

**Building the Liveable Creative City:
Urban Cultural Policy and the Politics of Space
in Vancouver**

by

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Abstract

With the rise of the post-industrial economy, cities worldwide have increasingly turned to cultural flagship development in an effort to attract capital and build an image of a world-class metropolis. This paper examines an instance of such development in Vancouver, Canada: the proposed relocation of the city's major art museum, the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG), in order to explicate the politics of cultural policymaking and urban development as they unfold in the Vancouver context. While the VAG proposal was predominantly justified as key to building a globally competitive vision of Vancouver as a liveable and creative city, this paper illustrates how this vision breaks down when confronted with the consequences of its pursuit – such as gentrification and displacement – as an urban planning strategy. This paper ultimately points to the complex and contradictory ways culture is implicated in neoliberal urbanism, arguing that culture is unevenly valorized as a central component of contemporary city building in Vancouver.

Keywords: Neoliberal urbanism; Urban cultural policy; Gentrification; Flagship cultural development; Vancouver; Vancouverism; City branding

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List of Acronyms

CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBD	Central Business District
DTES	Downtown Eastside
NEFC	Northeast False Creek
NPA	Non-Partisan Association
SRO	Single Room Occupancy Hotel
TEAM	The Electors Action Movement
VAG	Vancouver Art Gallery
VPL	Vancouver Public Library

Chapter 1.

Introduction

On April 24, 2013, Vancouver City Council unanimously approved the allocation of 1.8 acres of a City of Vancouver owned lot located at 688 Cambie Street, to the Vancouver Art Gallery (or the VAG as it is popularly known in shorthand) for the purposes of constructing a new, architecturally significant art gallery. The Council decision followed an almost decades long discussion over the future of Vancouver's most high-profile cultural institution and was widely lauded in the local media and amongst many of the city's cultural, community, and business leaders; in an interview with *The Globe and Mail*, Vancouver Mayor Gregor Robertson said of the decision, "It's a historic day to make a decision to put arts at the forefront of our city-building" (as cited by Lederman, 2013, para. 3). Indeed, in the months leading up to the decision a number of supporters emerged strongly backing the proposal: a petition circulated among prominent members of the Vancouver visual arts community stated that "it is time for a new gallery...*the benefits it will bring to visual arts culture in Vancouver, British Columbia and Canada are beyond question and will be shared by everyone*" (as cited by Lederman, 2012, para. 2, emphasis added).

The decision to designate this significant public asset for a capital-intensive cultural-driven project is perhaps one of the more recent examples of the focus in culture in municipal governance in contemporary city building worldwide, and is a particularly high-profile instance of cultural policy making in the Vancouver context. Yet the celebratory character of the reaction to Vancouver City Council's decision to relocate the VAG fundamentally masks the inherently political nature of the process and its relation to the contested nature of city building more broadly speaking.

More than forty years ago, the geographer David Harvey prompted the question, “*in whose image is space created?*” (1973, p. 310). In asking this, he gestured to the socially constructed nature of space and thus, the politically contested nature of the social production of urban landscapes. And while culture, in an anthropological sense, is most broadly understood as a society’s or group of people’s expressions of their way of life, and their place in the world – as a form of representation, or “a source of images and memories, it symbolizes ‘who belongs’ in specific places” (Zukin, 1995, p. 1).

This paper takes these theoretical suppositions as points of departure for exploring more deeply the links between cultural policy and neoliberal urbanism in Vancouver through a case study of the recent decision to approve the relocation of the Vancouver Art Gallery to 688 Cambie. Taking for granted the idea that city building is ultimately a contested process and that urban cultural policy must be contextualized within the broader trajectories of urban development and visions of city building in which it occurs and through which it is often justified, this paper seeks to “re-politicize” the Vancouver Art Gallery decision by examining it in the context of Vancouver’s approach to urban development and cultural policy making. It will begin with a literature review that will briefly discuss the emergence of cultural policy on urban governance agendas and its interconnections to a number of structural political economic shifts toward neoliberal urbanism. This section will further sketch the current points of academic inquiries around urban cultural policy. The second section of this paper, “Urban Development and Cultural Policy in Vancouver” briefly outlines the character of Vancouver’s contemporary urban development and policy interventions in the area of culture with a particular focus on “Vancouverism”, the planning ethos most closely associated with the city, and how it acts as a mechanism for branding Vancouver as the liveable, creative city, in order to provide a background context for interpreting the Art Gallery proposal. This will be followed by a discussion of the Art Gallery proposal development process, and finally, an analysis of the politics of the Art Gallery proposal. This analysis is divided into two sections; the first of which seeks to explore how the Gallery proposal accords with Vancouver’s strategies of city building and constructing a particular vision of the city. The second section highlights the asymmetries of power embedded in this particular vision of the city and reflects on the spatial and material dimensions of these asymmetries as they are manifested in urban cultural development and city building.

In doing so, this paper aims to paint a picture of how culture is pushed and pulled in complex and contradictory ways under neoliberal urbanism in Vancouver. This essay suggests that the Vancouver Art Gallery case is instructive in reflecting on how “culture” is deployed as a mechanism to build “structured coherence” – a brand and identity for Vancouver as a liveable creative city. While culture – in a broad, holistic sense – is embraced as a key component of liveability and building the liveable creative city *for all*, this paper argues that the operation of culture-led development strategies also fuels processes of gentrification and displacement, both of marginalized residents and of the very purveyors and producers of culture that are supposedly key to building this particular vision of the city. As such, this paper ultimately points to a particular dynamic of simultaneous valorization and devalorization of diverse components of “culture” at play in contemporary city building in Vancouver.

Chapter 2.

The Post-Industrial City and the Rise of Urban Cultural Policy

As many scholars have observed, towards the latter part of the 20th century, urban landscapes – and urban policy – simultaneously took on an explicit cultural orientation (Borén & Young, 2013; Cochrane, 2007; Comunian, 2010; Grodach & Silver, 2013; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Miles, 2005; Zukin, 1995). To be sure, cities have had a strong association with culture throughout history; however, culture as an area of *policy* intervention has often been a national or federal concern, focused on matters of protecting and promoting national heritage, financing and supporting the fine arts, and overseeing national archives and museums (Grodach & Silver, 2013).

In critical urban studies scholarship, understandings of culture's rising significance in urban policy have been largely contextualized in the intersection of a number of political and economic transitions in the 1970s and 1980s. Most significant of these shifts was the restructuring of urban economies in the cities of advanced capitalism from the industrial based Fordist-Keynesian regime of capital accumulation toward what David Harvey (1987) has termed more “flexible” regimes of accumulation. In cities of advanced capitalism, this entailed a shift from traditional economic bases in manufacturing and industrial sectors based on the production of material *things* towards a “symbolic economy” oriented toward abstract goods and services: financial products such as stocks and bonds, real estate, and *experiences* (Zukin, 1995).

As Harvey (1987, 1989a) details, this transition from a Fordist-Keynesian regime of capital accumulation to that of flexible accumulation has coincided with a shift in urban governance to a more “entrepreneurial” approach, paralleling the broader concretization of neoliberalism as political and economic doctrine. Entrepreneurial, or “neoliberal”

urbanism, in the language of Jamie Peck, Neil Brenner, and Nik Theodore, is a form of municipal governance and an approach to urban development in which governments prioritize the pursuit of opportunities for economic growth (Harvey, 1989a). For urban policymakers whose cities are struggling with post-industrial economic decline, building a symbolic economy, and a sense of place to coincide with it, has become the new urban imperative: “[w]ith a continued displacement of manufacturing and development of the financial and nonprofit sectors of the economy, cultural production seemed to be more and more what cities were about” (Zukin, 1995, p. viii). For many of these policymakers, constrained by a policy context marked by austerity, the downloading of responsibilities to the urban scale, and the limited ability to implement meaningful interventions toward such responsibilities, cultural strategies were attractive because of their perceived adaptability and utility in addressing a range of urban issues: inner city disinvestment, economic stagnation, unemployment, talent attraction, social alienation, community cohesion, creating an international brand, etc.

Miles (2005) argues that the use of the term “culture” in urban revitalization strategies is fraught with ambiguity. Befitting the large scope of activities potentially falling under the rubric of “culture”, cities have pursued a very diverse range of policy interventions, mobilizing divergent understandings of what constitutes “culture”. Most fundamentally however, cultural policy must be considered the “*conscious and deliberate manipulation of culture*” (Kearns and Philo as cited by Cochrane, 2007, p. 104, emphasis in original). Policy interventions have varied from city to city and have included the construction of new flagship cultural facilities, cultural district development, creative economy development, investment in community-based arts and culture programming and facilities, and heritage preservation. Typical of neoliberalized urban governance, such projects are often implemented through public-private partnerships or coalitions representing public, business, and other stakeholder interests. Although the form of cultural policy has varied, evidence of the cultural turn in urban policy making has become identifiable in cities worldwide, from Bogotá to Berlin, Singapore to Seoul (for these cases, see Kong, 2010; J. Y. Lee & Anderson, 2013; Lehre, 2006; Pasotti, 2013). For the interests of this paper, the remainder of the discussion pursued in this section will focus on the scope and general character of the literatures on flagship cultural facility

development and cultural district development, and contemporary “creative city” strategies.

One of the most visible urban cultural strategies has been the rise of “flagship” cultural development and concomitantly, cultural district development, as the cornerstone of cities’ cultural strategies worldwide. This trend has largely been precipitated by the success of the Guggenheim Bilbao, an art museum designed by architect Frank Gehry and opened to the public in 1997. The museum was widely credited with revitalizing the surrounding city, which until the museum’s opening had been struggling with post-industrial urban decline (Baniotopoulou, 2001; Y. Lee, 2010; McNeill, 2011). Unsurprisingly, the central role the Guggenheim played in Bilbao’s renaissance has led to its continued resonance in policymakers’ imaginations and has inspired a significant body of literature exploring the case in detail; an entire website, *Scholars on Bilbao* has been erected as a research repository specifically on the Bilbao (e.g. Baniotopoulou, 2001; McNeill, 2011; Plaza, 2000, 2006).

Bolstered by the success of the Guggenheim Bilbao, policymakers worldwide have embarked on similar flagship projects with the intent of replicating the “Bilbao effect”. Defined as “large-scale, iconic museums and arts centres that are intended to enhance the city image while catalyzing private sector investment and attracting tourists to surrounding areas” (Grodach as cited by Comunian & Mould, 2014, p. 2), flagship cultural developments have proceeded apace in cities all around the world, oftentimes in conjunction with cultural district development. As Attoe and Logan argue, flagship cultural projects are typically pursued due to belief in their “catalytic” potential. Spurring the “incremental, continuous regeneration of the urban fabric”, such projects are thus assumed to “impel and guide subsequent development” (Attoe and Logan as cited by Grodach, 2010, p. 354).

Given the almost axiomatic belief in policy circles regarding the potential of flagship culture for urban revitalization (and the role of culture more broadly for economic growth and urban living), a growing body of research has been dedicated to more closely examining the phenomenon of flagship-based cultural development and revitalization. In particular, the lofty claims of such culture-led regeneration projects have

been extensively analyzed in the literature and generally paint a very qualified picture of the supposed benefits of cultural development projects; for instance, it has been posited that in opposition to the success story of the Guggenheim Bilbao, generally, the *quality* of evidence of regenerative impacts of culturally led-regeneration efforts is in inverse proportion to the attention given to high-profile capital intensive flagship projects (Evans, 2005). Evans (2005) argues that such high-profile culturally-led regeneration efforts are typically initiated with “blind faith” and a lack of attention to their broader, long-term impacts. As such, there is an awareness of the need to generate appropriate evaluation models and criteria with attention to the factors that may play a role in varied revitalization outcomes (Evans, 2005; Grodach, 2010).

Parallel to the claims made regarding such projects’ potential positive impacts on urban revitalization has been a belief in their residual effects on boosting the creative economy. Yet as Comunian and Mould (2014) note, such claims have largely proliferated untested. In their analysis – derived from fieldwork among creative professionals and policymakers in Newcastle-Gateshead in North-east England – they argue that there is a “structural gap” between flagship-led public interventions and the local creative economy base. As such, they point to the need in the academic community to “deconstruct” the rhetoric about what the concrete impacts of such investments are, and in the policy making world, to refocus on facilitating the relationship between creative industries and culture-led regeneration projects.

On the other hand, much attention has also been paid to the *negative* impacts of culture-led regeneration particularly through flagship project construction. In another paper, Evans (2003) suggests that the rise of flagship cultural projects evidences a shift in urban policy towards the symbolic construction of place and city marketing, where flagship cultural projects assume the role of “brands” akin to those of the hyper-consumption based commercial world, where cities are the products. His observations mirror Harvey’s (1989a) discussion of entrepreneurial governance strategies which focus on extending the spatial logics of consumption with cultural innovations – consumer attractions such as sports stadia, retail oriented districts, and spectacular architecture. Given that investment in such cultural-mega projects tends to be diverted from other programming streams, Evans argues that the tangible impacts of architecturally

spectacular flagship cultural development are decreased cultural diversity, community cultural activity and production in favour of cultural consumption; the ultimate costs, he argues, are borne by “those who do not have a stake in the gentrification process which attaches to these globalized grands projets” (2003, p. 437).

Jun Wang (2009) elaborates on an example of such development – the Red Town project in Shanghai, China. The brainchild of the Shanghai municipal government, Red Town was envisioned as a way to rehabilitate and re-use an abandoned and dilapidated steel factory to foster a creative community of artists and cultural professionals (Wang, 2009). Wang documents how the intersection of the industrial heritage feel of the building, in addition to the perceived “edginess” of the development afforded by the presence of artists catalyzed the displacement of the small-scale artists in favour of more upscale creative firms (e.g. marketing and advertising agencies, and architecture and design companies). Indeed, Wang (2009) argues that ultimately, the Red Town development aimed to attract investment from large-scale multinationals seeking to affirm their creative credo; “the irony is that while the project was initially based on artists’ space consumption, these artists themselves...were not truly welcome in the new creative community” (2009, p. 329).

As Comunian and Mould (2014) note, the commonplace uptake of the large-scale cultural flagship model in various cities ensures that the character of developments and how they specifically unfold in particular contexts can vary. Correspondingly, the concept of “flagship cultural development” has taken on a very fluid form, befitting its various mutations in specific localities. It is for this reason that the literature (see Baniotopoulou, 2001; Grodach, 2010; McNeill, 2011; Plaza, 2000, 2006) has stressed caution against the uncritical adoption of culture-led regeneration strategies of the scale and type undertaken in Bilbao. As Baniotopoulou (2001) and Plaza (2000, 2006) emphasize, the success of the Guggenheim Bilbao should be understood as the product of its particular context, and specific local, regional, and international factors and agents that interacted to push its implementation along particular pathways. Yet flagship projects proceed apace in cities eager to replicate the positive spin-offs associated with the Guggenheim Bilbao in their own localities as evidenced by the Vancouver Art Gallery’s recent efforts.

More contemporaneously, flagship strategies have become subsumed within a broader rubric of policymaking that ostensibly targets the “creative class” and aims to build the “creative city”. Credit for the proliferation of such strategies can be attributed to Richard Florida’s creative class and creative city theory, which posits that the post-industrial, post-Fordist economy is driven by the “creative class”, who, according to Florida, are those whose jobs rely on the application of “creativity”¹ (2012). Florida argues that as a privileged group, the creative class has particular criteria for where they prefer to live and are drawn to cities with a “people climate”. Though conceptually slippery, a people climate is commonly understood to include openness to diversity (which is operationalized by Florida by the presence of a gay community), and a wealth of culturally oriented facilities and consumption-based amenities (typically understood as trendy coffee shops, fashionable clothing boutiques, etc.) For Florida, such lifestyle amenities are important because the creative class exemplifies the “work hard, play hard” mentality and demand satisfaction in all areas of their life – work *and* leisure.

The implication of Florida’s thesis is that cultural amenities constitute a form of competitive advantage for cities, and that as such, urban policy making should be oriented towards enticing this creative class, the valorized drivers of the new economy. Florida’s thesis has proven to be remarkably seductive for policymakers worldwide; indeed, Jamie Peck (2005) argues that in a neoliberalized urban policy context, building the creative city has become the new urban imperative. Considerable energy has been dedicated to deconstructing both Florida’s thesis (such projects have proceeded in a largely critical vein), and understanding its varied implementation in different urban policy contexts.

Indeed, Florida’s thesis may have as many academic detractors as it has eager policymaker proponents. His thesis has been roundly castigated for lacking conceptual and analytical precision; for example, Florida’s category of “creative class” has been criticized as simply correlating to levels of educational attainment (Markusen, 2006;

¹ As discussed extensively in the creative class and creative city literature (see in particular Markusen, 2006; Scott, 2006), Florida’s conceptualization of “creativity” lacks analytical precision. Most critics have suggested that the creative class is essentially composed of individuals who have a post-secondary education or higher (Markusen, 2006; Peck, 2005, 2013)

Peck, 2013). Moreover, the causal relationship underpinning the creative city thesis has been questioned; academic critics have suggested it relies on an overtly simplistic understanding of the relationship between the presence of creative work and urban economic growth particularly in high-tech industries. Following this logic, once a creative class coalesces in a particular city, “its innate entrepreneurial and cultural energies will automatically be activated” in ways that stimulate economic growth (Markusen, 2006; Scott, 2006, p. 11). While such authors do not deny the potential creativity harboured in cities, they suggest that any attempts to funnel creative energies must tackle the implementation of a development program that captures the interweaving of production and social dynamics, as “creativity is not something that can be simply imported into the city on the backs of peripatetic computer hackers, skateboarders, gays, and assorted bohemians” (Scott, 2006, p. 15).

Despite the preponderance of criticisms leveled against Florida’s creative class thesis, its influence in shaping urban cultural policy worldwide continues. Indeed, Jamie Peck has argued that creative-style policy is the “most conspicuously successful innovation in the recent history of urban policy-making” (2011, p. 41). Attention has accordingly been paid to its implementation in different contexts; one such analysis is McCann’s (2008) discussion on the politics of creative city policy making in Austin, Texas. As McCann points out, Austin occupies the unique position of being both an inspiration for, and adopter of Florida’s creative city thesis, and as such might be considered the “proto-typical” creative city where both the problems and apparent benefits can be identified in a particular urban context. McCann argues that despite Austin’s inspirational role for Florida’s thesis, Florida disregards at worst, and engages in hand-wringing at best, the politics of inequality that are correlated with, and influenced by, the implementation of Floridian style creative city policy. This is seen in Austin, where rising inequality levels paralleled the rise of the “new economy” from 1997-2001, particularly in the housing market. Peck (2005) takes an even more antagonistic stance against the creative city thesis, arguing that its uncritical implementation in a number of urban contexts is a clear example of the wedding of culture to economic imperatives in a neoliberalized urban context characterized by intensified inter-urban competition and place-marketing strategies, and the tendency of urban governments with eroded

interventional capacity to increasingly look toward economically and politically low-cost and high-hype strategies.

As has been evidenced by this sketch of cultural policy literature, for all the variegated academic responses that cultural policy has entailed, calls have become increasingly louder to pay attention to the ways that cultural policy operates “on the ground”: to take into consideration the particular contexts in which policy is implemented, how the interplay of such factors influence the varied impacts and outcomes of local cultural urban policy, and how such policies work in concert with broader urban development strategies. Accordingly, as demonstrated above, the literature has been largely case study driven and suggests that the trajectories of cultural policy – and the paths that flagship cultural developments take around the world – defy any simplistic categorization (Borén & Young, 2013; Grodach & Silver, 2013).

Such considerations are critically important in light of the entrepreneurial urban contexts where cultural policy is often implemented. Peck (2005, 2011) suggests that cultural strategies are commonly pursued *because* they can be “mapped” onto existing neoliberal strategies that seek to extend market logics and maximize the conditions for capital accumulation. But as noted by Peck, Brenner, and Theodore (2013; 2011) the processes of neoliberalization are far from uniform across different urban contexts and moreover, often coexist uneasily with the residues of previous governance regimes and/or more contemporary appeals to social progressivism.

Indeed, in Vancouver, a consideration of the contextually-specific factors that influence and push cultural policy along particular pathways is especially important given Tom Hutton’s observation that Vancouver is a city of “dual urbanisms” (2008, p. 228). Though the current municipal government was elected on an ostensibly socially progressive platform of environmental sustainability, creating the “Green Capital”, and setting an ambitious goal of ending homelessness in the city by 2015, it has become increasingly evident that the city has been struggling with tackling inner city gentrification, displacement and homelessness, and an increasingly unaffordable cost of living. As such, this paper seeks to address the following overarching question: what

does the Vancouver Art Gallery relocation decision represent in the context of Vancouver's increasingly neoliberalized urban landscape?

Chapter 3.

Urban Development and Cultural Policy Making in Vancouver

Given the growing realization in the literature of the importance of contextually-situated analyses of how culturally-oriented urban policy interacts with existing modes of urban governance and development, this section outlines the character and trajectory of Vancouver's more contemporary urban development and policy interventions particularly in the area of arts and culture in order to provide a background with which to understand the Art Gallery proposal and its relationship to urban development in Vancouver.

3.1. Urban Development and Vancouverism: Branding the City

Vancouver was founded in 1886 as part of a Canadian Pacific Railway land development scheme. Yet despite its relatively recent beginnings, Vancouver has become a "privileged urban reference point" (Balibrea, 2001), as evidenced by its now-common appearance on global urban livability rankings year to year. The prominence of Vancouver in broader urban planning debates can largely be credited to the form of urban planning and development established in the city, which has been given the moniker of "Vancouverism"².

Part architectural style, part urban planning strategy, and part lifestyle ideology, Vancouverism denotes an urban development ethos predicated on leveraging private

² Though the precise origins of the neologism "Vancouverism" are unclear, the literature indicates that it initially arose in North American architecture and planning circles to describe an "urbanism of density and public amenity" commonly accepted to be pioneered in Vancouver (Sharp & Boddy, 2008, para. 7).

development to pursue public realm development (Murray & Hutton, 2012). Its origins can predominantly be traced to the Concord Pacific Place development on the north shores of False Creek, which was developed on railway lands originally assembled by the Province of British Columbia for Expo 1986 hosted by Vancouver (Boddy, 2004; Walsh, 2013). Following Expo, these lands were sold to Hong Kong-based industrialist Li Ka-Shing in 1988 for \$145 million, who formed a company, Concord Pacific, to develop the parcel (Berelowitz, 2005; Boddy, 2004; Harcourt, Cameron, & Rossiter, 2007; Soules, 2010; Walsh, 2013). At 166 acres, Concord Pacific Place holds the distinction of being North America's largest master planned community (Berelowitz, 2005; Soules, 2010), but what is particularly unique about Concord Pacific Place is the process that unfolded to develop it. The community is the result of a highly collaborative effort predicated on a public-private partnership between the City of Vancouver's Planning Department and Concord Pacific Developments to produce a self-contained, high-density, "liveable" community complete with residential, commercial, and public amenity functions³ (Berelowitz, 2005; Harcourt et al., 2007; Punter, 2003; Soules, 2010).

It is important to note that despite the relatively recent emergence of Vancouverism, ideas of liveability permeated urban planning considerations in Vancouver as early as the late 1960s in a pronounced shift from the growth machine politics characterizing Vancouver's urban development since the city's inception (Ley, 1980). Replacing these politics was a liberal notion of "the 'liveable city', a landscape in harmony with human sensibility" (Ley, 1980, p. 239). As detailed by David Ley (1980), the major proponents of this re-shifted vision were members of an emerging urban elite of liberal-minded, professional, technical, and administrative workers, whose interests were formally embodied in The Electors Action Movement (TEAM), a municipal reform

³ The City of Vancouver was able to extract significant public benefits from Concord Pacific Developments due to the high profit margins associated with the site (the developer secured the parcel at a relatively low cost, as the provincial government paid for the site's remediation, and financially benefited from a City-granted rezoning which permitted higher densities). Amenities constructed as a result of this development included: 42 acres of public park space, a 10.5 metre wide waterfront seawall extension to the waterfront loop around False Creek, a full-service community centre, two elementary schools, childcare facilities, and a sports field house; moreover, 25% of the total housing stock was designated as social housing (Berelowitz, 2005).

party that dominated city hall from 1972-1978, elected on a platform that emphasized “quality of life” over economic growth.

The centerpiece of TEAM’s urban policies was the master-planned community of South False Creek (Harcourt et al., 2007; Hutton, 2008; Kalman, Ward, & Roaf, 2012; Ley, 1980). The lands surrounding False Creek were originally designated for industrial use and up until the middle of the 20th century were occupied by heavy industry (Hutton, 2008). Although Vancouver was never a significant manufacturing centre, a post-industrial shift had become apparent by the 1960s as the previously bustling industrial resource processing sites along False Creek had fallen into disrepair, regarded as a “stinking industrial cesspool” (Hutton, 2008; Kalman et al., 2012, p. 104). In its place, TEAM-led City Council sought to transform South False Creek into a vibrant, mixed-use, medium-density community, to reflect TEAM’s guiding ideology of the more human and more aesthetic – more *liveable* – city, “to plan and develop Vancouver *for people*”, “a city people can live in and enjoy” (Ley, 1980, pp. 250, 251).

As mentioned, TEAM’s notion of liveability was fundamentally positioned in opposition to the growth-oriented development policies typical of Vancouver up to that point. And in the case of the South False Creek development, which was led by the municipal government, it did. However, while the development was largely heralded as an example of a socially progressive approach to urban planning with socially inclusive results, its success, predicated on an ideology of consumption and what it meant to live a good life in the city, also catalyzed inflationary effects on the private housing market (Ley, 1980). The nearby neighbourhood of Fairview Slopes, where the working class of the industrial-dominated South False Creek of the early 20th century lived, increasingly experienced gentrification pressures. Soon enough the built landscape, previously offering affordable housing in wooden single family dwellings, rooming houses, and Single Resident Occupancy (SRO) hotels, made way for another characterized by more expensive condominiums and townhomes (Hutton, 2008; Ley, 1980, 1996). Thus, liveability’s “interaction with private interests...[was] coopted by the calculus of the marketplace and led to an inequitable outcome where the vulnerabilities of the poor would be exposed...wherever scarcity is becoming social...*the promise of an enhanced quality to consumption in an environment designed to maximize livability will lead to a*

predictable market response” (Ley, 1980, p. 258, emphasis added). In this sense, TEAM’s ideology of liveability became a culture to *buy* into.

We can see this dynamic at work more contemporaneously. As Trevor Boddy (2005) has observed, private real estate developers were initially resistant to the social amenity bonusing system advocated by the City of Vancouver’s Planning Department. However, this initial resistance abated as developers recognized the benefits of expanding public amenities to the *marketability* of their condominium developments. Vancouver’s notion of liveability, undertaken for the public good and produced by trading density for amenity, thus becomes a “value-added” benefit that ensures that private-led developments are much more desirable as *commodities*.

The institutionalization of this strategy to pursue urban development – trading density for amenity – was pursued following the success of the Concord Pacific Place redevelopment. Thus, if entrepreneurialism is the dominant form of urban governance today, and if public-private partnership is the primary mechanism through which it works, then Vancouverism represents the enshrinement of that partnership as planning strategy to propel urban development in the Vancouver context. Such an arrangement effectively concretized the relationship between developers and the municipal government, and moreover, ensured that Vancouverism’s notion of liveability would be reproduced across the landscape of Vancouver’s downtown core⁴.

The appeal and perceived success of Vancouverism has translated into its imitation worldwide: Dubai Marina, the world’s largest master-planned waterfront development, is an “almost a perfect clone of downtown Vancouver – right down to the handrails on the seawall, the skinny towers on townhouse bases, all around a 100 percent artificial, full-scale version of False Creek filled with seawater from the Persian Gulf” (Boddy as cited by Kiger, 2014, para. 2). Other cities have approached their adoption of Vancouverism more selectively, but its influence is discernable worldwide,

⁴ It bears mentioning that though Vancouverism distinguishes an approach to urban planning originating in Vancouver, the architectural form that it denotes is not replicated wholesale across Vancouver. However, the public-private partnership that characterizes Vancouverism’s planning strategy is the fundamental mechanism through which public amenities are funded (outside of municipal capital planning) (see City of Vancouver, 2012).

where cities like Austin, Toronto, and San Francisco have incorporated various tenets of Vancouverism in their approaches to urban design and planning (Boddy, 2004; Kiger, 2014; Soules, 2010).

Vancouverism can thus be understood not only as a planning strategy, but also as a way for Vancouver to distinguish itself on the global stage. Harvey has argued that under capitalist urbanization, there is a tendency towards a “structured coherence”, which “embraces the standard of living, the qualities and style of life, work satisfactions...social hierarchies...and a whole set of sociological and psychological attitudes toward working, living, enjoying, entertaining, and the like” (1989c, p. 140). In a contemporary urban context, this structured coherence is projected through an urban “identity”, a *brand*. Echoing Harvey’s remarks, Mommaas argues,

Brands derive their attraction largely from the fact that they introduce a certain order or coherence to the multiform reality around us...Brands enable us more easily to ‘read’...our environment of places and products...Seen in this way brands are not purely a source of differentiation, but also of identification, recognition, continuity, and collectivity. (as cited by Evans, 2003, p. 420)

In this way, we can understand building the “liveable city” premised on Vancouverism’s principles represents Vancouver’s *brand*, a way for the city to introduce a “structured coherence” to its identity, and as a mechanism for distinguishing the city at the global scale of inter-urban competition. Both Vancouverism and the notion of liveability it entails features prominently on the City of Vancouver’s website:

"Vancouverism" is an internationally known term that describes a *new kind of city living*.

Vancouverism combines deep respect for nature with enthusiasm for busy, engaging, active streets and dynamic urban life.

Vancouverism means tall slim towers for density, widely separated by low-rise buildings, for light, air, and views.

It means many parks, walkable streets, and public spaces, combined with an emphasis on sustainable forms of transit...

No wonder city planners and urban designers come to Vancouver from around the world to find inspiration for re-imagining their inner cities...(City of Vancouver, 2013e, para. 1–4, 7)



Figure 3.1. The Concord Pacific Development synonymous with Vancouverism
Note. Image from “View on Vancouver” by Thom Quine,
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vancouver_ib.jpg. Copyright 2005. Licensed under CC Attribution 2.0 license.

Yet when confronted with the logic of the market, Vancouverism’s notion of liveability is fundamentally premised on one’s ability to *consume* it. Its continued symbolic resonance as a lifestyle ethos among the urban professional elite (Ley, 1980, 1996) has ensured its continued material reproduction as a strategy to maximize capital accumulation, as real estate developers harness it as a marketing ploy, and the City of Vancouver institutionalizes it as a way to finance public amenity and competitively position Vancouver in a broader context of inter-urban competition. Thus, the continued symbolic circulation of liveability as a broadly appealing lifestyle ideology serves to justify the *material reproduction* of the pursuit of that vision through urban development.

This is in spite of the negative externalities, such as gentrification and displacement, associated with this approach to urban development as detailed by Ley (1980) almost a quarter of a century ago. These problems have been exacerbated by the intersection of various local-global forces which catalyzed Vancouver’s entry into the transnational real estate market via Expo 86, which signaled Vancouver’s growing prominence on the world stage, and the success of Concord Pacific Place, which “conveyed a signal to other foreign investors that Vancouver was now to be regarded as a prime (attractive, profitable, and ‘safe’) investment” (Hutton, 2008, p. 236). In concert with the City of Vancouver’s 1991 Local Area Plan, which consolidated the Central

Business District (CBD) in a concentrated area of the downtown core and restructured land use policies to favour zoning for residential and mixed use, these factors have influenced the urban development trajectory in Vancouver to bias residential construction in an inflated urban property market. Such processes have extended the encroachment and production of landscapes of displacement and disinvestment in marginalized communities in the inner city (Hutton, 2008).

3.2. Cultural Policy in Vancouver

Like many other cities worldwide, Vancouver turned its attention to culture towards the latter part of the 21st century. Cultural planning functions originally emerged from the City of Vancouver's Social Development Department (what is more contemporaneously known as Community Services) in the early 1970s (Murray & Hutton, 2012; Stevenson, 1992).

At the time of cultural planning's adoption in municipal policy, cultural policy had two primary objectives: the stimulation of the City's economy through cultural tourism, and the provision of cultural opportunities for residents (Stevenson, 1992). The City's stated cultural policy was thus meant to serve a dual mandate to both its residents and economic interests, however, Stevenson (1992) suggests that in the first decade of formalized cultural planning in Vancouver "community development" was the guiding principle, resulting in a consideration for social inclusion and the facilitation of community based arts and culture development. This orientation resulted in initiatives such as the provision of artist employment opportunities through the establishment of the Odyssey Gallery (now known as the Contemporary Art Gallery), and the organization of community-based arts and culture events to encourage public engagement with culture (Stevenson, 1992). Interestingly, cultural planning during this period was characterized by a more active, hands-on approach, as evidenced by the City's active role in arts and culture programming. In this sense, the City of Vancouver's early approach to cultural policy broadly conforms to what Yáñez (2013) characterizes as the "cultural planning approach" which focuses on the provision of cultural planning strategies designed to maximize public engagement with culture, as opposed to a "cultural instrumentalist"

approach which positions culture as an economic development policy and competitive advantage to stimulate opportunities for cultural consumption and capital accumulation.

However, as cultural policy developed in Vancouver, the role of arts and culture as an economic stimulator became increasingly emphasized, and in the 1980s, a discernable shift was evident from a concern for arts and culture as a means of social inclusion and accessibility to one underlying the role of arts and culture in extending Vancouver's prestige on the world stage (Stevenson, 1992). This transition occurred in a context of an economic recession, which negatively impacted public arts and culture funding and prompted the City's cultural planners to pursue private sector donations for arts and culture development with arguments for their positive economic spin-offs (Stevenson, 1992). This resulted in a discernable shift in the policy discourse which emphasized economic rationales to pursue cultural development (Stevenson, 1992). The rising prominence of the economic rationale during this period can be further read in the context of Vancouver's hosting of Expo 86, and in this sense the arts were increasingly harnessed as a "lubricant" for the movement of international capital, as a competitive advantage which had the potential to position Vancouver as an attractive site for global capital investment (Stevenson, 1992, p. 80).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, more contemporaneously, cultural planning in Vancouver in the new millennium has largely revolved around Vancouver's interpretation and adoption of Floridian-style creative city policy, and extending Vancouver's international status, particularly around the city's hosting of the Winter Olympic Games in 2010. This process began in July 2005 with Vancouver City Council's establishment of a Creative City Task Force comprised of City Councilors, community representatives, and City staff, to craft an overarching strategy for cultural policy and development and to identify the City's role in supporting arts and culture over the long-term. The efforts of the Creative City Task Force culminated in the City of Vancouver's *Culture Plan 2008-2018*, an ambitious ten-year cultural strategy "to develop, enliven, enhance and promote arts, culture, and cultural diversity in the City of Vancouver to the benefit of our citizens, our creative community, our business sector and our visitors" (City of Vancouver, 2008b, p. 5) and to "ensure Vancouver's place as a creative city" (City of Vancouver, 2010, p. 2). While an in-depth analysis of the details of the Culture Plan is beyond the scope of this

paper, what is particularly important to highlight is the broad approach taken in the Plan to understanding culture and its impacts on the city, as made clear by the plan's mandate to serve Vancouver citizens, the creative sector, the business sector, and tourists, and the anthropological sense of culture used, which is defined within the Plan as "the expression and celebration of the values and aspirations of a community, country or group" (City of Vancouver, 2008b, p. 14). Moreover, the Plan takes an approach to culture that *blends* Yáñez's typology differentiating between cultural planning and cultural instrumentalism. The introduction to the Plan suggests that the economic impact of the arts is undisputed, and goes on to argue that the "intrinsic value of the arts and culture cannot and should not be underestimated" (City of Vancouver, 2008b, p. 4).

The intermingling of these two rationales is apparent throughout the Culture Plan, as the nurturing of culture and creativity is understood as critical to foster *urban liveability*, but also to encourage *economic competitiveness*. As the Plan states:

[T]he value creative expression and participation bring to the lives of our residents and visitors is immeasurable. The workers required for a knowledge-based economy want to live in communities that stimulate their creative interests and reflect their cultural values. A community climate that nurtures and celebrates artistic creation, experimentation and presentation creates a fertile ground for inspiring innovation on a broader economic and social scale... Because culture is the cornerstone upon which vibrant resilient, competitive and creative industries are built, the City is committed to supporting the growth and diversity of cultural activities and offerings in Vancouver. (City of Vancouver, 2008b, pp. 5, 6)

As such, contemporary urban development in Vancouver thus revolves around building the liveable (and now creative) city, ostensibly for all: creativity "*is requisite for a city of international distinction...*The vision and strategy that is articulated in this Culture Plan will provide momentum for the city to move forward...*by harnessing this creativity for the benefit of all*" (City of Vancouver, 2008, pp. 4, 5, emphasis added).

Chapter 4.

Taking the Vancouver Art Gallery to Court and Beyond

Founded in 1931, the Vancouver Art Gallery is Vancouver's most high-profile cultural institution, and Western Canada's largest public art gallery. The Gallery is managed and operated by the Vancouver Art Gallery Association, a registered non-profit organization⁵ (City of Vancouver, 2013b; Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012). The Vancouver Art Gallery and the City of Vancouver have had a long-established relationship that can be traced back to the founding of the Gallery in the early 20th century, when a group of business and community leaders led by Henry Athelstan Stone approached the City requesting funding towards a site and the construction of a building for a gallery; the citizens' group pledged \$100,000 towards the acquisition of artworks to be shown (Robertson, 1983).

Vancouver taxpayers initially rejected the City's proposal to contribute \$75,000 to the Gallery project. However, after a lengthy approval process, in which two major newspapers, The Vancouver Sun and The Province, published very strong letters of support of the proposal, the City of Vancouver agreed to provide the site, with Stone and his associates raising the additional capital to finance the construction of the building. On opening day, October 5 1931, the Gallery Founders donated the new building located at 1145 West Georgia Street, together with the entire collection of art works, to the City of Vancouver.

⁵ Though the "Vancouver Art Gallery" refers to the institution and the "Vancouver Art Gallery Association" refers to the group responsible for the institution's administration, in this paper, Gallery and Gallery Association are used interchangeably, reflecting how they are referred to in public parlance.

As a publicly funded non-profit arts institution⁶, the Gallery holds and manages its collection of more than 10,000 artworks for the benefit of the citizens of Vancouver, affording “a special role for the Gallery in the care and stewardship of the collection” on behalf of Vancouver residents (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 5). However, as indicated by the organization’s Master Plan, the Gallery’s ambitions are decidedly global in nature: “[the Gallery’s] ongoing aim is to bring the best of the art world to Vancouver, and the best of Vancouver to the world” (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2005, p. 2).

Although a new wing was added to the original Gallery building in 1951, in the 1970s, momentum began to build for the relocation of the VAG to the newly vacated provincial courthouse building located just a few blocks east on Georgia at 750 Hornby Street to accommodate the Gallery’s growing collection, programming, and storage needs. Officially owned by the Province of British Columbia, the courthouse building and grounds have been held by the City of Vancouver on a 99-year lease since 1974, and in 1978, the City formally approved the reservation and renovation of the courthouse building for the Art Gallery, in addition to a financial contribution of \$5 million towards re-fitting the courthouse for this purpose (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012). The “Take Your Gallery to Court” capital fundraising campaign followed, and culminated in a two-year, \$20.5 million renovation of the 750 Hornby building designed by BC architect Arthur Erickson, which opened to the public in October 1983 with 41,400 square feet of exhibition space (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2012).

In an instance that can be read as largely repeating the move of the early 1980s, for at least the past decade or so the Vancouver Art Gallery has made clear that its ambitions for growth have been constrained by its location. Despite the original 40-year timeline for remaining in the courthouse building, the Vancouver Art Gallery Association has argued that it has outgrown its current home: increased acquisitions have meant that only 3% - 5% of its permanent collection consisting of 10,500 works can be displayed at the current site at any given time (City of Vancouver, 2013a). A lack of

⁶ Twenty-five percent of the Gallery’s operating budget is from public funders (federal, provincial, municipal). The City of Vancouver is the Gallery’s most significant public funder, allocating the City’s largest annual arts and culture operating grant, valued at approximately \$2 million, to the Gallery. The City’s contribution makes up approximately 17% of the Gallery’s operating budget (City of Vancouver, 2013a).

space has further been identified as a significant constraint to the VAG's ability to expand public programming, and inadequate storage facilities have required securing costly storage off-site (Bula, 2010; City of Vancouver, 2013a).

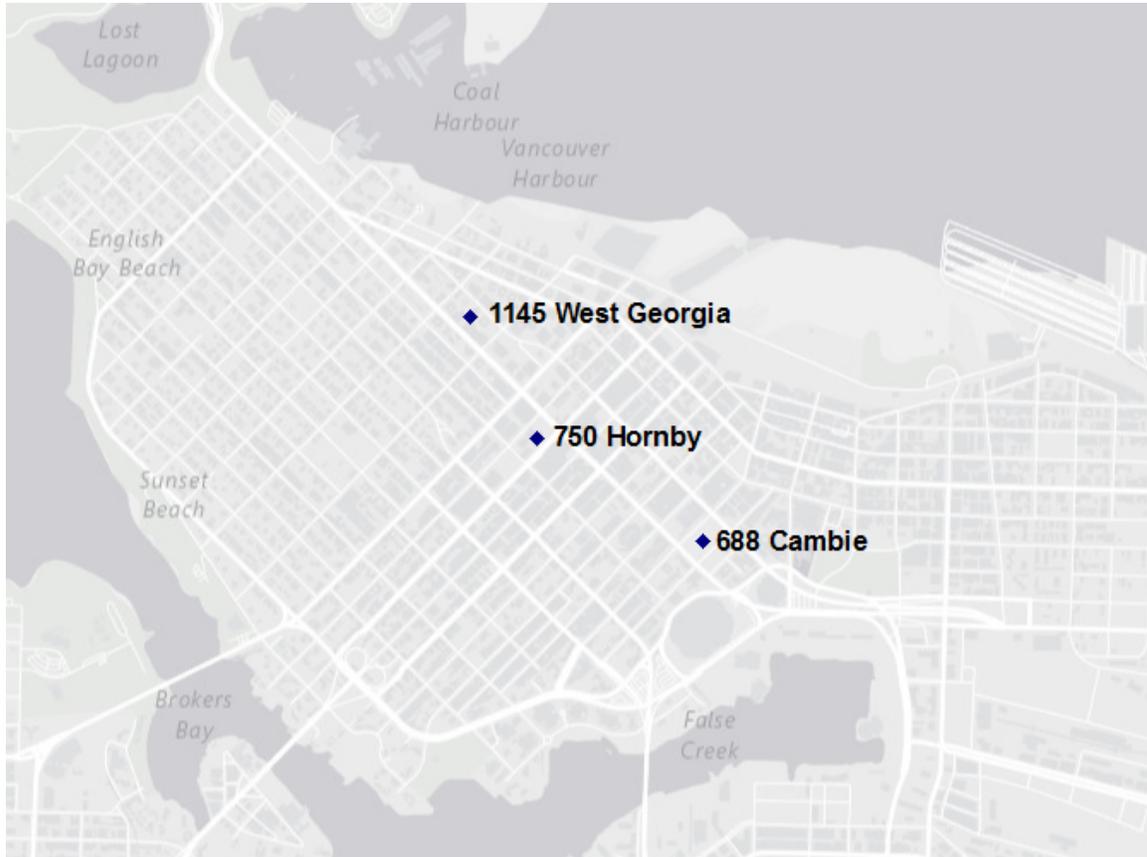


Figure 4.1. Map of past, present, and future VAG locations in Vancouver

Note. Map by author, 2014

To remedy this situation, the Gallery initiated a Master Planning Process in 2003 with the goal of specifying the Gallery's future space needs and exploring options for expanding the Gallery at the current courthouse site (City of Vancouver, 2010). This process was completed in 2005, and the consultants on the project, Michael Maltzan Architects, proposed a possible expansion of the current courthouse site. However, a number of challenges to expansion were also identified, including the need to close the Gallery for an extended period of time to facilitate a large-scale renovation; high storage and renovation costs; low fundraising potential associated with a renovation project (as

opposed to a new construction); and limitations on renovation and construction due to the courthouse building's heritage status⁷ (City of Vancouver, 2010; "Vancouver Art Gallery," n.d.). Based on these findings the Gallery determined that expansion of the Hornby Street site was unfeasible, and set its sights on relocating and constructing an iconic, purpose-built art museum, ultimately identifying a city-owned lot at 688 Cambie Street, formerly known as Larwill Park, at the corner of Cambie and Georgia Streets and one of the last undeveloped parcels of land in the downtown core, as the preferred site (City of Vancouver, 2010, 2013b).

The City of Vancouver has largely supported designating the 688 Cambie Street site for potential cultural use. In 2006, Council approved a cultural precinct development process in partnership with the Province of British Columbia. The planned cultural precinct will be anchored by two major cultural institutions: the Queen Elizabeth Theatre and the 688 Cambie site, anticipated to house a multi-use cultural/office/retail development, and in 2008 the City completed a number of studies to explore the possibilities for this type of development (City of Vancouver, 2010). The Gallery's relocation efforts were further buoyed with an announcement of a \$50 million contribution from the provincial government towards the expansion of the Vancouver Art Gallery in March 2008 (City of Vancouver, 2010, 2013b; Government of British Columbia - Office of the Premier, 2008a). A few months after this funding announcement, the Province asked the Gallery to consider a waterfront site, privately owned by Canadian Metropolitan Properties, on Northeast False Creek (NEFC). Relocation to this site would put the VAG in close proximity to BC Place Stadium – which at the time was set to receive a multimillion renovation – creating a sport, culture, and entertainment district of sorts (Government of British Columbia - Office of the Premier, 2008b). However, the NEFC site was deemed unworkable as feasibility studies completed by the Gallery in 2010 determined that the construction costs associated with the waterfront location

⁷ The old provincial courthouse in which the Vancouver Art Gallery is currently housed was designed by Victoria-based architect Sir Francis Mawson Rattenbury and completed in 1911. The building is federally designated as a National Heritage Site and is also a municipally designated "A" heritage structure (City of Vancouver, 2013f; Parks Canada, n.d.). The heritage status of this building entails limitations on the scale and type of renovations permitted.

would be high and underground storage for collections difficult to coordinate logistically (City of Vancouver, 2013b).

4.1. Recent Developments in the Vancouver Art Gallery Proposal

The confirmation of the unsuitability of the NEFC site reoriented the Gallery's relocation efforts towards securing the Larwill Park site. In July 2010, The Vancouver Art Gallery submitted a formal proposal to the City of Vancouver requesting that the entire 688 Cambie site be reserved for a new Gallery and that negotiation commence with City staff to determine the terms and parameters of this agreement (City of Vancouver, 2010, 2013b). A team of City staff reviewed this proposal, and recommended that Vancouver City Council direct City staff, under the guidance of the City Manager, to work with the Vancouver Art Gallery to conduct further research on the Gallery's space needs, reconsider the necessity of relocation, and develop a detailed business plan and proposal demonstrating the Gallery's ability to fundraise the capital costs and ensure the operational sustainability of a new Gallery at 688 Cambie (City of Vancouver, 2010). The report also recommended outlining an "inclusive space use and programming strategy"; a review of the Gallery's governance structure to enable City representation "in light of the significant City asset under care"; and directed City staff to solicit input from the arts and culture community and the broader public about the possible relocation and development possibilities for the 688 Cambie site, and potential uses for the 750 Hornby Street site should the Gallery move (City of Vancouver, 2010, p. 1; 5-6).

In January 2011, Vancouver City Council unanimously voted in favour of all these recommendations, and gave the Gallery two years to fully develop its proposal, setting the presentation deadline of the proposal for early 2013 (City of Vancouver, 2013b). In their April 2013 presentation to Vancouver City Council, City staff recommended that that Council authorize staff to negotiate a Memorandum of Understanding with the Vancouver Art Gallery with the objective of securing 2/3 of the city-owned site at 688 Cambie Street on a 99-year lease at nominal gross rent inclusive of property tax (\$1 per year) for a new Art Gallery (City of Vancouver, 2013b). This was contingent on a number of conditions, the most significant being able to secure 75% of the current proposed

budget, and confirm funding agreements between the Vancouver Art Gallery Association and the federal and provincial governments to provide \$150 million (in addition to the \$50 million already held by the Gallery from the provincial government) towards the new Gallery by the deadline of April 30, 2015 (City of Vancouver, 2013b). After hearing from 16 speakers who all supported the Gallery project, Council unanimously passed all recommendations, a decision lauded by the Vancouver Art Gallery and members of Vancouver's established arts and culture community as a landmark decision for the future of arts and culture in the city (City of Vancouver, 2013; Hansen, 2013).

Having secured the 688 Cambie site, the Vancouver Art Gallery has presently turned its attention to fundraising campaign efforts, beginning with the selection of an architect to design the new Gallery. To this end, the Vancouver Art Gallery launched a Request for Qualifications process in September 2013, and in January 2014, announced a short-list of five firms (4 of which were international, 1 of which was Canadian) (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2013, 2014a). Just over a year after City Council's decision regarding 688 Cambie, in April 2014, the Gallery announced the selection of Basel-based architecture firm, Herzog & de Meuron to design their new home at 688 Cambie (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2014b).

Chapter 5.

Understanding the Politics of the Art Gallery Proposal

5.1. The Art Gallery and Building the Liveable Creative City

In order to understand the politics of the Vancouver Art Gallery proposal, and its role in city building in Vancouver, attention must first be paid to how the proposal fits within the broader context of neoliberal urbanism and urban development, which in Vancouver takes the form of Vancouverism. More specifically, the role of a new Vancouver Art Gallery at 688 Cambie in furthering a specific vision of Vancouver must be considered, with particular attention to how the Gallery relocation proposal is situated as a mechanism to construct such visions ostensibly for the public interest. Accordingly, this section parses out the various arguments made to support the Gallery's relocation proposal. As it will be seen, the allocation of the 688 Cambie site for the purposes of constructing a new Vancouver Art Gallery was largely justified by the anticipated trickle-down effects afforded by the project's role in extending Vancouver's brand as the liveable and creative city, and emphasis on iconic architecture. For ease of analysis, these arguments have been separated in this paper; however, it is important to highlight that such arguments were commonly intertwined throughout public debates and discussions on the relocation proposal and thus overlap to a degree.

As indicated, the Gallery has first and foremost framed its need for relocation as a practical matter, arguing that its proposed relocation to 688 Cambie is necessary to meet their public mandate by facilitating the expanded display of its collection to the public. However, despite the opportunity that the proposal provided to more deeply consider the Gallery's role in Vancouver and how the organization has approached its public mandate to date, there has been little discussion in public forums regarding how

an expanded Gallery might better fulfill its responsibility to Vancouver residents beyond the additional space that a new Gallery would provide. Systematic public consultation on the proposal was noticeably absent, a curious characteristic of the development process given the significant public asset under consideration⁸ and the City of Vancouver's historic commitment to public consultation on major urban development projects and proposals. This lack was very apparent in the consultation process undertaken during the in-depth proposal development process in 2012, which privileged the feedback and opinions of business leaders (e.g., prominent philanthropists and leaders on business and tourism bureaus) and members of the established arts and culture community (locally-based internationally reputable artists and administrators of major established local arts and culture institutions). Public consultation with residents was limited to a City-organized open house (attended by 200 citizens), and a series of eight Gallery-organized public meetings (attended by 561 total); however, these meetings arguably served more as information sessions than as opportunities to solicit feedback and ideas from the public regarding the Gallery's future.

Rather, the stated benefits of the Art Gallery proposal emphasized the trickle-down benefits derived from a new Art Gallery's contribution in building Vancouver's brand as a liveable, creative city in a narrative that framed the construction of a new Gallery in terms of Vancouver's "coming of age" on the global stage. These arguments positioned two macro-actors and the proposal's primary beneficiaries: the general public and the local arts and culture community and were particularly evident throughout the Vancouver Art Gallery's presentation to City Council in April 2013. As articulated by the current Chair of the VAG's Board of Trustees, Bruce Munro Wright, at the heart of the proposal was a vision "of a new Vancouver Art Gallery...which will play a key role in this city's arts community and bring more and more economic benefits and luster to Vancouver's envied brand" (City of Vancouver, 2013a). The VAG argued that the construction of a new Gallery would "enrich lives and play a pivotal role in enhancing Vancouver and British Columbia's reputation as a vibrant, healthy, and desirable place

⁸ The 688 Cambie site is valued at approximately \$50 million under current zoning; however, if rezoned for highest and best use, i.e., mixed-use (CD-1) development, the site would be worth approximately \$200 million, thus positioning the City of Vancouver as the largest potential governmental supporter of the project.

to live, work, and visit” (City of Vancouver, 2013a). These sentiments were echoed throughout the Gallery and city staff’s presentations, the Councillors’ questions, as well as speakers’ comments on the proposal (City of Vancouver, 2013a, 2013d). The relocation of the Art Gallery was framed as an opportunity for Vancouver to “take the next step in becoming a world city”, to “build upon [Vancouver’s] great reputation as a world-class destination...a place that enthusiastically and appropriately represents the beauty and vitality of Vancouver and Canada” (City of Vancouver, 2013d). The decision to allocate 688 Cambie for a new purpose-built Gallery was framed as one that would “like Expo 86, [make] us visible on a global stage to a global audience” and “build this city through investment in its creativity...to make the creative city happen” (City of Vancouver, 2013d). Indeed, the policy report that recommended the allocation of the Larwill Park site toward a new Vancouver Art Gallery concluded that “[n]ow is the time for the City to take a leadership role in this important expansion of Vancouver’s ‘cultural capital’ to *enhance our worldwide reputation as a sustainable and liveable city*” (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 20).

At the centre of the proposal was the Gallery’s vision of building a monumental building. Interestingly, it has been suggested that the public-private planning strategy utilized to pursue urban development in Vancouver has resulted in an aesthetically homogenous landscape (Boddy, 2005). According to Boddy (2005), this is because the central role afforded to planners in the development process typically results in a compromise between amenity and design. Thus, Vancouver is perceived to lack any architecture that “marks” its identity as a city. As Evans (2003) has argued, the association of a city with an iconic cultural flagship project can be read as an attempt to inject a place with a sense of culture or creativity. In a broader political economic context where the rise of inter-urban competition has become a normalized disciplining force, monumental cultural flagship projects have become an additional branding tool to differentiate and identify a city to better position it to attract footloose capital in the form of jobs, investment, and people – a task that, as Mommaas stated, builds *coherence*. In the Vancouver context, the VAG’s proposed construction of an architecturally significant cultural landmark was construed as a signifier of the city’s identity as a world class city and cultural centre. As a City of Vancouver policy document states: an “indicator of community vitality is the presence of thriving, major landmark arts and cultural facilities

that mark the city as a creative centre” (City of Vancouver, 2008a, p. 4). The importance of an iconic structure was present from the beginnings of the relocation discussion in 2005, when the Gallery stated in its Master Plan that

The Vancouver Art Gallery envisions a stand-alone building which will become a signature cultural landmark for both the City of Vancouver and the Province of British Columbia. Like the Guggenheim Museum in New York or the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, *this cultural landmark will further solidify Vancouver and BC’s position as a world-class destination.* (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2005, p. 5, emphasis added)

Throughout the proposal development process, the Vancouver Art Gallery and its supporters underscored the importance of constructing an iconic museum for extending Vancouver’s reputation as an international cultural centre. A Gallery-produced advertisement featured in the newspapers *The Globe and Mail* and *The Georgia Straight* in May 2010 as part of the public campaign promoting a new Gallery at the 688 Cambie site characterized the proposal as “a Vancouver masterpiece” and stated that the Art Gallery’s goal is to “design and build a landmark art museum...[that] will reflect British Columbia’s rich artistic history and Vancouver’s well-earned position on the world stage, serving as an agent of change, a driver of culture and community builder” (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2010, p. 48). This was further evidenced by the inclusion of the following quote by Terry Hui, VAG Board Trustee and President of Concord Pacific Developments:

Ask many people if they can describe the collection of the Guggenheim Museum in New York or Bilbao in Spain, and they will hesitate. Ask them again if they know what the Guggenheim looks like, and they will describe the architecture in great detail. What Vancouver needs is its own world-class, iconic art museum. (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2010, p. 49)

The Gallery’s selection of globally-renowned architecture firm Herzog de Mauron, responsible for high-profile projects such as the Bird’s Nest Olympic Stadium in Beijing, the de Young Museum in San Francisco, and the Walker Art Center expansion in Minneapolis, to design its new building further suggests the foregrounding of form symbolizing the contemporary cultural institution as an architectural masterpiece. Such arguments in support of this aspect of the proposal were pervasive throughout the public

discussion on the topic. A newspaper article in *The Vancouver Sun* weighed in on the debate, stating,

It's time for this young city, and the province, to open up its collective wallet and build a glamour building, an architectural statement that will put the city on the cultural map both nationally and internationally. We should be aiming for something as significant as the Guggenheim in Bilbao, or the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles, or the Sydney Opera House. These places, and many more, are what's [sic] known as destination architecture. They are edifices that are pieces of art unto themselves. They create their own tourism economies, attract major exhibitions and enhance the local arts. (Cernetig, 2008, para. 2)

And in line with Vancouver's more recent overall direction to become the world's Greenest City by 2020, the new Art Gallery aims to be the first LEED Gold certified art museum in Canada (Bartels, 2010; City of Vancouver, 2013b), a Vancouver "twist" on the trend in flagship cultural project construction.

As the aforementioned quote indicates, the VAG's relocation proposal framed the City's investment in a monumental, purpose-built museum as an investment in Vancouver's global reputation. Fundamentally underlying this proposed investment was an *economic* justification. The City of Vancouver foregrounded economic concerns over social ones throughout the proposal development process with frequent references to an economic impact study commissioned by the VAG which suggested that a new Gallery at 688 Cambie would generate an additional \$299 million to Vancouver's GDP, 5360 person years of employment, and an additional \$26.2 million in federal government taxes and \$32 million in provincial government taxes in its first five years of operation (City of Vancouver, 2013a, 2013b). The attention afforded to economic concerns throughout the proposal and its deliberation demonstrates in a Vancouver context the trend in urban planning towards maximizing economic growth as detailed in Harvey's (1989a) discussion about the turn to entrepreneurial forms of urban governance, and by Peck, Theodore, and Brenner (2009) in their discussions of the rise of neoliberal urbanism. However, it also signals the adaptability with which culture can be employed toward the imperative of economic growth. For it was not only understood that the construction and operation of a purpose-built gallery in and of itself would generate economic growth, but also the building's role as a symbolic marker – an "architectural

statement” – of Vancouver’s identity as a liveable, creative world-class city would indirectly act as competitive advantage for attracting further economic investment in Vancouver in the form of cultural tourism opportunities, jobs, and capital.

It is important to highlight that the deliberations on the Gallery proposal occurred on the heels of Vancouver’s stint as host for the 2010 Winter Olympics, Paralympics, and associated cultural event, the Cultural Olympiad, which was characterized by policymakers and prominent business and community leaders as a resounding success. The Cultural Olympiad in particular was organized to “showcase the best of Canadian and international performing arts and culture *to a global audience at a time when the world’s media is focused on Vancouver*” (Government of Canada, 2009, para. 4). In this sense, similar to the role Expo 86 played in influencing Vancouver’s development and branding as a liveable city, the 2010 Winter Olympics played a parallel role as a stepping stone towards Vancouver’s development and branding as a *creative* city. Thus, the post-Olympic celebratory climate was a looming factor in debates on the Gallery proposal which emphasized the potential role of the new Art Gallery in augmenting the economic growth through cultural tourism initially spiked during the Olympics. The aforementioned newspaper advertisement, released following the Games, also tellingly featured the following statement by Rick Antonson, then-President of Vancouver’s tourist bureau:

Welcome to Vancouver’s decade of culture. The global attention brought by the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter games created great expectations for our city on the international stage. Vancouver is emerging as a world city – and that requires lasting cultural legacies. A new Vancouver Art Gallery would anchor Vancouver’s reputation as an international cultural destination, solidifying the many economic and tourism benefits that come with that recognition. (Vancouver Art Gallery, 2010, p. 49)

Although, as mentioned during the public speaker component of Council deliberations on the proposal, Vancouver is home to a fairly robust tourist economy, a common thread that emerged through discussions suggested that the city is presently relatively unknown for its cultural offerings. As such, the Gallery’s proposal to construct an architecturally significant, purpose-built museum was understood to potentially bolster Vancouver’s status as a cultural destination for tourists, and also the perceived drivers of the knowledge economy, the creative class.

In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, David Harvey argued that in a political economic context of flexible modes of capital accumulation cities increasingly strive to “forge a distinctive image and to create an atmosphere of place...that will act as a lure to both capital and people ‘*of the right sort*’ (i.e. wealthy and influential)” (1989b, p. 295, emphasis added). Creative city strategies that seek to attract the creative class – the supposed drivers of the post-industrial economy – can thus be considered the contemporary manifestation of such place-making strategies. The VAG proposal further justified its expected synergistic effects on the arts and culture sector and creative economy, as VAG Trustee Ace Fipke argued:

A new purpose-built gallery in the heart of downtown will stand as a *testament to the world that Vancouver is a creative centre*. This is absolutely essential to businesses in the creative sector...a new VAG will attract and nurture more creative talent overall in Vancouver, because *creative people want to come to a place where creativity is appreciated*. We believe that the Art Gallery will help attract talented people from all over the world who will make Vancouver their home, and *further our collective endeavor to be a creative force on the world stage*. (City of Vancouver, 2013d, emphasis added)

As Jamie Peck (2011) points out, what is remarkable about the many instances of culture-led urban development projects that aim to construct the Floridian creative city worldwide has been the similarities and the *arbitrariness* with which such arguments for support have been made. Similarly, in the Vancouver Art Gallery case, proponents of the move characterized the proposal to construct an iconic, purpose-built art gallery as “an inevitable no-brainer” (Arden, 2010, para. 8). During the invitation to hear from members of the public a speaker suggested it was “a proven model. There’s nothing radical about it” (Council Hearing April 24 2013). Such claims were made in spite of extensive literature constantly qualifying the potential benefits of culture-led regeneration projects. But on another level, the pervasiveness of such arguments, the readiness with which they are made, as well as the easy acceptance they find in urban policy contexts, signals to the permeation of the discourse of inter-urban competition within the sphere of urban decision-making and policy implementation. In the language of geographer Jamie Peck (2005, 2011, 2013), this “fast policy environment” engenders serial policy reproduction across varied urban contexts, thus continually *reproducing* the conditions of inter-urban competition. There was a discernable sense in the discussions of the VAG proposal that

the City had to “catch up” with other cities that had already constructed monumental cultural flagship projects. As a purportedly proven model already engaged in cities worldwide, the decision to allocate part of the 688 Cambie site to permit the construction of a purpose-built iconic museum would affirm Vancouver’s brand as a liveable and creative city, and as a centre for arts and culture.

Like urban development strategies that aim to further “quality of life” and notions of “liveability”, cultural strategies are attractive *because* they are relatively uncontroversial when considered vis-à-vis other urban development strategies such as those taken to combat homelessness, drug use, or other pressing social problems. Although discussions can certainly be had as to whether public resources are better directed elsewhere, such strategies are *in and of themselves* appealing for policy makers, as they are low stakes politically, and seemingly capable of addressing both the social and economic dimensions of urban development. Once complete, large-scale cultural projects serve as lasting testaments to a politician’s “legacy”. When couched in a narrative espousing the “coming of age” of a city, such strategies serve as a rallying point to further solidify a city’s evolving identity or *brand*. Understood in this context, the Vancouver Art Gallery proposal forms a very central piece in constructing an image of the liveable and creative city, a form of urban cultural policy that “works”.

5.2. The Art Gallery and the Complexities of Culture Under Neoliberal Urbanism

If the creative, liveable vision of contemporary Vancouverism represents Vancouver’s good and globally marketable side, the processes of gentrification and displacement that have occurred alongside the pursuit of that vision surely represent its dark side. In the context of city building, the construction of a museum or cultural flagship project most fundamentally involves the construction of a particular “landscape” affected by particular relations of power. After all, the process of urbanization is not merely activated on its own accord. Cities are not “active agents” in and of themselves (Harvey, 1989a, p. 5). Rather, urbanization is a “spatially grounded social process in which a wide range of different actors...interact through a particular configuration of interlocking spatial practices” (Harvey, 1989a, p. 5). In this way, “[a]ny redevelopment

project and particularly one involving a cultural flagship *significantly changes urban space along with its built and social fabric*" (Trumbull, 2014, p. 2, emphasis added). With these theoretical foundations in mind, it is important to consider the impacts of a new Vancouver Art Gallery in *producing* a particular space, and to reflect on how the construction of this landscape is propelled by particular actors with particular interests in Vancouver where spatial considerations rank supreme. As it will be seen, these interactions position certain actors (like the artists, creative workers, and cultural organizations that have been invoked as a macro-actor in the pursuit of this policy) in complex and contradictory ways within the broader context of city building and urban development in Vancouver.

5.2.1. The Art Gallery, Vancouver's Cultural District, and Culture-Led Encroachment

The confirmed location for the new Gallery at 688 Cambie Street sits at an interstitial location at the current outskirts of the downtown core near the neighbourhoods of Chinatown, the Downtown Eastside (DTES), and Yaletown. Besides having the obvious appeal of being one of the last undeveloped lots in Vancouver's downtown core, the old Larwill Park site was considered the most ideal site for two reasons: firstly, its location within the City's ongoing cultural precinct development plan, and secondly, its relative proximity to downtown Vancouver.

The area around the eastern end of Georgia Street in the downtown core is currently dominated by single purpose buildings: the Central Branch of the Vancouver Public Library (VPL), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)'s Vancouver headquarters, the old Canada Post Office building, the downtown campus of Vancouver Community College, and the Queen Elizabeth Theatre. Unlike the rest of Vancouver's downtown core, residential developments are noticeably absent, and concurrently, the mixed-use street life that characterizes Vancouver's streetscapes has largely failed to germinate here. With the exception of a few restaurants and cafes on the ground level of the Public Library, and the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, there are few establishments that draw crowds in this area, particularly during the evenings. Keeping the present environment of this strip of Georgia Street in mind, over the past eight years the City of

Vancouver has turned attention to the possibility of “activating” (i.e., revitalizing) this area to support a “more vibrant” streetscape (City of Vancouver, 2006, p. 8), most obviously with the City’s proposal to establish a cultural precinct.

As indicated, since 2006, the City of Vancouver, in partnership with the Province of British Columbia, has undertaken a co-operative planning process to develop a multi-phased cultural precinct downtown involving the “co-location or clustering of cultural and creative uses with ancillary and complementary uses” (City of Vancouver, 2008a, p. 4). This precinct will include the existing major cultural institutions in the vicinity of Georgia Street: the Queen Elizabeth Theatre, the VPL, CBC Vancouver, as well as the Orpheum Theatre, the Bill Reid Gallery of Northwest Coast Art, and sites currently in planning, such as the Larwill Park lot (City of Vancouver, 2006, 2008a). The first phase of the cultural precinct project will concentrate on developing a “Heart of the Precinct” comprised of the Queen Elizabeth Theatre Complex and the development of the 688 Cambie Site for cultural usage.

The pending development of the cultural precinct plan, and the construction of the new Vancouver Art Gallery within it, will likely catalyze intensive urban development in the area, a consideration alluded to within the policy report recommending the allocation of 688 Cambie to the VAG which frames the proposal as a “tremendous opportunity...as the downtown core expands eastward” (City of Vancouver, 2013b, p. 16). This is a particularly important consideration in light of other overlapping planning processes in progress in the area, the City of Vancouver’s Northeast False Creek (NEFC) planning project and the ongoing planning study into the future of the Georgia and Dunsmuir Viaducts, two elevated roadways connecting East Vancouver to the downtown core which were built as the first stage of a failed effort in the 1960s to erect a freeway system through downtown Vancouver.



Figure 5.1. Map of the Cultural Precinct and NEFC Development Plan Area (red indicating the ceremonial boulevard of West Georgia, and orange indicating the viaducts)

Note. Map by author, 2014

Both the NEFC development area and the roadways are adjacent to the new Gallery site. Currently, NEFC is best known as the home to Vancouver’s premier sporting venues, Rogers Arena and BC Place Stadium. However, it has been recognized that the land around these buildings is under-utilized and in 2009, the City of Vancouver approved a Northeast False Creek Planning Directions Report, which envisions NEFC as a “high-energy and dynamic regional hub for culture, sports, events, and associated activities” – a vibrant, mixed-use waterfront district (City of Vancouver, 2009, p. 7). That same year, Council directed City staff to investigate the possibility of removing the viaducts in the context of a strategic planning review for the “Eastern Core”, or the False Creek flats, one of the last industrial areas to be developed in Vancouver (City of Vancouver, 2013c). Potential removal of the roadways has been justified in light of changing land use patterns and advancing liveability priorities in NEFC and has been

framed as an opportunity “to take bold city-building steps...to correct a past planning wrong” (City of Vancouver, 2013c, p. 2). Here, the City report gestures to the heavy-handed approach taken by City Council and staff in the 1960s who in the name of urban renewal and inner city economic growth sought to destroy the working class neighbourhoods of Chinatown and Strathcona that were home to the City’s minority populations in order to construct an expansive urban freeway system (Gutstein, 1975; Harcourt et al., 2007; Walsh, 2013). While the freeway system was not built due to significant community opposition, the viaducts were constructed, and are today viewed by the City as a “physical and psychological barrier” that divide the historic neighbourhoods of Strathcona and Chinatown from the waterfront and the downtown core (City of Vancouver, 2013c, p. 2).

However, the City has largely omitted from this debate the historic leveling of Vancouver’s largest black community, Hogan’s Alley, by the construction of the viaducts. In promoting the viaducts removal project in the guise of liveability, the City de-politicizes the production of the urban landscape, and erases the social historical context of struggle, expropriation, and displacement, that is embedded in the built environment. Perhaps even more insidiously, a nod to heritage revitalization found within the plan, which frames recognition of Hogan’s Alley in the context of “place making”, easily accords with the logics of neoliberal urban development, as history becomes spectacle. Indeed, the prospective removal of the viaducts has been presented as a significant opportunity to pursue intensive urban development along the shores of False Creek and the expansion of the downtown core; as the most recent viaducts study report states, “the biggest opportunity created by the removal of the viaducts is to *rethink the plans for NEFC and to create a vibrant new mixed-use waterfront district*” (City of Vancouver, 2013c, p. 11, emphasis added). The combination of planning elements in progress for the eastern end of the downtown core – the removal of the viaducts, coupled with the approximately 5.8 million square feet of additional development planned for in the NEFC area over the next twenty years, and the development of the cultural precinct and relocation of the VAG – indicates that a significant level of development activity is not only anticipated, but *planned for* within current policymaking schemes (City of Vancouver, 2013c).

The proposal to undertake such intensive, large-scale, consumption-based development brings into question the nature of the potentially transformative effects that such projects generate, as culturally anchored urban renewal projects often give rise to “islands of affluence that are sharply differentiated and segregated from the surrounding urban landscape” (Judd as cited by Yanez, 2013, p. 214). The development of such districts under the guise of revitalization and liveability thus involves the delineation of “privileged zones” (Evans, 2003, p. 430) in the city. Through their placing of high-profile cultural amenities, these projects can spur inflationary effects on land values, catalyzing, or in the context of Vancouver, *amplifying*, gentrification pressures.

As the geographer Neil Smith (2002, 2008) has argued, under neoliberal urbanism, gentrification has become a global strategy, generalizable and reproduced on a global scale. Contemporary understandings of gentrification, the displacement of marginalized and/or working class residents from urban centres, emphasize the inter-relations of production and supply-side factors in underwriting the process, such as the political economy of changing land use patterns, the rise of middle class urban lifestyle preferences for inner city living, and revanchism⁹. The movement of more privileged groups into areas previously experiencing urban disinvestment catalyzes the accumulation of the symbolic value of these places through the increased social and cultural capital of its new residents and amenities and in turn, their land value, encouraging landowners to capitalize on a “rent gap”¹⁰, contributing to housing unaffordability and sociospatial exclusion (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Ley, 1996).

⁹ Understandings of the revanchist city contextualize gentrification within a broader upper class project to exact revenge against the lower classes who were perceived to have “stolen” the city (Smith, 1996). In this theoretical lens, gentrification is fundamentally understood as the spatial expression of a revanchist anti-urbanism to reclaim the spaces of the city, alongside discourses that frame working class neighbourhoods in the inner city as areas of decay in need of renewal.

¹⁰ The rent gap thesis to explain gentrification is predominantly associated with the work of Neil Smith. This theory holds that a dialectical relationship between the dynamics of urban decline and revitalization underlies the uneven geographies of gentrification. As urban development evolves over time, a rent gap – i.e., a divergence between “capitalized” ground rent (the actual rent captured with current land use) and “potential” ground rent (the maximum rent possible based on the highest and best – that is, the most profitable – use) emerges. As Smith states, “only when this gap emerges can gentrification be expected since if the present use succeeded in capitalizing all or most of the ground rent, little economic benefit can be derived from redevelopment” (as cited by Lees et al., 2008, p. 54).

Gentrification, as discussed earlier with respect to Vancouver's contemporary urban development, has been apparent in the city since at least the 1970s (Ley, 1980, 1996). However, more recently, gentrification has taken a hold of the city on a broader scale and has become evident in many neighbourhoods across the city. Of particular relevance to the Art Gallery project is the neighbourhood of the Downtown Eastside, a community that has been historically home to Vancouver and Canada's most socially and economically marginalized residents and "characterized by endemic poverty, substance abuse and crime, exacerbated by the relentless encroachment of high-end housing, upscale consumption activities, and spectacle" (Hutton, 2008, p. 228), which is located adjacent to the new Art Gallery site (Burnett, 2014; Hutton, 2008; Longhurst, 2012; Sommers & Blomley, 2002). No mention was made during deliberations on the Art Gallery proposal regarding the 688 Cambie site's proximity to this neighbourhood, a disconcerting characteristic of the proposal and its deliberation given that the DTES is currently experiencing extreme gentrification pressures. As a City of Vancouver Social Impact Study completed as part of the DTES Community Planning process found,

[T]here has been increasing market pressure to develop the area due to its close proximity to the downtown core and comparatively lower land values than elsewhere in the city. An increase in market condominium development has brought new, high-income households to the predominately low-income community. *These realities have led to growing concern by residents over the impacts of new development on the neighbourhood.* (City of Vancouver, 2014, p. 1, emphasis added)

Read against this background of ongoing gentrification and displacement, the transformative effects of the Art Gallery relocation coupled with the intensive development of the NEFC area and the establishment of the cultural precinct in Downtown Vancouver are particularly important.

Indeed, the Downtown Eastside has already experienced the effects of culture-led regeneration with the large-scale, mixed-use Woodward's development. Throughout the 20th century the Woodward's department store served as the commercial centre of downtown; however, in 1993, the department store went bankrupt and the building was abandoned for nearly ten years, a highly visible marker of the neighbourhood's decline (Longhurst, 2012; Sommers & Blomley, 2002). After several years of debate and negotiations between private developers, multiple levels of government, and community

activists the building was re-developed through a public-private partnership between the City of Vancouver and Westbank Developers into a large-scale mixed-use project. Once completed, the site, now called Woodward's, included educational space for Simon Fraser University's School of Contemporary Arts, the City of Vancouver's Community Services department, the National Film Board Pacific and Yukon Centre offices, as well as market and non-market rental housing, a daycare, and commercial stores. Both the City of Vancouver and Westbank Developers have lauded the Woodward's project as an example of successful revitalization and in particular have cited its commitment to social mix through its incorporation of affordable housing (City of Vancouver, 2012a).

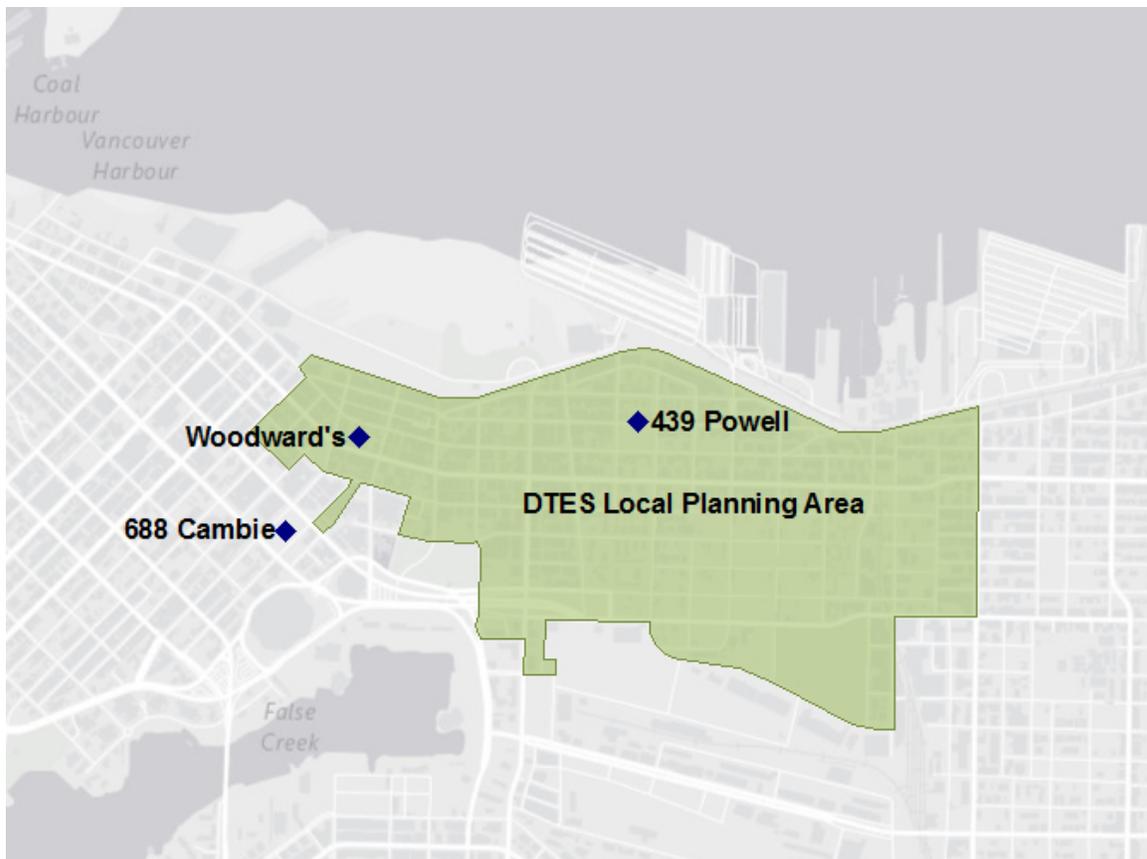


Figure 5.2. Map showing the relative locations of 688 Cambie and the DTES
Note. Map by author, 2014.

However the Woodward's development has also accelerated the "transformative" momentum of the area by reassuring other real estate developers of the area's investment potential, spurring a number of new residential development projects in the neighbourhood or in its immediate vicinity (Hutton, 2008, p. 252). Both Woodward's and

other emerging projects have placed “greater pressures of dislocation on the residents...both in terms of spillover rent inflation tendencies, as well as the increasing demands of a more affluent resident population...to manage (and sanitize) the streets and public spaces of the area” (Hutton, 2008, p. 252). What Hutton points to is the increasing embourgeoisement of the DTES: the changing class and symbolic connotations of the neighbourhood, which are fundamentally linked to the changing material landscapes of the neighbourhood. As Longhurst argues, at its heart the Woodward’s development entailed the aestheticization of a previously disinvested landscape to one that reflects the “sensibilities and consumption practices of the new middle class” in order to secure the investment potential of the area (2012, p. 9). The embourgeoisement of the DTES is evident with the establishment of upscale restaurants, cafes, and lifestyle boutiques, all which represent and contribute to the ongoing transformation of the DTES into a gentrified, middle class space, with exclusionary effects on the marginalized residents of the area. As the DTES Social Impact Assessment found,

There are many fears in the neighbourhood concerning the loss of special places and growing feelings of exclusion...There is also a certain level of discomfort with the high-end aesthetics and décor of new spaces and with the perceived demeanor of new residents who appear to have higher incomes. The visual elements of neighbourhood change cause some low-income people to feel uneasy and fear for their ability to remain in the area over the long-term. (City of Vancouver, 2014, p. 25)

Read against such an explicit example of gentrification, the lack of consideration for the possible effects of the Gallery’s relocation to 688 Cambie on extending the encroachment and gentrification of the DTES is problematic, particularly when considering the concurrent development processes that aim to establish a mixed-use waterfront district in the NEFC area, and the cultural precinct development.

5.2.2. The New Art Gallery as a Landscape of Power

On this matter, a brief consideration of the key stakeholders involved in the Art Gallery re-location proposal may provide some insights regarding how urban cultural development can be “pushed” along specific pathways to achieve particular aims. As Donald Gutstein has pointed out, “Vancouver has always been in the grip of promoters

and speculators. Its history has been a succession of real estate booms and busts” (as cited by Stevenson, 1992, p. 39). Capital interests, particularly in real estate, have long played an important role in the urban development of Vancouver, most evidently with the enshrinement of the public-private partnership utilized to pursue Vancouverism. But the influence of real estate interests is also evident within the sphere of municipal politics, as major real estate players pledge considerable financial support to both major civic political parties, the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) and Vision Vancouver¹¹.

It should come as no surprise then that elite economic stakeholders, particularly those of real estate and finance sectors, were prominently figured throughout the deliberations of the Art Gallery relocation proposal. As Zukin has suggested, “public’ museums have consistently helped elites across the board in their social, business, and real estate dealings. Even now, high culture institutions offer excellent networking opportunities” (Zukin, 1995, p. 117). What Zukin gestures to is how museums are mobilized and repurposed by the financial and cultural elite. Indeed, reflecting Stevenson’s observation that the VAG’s genesis was largely the result of the philanthropic efforts of “cultural capitalists” – a group of social elites who sought to capitalize on the prestige afforded by the patronage of the fine arts through the establishment of a civic museum – the VAG’s Board of Trustees today represents many of the major players in the real estate, finance, and hospitality industries in both Vancouver and British Columbia (Stevenson, 1992, p. 60)¹².

This reflects the synergistic relationship that exists between museums and their major donors and Boards of Directors. As government budgets for the arts shrink, a market-driven model for arts funding has emerged that relies on both increased philanthropy and revenues from admissions and ancillary functions offered by gift shop and café sales (Zukin, 1995). In this way, the speculative activities of real estate and finance increasingly subsidize the arts through the philanthropic and service efforts of

¹¹ One recent example of the closeness between the leading civic political parties and real estate developers was a \$25,000 ticket fundraiser, organized by condominium marketer Bob Rennie, for Vision Vancouver held in March 2014 (Cooper, 2014; Tseghay, Wallstam, Crompton, Antrim, & Markle, 2014).

¹² See the Appendix for a breakdown of the affiliations of the Vancouver Art Gallery’s Board of Trustees, 2003 – 2014.

capitalists who support cultural institutions. But museums also “work” for the city’s elites: serving on a museum’s board, or as a major patron of a prominent cultural institution provides social prestige, not to mention tax benefits associated with donations. As such institutions grow – as in the case of the VAG – they increasingly lay claim to public space to materially and symbolically establish a more significant presence in the urban landscape. As Zukin argues in the case of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Lincoln Center in New York City:

The ability to *project a cultural mission* for this space served several functions. Above all, *with strong elite support, a cultural project overrode competing claims for the site*. It permitted the project’s supporters to speak in lofty terms about national, even international, prestige and the city’s honor. *In crass economic terms, however, cultural projects took up a large swath of urban land and anchored markets in upscale real estate development*. (Zukin, 1995, p. 121, emphasis added)

The closeness between capitalists and elite cultural institutions was perhaps most apparent in the debate that played out in the public meetings and through the press on the Gallery proposal. The most prominent commentators on the proposal were architect Bing Thom, and real estate marketer and prominent art collector, Bob Rennie. Rennie – known in the popular press as Vancouver’s “condo king” – was particularly vocal about his opposition to the Gallery relocation proposal, arguing that the plan to build an architecturally significant, purpose-built, art gallery “is an artifact of a time long past” (as cited by Bula, 2013, para. 12). With urban consultant David Baxter, he advanced an unsolicited alternative proposal, *Diversity and Plurality: The Public’s Art on Exhibition in Vancouver*, which involved a “Vancouver Art Gallery System” consisting of a decentralized and specialized network of Gallery-operated exhibition spaces dispersed around Vancouver (Rennie & Baxter, 2012). The Rennie and Baxter report suggested that a “constellation” of galleries, sited in communities across Vancouver would allow the Gallery to better fulfill its public mandate and require less funding to construct (Rennie & Baxter, 2012). Predictably, Rennie and Baxter’s proposal solicited considerable discussion, not least because to some, read in the context of Rennie’s own involvement in gentrifying Vancouver, it represented “a blatant urban renewal project” (Witt, 2013a, para. 5).

While the criticisms levelled against Rennie and Baxter should be kept in mind, their alternative proposal – and others that followed it¹³ – was propelled by a fundamental question, which was noticeably absent from discussions on the VAG relocation – the role of the public. As a matter of fact, the major participants in the VAG discussion were the city’s social, economic, and cultural elite (of which Rennie is a member), policymakers, and prominent globally-renowned local artists, who pushed the proposal under the guise of public good – through increased access to the collection, the enhancement of Vancouver’s global reputation, and the trickle-down economic benefits that such prestige would offer. In so doing, they completely disregarded the potentially polarizing effects of the Gallery development at the Larwill Park site. Read in the context of the proceeding development of NEFC and the cultural precinct, it is difficult to conceive how a new Gallery at 688 Cambie would *not* be used as a mechanism for accelerating the processes of real estate speculation, gentrification, and displacement already operating on the Vancouver landscape. This is a particularly pertinent consideration given the major stakeholders backing the Vancouver Art Gallery¹⁴, representatives of corporate law firms, financial and securities companies, real estate developers, architects, and prominent philanthropists, all who arguably have a *vested interest* in accelerating the embourgeoisement and speculative-fuelled gentrification of Vancouver. With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that the potential transformative effects of the Gallery development were disregarded, for the new Vancouver Art Gallery represents a particular “vision” of urban cultural development in the liveable creative city. This vision fundamentally omits, and proceeds in spite of, the potentially negative effects of its pursuit.

¹³ Two other unsolicited, alternative proposals were also released for public consideration: one, completed by Michael Green Architects, involved a system of four exhibition spaces around the downtown core (Michael Green Architecture, 2012). Another was put forward by James Todd and Tony Osborn Architecture, which proposed taking advantage of the de-commissioning of the Granville Loops, a series of ramps used to enter the Granville Street bridge, by constructing a “Welcome Mat” consisting of the Gallery, a bike share hub, and a large public square (Tony Osborn Architects, 2013).

¹⁴ See Appendix.

5.2.3. The Push and Pull of Culture Under Neoliberal Urbanism

As mentioned, the Art Gallery proposal was also justified for its contribution to the arts and culture community. Arguments made throughout the debate on the Gallery's relocation proposal largely positioned the Vancouver arts and culture community as a discursive "macro-actor" to justify intensive public investment in the Gallery. However, upon reflection, it becomes evident that the invocation of this group as a unified entity fundamentally masks the more fractured nature of the contemporary arts and culture landscape in Vancouver, and moreover, obscures the complex and contradictory ways culture becomes implicated in the broader processes of city building under neoliberal urbanism.

As City staff and Council considered the relocation proposal, a group of prominent artists and cultural leaders emerged strongly backing a new Vancouver Art Gallery at 688 Cambie, providing statements of support in the mainstream press, speaking passionately in favour of the project during speaker sessions of Council meetings on the topic, and establishing an online letter of support, entitled "Visual Artists in Support of the New VAG" in the months preceding the Council decision. Now removed, its signatories represented more than 300 prominent Vancouver-based visual arts professionals such as Roy Arden, Ken Lum, Jeff Wall, Fred Herzog, Paul Wong, Landon Mackenzie, Hank Bull, Stephen Waddell, Douglas Coupland, and Reid Shier (Campbell, 2013). In an interview with *The Georgia Straight* regarding the petition, Roy Arden, one of the letter's organizers, argued that "[i]t says very clearly and very loudly that *pretty much the whole visual arts community* would love to see a new, stand-alone Vancouver Art Gallery" (as cited by Thomson, 2012, para. 2). This boosterism carried into celebrations following Council's decision to grant the VAG part of the Larwill Park site, yet Arden's comments, and ones similar to it, fundamentally elide the more contingent nature of arts and cultural production in Vancouver.

On the one hand, the rising prominence of culture-led regeneration and Floridian style creative city projects provides a "claim to legitimacy" for artists (Markusen, 2006, p. 1935). Such opportunities are critical in a contemporary neoliberal context in which arts and culture funding is being slashed; as such, any effort to direct resources towards arts and culture is understandably greeted as a positive development. But on the other hand,

fundamental questions arise as to how such projects – particularly those involving flagship cultural development – “work” in the broader context of a city’s cultural landscape. In this sense, it is important to recall Ponzini and Rossi’s assertion that creative-type cultural policy initiatives ultimately operate as a “discursive-regulatory project” mobilized by particular cultural actors and motivated by certain political-economic interests (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010, p. 1043). Despite the rhetoric of trickle-down benefits that typically accompany the boosterism of such policies, they do not necessarily constitute a significant effort to sustain a city’s arts and culture community, or contribute to the well being of a local population notwithstanding the high-level regenerative claims of their proponents.

As Ley (2003), Markusen (2006), Zukin (1982), Zukin and Braslow (2011) have suggested, artists – and arts and culture more broadly – have a rather ambiguous and complex relationship vis-à-vis processes of urban change and gentrification. On the one hand, artists seeking affordable housing and/or studio space often operate as the “shock troops of gentrification” (Zukin & Braslow, 2011, p. 134). Arts and culture have increasingly played an important role in urban transition – whether intentional, as in the case of culture based regeneration projects, or unintentional, as in the case of unplanned artist enclaves, such as SoHo in New York in the 1960s and 1970s, or Mount Pleasant and Commercial Drive in Vancouver more contemporaneously. This is because a concentration of artistic activity, in the form of production, distribution, and/or presentation, and lifestyles in a particular area represents a focused spatialization of taste and the symbolic value associated with cultural consumption. Artistic activity “codifie[s] a creative district as a habitus of social, cultural, and sexual difference” (Zukin & Braslow, 2011, p. 136). This is particularly apparent today as cultural activity is increasingly associated with notions of what constitutes a “liveable” city; in this way, arts and culture is valorized for its role in sustaining a particular quality of life. But as culture appeals to consumers outside of the cultural community who develop a inclination toward consuming and engaging with an “authentic” “bohemian” “liveable” lifestyle that acts as a “mark of distinction in the constitution of an identity” (Ley, 1996, p. 211), it also becomes harnessed by city officials and developers as a *marketing tool* to attract capital. This is what Zukin terms the “artistic mode of production” (1982), the mobilization of a strategy of cultural consumption in order to extract profit from the built landscape.

Indeed, in Vancouver there is plenty of evidence indicating a *culturally driven* consumption of space, as the connotations of an artistic, alternative lifestyle are increasingly and very visibly employed to sell real estate. Recent examples include Strathcona Village (marketed by Bob Rennie’s Rennie Marketing Systems), which paints a picture of Strathcona as “a neighbourhood in the midst of transformation...fuelled by artists, architects, trendsetters and the like” (Rennie Marketing Systems, 2014). An entire page of a Strathcona Village’s advertisement is dedicated to the task of “meet[ing] your neighbours”, and features testimonials from current residents vouching for the “authentic”, “creative”, and “diverse” character of the community. Another more explicit example is the Vancouver House development, which markets itself as a “living sculpture that will be collected by individuals that value a true piece of art that can also be lived in” (Westbank Projects Corporation, 2014). It bears mentioning that the developer of the Vancouver House Project, Westbank, promotes an approach to urban development called *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a German word that conceives city building as akin to constructing a “total work of art” – an extreme manifestation of Zukin’s concept of the artistic mode of production, where city building and development itself *becomes* art.

But does the reality of the “creative city” live up to its vision? As Zukin and Braslow (2011) note, as culture-led gentrification proceeds, the original purveyors of cultural distinction – the artists themselves – become priced out of neighbourhoods that increasingly cater to higher-income groups. A space that was originally for creative producers thus “risks becoming a space for creative *consumers*” (Zukin & Braslow, 2011, p. 132). Similarly, in Vancouver, evidence of gentrification-fuelled cultural displacement is easy to adduce: in the same year that the allocation of 688 Cambie was approved for a new VAG, a spate of developer, landlord, and state led evictions of community arts and culture spaces proceeded without much political outcry or intervention¹⁵. The concurrent unfolding of these two processes points to the inherent tensions in the City of Vancouver’s approach to the Art Gallery proposal, and cultural policy making more broadly: while the City unequivocally backs high-profile cultural projects such as the Vancouver Art Gallery proposal under the guise of building a

¹⁵ These include the Zoo Zhop (a record shop and music venue in the DTES); The Waldorf (a multi-disciplinary cultural venue); and The Rhizome Café (a café and community arts and social justice hub) (McCormick & Antrim, 2013; Witt, 2013b).

“creative city” – and indeed is willing to dedicate significant public resources and assets toward it – a state of precarity, marked by displacement and fragmentation, has become the norm for many smaller, community-based arts and culture organizations. This tension is particularly apparent considering that the “creative city” vision is one which at least *symbolically* valorizes diverse forms of “street” and “grassroots” culture. One particularly striking example of this is the ongoing saga and recent difficulties faced by the Ming Sun Benevolent Society located at 439 Powell Street in the DTES.

Originally built in 1890, the building at 439 Powell now popularly known as the Ming Sun building has over its more than century long lifetime played a variety of important roles in the history of Vancouver’s Chinatown. Today, the Ming-Sun building provides affordable housing and studio space to low-income residents, seniors, and the local artist collective Instant Coffee, and is home to the Ming Sun Reading Room (Ly, 2013). In December 2013, the building was threatened by demolition from the City who argued that it was structurally unsound due to damages incurred to its facade when the City undertook an emergency demolition of a neighbouring building earlier that year (Lennon, 2013). Though the organization had initially been negotiating with the City on completing the required repairs, it ran into financial difficulties and the City evicted its tenants and ordered the building demolished. In a media release provided by the Ming Sun Benevolent Society, Jinhan Ko, spokesperson for the Instant Coffee artist collective, argued:

There are many issues at play here – a lack of due process, the rights of the owners of the adjacent building, the tenants and the artists who were leasing studio space, and the haste in tearing down a building with significant historic value. The whole process was suspect from the beginning – and now we are left with less space for artists in Vancouver. We are already losing artists at a rapid pace to places like Montreal and Berlin, because it is not possible to find affordable space here. (as cited by Ming Sun Benevolent Society, 2013, para. 6)

Ultimately, the demolition of the Ming Sun building was stayed, likely due in no small part to significant community mobilization efforts around the society and the establishment of a community group, *Friends of 439 Powell* to assist in fundraising for the renovation of the building. Yet the Ming Sun building did not escape this episode unscathed. After the City condemned the structure, it suffered extensive vandalism and

theft, leaving the organization with more costly repairs, which are currently ongoing.

What is instructive of the Ming Sun case, when considered in contrast to the pending high profile relocation of the VAG, is how it renders apparent the complex and contradictory way culture “works” within the processes of neoliberal urbanism. While the City of Vancouver – through its Culture Plan, the City’s blueprint for assuring Vancouver’s status as a creative city – symbolically valorizes culture as a central component of the vision and brand of the “liveable creative city”, it *materially* valorizes culture to the degree that it can achieve “liveability” goals and constitute a competitive advantage in attracting capital. The City thus seemingly assumes an apathetic position when particular forms of that culture which are not as conducive to facilitating capital accumulation are threatened by the tide of speculative real estate fuelled gentrification. The ongoing saga faced by the Ming Sun Association brings this juxtaposition to light in rather stark terms, especially when considered in the context of the historical reproduction of social and spatial inequality in Chinatown and the Downtown Eastside. Chinatown’s existence today has roots in the de facto spatial segregation of minority ethnic populations, particularly the Chinese and Japanese, in what city officials considered a ghetto (Yee, 2006). Coupled with the proliferation of racist government instituted policies designed to limit the establishment and flourishing of Asian communities in Canada, as well as a long history of race-motivated violence, Chinatown’s history is deeply entangled with the politics of systematic marginalization of the Chinese community and the DTES as a whole¹⁶. In this context, organizations such as the Ming Sun Benevolent Society play an important role in facilitating community building at the micro-scale through engagement with culture and heritage in its multiple forms, as evidenced by the building’s current functioning as low income housing, cultural production space, and heritage library. As such, rather than facilitating public engagement with culture, the City’s strategies seem to do the opposite: “they commodify arts and cultural resources...suturing them as putative economic assets to evolving regimes of urban competition” (Peck, 2005, p. 763). Despite the proliferation of the liveable and creative city vision, in this neoliberalized environment, space to create

¹⁶ An excellent history of the Chinese community in Vancouver can be found in Paul Yee’s “Saltwater City”.

becomes increasingly difficult to secure and maintain for those forms of culture that do not fit as easily within broader urban strategies to maximize economic growth.

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

In concluding this paper, it would do well to recall Mayor Gregor Robertson's statement following City Council's decision to allocate part of 688 Cambie to the VAG, cited in the beginning of this inquiry: "It's a historic day to make a decision to put arts at the forefront of our city-building" (as cited by Lederman, 2013, para. 3).

Contrast this assertion with the following statement made by David Wong, a representative of the Ming-Sun Benevolent Society, about the struggles the organization was facing in securing their building:

This building has more than just personal historical significance. It's worthy because it's a working class building. The people here are not the privileged, they are just ordinary people who helped build our city. People talk about saving heritage — we always see the museums and cultural institutions, but we don't see any working-class-type structure. Here's a beautiful example, and we're being forced to tear down our building for no good reason at all, other than a bunch of bureaucrats covering their goddamn ass. (as cited by Mackie, 2013, para. 4–5)

This paper has attempted to uncover and make sense of the complex links between neoliberal urbanism and cultural policy making, as they come to be configured in the Vancouver context, through a case study of the planning processes related to the relocation of the Vancouver Art Gallery and its relationship with the broader processes of city building and cultural development in Vancouver. This paper has suggested that culture has been subsumed in a vision of building a liveable and creative city *for all*. Accordingly, the Vancouver Art Gallery relocation proposal, positioned as a mechanism to further that vision by extending Vancouver's brand and constructing a monumental, architecturally significant building, was met with much jubilation and celebration; however, the reality of the pursuit of this vision also has current and potential impacts

that are much less rosy than policymakers, and prominent community, cultural, and business leaders have suggested. In other words, the coherence of the liveable creative city vision and brand breaks down when confronted with the material manifestations of the political asymmetries of power that underlie the pursuit of that vision as urban strategy: gentrification and its associated processes of displacement, both of the city's most marginalized residents and the very cultural producers that are (at least symbolically) positioned as critical to the construction of Vancouver as a liveable and creative city.

As such, this paper has suggested that in Vancouver, a dynamic of simultaneous cultural valorization and de-valorization can be discerned. Though the City symbolically valorizes and advances a broad interpretation of culture under the rubric of its Culture Plan, this symbolic support ultimately elides the fractured and precarious nature of cultural production in Vancouver as exemplified by the Ming-Sun Association case. Culture, thus, is symbolically valorized, and *unevenly* materially de-valorized. Investment in highly visible forms of elite art and culture, such as the Art Gallery, are undertaken as they easily fit within broader neoliberal strategies aimed at maximizing economic growth, such as city branding and place marketing and investment in spectacular architecture and is therefore also *materially* valorized. On the other hand, other forms of culture that operate at a smaller scale are *symbolically valorized* but *materially de-valorized* as these more grassroots, community-based cultural organizations struggle to secure space to create in an urban environment characterized by rising unaffordability precipitated by a highly speculative local real estate market.

As this paper has painted a fairly bleak picture of the cultural landscape in Vancouver as it exists under neoliberal urbanism, in closing, it should be recognized that cultural policy is ultimately a battle zone: though it can be wielded to further and expand the processes of capital circulation and accumulation and the divisive impacts of those processes, culture can, and is, mobilized as a critical space to challenge the status quo and enhance the lives of communities. Indeed, the survival of the Ming-Sun Benevolent building is a poignant testament to the continued importance of culture as a critical rallying point in the face of ongoing encroachment of neoliberal urbanism.

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Appendix

Affiliations of VAG Board of Trustees, 2003-2014

Table A.1. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2013 – 2014

Name	Present affiliations	Former affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Bull, Hank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Arts Administrator • Founder, Centre A for Contemporary Asian Art 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Centre A for Contemporary Asian Art
Diamond, Leslie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Philanthropist (Diamond Foundation) 	
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Fipke, Asaph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO and founder, Nerd Corps Entertainment 	
Hui, Terry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Concord Pacific Developments • Member, Board of Directors, Vancouver Board of Trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Prime Minister's Business Advisory Council on Asia-Pacific • Governor, BC Business Council
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lind, Phil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chairman and Director, Rogers Communications • Director, Brookfield Asset Management Ltd. • Director, Council for Business and the Arts • Director, CPAC Network • Director, The Outdoor Life Network • Director, Power Plant (art gallery) • Director, Art Gallery of Ontario 	
Lunn, Larry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Financial Group Ltd. • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Investment Management Ltd. 	

Name	Present affiliations	Former affiliations
Mache, Naudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interior designer • Director, Cause We Care Foundation • Founding member, Women United in Philanthropy for United Way 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Interior Design, Polygon Homes Ltd.
Milroy, Tom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group head, BMO Capital Markets • Member, Capital Markets Institute Advisory Board • Board Member and Campaign Co-Chair, Centre for Addiction and Mental Health • Trustee, Pacific Parkinson's Research Institute • Director, Tim Horton's Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head of Vancouver Investment Banking, BMO • Executive Managing Director and Head of Investment and Corporate Banking, BMO • Vice-Chair and Global Head of Investment and Corporate Banking, BMO
O'Brian, Inna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts patron 	
Peck, Keith L.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman and CEO, Lincoln Peck Financial • Director, Orezone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice-President and Director, RBC Dominion Securities Inc. • Haywood Securities Inc. • Vice-Chairman, Yorkton Securities Inc.
Richardson, Pamela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Author 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist (Vancouver Magazine) • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, Ballet BC
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Turner, Lisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designer, artist • Founder and owner, Quake Furniture 	
Wesik, Peeter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Wesgroup Properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Wesgroup Properties • President and Director, Urban Development Institute • President, ParkLane Homes • Partner, Russell & DuMoulin LLP (now Fasken Martineau DuMoulin)
Wright, Bruce M.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Partner, Goodmans LLP • Chair, Vancouver Opera Foundation • Vice Chair, Frontier College 	

Table A.2. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2012 – 2013

Name	Present Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Diamond, Leslie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Philanthropist (Diamond Foundation) 	
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Fipke, Asaph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO and founder, Nerd Corps Entertainment 	
Hui, Terry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Concord Pacific Developments • Member, Board of Directors, Vancouver Board of Trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Prime Minister's Business Advisory Council on Asia-Pacific • Governor, BC Business Council
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Jadavji, Shenoor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder, President, and CEO of Lotus Pacific Investments • Member, UBC President's Advisory Council • Strategic endeavours advisor, Aga Khan University • Director, Lift Philanthropy Partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment sales, Colliers International • Asset management, Lotus Pacific Management
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Lind, Phil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chairman and Director, Rogers Communications • Director, Brookfield Asset Management Ltd. • Director, Council for Business and the Arts • Director, CPAC Network • Director, The Outdoor Life Network • Director, Power Plant (art gallery) • Director, Art Gallery of Ontario 	

Name	Present Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Lunn, Larry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Financial Group Ltd. • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Investment Management Ltd. 	
Peck, Keith L.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman and CEO, Lincoln Peck Financial • Director, Orezone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice-President and Director, RBC Dominion Securities Inc. • Haywood Securities Inc. • Vice-Chairman, Yorkton Securities Inc.
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Turner, Lisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designer, artist • Founder and owner, Quake Furniture 	
Wright, Bruce M.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Partner, Goodmans LLP • Chair, Vancouver Opera Foundation • Vice Chair, Frontier College 	
Zheng, Shengtian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writer, artist, curator • Managing Editor, Yishu Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art • Co-founder, Centre A Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professor and Chair, China Academy of Art • Visiting professor, University of Minnesota • Visiting professor, San Diego State University • Chairman, Chinese Canadian Artists Federation in Vancouver • Secretary, Annie Wong Foundation • Director, Art Beatus Gallery

Table A.3. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2011 – 2012

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Fipke, Asaph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO and founder, Nerd Corps Entertainment 	
Henriquez, Carol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Co-founder and Honorary Chair, Arts Umbrella • Director, British Columbia Achievement Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Arts Umbrella
Hui, Terry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Concord Pacific Developments • Member, Board of Directors, Vancouver Board of Trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Prime Minister's Business Advisory Council on Asia-Pacific • Governor, BC Business Council
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Jadavji, Shenoor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder, President, and CEO of Lotus Pacific Investments • Member, UBC President's Advisory Council • Strategic endeavours advisor, Aga Khan University • Director, Lift Philanthropy Partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment sales, Colliers International • Asset management, Lotus Pacific Management
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Lind, Phil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chairman and Director, Rogers Communications • Director, Brookfield Asset Management Ltd. • Director, Council for Business and the Arts • Director, CPAC Network • Director, The Outdoor Life Network • Director, Power Plant (art gallery) • Director, Art Gallery of Ontario 	
Lunn, Larry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Financial Group Ltd. • Chairman, Connor, Clark & Lunn Investment Management Ltd. 	
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Wesik, Peeter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Wesgroup Properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Wesgroup Properties • President and Director, Urban Development Institute (development and construction industry lobby group) • President, ParkLane Homes • Partner, Russell & DuMoulin law firm (now Fasken Martineau DuMoulin)
Wright, Bruce M.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Partner, Goodmans LLP • Chair, Vancouver Opera Foundation • Vice Chair, Frontier College 	
Zheng, Shengtian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writer, artist, curator • Managing Editor, Yishu Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art • Co-founder, Centre A Vancouver International Centre for Contemporary Asian Art 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professor and Chair, China Academy of Art • Visiting professor, University of Minnesota • Visiting professor, San Diego State University • Chairman, Chinese Canadian Artists Federation in Vancouver • Secretary, Annie Wong Foundation • Director, Art Beatus Gallery

Table A.4. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2010 – 2011

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Boisset, Annick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Fipke, Asaph	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO and founder, Nerd Corps Entertainment 	
Henriquez, Carol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Co-founder and Honorary Chair, Arts Umbrella • Director, British Columbia Achievement Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Arts Umbrella
Hui, Terry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Concord Pacific Developments • Member, Board of Directors, Vancouver Board of Trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Prime Minister's Business Advisory Council on Asia-Pacific • Governor, BC Business Council
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Jadavji, Shenoor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder, President, and CEO of Lotus Pacific Investments • Member, UBC President's Advisory Council • Strategic endeavours advisor, Aga Khan University • Director, Lift Philanthropy Partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment sales, Colliers International • Asset management, Lotus Pacific Management
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lampert, Jerry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioner, BC Treaty Commission • Member, Cabinet for Business Laureates of British Columbia Hall of Fame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, BC Business Council • Premier Bill Vander Zalm's Chief of Staff
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
MacLachlan, Graham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional President, RBC Royal Bank • Governor and Member of Executive Committee, BC Business Council • Director, BC Children's Hospital Foundation 	
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Wesik, Peeter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Wesgroup Properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, Wesgroup Properties • President and Director, Urban Development Institute (development and construction industry lobby group) • President, ParkLane Homes • Partner, Russell & DuMoulin law firm (now Fasken Martineau DuMoulin)

Table A.5. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2009 – 2010

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Boisset, Annick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Henriquez, Carol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Co-founder and Honorary Chair, Arts Umbrella • Director, British Columbia Achievement Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Arts Umbrella
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lampert, Jerry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioner, BC Treaty Commission • Member, Cabinet for Business Laureates of British Columbia Hall of Fame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, BC Business Council • Premier Bill Vander Zalm's Chief of Staff
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
MacLachlan, Graham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional President, RBC Royal Bank • Governor and Member of Executive Committee, BC Business Council • Director, BC Children's Hospital Foundation 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	

Table A.6. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2008 – 2009

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Boisset, Annick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Henriquez, Carol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Co-founder and Honorary Chair, Arts Umbrella • Director, British Columbia Achievement Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Arts Umbrella
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lampert, Jerry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioner, BC Treaty Commission • Member, Cabinet for Business Laureates of British Columbia Hall of Fame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, BC Business Council • Premier Bill Vander Zalm's Chief of Staff

Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
MacLachlan, Graham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional President, RBC Royal Bank • Governor and Member of Executive Committee, BC Business Council • Director, BC Children's Hospital Foundation 	
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odlum Brown Limited

Table A. 7. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2007 – 2008

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Beckerman, Marla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts consultant and advisor • Council member, BC Arts Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chair and member of Acquisition, Governance, and Communication Committees, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, West Vancouver Community Foundation • Trustee, Canadian Craft Museum • Executive member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Commissioner, West Vancouver Parks and Recreation
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Dikeakos, Christos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator • Restaurateur 	
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Gardiner, Jill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor, Banff Centre • Board member, Parkbridge Lifestyle Communities • Board member, Timber Investments (Tolko Industries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Director and Regional Head (British Columbia), RBC Capital Markets • Member, Canadian Investment Banking Committee; Investment Banking Promotions Committee; Fairness Opinion Committee; Council for the Advancement of Women • Senior Project Manager, Ontario Energy Board • Lecturer, University of Victoria • Governor, S.A.I.T. Polytechnic
Gillanders, Barbara		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, Arts Umbrella

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Henriquez, Carol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist • Co-founder and Honorary Chair, Arts Umbrella • Director, British Columbia Achievement Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive Director, Arts Umbrella
Irwin, Jane	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron 	
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lampert, Jerry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioner, BC Treaty Commission • Member, Cabinet for Business Laureates of British Columbia Hall of Fame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, BC Business Council • Premier Bill Vander Zalm's Chief of Staff
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Lindsay, Judy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist and columnist, The Vancouver Sun
MacLachlan, Graham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional President, RBC Royal Bank • Governor and Member of Executive Committee, BC Business Council • Director, BC Children's Hospital Foundation 	
Robin, Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Vancouver General Hospital Art Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Scott, Barry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Maynard's Industries Ltd. 	
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Stowe, Lesley	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founder and consultant to Lesley Stowe Fine Foods 	
Webb, Marshall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art patron • Teacher, Upper Canada College 	
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odium Brown Limited

Table A.8. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2006 – 2007

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Audain, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real estate developer: CEO/Chairman, Polygon Homes • Governor, BC Business Council • Art collector and philanthropist • Chair, Audain Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Chair, National Gallery of Canada • Director, National Gallery of Canada Foundation
Beck, Claudia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector and patron • Writer • Head of acquisitions, Committee of the Getty Museum Photo Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member of Board of Directors, Contemporary Art Gallery, Vancouver
Beckerman, Marla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts consultant and advisor • Council member, BC Arts Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chair and member of Acquisition, Governance, and Communication Committees, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, West Vancouver Community Foundation • Trustee, Canadian Craft Museum • Executive member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Commissioner, West Vancouver Parks and Recreation
Calabrigo, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Vice President, Corporate and Legal Affairs, and Corporate Secretary, Canfor Corporation • Director, Canfor Pulp Products, Inc. • Director, Canfor Pulp Holdings, Inc. • Director, Lakeland Mills, Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Human Resources, Canfor • Administrative Consultant, GSI Securitization, Inc. • General Counsel and Corporate Secretary, Viceroy Resource Corporation
Dikeakos, Christos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator • Restaurateur 	
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Gardiner, Jill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor, Banff Centre • Board member, Parkbridge Lifestyle Communities • Board member, Timber Investments (Tolko Industries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Director and Regional Head (British Columbia), RBC Capital Markets • Member, Canadian Investment Banking Committee; Investment Banking Promotions Committee; Fairness Opinion Committee; Council for the Advancement of Women • Senior Project Manager, Ontario Energy Board • Lecturer, University of Victoria • Governor, S.A.I.T. Polytechnic

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Geller, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Michael Geller & Associates Limited (real estate, planning, and development consulting) • Adjunct faculty, Centre for Sustainable Community Development, Simon Fraser University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation at Simon Fraser University
Gillanders, Barbara		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, Arts Umbrella
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Lampert, Jerry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commissioner, BC Treaty Commission • Member, Cabinet for Business Laureates of British Columbia Hall of Fame 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, BC Business Council • Premier Bill Vander Zalm's Chief of Staff
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Lindsay, Judy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalist and columnist, The Vancouver Sun
Robin, Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Vancouver General Hospital Art Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Webb, Marshall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art patron • Teacher, Upper Canada College 	

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odium Brown Limited

Table A.9. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2005 – 2006

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Beckerman, Marla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts consultant and advisor • Council member, BC Arts Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chair and member of Acquisition, Governance, and Communication Committees, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, West Vancouver Community Foundation • Trustee, Canadian Craft Museum • Executive member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Commissioner, West Vancouver Parks and Recreation
Charles, Rick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment advisor and Vice President, RBC Dominion Securities • Board member, Vancouver Family Services • Board member, Gordon and Marion Smith Foundation • Board member, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation
Dikeakos, Christos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator • Restaurateur 	
DuMoulin, Lynne		
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Gardiner, Jill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor, Banff Centre • Board member, Parkbridge Lifestyle Communities • Board member, Timber Investments (Tolko Industries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Director and Regional Head (British Columbia), RBC Capital Markets • Member, Canadian Investment Banking Committee; Investment Banking Promotions Committee; Fairness Opinion Committee; Council for the Advancement of Women • Senior Project Manager, Ontario Energy Board • Lecturer, University of Victoria • Governor, S.A.I.T. Polytechnic
Geller, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Michael Geller & Associates Limited (real estate, planning, and development consulting) • Adjunct faculty, Centre for Sustainable Community Development, Simon Fraser University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation at Simon Fraser University
Gillanders, Barbara		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, Arts Umbrella

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
O'Brian, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Nairbo Investments Inc. • Director, Michael O'Brian Family Foundation • President, Satellite Gallery • Director, Vancouver Opera • Director, Vancouver Museum of Anthropology • Director, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Member, Dean's Advisory Board at UBC Faculty of Arts • Director, Comwest Enterprise Corporation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, CEO, and Director, C.M. Oliver & Company Ltd. • Vice President and Director, Canaccord Genuity Inc.
Robin, Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Vancouver General Hospital Art Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Webb, Marshall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art patron • Teacher, Upper Canada College 	

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odium Brown Limited

Table A.10. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2004 – 2005

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Aisenstat, David	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEO, Keg Restaurants Ltd. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority owner, Keg Restaurants Ltd.
Beckerman, Marla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts consultant and advisor • Council member, BC Arts Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chair and member of Acquisition, Governance, and Communication Committees, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, West Vancouver Community Foundation • Trustee, Canadian Craft Museum • Executive member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Commissioner, West Vancouver Parks and Recreation
Charles, Rick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment advisor and Vice President, RBC Dominion Securities • Board member, Vancouver Family Services • Board member, Gordon and Marion Smith Foundation • Board member, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation
Cole, Barbara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator, arts educator • Founder and Executive Director, Other Sights for Artists' Projects • Member, Leaders Council, PuSh International Performing Arts Festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher, Emily Carr University of Art + Design • Consultant, City of Vancouver Public Art Program • Board member, Contemporary Art Gallery • Board member, Artspeak Gallery
Dikeakos, Christos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator • Restaurateur 	
DuMoulin, Lynne	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Everett, Bill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior Counsel, Lawson Lundell LLP (commercial litigation) • Member, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Member, Board of Directors, Crofton House School 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, St. Paul's Hospital Foundation • Chair, Crofton House School Board of Directors
Gardiner, Jill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor, Banff Centre • Board member, Parkbridge Lifestyle Communities • Board member, Timber Investments (Tolko Industries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Director and Regional Head (British Columbia), RBC Capital Markets • Member, Canadian Investment Banking Committee; Investment Banking Promotions Committee; Fairness Opinion Committee; Council for the Advancement of Women • Senior Project Manager, Ontario Energy Board • Lecturer, University of Victoria • Governor, S.A.I.T. Polytechnic

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Geller, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Michael Geller & Associates Limited (real estate, planning, and development consulting) • Adjunct faculty, Centre for Sustainable Community Development, Simon Fraser University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation at Simon Fraser University
Gillanders, Barbara		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, Arts Umbrella
Heller, Kitty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour lawyer, K.J. Heller Law Corporation • Arts patron 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Vancouver Holocaust Centre Society • Member, Vancouver City Council Subcommittee on Art in Public Places
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
O'Brian, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Nairbo Investments Inc. • Director, Michael O'Brian Family Foundation • President, Satellite Gallery • Director, Vancouver Opera • Director, Vancouver Museum of Anthropology • Director, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Member, Dean's Advisory Board at UBC Faculty of Arts • Director, Comwest Enterprise Corporation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, CEO, and Director, C.M. Oliver & Company Ltd. • Vice President and Director, Canaccord Genuity Inc.
Porteous, Timothy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Ontario College of Art • Director, Canada Council
Robin, Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Vancouver General Hospital Art Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Serviss, Donna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructor, British Columbia Institute of Technology, Business and Marketing 	

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odium Brown Limited

Table A.11. Vancouver Art Gallery Board of Trustees, 2003 – 2004

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Beckerman, Marla	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arts consultant and advisor • Council member, BC Arts Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice Chair and member of Acquisition, Governance, and Communication Committees, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Arts Umbrella • Board member, West Vancouver Community Foundation • Trustee, Canadian Craft Museum • Executive member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Commissioner, West Vancouver Parks and Recreation
Charles, Rick		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investment advisor and Vice President, RBC Dominion Securities • Board member, Vancouver Family Services • Board member, Gordon and Marion Smith Foundation • Board member, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation
Cole, Barbara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator, arts educator • Founder and Executive Director, Other Sights for Artists' Projects • Member, Leaders Council, PuSh International Performing Arts Festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher, Emily Carr University of Art + Design • Consultant, City of Vancouver Public Art Program • Board member, Contemporary Art Gallery • Board member, Artspeak Gallery
Dikeakos, Christos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist, curator • Restaurateur 	
Geller, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Michael Geller & Associates Limited (real estate, planning, and development consulting) • Adjunct faculty, Centre for Sustainable Community Development, Simon Fraser University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation at Simon Fraser University
Gillanders, Barbara		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, Arts Umbrella
Heller, Kitty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour lawyer, K.J. Heller Law Corporation • Arts patron 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board member, National Gallery of Canada • Board member, Vancouver Holocaust Centre Society • Member, Vancouver City Council Subcommittee on Art in Public Places
Kerr, Judy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art collector • Philanthropist 	
Ketcham, Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, West Fraser Timber Co. Ltd. • Managing Partner, Ketcham Capital, Inc. • Director, Radiant Communications Inc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President of Administration, West Fraser Timber • Director of Corporate Planning, West Fraser Timber
Killam, Sherry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Artist 	

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Killy, George	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Harley Street Holdings Inc. (investment company) • Trustee, Keg Royalties Income Fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Vancouver 2010 Bid Corporation • Director, Keg GP. Ltd. • Owner, Lakeland Mills, Ltd.
Leslie, Kevin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biotechnology consultant • Art collector • Director, Ballet BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President and CEO, ImmGenics Pharmaceuticals Inc. • Director, Aquinox Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
O'Brian, Michael	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Nairbo Investments Inc. • Director, Michael O'Brian Family Foundation • President, Satellite Gallery • Director, Vancouver Opera • Director, Vancouver Museum of Anthropology • Director, Vancouver Art Gallery Foundation • Member, Dean's Advisory Board at UBC Faculty of Arts • Director, Comwest Enterprise Corporation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chairman, CEO, and Director, C.M. Oliver & Company Ltd. • Vice President and Director, Canaccord Genuity Inc.
Porteous, Timothy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Ontario College of Art • Director, Canada Council
Robin, Grace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member, Vancouver General Hospital Art Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery
Savics, Eric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockbroker, Haywood Securities Inc. 	
Serviss, Donna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instructor, British Columbia Institute of Technology, Business and Marketing 	
Smith, Gloria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art consultant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief Fundraiser, President, Associates of the Vancouver Art Gallery • Board member, Contemporary Art Society of Vancouver • Board member, Telus World of Science • Board member, Vancouver Dance Centre • Board member, Vancouver Museum
Sojonky, Audrey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Kay Meek Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board Director, Vancouver Port Authority (Port of Vancouver) • Board Director, West Vancouver School District • Board Director, United Way • Board Director, Vancouver Foundation • Board Director, Vancouver Aquarium • Policy co-ordinator, BC Regional Minister's Office
Speer, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultant, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Nature Trust BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partner, PriceWaterHouseCoopers • Member of Board of Directors, Vancouver Symphony Orchestra • Member of Board of Directors, Family Services of Greater Vancouver

Name	Current Affiliations	Former Affiliations
Wong, Peter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vice President and Investment Advisor, Raymond James Ltd. • Member of Leadership Council, Alzheimer Society of BC • Vice Chair, Canadian International Dragon Boat Festival Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trustee, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Classical Chinese Garden • Senior Investment Advisor, Marleau Lemire Securities • Investment Advisor, Odlum Brown Limited
Yuen, Ron	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architect, DYS Architecture 	

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