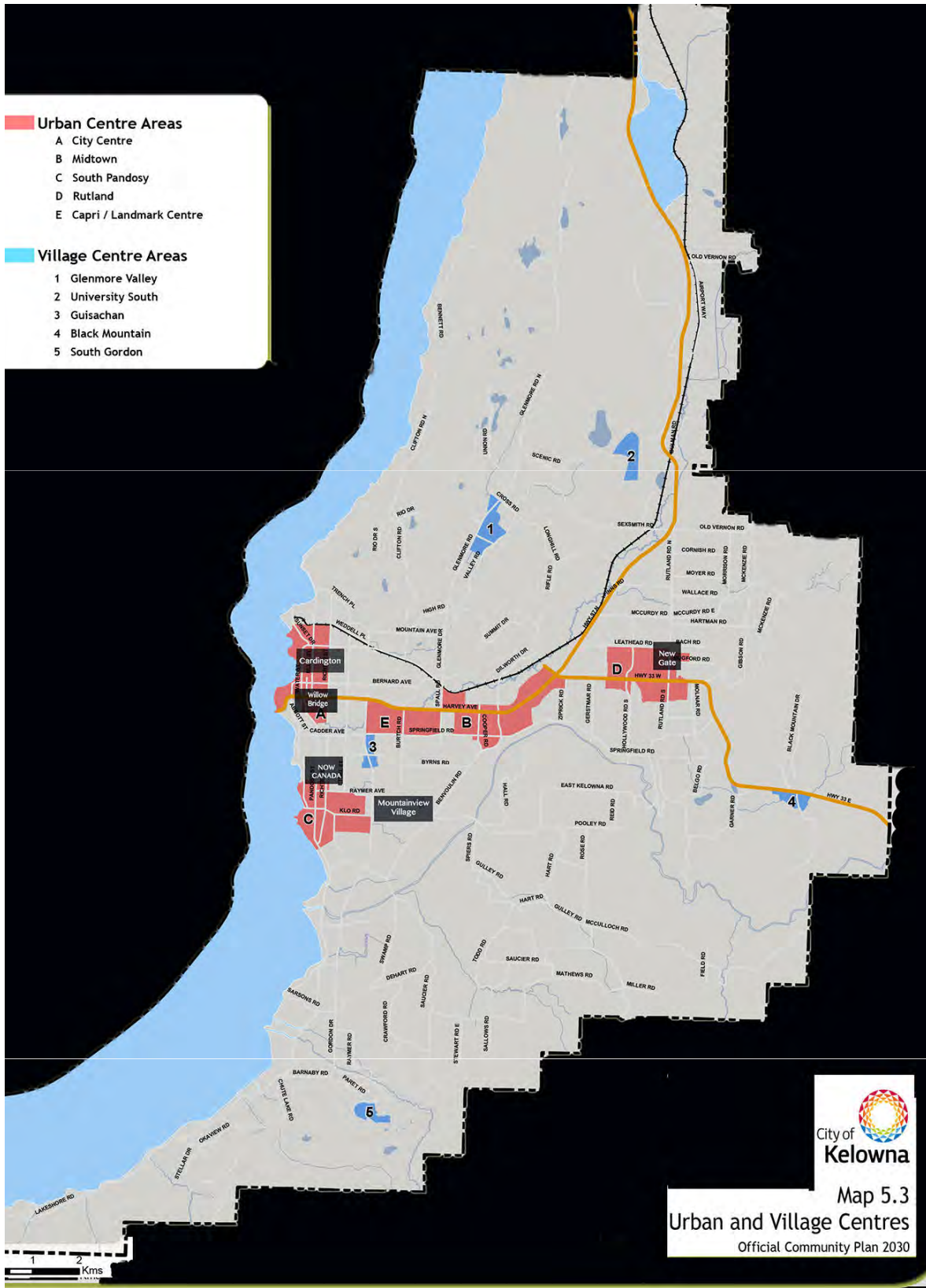


Pic. 109a and b: Rooftop Garden (above) Westside of Rooftop with circular wholes)
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 110: PAL Vancouver, lounge, 8th floor
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 111: Map of Urban Center Areas, Kelowna

Source: Online, City of Kelowna, kelowna.ca , edited by Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 112: Knowles House, 1907
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 113: Muirhead House, 1910
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 114: Leckie House, 1906
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 115: Mountain Village Phase I, South Side and driveway, Philip MacDonald
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald



Pic. 116: Mountain Village, Bird's-Eye View of Phases I, II and III
Source: Google Maps, 2012

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Pic. 117: Mountain Village, Common Kitchen
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald



Pic. 118 a: Mountain Village,
octagonal-shaped entrance ceiling
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald

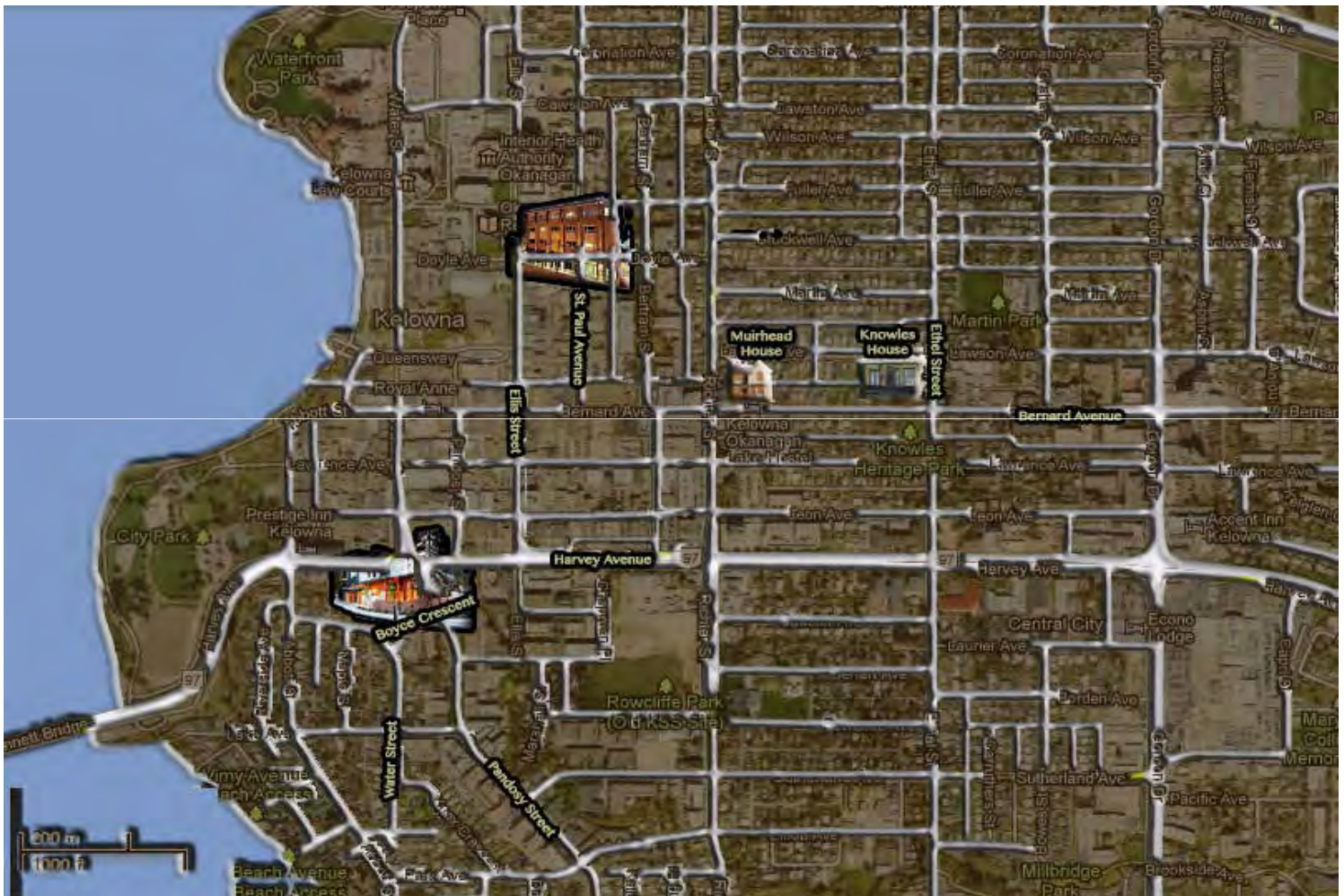


Pic. 118 b: Mountain Village, octagonal-shaped entrance
and windows
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald

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Pic. 119: Willowbridge facing Water Street, Philip MacDonald, 2010
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald



Pic. 120: Map of Downtown Kelowna, location of Willowbridge (left), Cardington Apartments (top), Muirhead House and Knowles House
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 121: Willowbridge, Buttresses, East Side
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald



Pic. 122: Willowbridge, North-, East- and West-Elevation depicting punted fence
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald

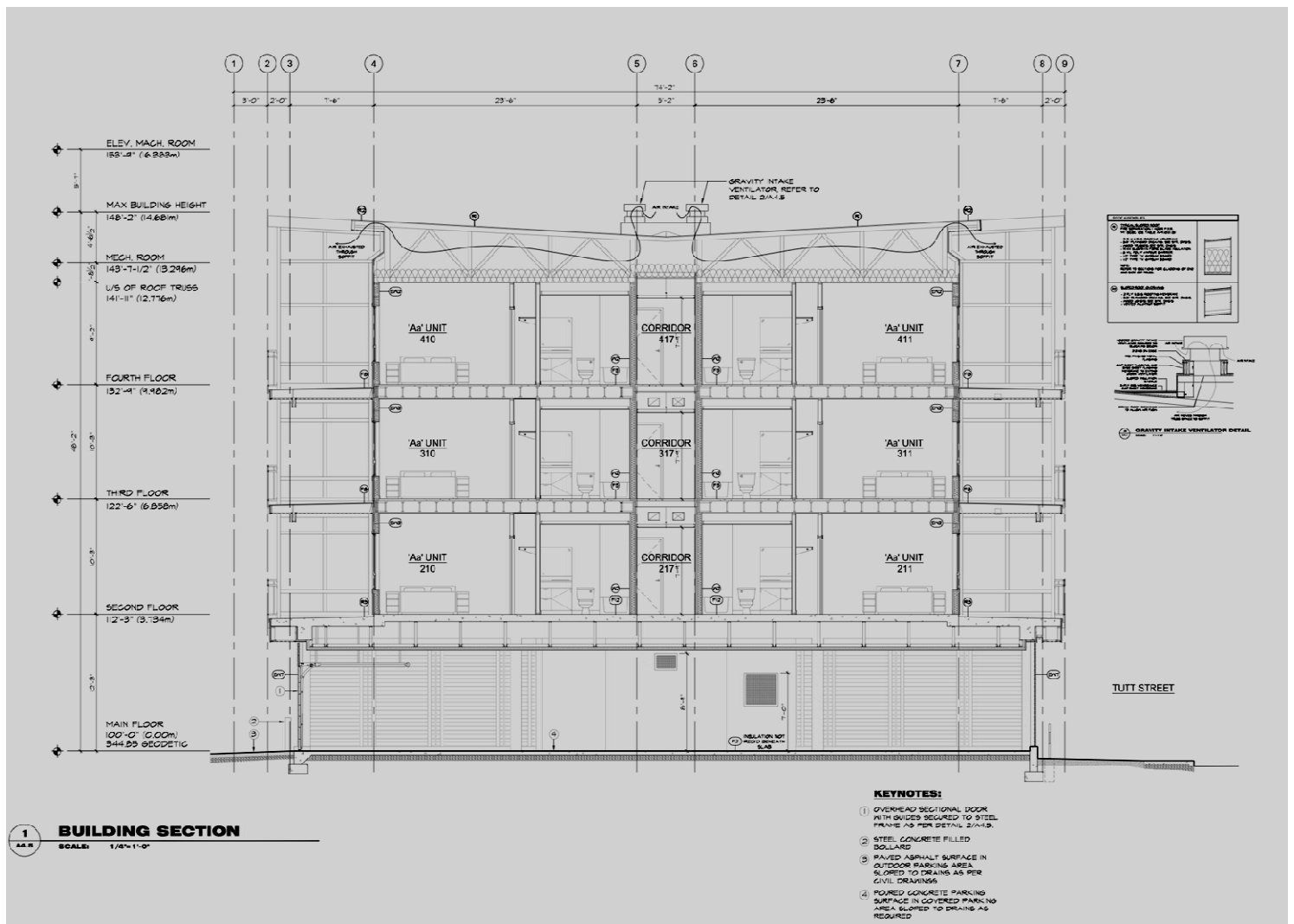


Pic. 123: Map of South Pandosy, Kelowna, location of Tutt Street (left) and Mountainview Village (right)
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 124: 2970 Tutt Street, NOW Canada, East Elevation, Philip MacDonald, 2011
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald



Pic. 125: Drawing of Typical Butterfly Roof Section Indicating Roof Membrane
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald

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Pic. 126: 2970 Tutt Street,
Entrance Hall
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 127: Kitchen of 3-Bedroom Apartment
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 128: Laundry Room
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 129: Staff Room
Source: Courtesy of Philip MacDonald

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Pic. 130: Cardington Apartments, Meiklejohn Architects ,
2008
Source: Courtesy of Meiklejohn Architects Inc.



Pic. 131: Cardington Apartment, Entrance Doorframe
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 132: Cardington Apartments, Reflection on Façade of Community Center
Source: Courtesy of Meiklejohn Architects Inc.

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Pic. 133: Cardington Apartment, East Facade
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 134: Cardington Apartment, local art inside Coffee Shop
Source: Ulduz Maschaykh

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Pic. 135: Rutland and detached single-family houses. *New Gate Apartments* in the centre viewed from west.

Source: Ulduz Maschaykh



Pic. 136: *New Gate Apartments*, Northeast Façade, Meiklejohn Architects , 2012
Source: Courtesy of Meiklejohn Architects Inc.

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Pic. 137: *New Gate Apartments*, East Façade, Meiklejohn Architects , 2012
Source: Courtesy of Meiklejohn Architects Inc.