Conflicting Priorities on the Granville Street Mall

by Landon Hoyt

B.U.R.P., Florida Atlantic University, 2010

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Approval

Name:	Landon Hoyt
Degree:	Master of Urban Studies
Title of Thesis:	Conflicting Priorities on the Granville Street Mall
Examining Committee:	Chair: Peter V. Hall Associate Professor, Urban Studies
Anthony Perl Senior Supervisor Professor, Urban Studies a Science	nd Political
Karen Ferguson Supervisor Associate Professor, Urban and History	Studies
Dan Cupa External Examiner Development Manager, Iva Cambridge	nhoé
Date Defended/Approved:	August 26, 2014

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Abstract

Granville Street, on the downtown peninsula of Vancouver, was originally built in the 1880s by the Canadian Pacific Railway and was established as the heart of the city and its primary commercial thoroughfare. Over a century later, Granville Street has served many roles and undergone several alterations, including streetscape redesign, the addition of underground rapid transit lines beginning in the late 80s and increased bus service, and an evolution of entertainment and retail, presenting a unique street where conflicts sometimes arise between its diverse functions. This project examines the motivations and decision-making process behind the Granville's most recent redesign in 2008, focusing on the complexity of managing the various uses and the demands of the stakeholders involved. Lessons learned from this research can contribute to the development and management practices of similar streets across North America.

A conceptual framework applies theory that supports the role of streets in city life as transit or pedestrian malls, as well as securitized and consumption spaces, to reveal the complex scenario that has played out on Granville Street. The analysis includes factors such as transit planning and the introduction of the Canada Line, the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, an increased demand for activated public space, issues associated with public drunkenness in the entertainment district, and downtown business interests. The research employs document analysis, direct on-street observations, and in-depth interviews with key informants to gain a clear picture of decisions that were made in the redesign process and how these decisions might have been affected by conflicts and compromises between stakeholders. Findings suggest that Granville Street provides an innovative model of street management by separating its variety of uses on a temporal, rather than physical scale. Though conflicts will still remain and should be considered in future planning, this approach is worthy of recognition and emulation.

Keywords: Granville Street; downtown Vancouver; transit planning; pedestrian mall; transit mall; entertainment district; public space; Canada Line

Dedication

To my family and friends.

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List of Acronyms

COV City of Vancouver

DTP Downtown Transportation Plan

DVA Downtown Vancouver Association

DVBIA Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association

RAV Richmond-Airport-Vancouver Line (Rapid line later known as the Canada

Line)

1. Introduction

Granville Street was the first major commercial street in Vancouver, British Columbia, located in the core of downtown. Within the past two decades, the street was designated as an entertainment district by the City, concentrating liquor permitting within a specific area on the street, and the bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was won, raising the priority of rapid transit access from the airport to downtown under the street. Since Granville Street was to be rebuilt following the construction of a new rapid transit line, there was a prime opportunity to replace the street with a newly redesigned streetscape. An increased demand for street activation and street closures began to affect other activities on the right of way, primarily transit, resulting in conflicts between the stakeholder goals and actual roles playing out in real time. The challenges of managing these conflicts became more apparent following the redesign and the Olympics, as closing the street became a weekly occurrence.

This research project will examine the decision-making and planning process for the redesign of Granville Street Mall that took place in 2008, which began approximately five years prior to construction of the Canada Line and the rebuilding of the street. The specific study area includes the downtown portion of Granville Street (referred to as the Granville Street Mall) between Cordova Street to the North and the Granville Street bridgehead to the South (see Figure 1 for contextual map). A conceptual framework that can assess the compatibilities and incompatibilities between the varying uses on Granville Street will be constructed, drawing upon literature on the significance of streets, transit and pedestrian malls, leisure and consumption spaces, and securitized spaces. This framework will guide the analysis of the plans for the redesign, the in-depth interviews with key informants, and direct observations of the street conducted in the summer of 2013. Within this conceptual framework, it is noted that many activities on a street like Granville are certainly compatible with one another and are mutually beneficial. For example, a successful pedestrian mall, which by nature attracts high pedestrian traffic, is beneficial to business interests, as all pedestrians are potential customers, and the economic outcomes are dependent on foot traffic generated on the street. However, some goals can conflict with one another when too much priority is given to one, such as the concentration of liquor permits within a specified area or an overabundance of transit lines on a single street, which can cause major issues for logistics and passenger communication when any slight adjustment is made.



Figure 1: Perspective Map of Granville Street Mall

Results from this project suggest that if Granville Street is to continue to serve its role as a multi-use street in Downtown Vancouver, where there is a growing population and a higher demand for transit, public space programming, entertainment, and retail, then any conflicts between all of these uses must be considered and assessed in the future planning and management of the street. Compromises between stakeholder demands will continue to exist if the street is to fulfil multiple, often incompatible goals. Alternatively, Granville Street provides a unique model for managing multiple street functions with its separation of uses temporally. This model has potential to be put into practice in other cities' streets where multiple uses conflict.

1.1. Research Question

The research question applied to this project asks, how have multiple, potentially incompatible, goals for the Granville Street Mall affected progress toward the creation and maintenance of the street serving as a transit mall, pedestrian and festival space, retail and consumption space, and entertainment district? The question is inspired by the unique role Granville Street has played in Vancouver, and the seemingly endless experiment that the street appears to be from a planning perspective. The Granville Street Mall serves as the region's premier entertainment district, the backbone of the public transit system within the City of Vancouver, a central shopping and consumption district for the region, and a major public gathering space during special events and summer weekends. Each of these roles has been imposed on the street separately over time, but today coexist in relative harmony. However, conflicts arise when additional planning for the Mall occurs, which was displayed in the planning process for the redesign that took place in 2008.

1.2. History of Granville Street

In order to understand the evolving complexity of the Granville Street Mall, it is important to fully understand the history of the street. The importance of the street for life in Downtown Vancouver can be shown through the repeated experiments and visions that have been imposed on it through time. The increasing number of purposes given to the street in these plans and visions show the further complications the street has had in living up to its high standards.

Named for the Earl of Granville during its establishment in the late 1800s as part of the "township of Granville", later Vancouver, Granville Street was initially established as a street to serve nearby residents and tourists. The Canadian Pacific Railway was given a large portion of land on the Vancouver peninsula in 1885 for relocating their rail terminus to Vancouver from Port Moody. After selling off certain parcels of the land, it was intended that Granville Street become the heart of the city and the main avenue of commercial activity in Vancouver (COV, 2012). The first Granville Street Bridge, built in 1889, provided access to suburbs south of the city, and new electric railway, first built in 1890, traversed the street, bringing increased commercial establishments comprising of theatres, restaurants, and

hotels. Theatres, cabarets, and shops competed with their bright marquee signage, familiarizing Granville Street as the "Street of Lights" or the "Great White Way" over the following decades. Granville Street became the premiere destination for entertainment in the region. Officially designated by the City as "Theatre Row", the entertainment centre flourished over the years, eventually adding other attractions including bowling alleys, pool halls, and dance halls (Heritage Vancouver, 2010 and COV, 2012).

After the Second World War, the Mall began a decline due to a number of factors, including the construction of a new Granville Street Bridge, which led traffic onto the side streets of Howe and Seymour, the removal of streetcar service, and the suburbanization of residents and shoppers who frequented the Mall (Heritage Vancouver, 2010). In an effort to rejuvenate the Granville Street Mall after a decline in customers, the City of Vancouver designated the downtown portion of the street between Nelson and Hastings Streets as a shared pedestrian and transit mall in 1974 (a contextual map of the street is shown in Figure 1). This immediately followed the completion of the Pacific Centre Mall along the street, which brought pedestrians indoors, removing them from visiting businesses on the street level. The establishment of the pedestrian and transit mall was to apply the City's new transportation priorities of pedestrians and transit, but also to "restore the economic preeminence of Granville Street" (COV, 2012). Malls of this type were also becoming a beacon of hope for downtown planners across North America, as the idea of increasing pedestrianization on downtown streets was a desperate strategy "to prevent businesses and consumers from fleeing to the suburbs" (Robertson, 1990, p. 250). This new decision for the street brought the emergence of the philosophical debate that sometimes still resonates with the street's stakeholders today: should Granville Street be open to all types vehicles?

Shortly following the creation of the shared mall, businesses associated with the Downtown Vancouver Association (DVA) advocated for the reopening of the Mall to general traffic, claiming that retail stores fronting the street were not receiving enough customers, and that the lack of automobile traffic was the culprit. Throughout the 1980s, the business association advocated the City to reopen the street to general traffic. In 1987, Council accepted their proposal, but on a trial basis, and only for a stretch of three blocks between Nelson and Georgia Streets. However, citing the trial as unsuccessful, the City cancelled the trial only one year later in 1988, but came to a compromise, leaving one block open to cars between Nelson and Smithe Streets, and widened the roadway to four lanes. The Downtown

Vancouver Business Improvement Association (DVBIA), which spun off of the DVA in 1990, continued to pressure the City to reopen the entire Mall to general purpose traffic throughout the 1990s (COV, 2012).

During the 1990s, other factors contributed to changes and additional complexity at the street level. New public transit brought an increase in pedestrian traffic to the Mall. This included the opening of the Expo and Millennium SkyTrain lines in 1985 and 1999, respectively, and the West Coast Express commuter rail in 1992, which terminates at Waterfront Station on the north end of Granville Street. In July 1997, a portion of the Mall (between Nelson and Georgia Streets) was established as an entertainment district in City of Vancouver zoning policy, allowing a substantial increase in liquor license seats (COV, 1997). This new increased concentration of neighbourhood pubs and cabarets brought additional pedestrian life to the street, especially during the nights and weekends, but also increased onus of ensuring safety and security on the street.

Directed by the 1997 citywide Vancouver Transportation Plan, City transportation officials began to develop a comprehensive plan for the downtown core in 2000. Granville Street was inevitably included in this planning, leading to a revitalization study of the street and its transportation functions initiated by Council in 1998 and building upon a study already sponsored by the DVBIA and DVA that presented further options for reintroducing general traffic to the street as a way of revitalizing the Mall. City staff recommended that the new study be completed in the context of the Downtown Transportation Plan that was currently in its early stages (COV, 1998). The later phases of this study included the potential conceptual redesign of the Granville Street Mall, which resulted in the Mall's most recent redesign.

In 2002, Vancouver City Council approved the Downtown Transportation Plan, which included several recommendations for the redesign of the Granville Street Mall. These recommendations involved a number of key priorities for the street: transit efficiency, enhanced streetscape design to improve pedestrian and transit stops, and the adoption of a network of "Great Streets" in the downtown core, which included Granville Street as a "High

(Retail) Street" (COV, 2002). The "Great Street" priority was based on recommendations from the internationally renowned urban designer, Allan Jacobs, who contributed to the revitalization study on the Mall. These transportation related priorities set the stage for the coming redesign and once again emphasized the complexity of the street and the many roles it is intended to serve.

During the following two years, the City of Vancouver planning department conducted consultations with various stakeholders involved with the Granville Street Mall. In December 2004, the board of TransLink gave the final approval for the construction of the Richmond-Airport-Vancouver Line or RAV line (now commonly known as the Canada Line), with a planned terminus at Waterfront Station. This decision brought urgency to decisions related to the Granville Street redesign since the line was to be constructed underneath the north half of the downtown portion of Granville Street. The need for the Mall's redesign was a prime concern for city officials, and the proposal to save time and money with a redesign plan immediately following the construction of the Canada Line seemed logical. Results of the stakeholder consultations culminated in 2006 with four conceptual redesign schemes for the Mall, three from the City consultant team and one from the former DVBIA study. The "fundamental philosophical choice" continually debated in planning for the functionality of the Mall was whether or not to allow general traffic to return to the street and in what capacity (COV, 2006, p. 3). No consensus was reached among stakeholders for a final conceptual design, but City staff provided their recommended design, which was a modified version of one of the proposed concepts and included unique flex sidewalk and parking spaces along the southern blocks of the street (COV, 2006).

The opportunity was ripe for a new Granville Street, especially as the Mall's original intention as the "heart of the city" (Heritage Vancouver, 2010) was increasingly becoming a "ticking time bomb" of crime and chaos with peaking crime rates and violent activity centred around the entertainment district (Eustace, 2009). Under a Non-Partisan Association City

¹

¹ The term "Great Street" refers to the marketed prescriptive approach Allan Jacobs defines in his "Requirements for creating a Great Street" and explicitly stated in the City of Vancouver's plans for the 2008 redesign of the Granville Street Mall. To clarify further, Jacobs would suggest that meeting the requirements he outlines for creating a "Great Street" are necessary for, but will not guarantee, a good and effective street. This is explained further in Section 2.1 of the Literature Review.

Council in 2006 and following the recent bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games, Mayor Sam Sullivan released his Project Civil City initiative as a response to the increasing street disorder in the city. The initiative was "designed to restore the public's sense of personal safety, promote civic pride and encourage personal responsibility through incremental change" (COV, 2006, p. 7). Lofty goals of the project included eliminating homelessness, the open drug market, and aggressive panhandling on all Vancouver streets, as well as addressing the City's approach to public nuisance and annoyance complaints (COV, 2006). Using the Olympics as a catalyst, the Mayor's initiative was seen as a way to clean up the streets and solve public disorder problems, including those that afflicted the Granville Street Mall.

In 2008, Council approved a final design plan for the redesign of the Granville Street Mall, and construction began in conjunction with the completion of the Canada Line in 2009. The design options were debated thoroughly, but ultimately concluded in a design scheme that kept the street in largely the same configuration as it was before, but allowing for stronger connections between blocks and space for civic events. The juggling of uses for the street was evident in the final design, and many of the more lofty visions for the street were watered down due to compromises between stakeholders, primarily those with authority over the street's transportation function. However, flexibility was built into the design, so that the street could be easily transformed physically during different times of the week or year. This design characteristic became truly effective in its purpose as a multi-use street, despite the challenges with catering to each stakeholder.

2. Literature on Streets and Multi-use Urban Spaces

Streets comprise, on average, 25-30% of developed land in North American cities (Jacobs, 1995). These spaces are part of the urban fabric, and more importantly, are public spaces within the city. The streets and the sidewalks that enclose them are where the social life of the city takes place (Whyte, 1988). On a street like the Granville Street Mall, where multiple activities occur, unique social opportunities for Vancouver residents and visitors are presented. Among planners and citizens alike, there has been a growing interest in the rejuvenation of main streets within urban centres, as a movement back into dense downtown districts has increasingly become the norm again in urban settlement patterns (Punter, 2003). Vancouver is no exception, as population growth in districts within the downtown core and within close proximity to the Granville Street Mall, including Yaletown and Coal Harbour, has soared. According to John Punter, "Vancouver's livable downtown became a reality" in the 1990s when residential development eclipsed commercial development (2003, p. 241). Between 1991 and 1996, many areas of Downtown exploded in population, including the Downtown South and Triangle West, which grew by 141 and 92 per cent respectively (Punter, 2003).

Through an examination of city plans, administrative and policy reports from City Council, and historical documents, it is clear that the Granville Street Mall has been given a variety of purposes from both civic and private authorities. Historical data, as mentioned in Section 1.2 shows that the street was originally established after the relocation of the Canadian Pacific Railway terminus to Vancouver and was to serve as a commercial heart of the City for locals (Heritage Vancouver, 2010). Today, the street continues to serve this role of being a consumption space, but also has taken on additional roles including serving as a transit mall with seven bus routes running the length of the mall, dozens of connecting buses crossing perpendicular thoroughfare, all three SkyTrain lines underground, and the SeaBus terminal on the north end of the street. In addition, Granville Street is a designated

entertainment district and serves as the prime pedestrian festival space for the city, notably in summer months.

The following literature review draws from scholarly work related to downtown streets and their revitalization efforts, theoretical understandings of the design of spaces such as the Granville Street Mall, and lessons learned from similar downtown mall examples in North America. Granville Street has become a complex, and seemingly endless experiment in planning and visioning by the City of Vancouver and other stakeholders in the downtown core, with its melange of purposes and uses. These literatures help to establish a contextual framework for this research project by showing the connections to the case of Granville Street and its associated challenges. Compatibilities and incompatibilities between each of the goals for the Mall are summarized in the conclusion and displayed in a table based on the scholarly perspective.

2.1. Significance of the street and street design

The meaning of the street is defined from its surroundings. It is defined by its function and is not a one-dimensional entity but is dependent on its multi-dimensional functions. The street serves many roles. It is a place, a hangout, for public surveillance, a place for interaction, a contributor to community building, a place for mobility, a place for opportunity, a public place, and a part of the public realm (Jacobs, 1961). Streets serve as a control to the structural form of the city and provide comfort to their occupants, allowing people to be in an outdoor public space where they can interact and have social and commercial encounters (Jacobs, 1995).

2.1.1. The evolution of the street

The street has been a central aspect of urban design since its inception in the earliest cities where walking was the predominant mode of transportation. The first sidewalk is said to date back to 200 B.C. in Pompeii and was created for functional purposes, to separate pedestrians from chariots and legionnaires (Babina & Ieda, 2005). Sidewalks have become a permanent fixture in urban environments since then, but the perception and use of them has changed over time. Early Roman urban design laws and guidelines required

streets to include sidewalks as half of their width (Babina & Ieda, 2005). Though the street has served many roles throughout history from a place for public speaking and protest to meeting and trading, one constant has remained: its role as a public space.

However, the situation played out differently in the development of North America with the onset of the private automobile. In the second half of the 20th century, the growth of the automobile shifted the focus of planning and changed the function of the street. This impacted the cultural, economic, and physical design of urban cores and their main streets (Robertson, 1991). Advantages and disadvantages came out of this change. Streets became primarily designed for mobility, shifting to street design that primarily focused on traffic flow and road safety (Lillebye, 1996 & Whyte, 1984). Kunstler uses the example of the Grand Union supermarket in Schuylerville, New York, in his Geography of Nowhere, noting that this corporately controlled store "ruined whatever charm" was on the street before its existence. The building was solely designed to maximize company profits, giving no consideration to its surroundings, most notably street life. "The people who designed it didn't have to live with it," noted Kunstler (1994, pp. 184-5). In turn, municipal engineers and designers took on the same mentality, resulting in the design of streets and buildings that no longer complemented one another, which led to a lack of consideration on a human scale, ultimately leaving the pedestrian, and the interactions between other pedestrians, as an afterthought (Jacobs, 1995 & Whyte, 1984).

2.1.2. "Good" streets

Human interaction is the main component of urban society; hence the reason people choose to reside in cities. Since streets are the largest and most easily accessible of public spaces, they should be comfortable, safe, and generate positive impressions for activity and relaxation (Jacobs, 1995). It is challenging to say that there is one specific feature that creates a "good" street or sidewalk. Good streets are a product of a combination of multiple urban design features. According to Allan Jacobs, the best streets continue to draw people over time, are long-lived, and make users want to return. A "good" street requires human activity within the physical space; the two cannot be separated (Jacobs, 1995). Jane Jacobs writes that a good street environment should possess three main qualities: 1) a clear divide between public and private; 2) urban design which encourages "eyes on the street"; and 3) continuous flow of users to watch and engage in activities (Jacobs, 1961). Constant flow of

pedestrian activity on the sidewalk is key to "good" streets, and this is a result of an adequate quantity of services and public amenities along the street. These features on a street bring people together resulting in casual human encounters (Jacobs, 1995).²

The pedestrian is very observant of the surrounding environment according to Susan Handy (1996). The ability for them to hear, smell, feel, and see everything surrounding them brings to the forefront the importance of everything directly associated with the street environment. Even streets that are designed to encourage pedestrian use are not guaranteed to maintain a continuous flow of pedestrians, however. Streets are in constant flux. They are dynamic and can quickly become irrelevant or underused. Neighbourhoods can become undesirable as a result of economic decline, rampant crime or conflict, as well as certain urban design or planning decisions. These events can cause the street to become unattractive to its users furthering its undesirability (Haklay et al., 2001).

This context provides reason for studying the many dimensions of the Granville Street Mall and the affects that urban design and policy decisions can have on activities that take place on the street. A simple adjustment in objective for the street or an added goal imposed on it can affect the fulfillment of previous goals. Though the goal of making the Granville Street Mall as a "good" street is never explicitly established, it can be implied through plans and intentions for the street that decision-makers have sought to make the Mall a place that can be considered a "good" street according to urbanists like Allan Jacobs and Jane Jacobs. Further goals that have been imposed on the street have potentially disturbed the seemingly fragile balance that is required to maintain such a street. These goals are examined further in the following subsections through a look at the theory behind street functions for specific purposes including pedestrian and transit malls, consumption spaces, and securitized spaces.

² See Appendix A for the complete list of "Great Streets" design philosophy presented by Allan Jacobs for the Granville Street Mall and Section 1.2 for more on how this was incorporated into Granville Street planning.

2.2. Pedestrian and transit malls

With the rise of the automobile and the suburbanization of North American cities, most downtown cores were left in states of economic depression as the need to go downtown was diminished with the emergence of decentralized suburban shopping malls and other service providers, that would previously have been clustered in the core of the city (Robertson, 1990). In the 1960s and 1970s, downtown planners, city officials, and retail merchants began to realize the need to revitalize their downtowns in order to maintain their economic status and compete with the convenience of their suburban counterparts. One of the most common strategies in the effort to revitalize downtowns has been the pedestrian mall, which Robertson defines as "a downtown corridor-usually a few linear blocks along the traditional main shopping street—where pedestrian transportation is given the highest priority" (1990, p. 250). Though reasons for such decline in cities vary, many forms of downtown revitalization have been attempted, but most involve some efforts to increase pedestrian traffic. Brambilla and Longo state that "[t]he major goal of almost every North American pedestrianization effort has been the revitalization of declining downtown retail economy" (1977, p. xi). According to James Kushner, "[p]edestrian-oriented commercial areas generate as much as 25 per cent more revenue than spaces designed to attract automobiles" (2004, p. 110-111). This is potentially because of the increased exposure one experiences when walking down a street, passing storefronts, resulting in the desire and action of consumption. Experiencing the street and the opportunities it has to offer are best done at the human scale, rather than from within a car. Frustration and increased hassle with parking could also contribute to discouraged patrons in non-pedestrian-oriented commercial areas.

Among downtown corridor malls constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, the vast majority were traditional pedestrian streets. This strategy of reclaiming streets for the pedestrian, which became seen as a symbol of hope for downtowns, was implemented in nearly 200 American cities, beginning in Kalamazoo, Michigan, where the first downtown mall was constructed in 1959 (Robertson, 1990). During the 1980s, very few newly constructed downtown malls were pedestrian only. In fact, many of the previously established pedestrian-only malls were converted to shared malls, mixing pedestrian with transit or personal vehicles, or in some cases, both (Robertson, 1990). Motivation for this

transition varies, but Robertson suggests that, "In retrospect, it was probably unrealistic for planners and city officials to expect the conversion of a single street to overcome the enormous economic and social changes that not only were affecting the downtown, but the entire metropolitan area" (1993, p. 282).

2.2.1. Challenges with shared pedestrian and transit malls

Combining modes of movement on such malls does not come without challenges. There is little written about the recent status of downtown pedestrian and transit malls apart from several cases considered successful by their advocates. Much of the analysis of these forms of spaces comes a decade or two following their establishment. Kent Robertson (1990 & 1995) and Richard Edminster (1979) provide comprehensive analysis on the status of these multiple North American malls going into the 1980s and 1990s, including the challenges these malls faced at that time. These case studies can potentially contribute to understanding some of the complications Granville Street has faced since its creation as a shared mall in 1974, including not only the ceaseless debate to allow general traffic onto the street or keep it pedestrian and transit, but also the conflicts between these pedestrians and transit priorities.

Much of the challenge with cases of pedestrian-only malls involved complaints around there not being enough customer access to commercial establishments. Local officials and store owners in Santa Cruz, California, for instance, believed that opening the street to vehicles, or at least transit, would increase familiarity with and access to the establishments on the street, and in turn, lead to increased sales (Robertson, 1990). Other complaints in downtowns with mixed pedestrian-transit malls, revolved around the noise and pollution from the transit vehicles (Edminster, 1979 & Robertson, 1990). There were also comments in both studies regarding the amount of space devoted to bus lanes which consumed open space previously available for the certain activities on the mall like space for outdoor café seating or community events (Edminster, 1979 & Robertson, 1990).

In mixed-use malls, reducing the conflict between pedestrians and autos is often cited as reasoning behind the elimination of personal vehicles but keeping pedestrians and transit. However, Edminster notes in his study that once personal autos are removed, "conflicts between pedestrians and buses remain and may even worsen on a transit mall."

He notes that the atmosphere can become more relaxed with a decrease in total vehicles, causing pedestrians to be less aware that some vehicles actually do still remain, which can lead to increased incidents between pedestrians and buses (Edminster, 1979, p. 138). This can become even more of a challenge and safety concern on malls with establishments that serve large amounts of alcohol and cater to patrons increasingly prone to drunkenness like the Granville Street Mall.

Overall, Robertson's study found that pedestrian-only malls were "insufficient at maintaining higher levels of street activity" (1990, p. 268), and that the most successful examples were ones that were shared, while Edminster's study found no clear evidence that establishing mixed pedestrian and transit malls increases pedestrian volumes, but that pedestrian circulation is simply positively affected by increasing sidewalk space and providing amenities (1979).

2.2.2. The cases of Denver and Portland

Some cases of combining pedestrian-oriented streets with transit or other vehicles, including Denver's 16th Street Mall and Portland's 5th and 6th Streets, are worth focusing in on because of their similarity to the Granville Street Mall. Denver's 16th Street Mall was established in 1982 and is closed to all vehicular traffic except a free bus shuttle spanning its 17 blocks. For most of the length of the mall, the street features a 22-foot central median with 10-foot bus lanes on either side as well as 19-foot wide sidewalks along the storefronts. The central median serves as the primary pedestrian zone with pleasant landscaping and street amenities for resting, playing, and enjoying the lively street atmosphere (Downtown Denver, 2009). The free bus shuttle has an average weekday ridership of about 45,000 boardings and connects riders to rail lines that service the metropolitan area (Regional Transportation District, 2013). According to Robertson, the street is well managed with successful programming, and businesses are encouraged to utilize the space in front of their storefronts for outdoor seating or for street vendors (1990, pp. 264-68).

In Portland, 5th and 6th Avenues were established as a transit mall between 1976 and 1978. On these two streets, two lanes were reserved for buses only and one for general traffic. Every third block was also closed to general traffic to eliminate through traffic outside of transit. The mall also included wider sidewalks, landscaping, and pedestrian amenities.

Roughly five years following the establishment of the mall, an analysis was completed which showed an increase of bus speeds by 43% over non-mall speeds, an increase in buses on the mall during peak hours, along with a decrease of buses on surrounding non-mall streets. There was shown to be an increase in general traffic on surrounding streets. There was a decrease in average walking distances between origins/destinations and bus stops for pedestrians showing the increased transit accessibility for pedestrians downtown (Kruger, 1983).

These two examples are the most similar North American cases to Granville Street, in that they were established around the same time period as transit malls and share some similar characteristics. However, neither of these examples have near the complexity of Granville Street, in that neither are also designated entertainment districts or central festival spaces. Denver serves primarily a transit, pedestrian, and consumption role, though transit volume is nowhere near the volume of Granville, and Portland serves primarily a transit function, established to increase bus service efficiency.

2.2.3. The failure of some pedestrian/transit malls

The decline and abandonment of efforts to further some pedestrian malls is generally attributed to specific circumstances in each situation. Typically, this involves overly lofty desires to create a lively downtown street in order to revitalize commercial interests and bring pedestrians back downtown. Robertson compares the initial motivations for the establishment of such malls in North America as opposed to those in European cities. In American cities, a top priority was economic development and downtown revitalization rather than a traditional urge for the "conservation of urban fabric" (Robertson, 1990, p. 251). North American cities do not have a tradition of designing public spaces like cities in other parts of the world, notably those in Europe. Robertson implies that the intention to emulate European cities factors into the manufactured-ness of North American examples of such malls, which are unlike the organic cases from Europe that tend to appear more successful and face less or different types of challenges. For example, in Barcelona, there are no regulations or guidelines that dictate materials used or design standards, which allows for unique public spaces (Gehl & Gemzoe, 2001). This creative ability adds to the vibrancy of the street design but is typically lacking from North American cases, specifically on a mall like the

Granville Street Mall, where street furniture, design, and even street activities are strictly regulated.

Alternatively, Filion and Hammond note that "low public transit use, easy agglomeration-wide automobile accessibility and an absence of large core area concentrations of workers, residents and visitors have all contributed to the advanced suburbanization" in North American urban areas (2006, p. 51). One of the major challenges that still exists and leads to failure of some downtown malls today is the issue of parking. Never ending questions of where vehicles should be parked, how much parking should be provided, and how much should be charged for parking are ultimately the major challenge (Robertson, 1995). Because they "tended to be smaller, and perhaps above all, generally failed to provide free parking," Filion and Hammond reiterate that downtown malls generally failed to meet the additional conveniences and amenities that were made standard by suburban regional malls (p. 51).

The Granville Street Mall can be included in much of this analysis as the reasons for its inception parallel other North American cases. Granville was converted to a pedestrian mall in an effort to compete with suburban style malls and bring customers back downtown. The initial challenges of retaining customers, activating the street, controlling undesired people and activities, and accommodating specific traffic patterns still remain a challenge today. This should not necessarily be considered as a failed approach to the ongoing experiment of Granville Street, but the range of priorities imposed on the street have unquestionably created a place that continues to be a challenge for planners and other stakeholders. A conflict between transportation priorities for pedestrians and transit has hindered progress and success in some malls mentioned in this literature, but proven successful for others. The initial intentions of enhancing economic development in most North American downtown malls has caused inherent challenges in prioritizing goals for many of these malls, as other factors may have contributed to progress, including parking concerns, more attractive and viable suburban options, and a mostly imposed and manufactured design approach rather than an organic approach, like in European cases mentioned before.

Like Denver, Portland, and other North American cities which established pedestrian or transit malls at a time of economic decline, Granville Street is not alone in its motivations

for change. Transit service is made more efficient with dedicated bus lanes on Granville Street, similar to Denver and Portland. Pedestrian amenities have been installed on Granville as well, encouraging pedestrians to use the street for shopping, leisure, and commuting. Traffic is managed block by block on the Granville Street Mall with specific blocks prohibiting general traffic or parking. Like other pedestrian and transit malls, Granville Street still faces challenges with accommodating to all stakeholders. Some desire more parking and access, while some want more pedestrianization and public space activation. Though the initial establishment for Granville Street and the challenges it faces are analogous with other pedestrian and transit mall examples, the range of uses and variety of stakeholders and their demands that exist on Granville is far more complex and unique, presenting further challenge and ongoing experimentation on the street.

2.3. Leisure and consumption spaces

To further build the framework for answering the question involving the various roles that the Granville Street Mall plays, it is important to step back and look at the larger picture of leisure and consumption spaces within cities. This will help to explain why these places came into existence and why they can present challenges when they are given additional roles from city planning authority or business improvement organizations like in the case of the Granville Street Mall. Though the shared transit and pedestrian Granville Street Mall was established to encourage increased economic development, are there potential underlying incompatibilities with these goals of serving the interests of transit and pedestrians with businesses and development?

Public space is something a city must have to survive. Amster reiterates Allan Jacobs and Jane Jacobs' theories on the significance of streets in city life saying that a city is dependent on these spaces and their effectiveness, as they "are vital to the personal and political life of a society, offering sites of significant communication, and serving as sources for news, information, and dialogue" (2004, p. 48). However, in recent decades, some of these spaces have become threatened by the rise of neo-liberal influences, shifting from socially centered policy to include prioritization of more economically driven intentions. (Jones & Foust, 2008, p. 7). Though the Granville Street Mall, according to heritage advocates (Heritage Vancouver, City of Vancouver), was originally established as a

commercial heart for the city when Vancouver was born, its role as a space for shopping and entertainment has been further enhanced through multiple redesigns of the street, its designation as an official entertainment district in the city, and the opening of large chain stores.

2.3.1. Explanation of consumption spaces

Consumption spaces are spaces that are specifically "built or redeveloped to encourage people to visit so that they can buy and consume some of the many goods and services on sale there" (Mullins et al., 1999, p. 45). They are driven by profit and are not socially conducive space (Crawford, 1992). These spaces are best exemplified by theme parks and festival spaces, but can also include cultural centres, cinema complexes, sports stadia, shopping malls, restaurants, and art galleries. They are distinguished socially and spatially from other spaces, in that one must "visit to buy and consume within these locations the goods and services on sale there, and this is a consumption that is for fun and enjoyment, rather than for 'necessity'" (Mullins et al., 1999, p. 45). A goal of these types of spaces is to stimulate the body's senses as often as possible. "Taste, sight, sound, touch, smell, and a range of more diffuse sensations are to be aroused as often as practicable" (Mullins et al., 1999, p. 48). The process of consumption begins before patrons enter the space. Advertisements and other sensual media identify particular emotional and social conditions, in turn, pressuring the consumer to satisfy his or her needs in the easiest way possible, consumption, achieving at least a temporary resolution (Crawford, 1992).

2.3.2. Prioritization of consumption spaces over broader social concerns

The increase of neo-liberal driven policies in conjunction with a post-war consumption based society has led to the increase in the creation of consumption spaces. It has found its way into many planning and visions for public spaces including streets, plazas, parks, and downtown malls like the Granville Street Mall. "[C]onsumption spaces have become an integral part of the emergent postindustrial-postmodern city" according to Mullins, et. al. (1999, p. 47). The increased amount of spaces in North America that have been designated as consumption space, often privatized 'public' space (Rahi et al., 2012), is lamented by scholars as the death of truly 'public' space (Sennett, 1978). The financial

success of suburban malls, for instance, has re-stimulated actual downtowns by encouraging suburban 'values' to be brought back into the city via the creation of urban malls. According to Crawford, this has led to the "privatizing and controlling of functions and activities formerly enacted in public streets" (1992, p. 23). Further, these consumption spaces are driven by profit rather than serving as socially conducive spaces. This is emulated in the admittance of national chain stores into the spaces, because these businesses are the most reliable moneymakers who can afford longer, more expensive leases (Crawford, 1992). On a local Vancouver scale, Pacific Centre and its associated properties downtown would qualify as this type of space, as well as Oakridge in South Vancouver and Metrotown in Burnaby.

The prioritization of "security and private interests over broader social concerns can threaten civil liberties and diminish diversity in public space, transforming public spaces into highly regulated sites of consumption-based activity" (Nemeth, 2012, p. 811). The result of the relationship between consumerism and neo-liberalism is "quite apparent in the redevelopment of urban spaces" and has produced a "'new urban landscape' in which gentrification and tourism amalgamate with other consumption-oriented activities" (Jones & Foust, 2008, pp. 8-9). Jones and Foust provide the example of the 16th Street Mall in Downtown Denver, where "expert planning, zoning, and legal restrictions work to create spaces in certain ways, and exclude those who are out of place", i.e. those who are not consuming (p. 11). From the point of view of authorities on the Mall, "panhandlers appear as a form of pollution, disrupting the purposive strolling, window-shopping, dining, and general 'experiencing' of the outdoor pedestrian mall" (p. 15). Ray Oldenburg reiterates this when referring to these traditional public spaces, which he refers to as 'third places', by saying the "intentional policy" has "as effectively removed third places from the public domain as they have beggars, peddlers, tramps, kids, old people, strollers, and loungers" (1991, p. 83). Policies like those being used in Denver and other North American cases are potentially in use in Vancouver as well. Zoning designations, including the designation of a portion of the Granville Street Mall as an entertainment district in 1997, classify the street as a space for consumption and signify to users that they are not welcome unless they are consuming. "The principle argument is that when a public space is privatized...it ceases to exist as a truly public forum, characterized by (relatively) open access, unmediated deliberation, and shared participation" (Nemeth, 2012, p. 812). This sense of enforced consumerism can lead to the compromise of the space as a genuine public space. Securitization, explored in the next section, is yet another goal set forth in plans and policies for the Granville Street Mall that can affect the nature of public space.

2.4. Securitized spaces

Another form of imposed planning that increasingly jeopardizes the legitimacy of city streets is securitization. This materializes in the design and management of these spaces. A brief examination of literature on securitized spaces will provide a look into how this practice can potentially affect downtown malls. The Granville Street Mall, in some senses, has become a form of securitized space as motivations and features in its redesign likely included some crime prevention measures, such as street furniture that discourages sleeping or skateboarding, and policies including increased policing and highly regulated liquor permitting. Further explanation of this is gleaned from data collection in this project. The designation of the space as an entertainment district in 1997 has required increased policing in order to control intoxicated patrons and ensure the space is maintained as accommodating to shoppers, transit passengers, and festival patrons. Though from a surface level, this change can be beneficial to most of these other roles of the street, the over-prioritization sometimes placed on security and crime prevention can result in conflicts with other goals of the street, as explained in this section.

2.4.1. Control of public sidewalks and the street

Sidewalks and public spaces are the most visible locations for public demonstration, provide a means for economic survival for some (through street vending or busking), and are "areas of the city to which...all persons have legal access" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009 and Amster, 2004, p. 48). These spaces are being increasingly limited in urban areas through two forms of regulation: soft control practices of design and landscaping that "gentrify or deemphasize" the space and hard control practices which include variations of regulations, laws, and policing (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 243). This "defensible space" is intended to keep out strangers and unfamiliar people (Amster, 2004). Similar to the previously mentioned designated consumption spaces, a securitized or

"defensible" space seeks to prohibit certain types of people (homeless people, thieves, loiterers, panhandlers, vandals, demonstrators, terrorists, etc).

Physical design practices that fabricate securitized spaces are best exemplified in the guidelines for Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED "involves designing the built environment to reduce the opportunity for, and fear of, crime and disorder" (Atlas, 2008, p. 3). The approach uses natural access control, surveillance, and territorial reinforcement in the design process to prevent crime and disorder, while recognizing the original intention of the space (Atlas, 2008). This is materialized in forms of "bumproof benches" (Fyfe & Bannister, 1998, p. 254), bollards, lighting, intentionally unwelcoming atmospheres, terrorism preventive building design, and even thorny plant landscaping (Atlas, 2008). These forms of soft control practices help to attract certain types of users to the space while filtering out unwanted ones (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Plans for the Granville Street Mall allude to some of these practices with specific types of street furniture, lighting, and other features.

Another form of the control within the public realm is surveillance. Fyfe and Bannister note in their chapter "The Eyes Upon the Street" that the idea of the "Fortress City" has become a reality in many urban centers (1998, p. 254). There has been competition between the traditional urban core malls and new suburban centers that are generally perceived as safer than grungy downtown cores that are sometimes thought to be dangerous. Planners and managers of downtown pedestrian malls have turned to CCTV as a form of improving economic attractiveness. The Fyfe and Bannister study looked at Downtown Glasgow, where a program called Citywatch was established, marketing that "CCTV doesn't just make sense – it makes business sense." Citywatch was touted as an opportunity for the downtown to encourage 225,000 more visits per year, produce 1,500 more jobs, and add an additional £40 million to city-center business income (Fyfe & Bannister, 2004, pp. 257-8). Advocates for Citywatch promoted it as a duty of the state to "secure conditions under which commerce can flourish" (p. 259). Fyfe and Bannister argue that the privatization through these forms of control of the public realm, specifically surveillance, "risks impoverishing the urban experience in ways which are potentially damaging to the collective emotional culture of urban communities" (p. 263). These goals of creating a space for consumption, ensuring safety and security of the atmosphere, and providing a genuine public space for community and comfort conflict in fundamental ways, though are touted as reinforcement for the fulfillment of each.

2.4.2. Entertainment districts

A hard form of securitizing streets that resonates with the case of the Granville Street Mall is the policing of entertainment districts. Evidence from on street observations of the Granville Entertainment District, as well as interviews with key informants including Sargent Wally Argent, suggest that police presence on the street is used widely as security against fights, public drunkenness, rioting, etc. This will be further explored in Section 5.2. Berkley and Thayer (2000) provide an analysis of designated entertainment districts across North America explaining the approaches cities have to addressing crime in these areas. Problems that emerge from the creation of such districts can include public drunkenness, public urination, unruly crowds, potential for rioting, fights, noise, etc. This can result from the intentional concentration of bars and clubs that might be incompatible with one another, increased opportunities for alcohol consumption, and less strict policies for minors. The authors suggest that there are two approaches for the planning of entertainment districts when it comes to policing. The first is to allow the district to evolve over time, providing police enforcement on an as-needed basis and higher levels of police to solve repeated or more serious problems. The second is to involve police authority from the beginning of the planning process (Berkley & Thayer, 2000). This approach inevitably brings into play the roles of soft design practices like CPTED and surveillance, creating increased securitization and control of the space from the start. Both of these approaches can lead to strongly securitized spaces that can diminish the quality of the entertainment district, and in turn, conflict or work against other goals for the space.

As such, it is evident that a wider acceptance of these techniques of control has found its way into the plans and management of public spaces, and is alluded to in plans for downtown pedestrian and transit malls, including Vancouver's Granville Street Mall. The City's establishment of the Granville Entertainment District (or Theatre Row Entertainment District) in 1997 is the prime example of this. The 700, 800, and 900 blocks of Granville Street were allotted a total of 1,000 liquor licensed seats concentrating many of the cabarets, pubs, and night clubs on those blocks (COV, 1997). This was intended to provide

easier policing and control (Argent, 2013), and the strong police presence is evident on the street today as seen in observational analysis.

There is potential for fundamental conflict between a securitized Granville Street Mall and the other goals that have been imposed on the street. Discouraging or even restricting access of some people to the street through surveillance or other forms of policy or design can prevent the street from fulfilling goals of becoming a pedestrian mall that provides opportunity for casual social encounters or even increased ridership on transit vehicles as part of its role as a transit mall. Over-securitization can also discourage or ward off some patrons to businesses on the street resulting in a loss of consumption opportunity. These factors diminish the case for creating a livable city by reducing opportunities for diversity in people and function of the street. However, securitizing the space is intended to allow access to certain patrons who are more likely than others to consume.

The challenge with these goals is even more evident with different sections of the Mall that seem to cater to different types of patrons at different times of day or week. For example, on Granville Street, the rowdiness resulting from the concentration of liquor seats in the entertainment district produces an unpleasant and unwelcoming atmosphere for some street users. Therefore, security in the form of policing is brought in with the attempt to make the space safer. This, however, does not address the needs of other potential patrons who find that atmosphere unwelcoming, as added police only creates a more securitized, less genuine space (Pask, 2013). The evolution of the Granville Street Mall from a street with a clearly defined, physical separation of uses to a street with these uses separated on a temporal basis, has potentially allowed the entertainment district function to be more easily tolerated, as the same physical space is used for other functions during weekday times when clubs and bars are not as busy and generating a need for high levels of security.

2.5. Summary

This literature review has provided a look into the four central areas of scholarship that establish a strong contextual framework for this research project. The literatures give insight into some of the goals that the Granville Street Mall is expected to fulfill in plans and visions that stakeholders have imposed on the street. This framework illuminates the

delicate balance that exists on the Mall. The many goals imposed on the street present a challenge to all stakeholders involved. Can the highest volume transit corridor in the region also be a premiere entertainment district, a festival space during the summer, and simultaneously offer a pleasant experience for pedestrians? The literature shows that simple changes in policy or design can drastically affect life on the street. This is displayed in Table 1 & 2 through the compatibilities and incompatibilities that come about between each of the goals established for the Mall. It should be noted that incompatibilities on the street are primarily associated with conflicts between the transit mall and any of the other uses. Most street uses are quite compatible and even benefit one another, such as having additional people on the street for a festival, which brings increased retail activity. However, the entertainment district, pedestrian and festival space, and retail and consumption space all conflict in some way with the transit mall use, which is primarily associated with rerouting bus service during street closures.

The competing plans and experiments that have been implemented on the Mall have potentially complicated or hindered progress toward fulfilling the complex and multiple objectives for the street, which suggests the need for this research. Granville Street's evolution into a street with a unique separation of uses on a temporal scale rather than physical scale, appears to be a result of decades of compromise between stakeholders, but has produced a potentially valuable model for multi-use streets elsewhere.

	Entertainment District	Pedestrian / Festival Space	Retail / Consumption Space
Transit Mall	Safer for night club/bar patrons with reduced auto traffic Transit provides easy access for patrons	 Transit reduces need for parking that would take pedestrian space Transit provides easy access for pedestrians and festival-goers 	Originally established to increase customer traffic Transit provides easy access for customers, money
	Sometimes requires rerouting buses	 Can prioritize transit mobility above pedestrian experience Requires rerouting bus traffic Closed streets to all traffic at times 	Reduced auto traffic on street may reduce potential customers
Retail / Consumption Space	More people on street means more business Increased human presence discourages street misconduct, allows for efficient law enforcement and higher consumption rates	Increased people on street brings increased business	
Pedestrian / Festival Space	Potential for increased bar/club/theatre patrons with more people on street		Compatibilities Incompatibilities

Table 1: Compatibilities & incompatibilities between uses on Granville Street Mall

3. Methodology

Understanding the full context of the situation that has played out on the Granville Street Mall required document analysis on the historical context of the Mall, including decisions made by its many stakeholders that have had a direct impact on the street, important events that have occurred on or near the street, and the changing urban landscape that has affected land use, transportation, and programmed activities on the Mall. In order to understand the current context on the Mall today, unobtrusive observations were needed to assess the existing conditions at street level. And finally, to triangulate the data collection and pull the methodology together semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants involved in the planning of the latest redesign of the Mall in 2008. These individuals represented the stakeholder parties involved with the redesign planning of Granville Street Mall and were the key people developing the plans for the redesign in its initial planning process. This multiple methods approach allowed the ability to gain a full understanding of the historical context under which decisions for the redesign were being made, as well as the current status of the Mall. Comparisons were easily made between what existed prior to the redesign, what was planned for the Mall in the redesign process, and the existing conditions on the Mall today, approximately 5 years since the redesign.

3.1. Document Analysis

A portion of the document analysis consisted of historical research on the Granville Street Mall. These secondary data documents were gathered primarily from the City of Vancouver Archives, with supporting information from Heritage Vancouver. A historical timeline of the street was created and is summarized in Section 1.2: History of Granville Street. This historical analysis primarily focused on the foundation of presumed conflicts that have taken shape on the street since its inception.

Additionally, document analysis for this research largely relied on City of Vancouver and TransLink reports that guided the direction for the future of the street. To gather a sense of the situation since the City of Vancouver began signalling the need for a redesign, which eventually occurred in 2008, a chronology of documents was put together and analysed from 1995 to the present. This included administrative reports, policy reports, and Council approved plans that established goals for transportation in Downtown Vancouver, adjusted the purpose of the street as an entertainment and shopping district, and reinforced its purpose as a central public space. A simple search on the City of Vancouver Council online database provided access to reports and plans including key documents such as the "Vancouver Transportation Plan" in 1997 and the "Downtown Transportation Plan" in 2005. Supporting these plans were official reports that established things like budget allocations, implementation timetables, and transportation priorities concerning Granville Street. In addition, documents from TransLink were found on the authority's document search webpage and included in the chronology for analysis. The digitized items were saved and sorted by date. This allowed for easy analysis and a clear picture of the correspondence between the stakeholders involved with planning for the redesign of the Mall.

Emphasis was put on the analysis of three significant planning documents: The Vancouver Transportation Plan of 1997, the Downtown Transportation Plan of 2002, and the Granville Street Final Design Administrative Report dated April 22, 2008. These three documents provide specific direction for the evolution of the Granville Street Mall over the past decade. Extensive notes were made on these directions pertaining to Granville Street leading up to the redesign and the intended outcome of the street. These notes could then be used to compare with data gathered from the on the street observations gathered later, as well as data gathered from the in depth interviews.

3.2. Street Use Observations

To assess the performance of the Granville Street Mall since the 2008 redesign, qualitative observations were conducted and analysed to use as a comparison to what was intended for the street in the planning documents prior to redesign. Direct observation was the primary approach for data collection in this method. Hundreds of photographs and videos were taken during observations including of street activity, traffic patterns, urban

design, general atmosphere, and buildings. These were then used to build upon research notes and results by illustrating specific design features, activities related to one or more of the street's purposes, and moments on the street that exemplified conflicts between these purposes.

These unobtrusive observations were conducted a total of ten times during three different periods to best account for the variety of activities that take place on the full length of the Mall. These periods included weekend nights (entertainment district), weekend days (festival space/pedestrian mall/shopping & retail space), and weekday rush hours (transit mall). The first observation occurred on July 14, 2013 and the final observation occurred October 5, 2013. Each visit to the street was approximately 30-60 minutes. The format of all observations was on foot and involved a walk down the length of the street. The researcher took photographs and some video throughout the walk and recorded notes and voice memos throughout. Immediately following each observation, the researcher uploaded photos and video to a computer and sorted them by block. Additional notes were made on a block by block basis, as well as on the street as a whole for data including the current routing of buses, weather, time, current activities, and overall activities taking place or major changes from previous observations.

This method of observational analysis was intended to provide an understanding of the existing situation on the Granville Street Mall today, approximately five years following the latest redesign. The purpose of this was to examine the interactions between the current roles imposed on it by its stakeholders and highlight potential conflicts between those roles. During observation periods, questions that could potentially be answered from data gathered included "how do transit vehicles during rush hour periods interact with pedestrian activity?", "how is street furniture being used?", "are blocks designated for specific types of activity in previous plans being used as intended?", and "are there specific locations or design features on the street or sidewalks that are used in ways different from the intended use described in plans for the street?" These observations were conducted shortly before in depth interviews began, and continued over several months surrounding interviews. Therefore, the researcher could have a complete understanding of activities taking place on the street and the ability to recognize and relate specific locations, activities, and features with those mentioned in interviews with key informants.

3.3. Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informants

To draw the results of the data collection methodology together, qualitative interviews were conducted with key informants who were directly involved with the Granville Street Mall redesign planning process in 2008 or who are directly involved with activities on the street today. These interviews remained semi-structured and were open to dialogue between the researcher and the interviewee (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2010). Recruitment of interviewees was determined based on accounting for the variety of stakeholders involved with the planning of the redesign of the Mall in 2008. Some interviewees were first contacted through referral from an initial interviewee, utilizing the snowball technique. In the end, all but two of the interviewees were individuals who were a part of the planning team from 2002 leading up to the redesign in 2008. A total of eight interviews took place covering the variety of stakeholders involved, including planners with the City of Vancouver and TransLink, a former transportation engineer with the City of Vancouver, a sergeant in the Vancouver Police Department, the executive director of the Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association, a senior urban designer in the City of Vancouver's Urban Design Studio, a planner who leads the City of Vancouver's Viva Vancouver street activation program, and the director of the Vancouver Public Space Network, a non-profit advocacy group.

Interviewees were initially contacted in August 2013 with interviews taking place through October. Following extensive document analysis, interviews were conducted using a set of guiding questions, approved by the SFU Department of Research Ethics (see Appendix B).

With the data gathered through these interviews, conclusions were made on potential conflicts between priorities and the associated stakeholders on the Granville Street Mall. Results are then triangulated with data collected from on street observations as well as a with thorough examination of planning documents directing the redesign process, producing reinforced conclusions about the evolution of the Granville Street Mall over the past decade. These in depth interviews provided the final piece of the puzzle, shedding light on consultations between stakeholders and potential compromises made during the planning process that have led to possible further conflicts between uses on the street. Gathering a sense of the conversations that took place during the planning process allowed for a clearer

picture of the actual outcomes of the redesign and why certain priorities may have superseded others.

4. Evolution of Granville Street Planning – 1995 CityPlan to the 2008 Granville Redesign

There are several plans in the recent history of Granville Street that were critically influential to the planning process leading up to the 2008 redesign. The first is Vancouver's CityPlan. This plan was produced over several years in response to the absence of a citywide planning strategy to guide policy for urban growth and density patterns in the city. The Plan, adopted by City Council in 1995, "was based on the principle that each neighbourhood would develop its own detailed land-use plan, zoning regulations, design guidelines, and enhancement projects that would respond to the overall CityPlan directions" (Punter, 2003, p. 166). CityPlan did not provide immediate actions related to Granville Street, but set the stage for what was to come. It emphasized the need for further planning to take place involving transportation within the city and its downtown core. This included recommendations for a citywide greenways plan and a citywide transportation plan.

Two innovations were embodied in the CityPlan significant for future Granville Street planning, which were further expanded upon in future plans. The first was creating a link from Granville Island to downtown via a pedestrian and cycle link under the Granville Bridge, which would provide easier accessibility on foot from downtown to the Fairview neighbourhood and South False Creek and strengthen tourist access to Granville Island. The second innovation was to make drastic improvements to Courthouse Square and Robson Square just west of Granville Street downtown. According to Michael Punter, the improvements of Granville Street Mall and the surrounding central public spaces that support its pedestrian accessibility "is of immense importance to downtown for creating a civic focus, providing meeting and resting places for shoppers and downtown workers, and strengthening the pedestrian flows at this critical junction of the main shopping, promenading, and people-watching streets of the city" (2003, pp. 285-6).

Adopted a few years prior to CityPlan, the Vancouver Central Area Plan provided some initial directions for the future of land use, notably concerning retail and its impact on

public space, which related to Granville Street. This plan ensured that "retail contributes primarily to street activity and to the streets as the significant public spaces" (COV, 1991). In addition, this plan not only introduced restrictions on the construction of malls and underground retail spaces (COV, 1991), but reinforced the necessity of a "walkable central area [where] pedestrians can move safely, easily, and comfortably on all streets" (Gordon, 2013). Impacts of this plan are evident today in the requirements for retail entrances to be street facing and commercial permitting encouraging commercial retail uses over residential or office along Granville Street (Gordon, 2013).

Happening more or less concurrently with Council's adoption of CityPlan as a blueprint for future planning in the city, Council also adopted the Vancouver Greenways Plan, which designated fourteen "City Greenways" as major pedestrian and cycle routes traversing the city. Granville Street, between the bridgehead on the south end of the bridge to the street's northern terminus at Cordova Street downtown, was one of these greenways (See Figure 2). Plans for this "system of linear parks and paths" of landscaped or treed corridors throughout the city was a proposal that gained very strong support from the public.

CityPlan, along with two regional plans, the Regional Transportation Plan in 1994 (Transport 2021) and the Livable Region Strategic Plan in 1995, also established the mandate and basic directions for a citywide transportation plan. Therefore, in May of 1997, City Council adopted the Vancouver Transportation Plan with the goal of protecting neighbourhoods from the impacts of traffic with an increasing city and regional population while achieving high levels of mobility within the city. This Plan also mandated a comprehensive transportation plan for the downtown core. In 2002, the Downtown Transportation Plan was adopted. These two plans, which further refine the direction for the redesign of the Granville Street Mall in 2008, are explored in detail in the following sections. Priorities that exist on the street today become clearer as these multiple plans and associated reports were adopted. In addition, the conflicts and compromises that may have arisen in light of the priorities become more and more evident.

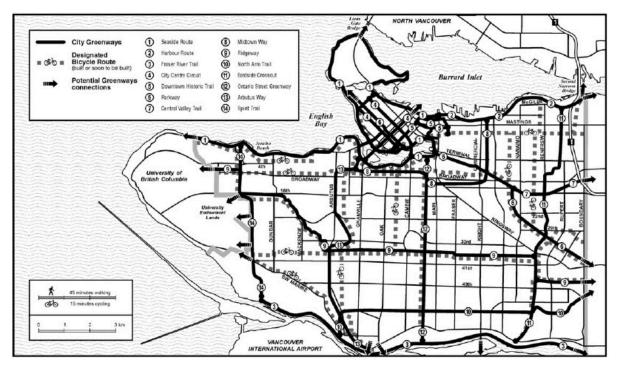


Figure 2: City Greenways Plan, 1995. Projected routes, subject to further study, approved by Council in 1995 (Source: COV, 1995)

4.1. Vancouver Transportation Plan 1997

The purpose of the Vancouver Transportation Plan was for Council and planners to agree on the details of how directions on transportation spelled out in CityPlan, the Livable Region Plan of 1995, and the Regional Transportation Plan of 1994 (Transport 2021) were to be achieved in the city. This plan recognized that transportation had been increasingly used as a "means to a better city rather than as a goal in itself" (COV, 1997). Furthermore, it acknowledged the challenge of the objectives it proposed: protecting neighbourhoods from impacts of traffic and attempting to achieve higher mobility, both as a result of local and regional population growth.

A number of key elements in the Plan had a direct influence on Granville Street. One involved the sharing of the road network. Granville is one of four street named streets specifically mentioned where transit is to be given a higher priority than before. Regarding pedestrian comfort and safety, Granville Street is not explicitly mentioned, but the Plan states that "[p]edestrian priority areas will be created in commercial centres, where

pedestrians will be able to cross roads more easily and safely than they can today" (COV, 1997).

The citywide transportation plan also establishes the need for a better balance of transportation modes in the downtown core in order to keep the downtown "attractive and efficient." The Plan requires road capacity into downtown not be increased, stating that "more cars and more space for parking would hamper the efficient functioning of the Downtown and result in congestion in surrounding Downtown neighbourhoods" (COV, 1997). Overall, the Plan sets targets for transportation modes, most significantly to maintain or slightly reduce the 1992 level of automobile use in the city along with service amenities (primarily road and parking space) by 2021. Figure 3 best displays this target, showing that by 2021, 60% of commuters to downtown will take transit, cycle, or walk.

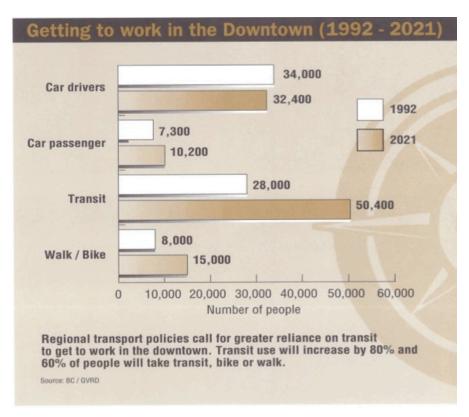


Figure 3: Getting to work in the Downtown (1992-2021) (Source: COV, 1997)

In addition to this adjustment of priorities on some streets, including Granville, there is heavy emphasis on increasing walking and biking in the downtown and improving the infrastructure in place to do so. The plan states the obvious fact that all commuters are also

pedestrians at some point in their journey, especially transit passengers who rely on weather protection, shade, and other conditions that can make walking more attractive by placing priority on street amenity improvements. "Principal measures include: pedestrian priority areas, ...wider sidewalks, more priority for crossings, and pedestrian shortcuts in new development, pedestrian environment improvements generally, such as enhanced weather protection, benches, lighting and information kiosks" (COV, 1997).

Finally, the Plan stressed the need for a comprehensive plan for the transportation system in the downtown core specifically. This priority underscored the importance of improving transportation connections between downtown and regional destinations, notably the Vancouver airport. The Plan mandated establishing priorities for "Great Streets" in the downtown peninsula. This term, "Great Street" is defined in the Plan's glossary as being a "street which has unique architectural features or a setting which distinguishes it from other streets and makes it suitable for special uses." There is no mention of Allan Jacobs or use of the term in the marketing sense, but simply reference to it in terms of street improvements on the pedestrian scale and setting the street apart as unique from others.

Below are the key initiatives to emerge from the 1997 Vancouver Transportation Plan that affected Granville Street Mall:

- D1: Prepare a Downtown Transportation Plan "including a complete review of the Downtown transit system to improve service and choice, improve regional connections and airport links, evaluate alternative transit vehicles (such as minibuses), establish priorities for 'Great Streets', improve route and destination signage, create pedestrian priority areas, and implement bike lanes and street improvements."
- D3: Implement Greenways program to "improve pedestrian routes, facilities, and pedestrian environment downtown."
- D13: "All day parking in temporary parking lots to be restricted in line with parking ceiling. Excess parking to be designated for short stay only."

These directions began to narrow the focus of Granville Street planning and further refined the approach to be taken in subsequent plans. This plan was a transportation plan, but noted the importance of providing access to Granville Street in multiple modes, as the street was the centre for shopping, retail, and entertainment.

4.2. Downtown Transportation Plan 2002

In response to the priorities highlighted in the citywide Vancouver Transportation Plan, Council approved a Downtown Transportation Plan in 2002 under the leadership of Non-partisan Association Mayor Phillip Owen. In 2005, a published version of the Plan was created under the direction of a new Coalition of Progressive Elector and Vision Vancouver dominated Council led by Mayor Larry Campbell (Vancouver City Council, 2013). The two versions of the DTP do not differ in goals, but the latter version elaborates on progress already underway at that time and includes extensive maps, diagrams, and photos of specific locations for improvement in downtown. Regarding Granville Street, the DTP does not provide direct action leading to the redesign that took place in 2008, but again states recommendations for the street. A detailed plan for Granville Street was not resolved in the DTP, but had already been set aside as a separate project (Mills, 2013) called the Granville Street Redesign Project and plans were being discussed at that time. A portion of leftover funding from the DTP budget was reallocated to the Granville Street Redesign Project as the DTP creation came to close (COV, 2002).

The DTP, like previous plans, acknowledges the overarching challenge that Downtown Vancouver faces regarding transportation, reiterating the need to accommodate a higher movement of people without adding road capacity and while minimizing congestion (COV, 2002). Within the DTP, the many purposes that Granville Street Mall plays in the downtown transportation picture become clearer. The street is expected to be a part of the downtown transportation network in almost every way. In the DTP, all or a large portion of the street is confirmed as serving all of the following roles:

- greenway
- high (retail) street in the great street network
- part of several downtown bus loop routes
- transit priority corridor and hub for the three SkyTrain lines proposed at the time
- route for a potential extension of the Council approved streetcar route
- street with no changes to on-street parking
- an "important circulation street" as part of the Downtown Major Road Network with planned adjustments in traffic patterns on the blocks south of Smithe Street.

These priority roles are clearly illustrated in maps from the DTP in Appendix C.

In terms of the road network, the DTP recommends that the Granville Mall (between Hastings and Smithe) be put under further review. It states that "its role as a transit, pedestrian and service vehicle corridor, entertainment district and future greenway should be maintained" (COV, 2002, p. 52). It further states that because of the street's role as the busiest street for transit passenger capacity in the region (Mills, 2013), that "transit efficiency along the street should not be diminished" but that it "does require an upgraded streetscape and some form of mall management to help revitalize the area" (COV, 2002, p. 52). Between Smithe and Nelson Streets, the 900 block of Granville Street, the DTP recommended that the street be converted to a one-way southbound street, with a counter-flow lane for buses, taxis, and authorized vehicles only. This recommendation was to resolve the issue of congestion conflicts having arisen from northbound general traffic turning left at Smithe Street. The intersection of Smithe and Granville was "experiencing the highest number of bus-related collisions and the second highest number of rear-end collisions within the central business district" (COV, 2002, p. 52). This change was never implemented and this conflict still exists today, which will be explored further in later sections. Lastly, between Nelson and Drake Streets the Plan recommended that Granville be reduced by one lane of traffic, allowing for the addition of turn lanes and the extension of the sidewalk on those blocks by a full meter, consistent with pedestrian improvements (COV, 2002, p. 52).

Some additional implementation ideas that the DTP brought to light involving activity on the south end of Granville Street included improving pedestrian access and safety surrounding the Granville Street bridgehead, as well as redesigning the bridge loops, opening up potential for future development. Though these suggestions would have significant impact on the outcome of the Granville Street Mall, in traffic patterns, pedestrian movement, and land use, they were simply ideas and did not come to fruition in future plans or recommendations.

Arguably, the most important recommendation from the DTP to influence the future of the Granville Street Mall is found in the "Pedestrian Plan" section: "A commercial streetscape/entertainment district/greenway design scheme is recommended to be developed for Granville Street (between the bridgehead and Cordova Streets), in consultation with stakeholders (COV, 2002, p. 87). This recommendation comes as a result of Granville's "high transit volumes, surrounding land-uses, entertainment district status, and renewed confidence as a retail street" and its role as "a gateway to downtown for many

tourists and residents" (COV, 2002, p. 87). This recommendation was the next step to the complete makeover of the street in 2008.

4.3. Directions for Granville Street

The plans introduced in this section led to the actions taken on Granville Street up to today. The CityPlan set the stage for the preferred direction of Granville Street, followed by the citywide Vancouver Transportation Plan and the Downtown Transportation Plan. Each plan further clarified the intentions for the street, but none gave actual action items. Granville Street was simply treated as a part of the larger picture, which is certainly important, but the continual acceptance of Granville as a unique and complex space, furthered the challenge of future planning, requiring a separate planning process for the street.

The challenges of catering to all stakeholders due to the mixture of uses on Granville Street was confirmed by these multiple plans and specifically stated by the majority of the interviewees for this research. This was also evident in the city plans as indicated by the setting aside of Granville Street for its own plan and redesign process, which eventually materialized in 2008. The scope of these documents dealt typically with only one of the goals for the street, transportation or pedestrian space (greenway), rather than looking at the street and the imposed goals holistically. This was the intention of the redesign study approved by Council in 2002, and the objectives laid out for the eventual redesign in 2008, discussed in the following section.

4.4. Granville Street Planning - 2008 Redesign Concepts

As the DTP neared approval in 2002, movement was already underway commissioning a study of the future of Granville Street Mall, as recommended in the DTP. In March 2002, the City's Engineering General Manager of Engineering Services and Director of Current Planning recommended:

- that the street between Smithe and Hastings remain a transit, pedestrian, and service vehicle only mall
- that a "commercial streetscape/entertainment district/greenway design scheme" be created for the street with input from property and business owners

• and that options for the management of the Granville Street Mall be reviewed with stakeholders, specifically the DVBIA, "to better promote and manage the on-street activities and assets along the mall" (COV, 2002, p. 1).

This was the first recommendation that addressed Granville Street Mall as a unique street and recognized the importance (and challenges) of its intended uses: transit mall, pedestrian and festival space, retail space, and entertainment district. These recommendations suggested a redesign for the street that would maintain all of these uses with a more sustainable management strategy and an eventual makeover with the goal of a street capable of supporting these uses, despite their potential incompatibilities.

4.4.1. Whether or not to reintroduce general traffic to the Mall

In this same administrative report, there was a continued discussion of the question of reintroducing general traffic to the Granville Street Mall. As noted in the DTP, there was no clear need to reintroduce vehicle to the street, but some stakeholders, along the Mall continued to indicate their desire to see private vehicles return to the street. Reasons cited by stakeholders in favour of this included increased exposure for businesses, the creation of a more typical street with access by all transportation modes, and better returns on property investments. This resistance to keep the Mall as transit, pedestrian, and service vehicle only came primarily from property owners along the strip who perceived a Mall closed to general traffic led to higher vacancy rates and a less safe area. Business owners however insisted that their customers were primarily transit passengers (Mills, 2013).

City staff held two workshops with a select group of stakeholders that represented property and business owners, which resulted in a consensus that challenges with reintroducing general traffic to the street far outweighed keeping the status quo. These challenges included:

- significant added costs per year to maintain a street that is open to general traffic
- dramatically increased transit congestion and delays
- a reduction of transit passengers and an increase in auto passengers, which contradicts other City policies
- less flexibility for future improvements to bus operations along the Mall, especially given growth in employment and population downtown
- the narrowing of sidewalks

and an increase in noise and pollution from vehicles (COV, 2002, pp. 6-7).

Additional public consultation was conducted as part of the DTP process, including a random public survey, which found 58% among residents and commuters, and 52% among businesses who were opposed to reopening the street to general traffic (COV, 2002, p. 8).

The recommendations from this March 2002 administrative report were passed to the board of TransLink for endorsement. TransLink staff recommended these actions and conducted further analysis and simulations to address the impact of a potential reintroduction of general traffic to the Mall. Their conclusions noted an even stronger case for keeping the Mall as a priority route for transit, pedestrians, and service vehicles. Their analysis revealed that opening the Mall to auto traffic would:

- reduce transit speeds 9-12%, affecting transit operating costs and increased travel times for passengers
- reduce transit reliability 4-11%, causing "bunching" of buses and more buses required
- reduce travel speeds of all modes 8-18% area-wide, increasing vehicle emissions
- reduce the efficiency of east-west routes as a result of new autos turning on and off of Granville Street
- increase direct costs to TransLink of \$1.1 to \$2.1 million in capital and operation costs, as well as lost revenue
- increase costs of delay to users that could range from \$27 to \$28.7 million annually due to the whole downtown transit system being made more inefficient (Rock, 2002, p. 11).

The case for reintroducing general auto traffic to the Mall was becoming less and less favourable from a logistical point of view, as there was no clear scenario that would maintain or improve transit service on the street, a required objective. Also, safety of pedestrians and those with disabilities become seen as a risk for the City. Analysis from the City and TransLink were against the limited number of stakeholders who were still holding out, though as shown in the following sections on the planning for the redesign of the Mall, some of the redesign options still reflected those desires.

4.4.2. Commissioning the Granville Street Mall Redesign

As noted in Section 4.2, the redesign of the Granville Street Mall was deferred in the DTP and set aside as a separate project. On November 12, 2002, an administrative report commissioned a plan to be created for the redesign of the street. This included terms of reference that outlined the full scope of the project, who was to be involved, specific objectives to be met, and an expected schedule. This document was critical for the future of the street, in that it initially laid out priorities for the street based on the studies and analysis completed by City and TransLink staff. These terms of reference also further defined the existing mix of roles the street plays, further embedding the challenges and conflicts on the street.

A redesign study was the first task laid out in the terms of reference. High expectations were set for the redesign from the start. The purpose of the redesign study was "to complete a redesign of the public streetscape of Granville Street (between Waterfront Station and Granville bridgehead) that integrates physical improvements with its role as a greenway, an entertainment district and a retail/commercial centre, as well as one of the image-defining public places of downtown." The final urban design and streetscape concepts to come out of this plan were to "ensure that [Granville Mall] emerges as one of Vancouver's greatest urban streets" ensuring that "buildings, street trees, the street and sidewalks, pedestrian movement, traffic and sidewalk activities can all positively work together to create a great street in which the public and all stakeholders will be proud" (COV, 2002, p. 1).

This broad, but somewhat limiting scope still allowed the consideration for reintroducing general traffic to the entire Mall, but placed priority on transit efficiency, which was shown in past reports to be unquestionably at risk with any additional vehicles on the street. Also alluded to in the scope, was the introduction of the Canada Line, which was approved later in 2004. This required the design concepts to remain flexible for the introduction of future rapid transit stations on the street. Also, stakeholder inclusion and consultation were necessary to ensure all parties had proper say in the design process and the final concepts.

Objectives defined in the terms of reference included expected items such as identifying key issues facing the Granville Street Mall, alternatives to addressing those issues, design concepts for furniture, streetscape, lighting, and traffic patterns, as well as

estimated costs, timing for construction, and funding sources for on-going management of the street. The project was to be guided by a stakeholder group that was to meet regularly with the project team, which consisted of City and TransLink staff, as well as consultants from Cityworks led by Allan Jacobs and Elizabeth Macdonald (COV, 2002, pp. 2-3). Results and deliverables from this study were to include reports and documentation for the future of the Granville Street Mall. This was to include conceptual drawings and designs for a new Mall, recommendations on street furniture and urban design, and traffic analysis on all recommended options.

4.4.3. Granville Street Mall configuration prior to redesign

Prior to the redesign of Granville Street downtown, it was typically separated into two parts, and for the most part, still is today. Pre-redesign, the northerly part of the street, from Hastings to Smithe Streets was a pedestrian and transit mall that was defined by a curvilinear roadway with one traffic lane in each direction for only buses and authorized service vehicles like taxis, delivery trucks, and emergency vehicles. Sidewalk with ranged from 5.8 to 11 meters wide on each side, due to the curvilinear street. This was said to have presented some equity issues between businesses, reducing the amount of sidewalk space for some. Retailers whose storefronts were in a dip of the curved street had smaller sidewalk frontage, and therefore did not have as much sidewalk space for signage, sidewalk sales, etc., unlike those who were in one of the bulges of the curve (Wong, 2013).

For the one block north of Hastings Street to Cordova Street, the street included two straight travel lanes in each direction. South of Smithe Street to the Granville Bridge, the street consisted of four general vehicle travel lanes, two in each direction, with one lane of on street parking on each side. Sidewalks were 3.5 metres wide on each side. The whole street incorporated two rows of trees on each side of the street, some of which had grown to be quite large and were claimed as a valuable asset to the definition of the street (COV, 2006, p. 10). See Figure 4 below for a configuration diagram.

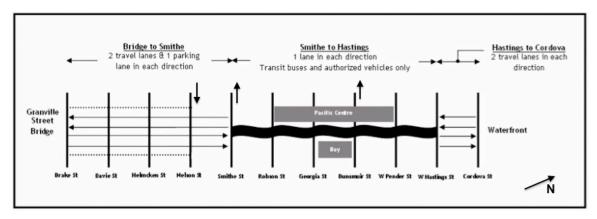


Figure 4: Granville Street Mall Configuration prior to redesign (Source: COV, 2006 - with added one way street directional arrows and compass rose)

It is important to note that Granville Street pre-redesign did not have a designated civic space and did not have weekend closures other than during weekend evenings for the entertainment district in the southerly portion of the street. The northern blocks were characterized by major office and retail land uses along the strip, reflecting a feel of the central business district. Between Georgia and Nelson, many service and entertainment destinations dominated the landscape. South of Nelson, the character of the street was defined by many neighbourhood and tourist hotel commercial businesses (COV, 2006, p. 5).

4.4.4. Proposed redesign concepts

The results of the redesign study were presented to the Council Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic in March 2006. This included extensive details into several design options for Granville Street Mall and had gathered preferences for all stakeholders involved. A decision had become more urgently needed due to the approval of the Canada Line, which was to be constructed prior to the 2010 Olympic Games. If done in a responsible and timely manner, a new Granville Street Mall could be built as the street was restored following construction of the underground transit line, which was to be installed in a cut and cover method just below the surface of Granville Street. Though the desire for a new Granville Street Mall was present, the willingness for an actual redesign had never been a top priority in Council. The 2010 Olympic bid, and the imminent Canada Line associated with it, provided the opportunity to take action on Granville Street.

It is important to explore the conceptual options that were provided for the redesign, and the preferences given from all stakeholders for specific options, as this displays the wide spectrum of priorities among groups that presented challenges for decision makers. After the concepts were presented and reviewed by the Council Standing Committee on Transportation and Traffic, the Committee suggested that a modification of the Enhanced Existing concept was needed (see Section 4.4.7), resulting in a delay of two years. The following subsections briefly explain the concept options that were presented and include diagrams of each.

Enhanced Existing

The first redesign concept presented by the project team was the Enhanced Existing option. This concept option kept the same configuration as the existing street in the northerly portion from Smithe to Hastings Street, but straightened the bus lanes and allowed for a more consistent sidewalk width of 8.5 metres throughout. From Nelson to Smithe Street, a transition block, the street would remain largely the same with two southbound general traffic lanes and one northbound bus lane. In the southerly blocks from the bridge to Nelson Street, the designated parking lanes would be removed and the sidewalks extended from 3.5 to 5.5 metres. However, allowing parking on the sidewalk was proposed. This was the first introduction to the somewhat controversial "flex parking" in this project. This "flex parking" was meant to accommodate parking in small pockets between street trees along the street. It was considered "flex" as it was meant to be removed during high pedestrian times, like during weekend entertainment district periods, to maximize the width of the sidewalk. Special sidewalk treatment or bollards would distinguish these parking spaces (COV, 2006). See Figure 5 below for diagrams of this option.

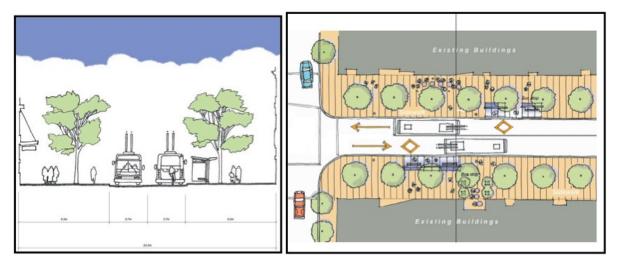


Figure 5: Enhanced Existing Concept - Cross section and typical block plan views north of Smithe Street (Source: COV, 2006)

One Sided Flex

The second conceptual option presented a design with single flex lane spanning the majority of the street, from Davie to Hastings Streets, except for the 600 and 700 blocks between Robson and Dunsmuir where a dedicated sidewalk/civic place was proposed. The complexity of introducing these "flex boulevards" involved heavy enforcement of who was to be allowed on what lanes at what times. Separate traffic control infrastructure was required and management was inevitably complicated because of the potential overlapping of streets, parking, bikeways, and sidewalks.

³ "A Flex Boulevard is a shared sidewalk for local access vehicles and pedestrians, where vehicles are expected to proceed in a slow, cautious fashion in deference to pedestrians. The local vehicle access path is proposed to be distinguished by slight changes in level or by sidewalk treatment. Intersections would continue to be characterized by curbs separating vehicles and pedestrians for greater clarity. All the flex boulevard options do not permit vehicle access between Dunsmuir and Hastings between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. to reduce the negative impact to transit efficiency and to minimize traffic congestion. The flex boulevards will also be closed to auto traffic at times and locations when pedestrian volumes warrant, such as weekend evenings in the entertainment district. Vehicles longer than 6 metres in length cannot physically turn into the flex boulevards and will be required to use the transit way. This requires the stop bar lines along the transit way to be set back from the intersection to allow longer vehicles to overturn into oncoming lanes. Left turns as well as right turns on a red light are not permitted from a flex boulevard to avoid conflicts with other road users. Similarly, vehicles in the flex boulevard would need to be controlled with a separate traffic signal from vehicles travelling along the transit way. This requirement will generally result in longer delays for pedestrians and other traffic crossing Granville Street. The unique operation of the flex boulevard will require special signage and traffic controls to effectively manage" (COV, 2006, p. 10).

One Sided Flex North of Smithe (DVBIA)

The third option was proposed by the DVBIA as an alternative to the first two options. It included the same "flex boulevard" on one side of the street, but rather than most of the length of the street, it would only span from Smithe to Hastings Streets and would not have a civic space between Robson and Dunsmuir Streets. The transition block between Nelson and Smithe Streets was to remain the same as the existing with two lanes in each direction, one southbound lane dedicated for buses. From the bridge to Nelson Street would see the same configuration as proposed in the Enhanced Existing concept, two lanes in each direction with the "flex parking" on either side (COV, 2006). See the configuration for the basic One Sided Flex concept in Figure 6.

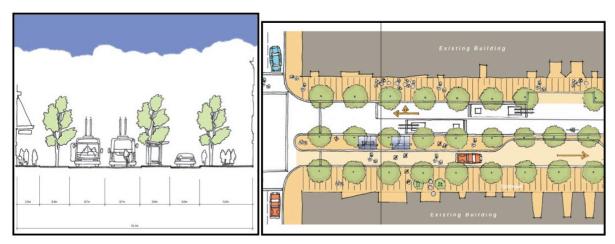


Figure 6: One Sided Flex and One Sided Flex North of Smithe (DVBIA) Concepts - Cross section and typical block plan views (Source: COV, 2006)

Two Sided Flex

The final conceptual option presented was largely the same as the One Sided Flex option but incorporated two "flex boulevards" down the full length of the street from Davie to Hastings Street, except for the proposed civic space between Robson and Dunsmuir Streets. This option included slightly narrower bus lanes and dramatically reduced sidewalk widths, down to 3.1 metres on each side. However, with the "flex boulevards" in place, there would be room for four linear rows of street trees (COV, 2006). See Figure 7 for plan views for this option.

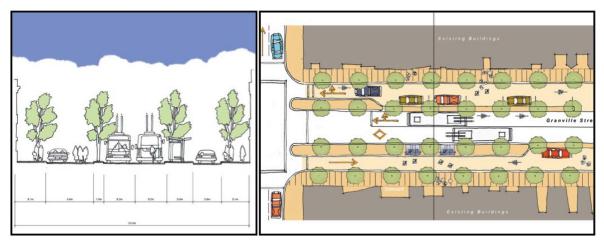


Figure 7: Two Sided Flex Concept - Cross section and typical block plan views (Source: COV, 2006)

4.4.5. Risks associated with "flex boulevards"

In addition to the communication challenges presented by the "flex boulevards" as mentioned before, the Vancouver Police Department, the City's Risk Management division, and the Disability Issues Advisory Committee raised a number of concerns regarding conflicts between moving vehicles and pedestrians on the "flex boulevards" as well as between parked vehicles and pedestrians on the blocks with proposed "flex parking." Assumptions that drivers would obey speed limits in the "flex boulevards" and that pedestrians of all ages and abilities would behave the same was also a major concern. Requiring transit passengers to cross vehicle traffic on "flex boulevards" was seen as a risk, and managing bicycle access in these areas and not allowing it on designated sidewalk space would be a challenge. All of these risks would inevitably increase claims made against the City. An even higher safety risk was identified because these "flex" proposals had not been introduced in any other cities. Therefore, accepting a concept with a "flex boulevard" was seen as a major concern from a risk management perspective, hence City staff would not recommend any of the "flex" options (COV, 2006). Despite the issues of risk for cyclists and pedestrians, notably those with disabilities or from the senior population, the Vancouver Area Cycling Coalition (VACC, which is known today as HUB), the City's Bicycle Advisory Committee and Senior's Committee preferred the One Sided Flex option. The "flex" lane was seen as an alternative cycling route that would be complemented by space on the median for installation of bicycle racks (COV, 2006).

New and unforeseen incompatibilities between private vehicles and buses, as well as cyclists and pedestrians had now potentially arisen on Granville Street producing even further conflicts if such "flex boulevards" were to be introduced. In addition, because no other city had introduced such a concept before, the risk for all stakeholders involved was too high for the concept to be implemented. The analysis behind rejecting this option was further evidence of the uniqueness of Granville Street. Case studies from other cities in North America simply were not representative of the situation playing out in Vancouver. There was no "off the shelf" solution to the redesign of Granville Street that would accommodate all of its goals. The need for the street to serve many functions at different times was becoming more and more clear as evidenced by the lack of consensus across the board.

4.4.6. Reaching consensus?

According to the consultation that City staff completed before submitting these concept options and their recommendation in this 2006 report, there appeared to be very little consensus among stakeholder groups involved. Preferences were spread across the board, but mostly centred on the issues associated with transportation, primarily that of introducing the "flex boulevards" to the Mall. A variety of stakeholder groups were consulted, including alternative transportation advocacy groups, business groups, City Council advisory committees, city departments, and TransLink. This again displayed the variety of challenges faced in this project to accommodate all stakeholders, though the transportation elements surrounding movement of private vehicles and buses were emerging as the crux of the differences in preference. Stakeholder preferences for the redesign concept options are summarized in Table 2.

Consensus among stakeholder business groups was that the One Sided Flex North of Smithe Street would garner the most advantages for them. This option was favoured by businesses, as it would maintain vehicle access south of Smithe Street providing the option for customer parking and loading on the street. Some businesses felt that any reduction in automobile access to their businesses would negatively affect their ability to remain profitable (COV, 2006). However, according to literatures presented in earlier sections, private vehicles are not necessarily the source of additional customers and stronger economic activity. It is the people themselves that bring the activity, regardless of how they might arrive on the street. So the justification for re-introducing traffic to the whole street in

the form of a "flex boulevard" was clearly based on the appearance of more vehicles on the street representing more customers, which is not always accurate. However, customers also arrive on Granville Street via transit, and compromising service times and access would also affect economic activity.

TransLink staff could only recommend the Enhanced Existing option as all other concepts were shown to decrease transit efficiency and increase operating costs in simulation analysis. Conflicts with the "flex" options were also addressed as queuing areas could overflow into the travel lanes presenting risk for transit passengers (COV, 2006). This preference from the transit perspective played a critical role in the final decision. In the planning for the Canada Line, options for station placement were very limited due to existing property boundaries and underground development. This added another element to the challenge, as pedestrian traffic was expected to increase and remain on Granville Street, especially at the new stations, so the importance of maintaining or increasing bus service connections was a top priority for TransLink (Mills, 2013). Introducing a dramatic change to the traffic pattern scheme on the Mall could seriously threaten bus service levels and times. Therefore, of the proposed options, TransLink staff could only recommend the option that minimized this threat, which ultimately resulted in the outcome on the street today. Further design elements and details for the eventual redesign were finalized later, however, nothing was done that would compromise the transit functionality on the street, seemingly placing the transit mall role as a top priority in the full redesign project and into future management and planning of the street. Most incompatibilities between the uses on Granville Street involve or are a result of this prioritization of transit as previously shown in Table 1.



Table 2: Summary of Stakeholder Consultation (Source: COV, 2006)

4.4.7. Review of redesign goals and a final recommendation

In the beginning of the 2006 report, the City Manager refers to 2002 DTP explaining the original direction and criteria for a Granville Street redesign, and reiterates that it is not in the City priorities to open the whole of the street to general traffic. In addition, Council policy notes the strong influence of former guiding plans – CityPlan, the Vancouver Transportation Plan, and the DTP – all establishing and furthering the priority of transportation modes in the city, placing transit, walking, and biking ahead of cars (COV, 2006).

After considering all of the concept options and response from stakeholders, City staff recommended the Enhanced Existing option with some minor modifications – a "Modified Enhanced Existing option". These modifications included maintaining two-way vehicle access to the 900 block between Nelson and Smithe, rather than reducing it to one-way southbound. This was a compromise result of business interests on that block concerned about a reduction in auto access. This did, however, create some challenges for left-turning vehicles, as Smithe is a one-way westbound street, while Nelson is a one-way eastbound street, where the original concept proposed cars simply turning right off of the Mall before becoming transit vehicles only (COV, 2006).

Additionally, in order to appeal to business interests who sought an increase in vehicle access in general, the Modified Enhanced Existing concept proposed expanding eligibility to access permits for non-commercial vehicles wishing to enter the transit only portion of the Mall. TransLink was supportive of the idea with the requirement that it be limited and closely monitored and be introduced on a trial basis. Additional discussion was required for this detail of the redesign concept (COV, 2006).

On May 17, 2007, Vancouver City Council entered into a contract with PWL Partnership Landscape Architects Inc. to create a detailed design of the Modified Enhanced Existing concept. A Granville Street Redesign Steering Committee was also established consisting of Engineering and Planning Department staff and TransLink staff (COV, 2008). This committee was tasked with ensuring that the final design product met the original projects goals and design principles, which can be found in Appendix D. The four main goals that informed the final redesign plan involved re-establishing Granville as a 'Great Street' according to Allan Jacobs' definition, recreating the street as a destination, elevating community pride and public safety, and reflecting Vancouver's unique place (COV, 2008).

4.5. Final approved design

Approximately a year following entry into the City's contract with PWL, a final design was presented by the designers and approved by Council, and construction began shortly thereafter. Over this yearlong period prior to approval, a nearly completed design was created and presented to the public at an open house on January 23, 2008. The event was

advertised heavily in local newspapers, postcards to Granville Street property and business owners and customers, as well as online and through community groups. At the open house event, a number of well-designed poster boards were displayed to illustrate the final details of the design (COV, 2008). Feedback was encouraged through comment cards made available at the event, and specific input was sought on the general concept of Granville as a "Great Street," public priorities on design elements (paving, street furniture, lighting, etc), the retention of street trees on the 500 and 600 blocks between Georgia and Pender Streets, and the proposed "Civic Event Space" between Robson and Georgia Streets (COV, 2008).

Four key design elements were presented as a direct response to the goals and principles laid out in the redesign process. The first was ensuring a "tree-lined street" the entire length of the Mall, inspired by Allan Jacobs' book "Great Streets", as a strong tree canopy is conducive to a number of benefits for pedestrians including lighting, shade, scale, and character. Secondly, emphasis was placed on designing the street with a "one street concept" to unify the street, but allow for its varying block-by-block character to shine through. Uniform design elements including lighting, paving, and trees was meant to link the blocks together with few variations throughout. Thirdly, the concept of the "Great White Way" was reintroduced to celebrate Granville's heyday in the 1930s and '40s. This historical period saw a peak in neon signage along the strip, and the 2008 redesign proposed a consistent lighting scheme through the entire street of white light poles as a way to "reestablish Granville Street as Vancouver's premier entertainment district" (COV, 2008, Jan 23, "Display Board 10 - Design Response"). Finally, to reinforce the "one street concept," the redesign introduced a set of continuous ribbons in the sidewalk pavement the entire length of the street. This was to be accented by street furniture, "hall of fame stars," and adjacent entertainment establishments (COV, 2008).

It is interesting to note that these four key elements for which public input was sought just prior to construction had little to nothing to do with the transportation scheme on the street. These elements centred on urban design features, heritage commemoration, and pedestrian comfort. At this point, the decisions affecting the larger scale impacts on the street had been decided, and smaller scale details with high visibility were now to be taken to the public through a single open house consultation. The unwillingness to alter transit service levels and access, again, was a decision made in the initial design concept stages

mentioned previously. There was no opportunity for public input on that matter, aside from stakeholders involved in the respective groups consulted between 2002 and 2006, two to six years prior to the open house.



Figure 8: Perspective View - From Helmcken Street looking North, Year 2012 (Source: COV 2008, "Display Board 14 - Representative Plan - Helmcken St. to Nelson St.")

4.5.1. Street trees

With the support of community members in attendance at the open house on January 23, 2008, it was proposed that the 35-year old Beech trees on the two northern blocks between Georgia and Pender Streets be mostly retained, while most other trees along the full length of the street be removed and replaced with new and consistent types of trees. Areas where Canada Line stations were being installed required tree removal. Trees on the southern blocks between Drake and Nelson Streets were to be replaced, as the sidewalks were to be widened with "flex" parking and the trees were to be placed further from the building fronts, which is better for the long term health of the trees (COV, 2008).

A strong emphasis on street trees for Granville Street was an attempt to place more importance on Granville as a pedestrian and festival space. Trees are very visible features

on a street, especially for pedestrians, as they can provide shade and defining images for storefronts. Improving the atmosphere for pedestrians, changes at a human scale, is key to "good" streets, as stated in earlier literatures. This in turn can indirectly bring more economic activity to the area. Street trees and the character that they have the potential to provide, depending on their age and size, improves the compatibility of the varying goals on the street. However, trees do not directly affect transit on the street, aside from placement decisions, as mentioned, and in the case of Granville Street, there are issues with newly planted trees in the entertainment district blocks shown in further observations of the street (see Section 5.1.3).

4.5.2. The new "Great White Way"

A unique lighting scheme was proposed for the Granville Street Mall that was to mimic the "Great White Way", which is what Granville Street became known as in the 1950s as Vancouver's "answer to New York's Broadway" (COV, 2008, p. 8). The custom light poles, shown in Figure 9 & 11, were to provide 360 degree warm white lighting and arranged in a consistent pattern through the whole street. The range of height and specific locations for each type of pole was to enhance the pedestrian realm at night. The top portions of the poles would even have the ability to change colour to highlight festivals or seasonal activities (COV, 2008).

Similar to the street trees, the street lighting proposed for Granville Street's redesign had the intention of enhancing the pedestrian atmosphere through honour the past heritage of the street. As an added benefit, the ambience style lighting scheme was an important element in public safety and security for the street, notably in the entertainment district blocks. Again, the lighting scheme proposed for Granville Street certainly enhances and improves compatibility between some of the goals on the street, but does not directly affect transit functionality, the implied top priority.

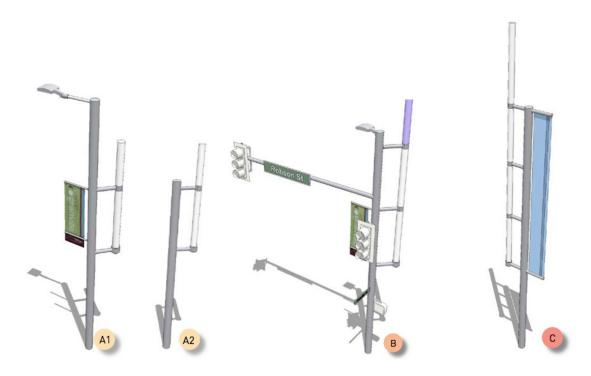


Figure 9: "Great White Way" light pole designs (Source: COV, 2008, "Display Board 23 - Design Elements - Lighting Concept - 'The Great White Way'")

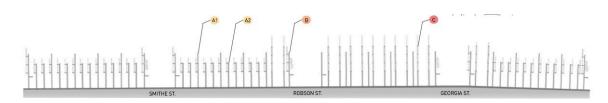


Figure 10: "Great White Way" lighting scale - Nelson Street to Dunsmuir Street (Source: COV, 2008, "Display Board 23 - Design Elements - Lighting Concept - 'The Great White Way'")

4.5.3. Sidewalk paving & street furniture – "The Ribbon"

To build on the "Great Street" and "one street concept," several design features were to be placed within the sidewalk paving. This included granite ribbon segments throughout the length of the street arranged in a linear and parallel pattern surrounded by exposed aggregate concrete surfacing (see Figure 11). These "ribbons" of granite created a unique opportunity to place the stars from the British Columbia Hall of Fame Stars program on the street. In addition, custom designed street furniture, including benches, bike racks, vehicular

bollards, transit shelters, informational signage, and tree surrounds, was crafted that could artistically fade into the ribbons in the pavement (see Figures 16-18). The use of these ribbon-like features was to "play an important role in defining the quality and character of the new streetscape" (COV, 2008, p. 11).



Figure 11: Granite ribbon & exposed concrete paving (COV, 2008, "Display Board 20 – Design Elements – Pedestrian Ground-Plane Expression")

According to Scot Hein, the City of Vancouver senior urban designer on the Granville Street redesign project, a flush curb was preferred as a transition between the sidewalk and street, especially on the proposed "Civic Event Space" block between Robson and Georgia Streets. This would have been more conducive to pedestrians, but the City's legal department discouraged this idea for safety and risk reasons (Hein, 2013).

Hein also recommended that trees serve the purpose of vehicular bollards in the southern blocks with "flex" parking, noting that it would be easier to replace 5-10 trees per year as "opposed to the visual and pedestrian circulation blight that those bollards have offered." Referring to the proposed bollards (see Figure 12), which were different from the ones eventually installed, the recommendation against using his idea of trees instead was just another "version of the kind of conservatism that occasionally pervades these design conversations" (Hein, 2013).



Figure 12: Proposed vehicular bollards (COV, 2008, "Display Board 20 – Design Elements – Pedestrian Ground-Plane Expression")



Figure 13: Street Furnishings – "The Ribbon" (COV, 2008, "Display Board 21 – Design Elements – Street Furnishings – 'The Ribbon'")

Again, these street furniture design proposals and elements were intended to enhance the pedestrian atmosphere and comfort on the street, primarily reflecting the design philosophies of Allan Jacobs' "Great Street" idea. Installing additional features that improve pedestrian life and honour heritage aspects of Granville Street do not address the more challenging conflicts on the street, primarily those dealing with prioritizing the transit mall. Though visible, beneficial to the street atmosphere, and worth the public consultation, these elements do nothing to address the more pressing challenge of conflicts with transit.



Figure 14: Representative street furniture view (COV, 2008, "Display Board 21 – Design Elements – Street Furnishings – 'The Ribbon'")

4.5.4. Civic Event Space

Finally, the 700 block of Granville Street between Robson and Georgia Streets was proposed as having the potential to be a "unique public space" due to its "distinct change in scale, street width, slope, and character between north and south Granville Street" (COV, 2008, p. 11). With its central location and placement of the new Vancouver City Centre station on the Canada Line, pedestrian traffic on this block was to be the highest on the street, making it ideal for street festivals and events. Special attention was placed on this block in urban design including larger, more emphasized lighting, wall-to-wall custom paving rather than just on sidewalks, and no tree planting – all to create a plaza space that could easily accommodate stages, kiosks, and vendors (COV, 2008). See Figure 15 for a night view of the block and Figure 16 for proposed programming schemes. Some of the proposed options, including the lighting on the formerly blank Sears building façade required further consultation with business and property owners.

The introduction of this civic event space had the potential to even further enhance pedestrian and festival life on Granville Street. This, in turn, had great potential to hold festival events and accommodate on-street vendors bringing further economic activity, all bringing more patrons to the Mall, and strengthening the compatibility link between the street as a retail and consumption space with the pedestrian mall and festival space. However, this proposal does not bring any resolution to making the street more compatible for transit use.

In fact, adding features that encourage festivals and special events actually furthers the difficulty of maintaining Granville Street as a transit mall too.



Figure 15: Perspective View - Southerly view of Civic Events Space at night (between Robson & Georgia Streets) (Source: COV, 2008, "Display Board 17 - Civic Events Space - Robson to Georgia")

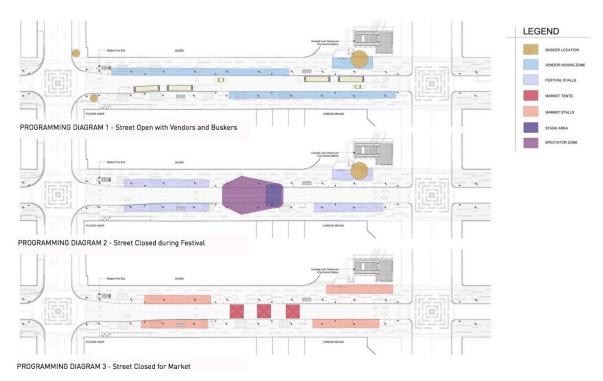


Figure 16: Proposed programming diagrams for Civic Event Space (COV, 2008, "Display Board 17 – Civic Event Space – Robson to Georgia")

4.6. A compromised vision

The intentions for a new Granville Street were high, and stakeholders aspired for a world-class space, as described in the decision-making process and eventual final design plans mentioned in this chapter. Reaching a consensus was not without its challenges, as the prioritization of uses on the street became evident. Though design elements for the lighting and streetscaping mostly came to fruition, some were weakened due to issues of risk or conflicts with transit. In the end, a final conceptual plan was not approved without the consent of TransLink, which displayed the high priority placed on the transit mall function of the street. The following chapter looks at Granville Street after the redesign and how these compromises played out in the physical elements on the street and the management of the street programming.

5. Granville Street Today – Post Redesign

To assess the state of the Granville Street Mall post-redesign and how changes on the street are playing out in present day, a question in interviews with key informants asked about present conditions and about details on whether the street is better than pre-redesign. In addition, direct observations were conducted on the street during all periods of the street's varying uses. Below are some key findings from the interviews and observations that will inform conclusions.

5.1. Urban design outcomes

5.1.1. Street furniture & paving

The selected street furniture for the Granville Street redesign including benches, garbage receptacles, bike racks, and bus shelters, was chosen to match the "ribbon" styling on the sidewalk paving. Though slightly different from design concepts approved in the final redesign, the benches installed in the end were partially wooden, which may bring problems down the road in terms of maintenance, but does create the same "ribbon" affect as intended. The granite ribbon and exposed aggregate sidewalk paving along Granville has successfully produced the affect that was intended: a broken series of parallel ribbon along the whole length of the street. This does foster the unified street idea, but is not immune to the occasional wear and tear, or in some cases, vandalism, that the rest of the street receives as well (See Figure 17-19).

A major inconsistency that has come post-redesign is the selection of garbage bins and bike racks that have been installed. Elements that have been placed on the street since the redesign – whether for events, new developments, or simply to meet demand – have not been consistent with the original design selected for the street. As shown in Figure 20 & 21, the variety of bike racks and garbage bins on the street does not help to promote the "one street concept" on the Granville Street Mall, a major piece of the "Great Street" concepts

used as a selling point in the redesign. These inconsistencies also allude to the instilled separation of uses along the street, as many of the bins are only located in certain portions of the street.

Since the redesign has taken place, some street furniture has needed to be replaced, and some new developments have come to the street, bringing new furniture items to the street. The selection of some of these items has clearly gone without consideration for the unity of the street as intended in the redesign plans. This displays the possible lapse in coordinated management of the street, and that an ongoing management plan has not been followed through since the redesign. The potential for this to further present conflict between the goals for the street could have damaging consequences in the future.



Figure 17: BC Entertainment Hall of Fame paving (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 18: Granville Street granite paving vandalism (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 19: Granville Street benches (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 20: Granville Street bike racks, original version on left (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 21: Granville Street garbage bins, original version on left (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.1.2. Issues with "flex" parking

The most contentious item mentioned by every interviewee is the issue of the "flex" parking spaces along the southern blocks of the Granville Street Mall. Though touted as an "innovative" way to solve the parking challenge on the Mall, only scepticism and pessimistic views were received during the interview process, and observations reflected those thoughts.

Wally Argent, a sergeant with the Vancouver Police Department who worked in District 1-Granville-South for 25 years and provided the VPD perspective on the Granville Redesign process, was adamantly opposed to the "flex" parking system from the very start. A primary concern for the policing of the street, which is especially important during the weekend night entertainment district use, was the crowding that takes place in front of clubs and music venues. The wider the sidewalk, the safer the street, as the more space to allow for crowding, the less opportunity there is for shouldering and eventually fights between young club-goers. Argent applauded the actions to widen the sidewalk, but condemned the introduction of the bollards designating the "flex" parking spaces. With the addition of four bollard per space, along with bike racks, light poles, parking meters, signs, and sidewalk patios, the sidewalk width was actually reduced in the end. Even during the day, when one of the "flex" parking spaces is in use by a vehicle, some strollers cannot even squeeze through the space, according to Argent (see Figure 22). This is not welcoming to pedestrians, which in turn is not welcoming for customers (Argent, 2013). These same sentiments were echoed from Scot Hein, who noted the selection of the bollards was not as originally intended. The end product bollard was a more industrial design style than originally proposed (See Figure 12 & Figure 24 to compare).

During on street observations, there were multiple instances where this situation was evident. The "flex parking" spaces are primarily in use during weekday periods, which was observed during weekday rush hour observation times. During these times, pedestrian commuter traffic is also at its peak along Granville Street. On weekends, when the street is closed for festivals or set up in the evening for the entertainment district, cars are prohibited from using the "flex parking" spaces, and the additional sidewalk space is used simply as additional space for people to gather. The reduction in sidewalk space on the southern blocks during weekdays, notably rush hours, when this space is at its highest demand for

people movement, is problematic. This is an example of where one goal for the street was prioritized over another goal, in this case, the business interest of parking spaces over pedestrian capacity and the sidewalks as pedestrian movement paths and festival space. As noted in the conceptual framework, a key to ensuring "good" streets is constant pedestrian flow of people and activities on the street. With physical barriers to making that possible, the ability for Granville Street to fulfil that role is questionable.



Figure 22: Granville Street sidewalk furniture crowding (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.1.3. Street trees

The decision to retain the 35-year-old Beech trees on two of the northern blocks of the Mall has proved to be beneficial to the atmosphere of the Mall, at least in that section of the street. Though the lapse in rhythm along the street (moving from south to north, there are new, small trees, followed by no trees on the 700 block, followed by old, very tall trees in the north) created by the sudden tall trees north of Georgia Street, the decision to retain some has protected the character of the street which is strengthened by the concentration of heritage buildings between Pender and Georgia Streets. The trees also provide shade to the

street and sidewalks for pedestrians, which is especially beneficial on summer weekends when the street closes to general traffic and café tables and chairs are placed on the roadway. The portions of the street where these older trees are still in place, primarily serve as the core of the retail and commercial activity. Therefore, these blocks are generally active during weekdays and weekends during the daytime.

In comparison, the southern blocks of Granville Street, where the old growth trees were replaced by new, smaller trees or nothing at all, a large portion of the activity takes place at night during the weekend Entertainment District. In these blocks, a different scenario has played out. In many cases, the new trees planted have been damaged or completely knocked over. Noted in observations and reiterated in interviews, it is typically due to vandalism, usually during a weekend night. In addition, rather than immediately replacing these fallen or damaged trees, City maintenance has filled in the planters with asphalt. This was observed multiple times in different locations between Drake and Robson Streets. Not only does this create inconsistency and an image of a poorly maintained street, it produces a tripping hazard for pedestrians, and in some cases confusion for drivers who may think the newly created open space is available for "flex" parking.

Again, the inconsistency in ongoing management of the street is evident, possibly bringing further, unnecessary conflicts between stakeholders and their intended goals for Granville Street. This directly affects the pedestrian atmosphere on the street, showing the somewhat lack of attention paid to ensuring the street is consistent in design and appearance. This, in turn, diminishes the outcome of the "one street concept" presented in the redesign plans. And, as mentioned in the conceptual framework, pedestrians have the ability to observe everything around them, so the importance of the atmosphere at a human scale should be prioritized if Granville is to be a successful pedestrian mall and festival space. Continuing the pattern of simply replacing street trees when they are damaged is not conducive to a strong pedestrian atmosphere. A better approach would be protecting these trees with physical guards or not having removed them in the first place, but rather trimming and managing them after the redesign.



Figure 23: Old growth street trees (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 24: Street trees and "flex" parking bollards on southern blocks of Granville Street Mall (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.1.4. Civic Event Space and Viva Vancouver

The summer of 2013 was a particularly challenging year for the designated Civic Event Space on the 700 block between Georgia and Robson Streets. Due to the renovations of the former Sears building that fronts the majority of the west side of Granville along this block, much of the sidewalk was obstructed. Summer is the prime time of year for construction, but noise and an unsightly skeleton of a building made this block a difficult location for the centre of events. Krizstina Kassay, coordinator of the Viva Vancouver street activation program, which is a program of the City of Vancouver Engineering Department, noted this as an ongoing challenge for festivals on Granville. She stated that in 2013, the main block used for the centre of events such as the Latincouver festival and several community markets, was the 800 block, one block south between Robson and Smithe Streets (see Figure 25). This block was a good candidate for this use, as it has adequate sunlight and a flat surface (Kassay, 2013). It remains to be seen what the former Sears building, slated to become the new Nordstrom in 2014, will bring to Granville Street. Both Andrew Pask and Scot Hein are optimistic that it has the potential to completely change the atmosphere of the street (2013). It is clear, however, that the uses of the street for festival and retail/consumption purposes are very compatible.

Several interviewees noted the success of previous years of Viva Vancouver, as well as the Olympic Games and World Cup activities that took place in 2010. These events took place with a central focus on the 700 block. As part of the redesign, a special kiosk was installed on this block that allows for vendors and community groups to access electricity during events, encouraging the use of things like stages for performances. The kiosk, according to Kassay and Pask is well used, but not adequate enough for larger events. When it was installed, the Viva Vancouver program "was never on anyone's radar" (Kassay, 2013). There was no expectation that the success of the street activation in 2010 would bring a regular, ongoing demand every summer. Since then, additional access to power has not been installed, and sometimes groups are forced to bring their own generators, which are loud and unpleasant, or ask to hook up to an adjacent business's electricity. This challenge has not yet been resolved, though demand and interest from community groups to host events on the street continue to rise. Again, since the redesign, there has not been enough priority placed on meeting the needs of the stakeholders on the street to fulfil the goals imposed following the redesign. Priority may have been placed on other City projects,

perhaps, or even on maintaining the status quo on Granville. As summer 2014 approaches, and the renovated Sears building on the 700 block nears completion, festivals and prime summer programming for Viva Vancouver will most likely return to the usual location, bringing the need for adequate infrastructure to the forefront.



Figure 25: 800 block during Latincouver festival, Pacific Centre renovations for new Nordstrom in background (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.2. Entertainment District challenges

Granville Street Mall completely transforms during weekend nights throughout the year. All buses and vehicular traffic are removed from 9pm until the crowds clear in the early morning hours, and in the summer, the street remains closed for the full weekend. Viva Vancouver street activities "piggy back" their street closure off of the Entertainment District

(Kassay, 2013). The decision in 1997 to concentrate liquor seats to a specified "Entertainment District" along Granville Street has had mixed results. Nightclubs, lounges, and cabarets are open and able to serve alcohol until 2am between Nelson and Georgia Streets. This district is heavily policed during weekend nights, as crowds can often get out of hand, sparking fights and other rambunctious behaviour. Many of the patrons to these venues come from Metro Vancouver suburbs, which can be attributed partly to ease of access to the SkyTrain lines and the attractiveness of likeminded young people gathering in one place (Gordon, 2013).

The entertainment district function of Granville is notably the only function of the four explored in this research (transit mall, pedestrian/festival space, entertainment district, and retail/consumption space) that has City of Vancouver policy establishing the street as a designated space for a specific use. This can be attributed to provincial liquor licencing laws and safety considerations. Aside from transportation plans routing buses down Granville, the 1997 decision to concentrate liquor seats and make three blocks of Granville a designated Entertainment District, the other functions of Granville Street have evolved without the aid of written City policies. Granville Street has become a natural fit for its varying uses and activities without specific policies regulating specific activity. This again sheds light on the uniqueness of the street. The compromises during the planning process coupled with the lack of official policies designating the physical street space for specific purposes, have allowed Granville Street to become a space characterised by a temporal separation of uses.

According to Sargent Argent, who had patrolled the Granville-South policing district for many years, the concentration of liquor seats was a mistake, suggesting that a scattering approach to liquor licencing is preferred by public safety officials and does not result in negative outcomes like on Granville Street. However, now that it's done, and clubs and venues have been attracted to this space, from a crime prevention perspective, the space is now easier to control (Argent, 2013). Some outlier events do occur, however, such as the 2011 hockey riot, which brought larger scale destruction and vandalism to the downtown core following the Vancouver Canucks loss in the Stanley Cup final (Hager et al., 2011). Though an event like that had special circumstances adding to its complexity, it certainly did not help the reputation of Granville Street and the other activities that take place on the street.



Figure 26: Granville Street as the Entertainment District (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

The main blocks of focus when referring to the Entertainment District are the 800 and 900 blocks, Robson to Nelson Streets (see Figure 26). This is where the highest concentration of clubs and venues are located and where the primary street closures take place (Argent, 2013). Many of these clubs generate large crowds outside as they become full, and the wider sidewalks since the redesign, have allowed space for this. Some clubs even bring out stanchions or use removable bollards that are placed in the sidewalk paving to queue club-going patrons. Still, overcrowding occurs, and this is where problems result. The widening of sidewalks and closure of the street has reduced the amount of crowding, and thus reduced the opportunity for shouldering to take place and fights to break out in tight spaces.

Over-consumption of alcohol, which leads to public drunkenness and the carelessness of patrons, is typically what generates problems. During direct observations for this research, there were several instances where young patrons were being arrested or simply told to leave the street and put into a taxi. One night, the VPD mobile "drunk tank", or mobile holding cell, was on hand as a security precaution. This produces a strong sense of over-securitization, more notably when the crowds are relatively tame, and such precaution

seems unnecessary. The hard form of securitization, as framed in the literature review, is widely evident in the Granville Entertainment District. Though safety and security perspectives were consulted prior to the establishment of the Entertainment District, according to Sargent Argent, it seems recommendations were not fully acknowledged, resulting in the heavy concentration of liquor seats on Granville. Therefore, the resulting "manufactured problem" (Pask, 2013) requires police enforcement on an as-needed basis, with the hope of thwarting delinquent activity by simply adding police officers to the street during peak times. Regarding the recent redesign and the opportunity that arose to improve on this, Argent notes that the resulting streetscape is not conducive to a "24 hour use." He notes that the redesign was not done with the interest of local residents, but instead caters to the club-goers and issues with legal risks (Argent, 2013).

As the nights progress during weekends, the streets and sidewalks become more and more covered in litter: cigarette butts, beer boxes, gum, coffee cups, pizza boxes, and paper plates from pizza joints and donair shops (see Figure 27). As patrons move from club to club, excessive alcohol is consumed, and eventually these patrons sometimes vomit on the sidewalk and street (see Figure 28). The filth of the street is putrid, patrons to the street seem to care less about littering and vomiting wherever they please, and the street becomes horribly uninviting. By morning, however, Granville reverts back to its role as a transit and pedestrian mall for commuters or a festival space for events to take place during the day. This reality playing out on Granville today is clear evidence of the complexity created by superimposing an Entertainment District atop other already existing uses on the street. Rerouting transit to allow for more space for intoxicated patrons to move about, followed by the unlawful activity that sometimes results, does not necessarily reflect the image of a street with such high expectations as Granville. However, the desire to have these distinct purposes for the street is strong, and the benefit of separating them temporally seems to work for Granville Street. Following the wild weekend nights on Granville, the street is transformed back to its role as a transit mall and commuting corridor for Monday morning with the sidewalks clear of litter and vomit as if there was some element of magic involved.



Figure 27: Littered Granville Street (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 28: Vomiting on Granville Street (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

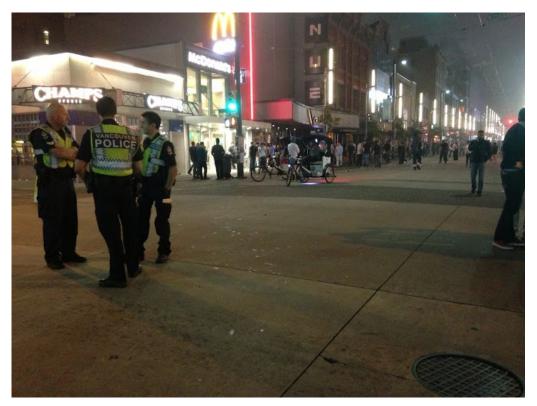


Figure 29: Police presence in Granville Entertainment District (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.3. Business activity on Granville

As previously mentioned, Vancouver is constantly changing, and perpetually undergoing some sort of development. Granville Street is not immune to this. Several major projects have recently taken place and some are still under construction. The most prominent of these is the renovated Sears building, slated to become the new Nordstrom department store (see Figure 30). The former structure "exerted this sort of vampiric force on the energy of the street and really depleted it" with its vast windowless façade of white marble (Pask, 2013). On the Granville Street facing side of the building, there was only one small entrance to the store while the remainder of the storefront was merely a white wall that was detrimental to the pedestrian life, especially on a block proposed to be the "Civic Event Space." The potential that the newly renovated building has to change the energy on the street remains to be seen, but will certainly impact the future of Granville Street (Pask, Hein, 2013).

Further evidence of business re-investment on Granville Street comes in the form of a larger retailer changing or improving their entrances that face Granville. Charles Gauthier cites the examples of Holt Renfrew and the Hudson's Bay Company both investing in new entrances facing Granville Street. Holt Renfrew, which primarily welcomes its customers through the indoor Pacific Centre Mall, is showing signs of inviting customers from the street, through windows and street entrances. As part of a \$23 million renovation is 2012, The Bay invested in exterior upgrades, including brand new awnings above their entrances. These awnings were designed to reflect the heritage elements of the building (Gauthier, 2013). There are strong advantages that such actions provide to the compatibility of other goals for Granville Street. Investing in the storefronts and facades improves the atmosphere of the pedestrian scale, which is conducive to strong pedestrian malls and a sign of a "good" street.

A robust retail and commercial presence on Granville Street provides for a mostly strong compatibility with other key goals. Destinations for consumption and shopping provide reason for transit access and service demand; a strong link exists between entertainment venues and other forms of consumption on the Mall; and a pedestrian mall and festival space attracts patrons to shop and consume who might not have otherwise. The economic benefits to Downtown Vancouver are very tightly connected with the level of success Granville Street yields. The slightest alteration in one goal has the potential to dramatically effect business activity on Granville Street, hence the steadfast support and consultation among the business community during the planning process.



Figure 30: Proposed exterior of newly renovated Nordstrom building – view from Robson Square, reproduced with permission (Source: Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association, 2013)

5.4. Transit functionality

With the introduction of the Canada Line to the street, a partial impetus to redesign the street in the first place, the volume of transit passengers visiting Granville Street has increased. In June 2011, a year after its opening, the Canada Line carried 136,259 passengers on an average weekday (TransLink, 2011). This was in addition to the already existing Millennium and Expo Skytrain lines, and bus services that traverse Granville Street. The life of Granville Street Mall is unquestionably dependent on transit service and the associated connectivity. With the alignment of the Canada Line directly underneath the Granville Street Mall, and with two of its terminus exits on the street, the importance for connectivity was further reinforced after the redesign.

Bus services operate normally along Granville during a regular weekday without conflicts. It is the weekend periods where conflict comes into play, and more so during summer weekends. Brian Mills commended the redesign, as it allowed for the street to function as a "passive space," meaning that transit is able to function without affecting other

activities on the street. This is made possible due to the widened sidewalks, designated transit lanes, and full blocks closed to general traffic. However, when the street is converted to its entertainment district use, it is completely turned off for transit, and conflict emerges. This especially becomes challenging as Granville Street has been designated part of the Frequent Transit Network⁴ according to Mills (2013). Communicating to passengers this change in terms of schedule and wayfinding becomes a challenge for TransLink, said Mills. However, according to Krizstina Kassay, the rerouting of the buses during the Granville Street closures is not as confusing as some may think. She notes that there is strong support for this from a street activation perspective, saying that the benefits outweigh the minor challenges (Kassay, 2013).

There is no doubt in the complications that exist on the Granville Street Mall. Catering to every stakeholder group's needs is challenging, and in a large project that redefines the corridor, such as the 2008 redesign, fulfilling every request is never possible. Donny Wong, a City of Vancouver transportation engineer involved with the 2008 redesign project, noted that if all allocations of right of way on Granville Street were added up individually (transit, private autos, cycling, and pedestrians), there are about three streets worth of usage all on one street. With this manufactured situation, it is inevitable that some priorities are going to be placed higher than others. This is clearly evident in the planning process and further reinforced by the current condition of the street today.

It is important to note again, that the 1997 Vancouver Transportation Plan set the stage for targets in transportation mode share, placing transit high on the list. These priorities could have influenced the City's ultimate decision on the approval of the chosen redesign concept. However, as mentioned in Section 4.4.6, transit was arguably placed highest on the list following the final redesign concept approval. The impact of a mobility-providing agency essentially driving the redesign of a street that is not only owned by the City, but also serves other roles completely out of the agency's control, clearly displays the high priority placed on transit in this project. This undoubtedly compromised and diminished other stakeholder priorities during the redesign and further prioritizes TransLink's stake on

⁴ TransLink's Frequent Transit Network (FTN) is a network of corridors that have transit service in both directions every 15 minutes or better during regular, specified times of day (TransLink, 2013).

the street into the future but furthered the evolution of the street to its temporal separation of uses, allowing for other times of the week and year to be dedicated to the other, less prioritized, functions.



Figure 31: Bus crowding at Granville and Georgia Streets (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)



Figure 32: Bus passenger crowding at Granville and Georgia Streets (Source: L. Hoyt, 2013)

5.5. Perspective changes

A major player in the timeline of Granville Street Mall is the perspective from residents and visitors on the purpose of the street as a physical space. Activation and programming that has taken place on the street has positively challenged people's thinking of the street as a space that is not just for vehicle movement. According to interviewees, this is due to several key actions.

As the Olympic Games approached in early 2010, it was decided that the street would remain transit-free until later that year, providing the opportunity for public gatherings and celebrations during the Games, as previously mentioned. According to Krizstina Kassay, an urban planner with the City of Vancouver in the Downtown and Neighbourhood Public Spaces section, the Olympics were a "game changer" for public space in Vancouver (Kassay, 2013). The 700 block was used to its fullest advantage as the Civic Event Space for Granville Street during the Olympics and then again a few months later during the World Cup, which eventually led to the establishment of Viva Vancouver, and Granville Street played a major piece in that program, which still exists and continues to grow throughout the city today. Viva's mandate is about removing vehicles from the roadway and "creatively transforming streets into vibrant public spaces" (COV, 2012). "I don't think anyone could have envisioned what is happening now...some of the changes and people's perceptions about how to use the street and what a sidewalk means versus what a street means." (Wong, 2013). Viva was, and still is today, supported as a joint effort of the City of Vancouver (organization and management), TransLink (rerouting of buses), and the DVBIA (funding and support).

As noted before, people come to Granville Street in the summer expecting the streets to be filled with activity. "Our brand recognition, and the fact that people know that they can come down to Granville is growing," suggested Kassay. "In spite of all that construction, people are still wanting to come down to Granville and check out all of the activities" (2013). This brings a boost in revenue for businesses and grows the number of returning visitors to Granville Street, improving its reputation. This suggests not only that there is growing demand for these types of spaces and activities in downtown, but also that these roles for the Granville Street Mall work well together.

Opinions from business and property owners along Granville also seemed to change regarding vehicles on the street. There was a lack of clarity prior to the redesign regarding whether or not additional vehicles should be allowed on the street and the benefits that that may or may not bring, but post-redesign, perspectives seemed to have changed. According to Charles Gauthier, executive director of the DVBIA, this also is a strong indicator of the success of the redesign. Activating the street throughout the year, and especially in the summer, continues to motivate people to visit, bringing further customers to the businesses (Gauthier, 2013). Andrew Pask, the director of the Vancouver Public Space Network, noted further that the DVBIA "thinking about public space is changing a lot," and that business owners have come to realize that active public spaces and sustainable transportation like buses and SkyTrain access on Granville Street, are what brings customers to Granville Street. Businesses have become advocates for activating the street and supporting transit (Pask, 2013). This was also mirrored in data collected by TransLink, as Brian Mills noted. Businesses encouraged the maintenance or increase in bus service levels along Granville, as transit passengers were seen as a major portion of their customer base (Mills, 2013). According to the DVBIA 2013 Annual Report Downtown Matters, 41% of Metro Vancouverites surveyed think, in general, that Granville Street has improved, which was up 21% from four years prior (DVBIA, 2013). These adjustments in attitude show positive signals for the future of Granville, and that separated uses can exist on the Granville Street Mall, despite the differences and reoccurring conflicts that happen on the continually changing street.

Again, this shift in thinking reveals the demand for all of the goals that have been imposed on Granville Street, and deepens the expectation that these uses will continue to exist. Patrons to the street have become dependent on the transit services and the ease of accessibility to retail and consumption destinations that altering that in any way could drastically affect the economic viability of the street. The same applies for patrons to the street who have become use to the idea of festivals and programmed activities on the street happening every summer weekend. These positive perspective changes are greatly beneficial to the life of the street, but have raised the bar for Granville Street management and the need to appease all stakeholders involved. This good kind of problem for Granville sheds light on the importance of properly prioritizing future planning and maintenance of the street.

6. Conclusions

It is clear that the many functions that Granville Street plays in Downtown Vancouver – transit mall, pedestrian and festival space, retail and consumption space, and entertainment district – can and do coexist, but not without challenges and conflicts. Though the conflicts may be moderate in the grand scheme of things, they must still be managed. Urban designers, transit planners, businesses, on-street city operations workers, police officers, and festival planners must consider all of the activities that take place on the Granville Street Mall when making decisions regarding future events, plans, street configurations, street furniture selection, land use, and zoning policies.

In planning for the redesign of Granville Street Mall, officials did not seem to compare or take advice from other streets around North America or the world. After briefly researching similar streets in the literature review for this project, it was apparent that no street is similar enough to Granville to adequately compare. No case study street in any other city has evolved in a similar manner as Granville, and no street has as many separate but coexisting uses as Granville. Unlike Denver's 16th Street Mall, which has far less transit volume and a different pedestrian configuration, Granville Street serves an additional role as the central summer festival space for Downtown Vancouver bringing a much larger capacity of people to the street. In addition, the case of Portland's 3rd and 5th Streets differ in that they were established primarily to increase transit efficiency and do not face the challenge of other imposed goals like Granville Street. Granville Street Mall is so unique in its situation and complications, that it required customized planning and analysis in its redesign planning and requires special attention for addressing the continued challenges today.

The separate but coexisting goals and purposes that Granville Street Mall is expected to fulfil were further embedded in the 2008 redesign and are inevitably going to conflict with one another from time to time in various ways. This project has identified the conflicts and addressed the challenges from stakeholders that arise when these conflicts occur using a conceptual framework that examines the potential incompatibilities between

specific goals for the street. This is not to say that the uses cannot coexist, but that future conflict will not cease to exist.

With an opportunity to redesign such an iconic street as Granville, policy makers and designers can prioritize an idealized vision of something like the "Great Street" principles, resulting in other needs being overlooked or reduced in priority, when in reality, those overlooked priorities are what directly affects the street users. Transit is a prime example of this in the case of Granville, as many of the urban design principles of a "Great Street" were compromised due to transit demands or legal risks. In addition, TransLink and its customers have become so dependent on Granville Street as the backbone of Vancouver's transit network, that imposing other uses on the street that have the potential to reduce transit service levels is not in the interest of the transit authority. Though transit malls do provide strong access to services in downtown cores, challenges can arise when making the same streets festival spaces or entertainment districts.

This project does shed light on a reassuring feature of Granville Street. Due to Granville's unique balance of uses unlike any other North American street, and its ability to maintain these uses with generally minimal and manageable conflict, the 'experiment' of Granville Street is one that has potentially yielded some worthwhile results. Though the evolution of planning Granville over the past several decades has been somewhat ad hoc and spontaneous, there is an agreed upon temporal separation of uses, which is never specifically mentioned in the written plans and is a result of a more hands off approach to managing the activities on the street. The street is a commuter corridor during weekdays, which seamlessly transitions to an entertainment district on weekend nights and back to a commuter corridor by Monday morning. In summer months, that street closing is lengthened into a festival space. These uses are separated on a temporal scale more so than a physical scale, which seems to work relatively well for Granville. Though the street may be intended as a multi-use street and designed in a way that allows for multiple uses, the original redesign plans were an attempt to manufacture the activities on the street through urban design. However, the compromises that have come about through the redesign process watered down some of those strong design plans and resulted in a space that is still very much a multi-use street, but where the uses are separated on a temporal basis. This innovative approach to street management is worthy of recognition and repetition.

Implications that this research provides to city streets that contain one or more of the goals similar to Granville Street, are that adding additional uses on the street can certainly be beneficial, but doing so cannot be done without addressing any inherent conflicts. However, in the case of Granville, these sometime conflicting uses can be managed with considerable communication and coordination between stakeholder organizations, which could provide a model for other cities. Could streets that have a struggling retail district benefit from adding another layer like a transit mall or entertainment district, using the sort of temporal separation of uses like Granville has employed? Of course, as more uses are imposed on a specific street, there are more stakeholders to consult during changes and more demands that must be considered, though not all will be met. This inevitably will result in compromises, as some demands will be prioritized over others, but Granville Street has proven that this model can work.

This research did not examine individual land uses adjacent to the Granville Street Mall, but rather used a block-by-block approach and examined the street and sidewalk areas that serve as an experimental space for the various roles on the street. Further research that investigates the individual land uses along Granville could lead to additional introspection into the balance of use on each block and how this affects activities that take place on the street. The demands of each stakeholder within a larger stakeholder group, like the DVBIA for example, could vary dramatically. Planners and designers could benefit widely from additional, more in depth research, which would inform future planning and maintenance for Granville Street.

Additionally, the unique model of temporal separation of uses along Granville Street could be further examined for cost effectiveness. Is there a higher operating cost to layering more and more uses on the street? Does separating them temporally, while still using the same physical space affect the cost? Which stakeholders are most affected by this change in cost, if any?

The character of Granville Street Mall would not be what it is today without the continuous evolution that transpires on the street. Vancouver's downtown core is strongly impacted by the activities that occur on Granville, and the street is part of a larger network of ceremonial and high streets. Those decision makers, city staff, business owners, and community members have come to know Granville Street for its ability to adapt, and it is

clear that is what will continue to happen. Reducing the roles on the street to one or two rather than the four or five previously mentioned, would potentially cause more havoc for nearby streets. Instead, the purpose that the Granville Street Mall, the historic backbone of the city, serves is that of an evolutionary, multi-use street. It is in no way perfect. Based on this research, the defining role of Granville Street in Vancouver's urban character as of 2014 is to continue being a complex, multi-use street that provides strong transit access, premier entertainment opportunities, primary shopping and retail destinations, and exceptional public space activation. The street will continue to evolve and play its role in downtown Vancouver as stakeholders continue to demand incompatible uses on the street.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

"Great Streets" Design Philosophy

"Great Streets" Design Philosophy according to Allan Jacobs. This display board was presented at the Granville Street redesign open house on January 23, 2008. (COV, 2012, August).

CREATING A GREAT STREET

In March 2006 Council approved the renovation of Granville Street on the basis of a conceptual design approach founded on the theories of the notable streetscape designer, Allan B. Jacobs. The following is adapted from Jacobs' publication "Great Streets".

PLACES TO WALK WITH SOME LEISURE

The requirement for a great street is that people be able to walk easily and safely. A street may be experienced in pleasant terms by car or by transit; however, it is the experience on foot that enables the intimate engagement of the urban environment, public socializing and community enjoyment in daily life. Wider sidewalks and separation devices between pedestrians and vehicles are designed to comfortably accommodate the variable volumes of pedestrians throughout the day.

PHYSICAL COMFORT

People understand and respond to comfort and the best street designers have understood that. Climate related characteristics of comfort are reasonably quantifiable. Deciduous street trees as proposed for Granville Street will provide leafy canopies for shade in the summer months while allowing in sunlight for warmth during the winter.

DEFINITION

A street that has definition is one where the pedestrian feels a comfortable sense of enclosure that is achieved by building walls and in many cases, by street trees. A street that possesses good definition is typically one where the building height to horizontal distance ratio is at least 1.4 with the viewer looking at a 30-degree angle to the right or left of the direction of the street. North of Georgia Street, the building edges are relatively high and good street definition is achieved, however, in some instances on the southern blocks, where building heights are quite low liwthin ranges of 1-2 stories, proposed street trees whose canopy heights will eventually exceed these building heights will be used to provide an adequate sense of street edge definition.

QUALITIES THAT ENGAGE THE EYES

Visually engaging streets successfully modulate light on a wide array of surfaces and materials. There is animation, seen by the variety of people, colours, the movement of leaves in tree canopies blowing in the wind, the movement of traffic and the shadows created by finely textured building faces. At night the visual qualities can change dramatically, with artificial lighting and colour emanating from building interiors, vertically Illuminated marquee signage and the creative use of street lighting. Such qualities, both at day and at night are important in creating a visually stimulating place so long as the complexity of the design is achieved within some holistic context.

TRANSPARENCY

The best streets are those that offer a quality of transparency at their edge, where the public realm of the street and the less public, often private realm of property and buildings meet. One can see or have a sense of what is behind whatever it is that defines the street; one senses an invitation to view or know, if only in the mind, what is behind the street walt. Who of this is achieved in the existing condition of Granville Street, save for a few examples along the street where there are few openings, or a sense of impenetrable walts. The proposed street improvements anticipate that existing and future development will increase in ability to be transparent. Through the design of designated interactive zones for cafe patio seating and outdoor retail, or focusing primary building entrances anto Granville Street, the relationship between the public and private realms can be strengthened.

COMPLEMENTARITY

The great streets are not generally characterized by standout, individual iconic buildings, but rather by street walls and edges that respect one another in terms of their form and scale. While building design is not within the scope of this project, the concept can also extend to they way other edges are expressed, whether in the form of continuous lines of trees, or vertical elements such as lighting that can all function to create a complimentary character and scale in the public realm.

MAINTENANCE

Physical maintenance is as important as any of the other requirements for Great Streets. It is part of maintaining a healthy public environment and a clear indicator of whether a community has taken care and ownership of it. It is more than a matter of keeping things clean and in good repair; it is about selecting materials and elements for which there is some history of effective maintenance and repair. Selecting paving materials, trees and lighting that are a part of City's existing repertoire of urban elements will increase the likelihood of proper upkeep.

QUALITY OF CONSTRUCTION AND DESIGN

Quality of construction and design, or lack thereof, is almost always obvious. Even the best maintenance cannot improve on the quality of materials or workmanship. Particularly on Granville Street, materials will need to be robust to withstand significant wear and tear. Quality workmanship is a matter of cost, but is critical to ensure that the integrity of the design is carried through. Quality is often associated with money, however, it is more about the right choice of materials than budget which will ultimately determine the long term success of the project.





Appendix B.

Sample Interview Questions

What has been the extent of your involvement with any part of the Granville Street Mall redesign? When exactly was this?

At the time the Granville Redesign planning was underway, who or what were the key influences that resulted in the decisions to...

- · keep vehicles on the street?
- · close a portion of the street to all but transit?

How did the decision to construct the Canada Line affect plans for Granville's redesign?

Were there any specific locations on the Mall that received more attention or detail than others? If so, why?

How much consideration of crime prevention was included in the redesign? Do you think this has had any hindrance on the outcome the Mall as an effective public space?

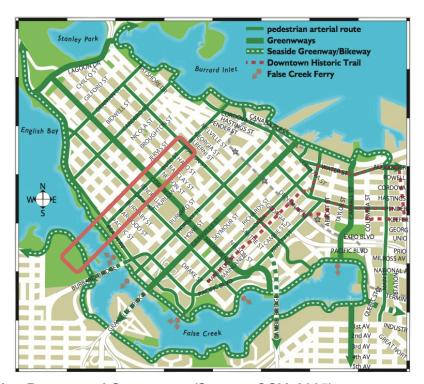
What were the motivations behind the selection of the current street furniture?

What is your perspective on the outcomes of the redesign and how the Mall is utilized as a public space now? Would you consider it a "Great Street" according to plans from the City of Vancouver and Allan Jacobs's requirements for "Great Streets"? Do you think it will become a "Great Street" with time?

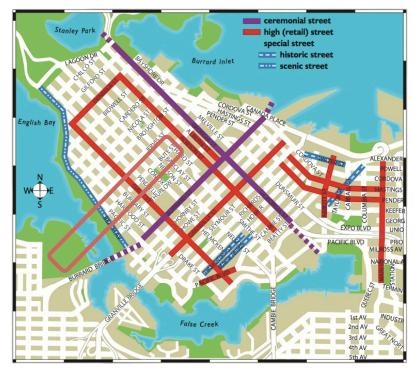
Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix C.

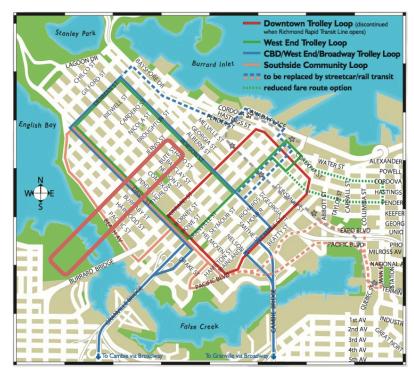
Downtown Transportation Plan Maps



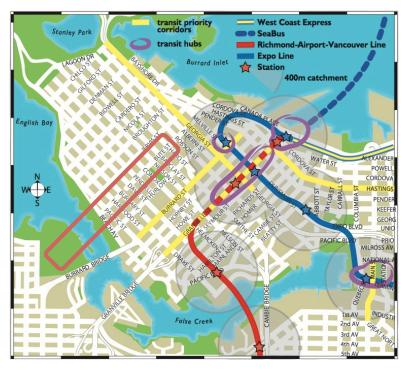
DTP Pedestrian Routes and Greenways (Source: COV, 2005)



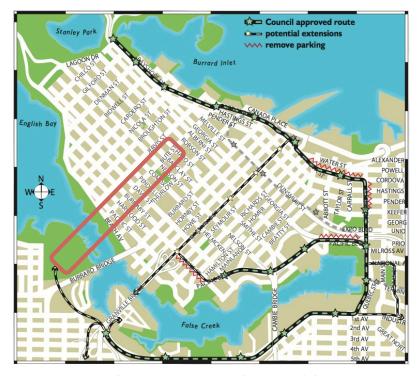
DTP Great Streets (Source: COV, 2005)



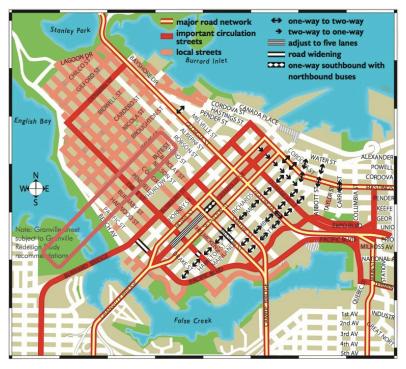
DTP Conceptual bus routes to serve the Metropolitan Core (Source: COV, 2005)



DTP Transit Priority Locations Downtown (Source: COV, 2005)



DTP Approved and Potential Streetcar Routes (Source: COV, 2005)



DTP Downtown Major Road Network, Important Downtown Circulation Streets, Local Streets and Road Network Changes (Source: COV, 2005)

Appendix D.

Final Granville Street Redesign Goals and Design Principles

Final Granville Street Redesign goals and design principles from COV, 2008, Apr 22, p. 5-6.6

Goals:

- Re-establish the status of Granville Street as one of Vancouver's Great Streets based on the definition of a 'Great Street' which Allan B. Jacobs provides in his classic book Great Streets.
- Recreate Granville Street as a destination for locals and visitors.
- Elevate community pride and promote public safety.
- Design a street that reflects Vancouver's unique identity, character and sense of place.

Design Principles:

- Create a pedestrian friendly street, accessible to all.
- Promote Granville Street as one continuous pedestrian-oriented thoroughfare with several distinct neighbourhoods.
- Establish a flexible infrastructure to allow for a wide variety of uses including special events.
- Accommodate day time and night time activities.
- Support retail activity to flourish including cafes, vendors and entertainers.
- Use lighting as a distinctive streetscape feature adding to night-time ambience.
- Design for the long-term success of street trees.
- Incorporate public art and creative design solutions to utilitarian functions.
- Promote cost effective, high quality materials and durable infrastructure elements with a sense of permanence.
- Ensure transit related facilities complement streetscape design.
- Minimize impacts of site servicing functions and utilities.
- To enhance and encourage access to Granville Street by the more sustainable modes of transport (walking, cycling, rapid transit, bus transit)
- Utilize Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles.
- · Support Vancouver's Project Civil City goals.