

Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing - Oppose

Date Received	Time Created	Subject	Position	Content	Author Name	Neighborhood	Attachment
2025-12-05	16:25	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	<p>Dear Mayor and Council,</p> <p>How on earth did our society sink so low? We have the means to take good care of each other — shelter, warmth, food and companionship — and still, we do not do what we know it is right to do.</p> <p>The proposed zoning changes to the Downtown Eastside and Thornton Park will perpetuate and worsen the adverse conditions there.</p> <p>The plan would reduce the amount of social housing required of developers. No, it’s already too low!</p> <p>Please, do not further diminish the lives of those who find themselves trapped in those neighbourhoods.</p> <p>Thousands of Vancouverites are homeless; about 3,500 at last report. And nearly twice that number reside in SROs that are in such disrepair they actually need to be replaced. And the City’s plan would make this worse.</p> <p>Instead, the City of Vancouver ought to be working with senior levels of government for funding and cooperation on developing the sorely needed homes for people in SROs and those already on the streets. Any reduction to the number of shelter rate units in new rental buildings will only serve to increase the profits of private developers.</p> <p>Think about it: this plan will make it more expensive to acquire land in the Downtown Eastside, which means it be harder for non-profits and the government to build the shelter rate and other affordable housing the community needs so very much.</p> <p>Furthermore, how do you expect newly-arrived, high income residents in the market rate apartments to integrate into this community that has suffered such devastating poverty and its effects for so long? Regardless of our social standing, we ALL benefit when social equity and justice are established and maintained.</p> <p>People who are already homeless and those who need new SROs all needed to be treated equally and with respect. Please consider these points carefully, and do the right thing.</p> <p>Sincerely yours, Carol J. Sutton</p>	Carol Sutton	Fairview	
2025-12-05	22:42	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	<p>As a graduate student at UBC's School of Regional and Community Planning, I am extremely opposed to the proposed amendments to the DTES plan. Particularly, the community is especially vulnerable with a high unhoused community that intersects with Indigenous, radicalized, and drug user communities. Drastically decreasing requirements for non-market social housing to 4% of total units while market housing development continues to rise while the unhoused and housing precarious population increases in the DTES and the city at large, not only damages the city's reputation as a "livable city" but is a great stain on the city's commitments to reconciliation, UNDRIP, and to its residents and community members. 8,500 members of the DTES community are in severe need of housing. Many community members hold intersecting identities of race, class, and gender/sexuality. This is an already vulnerable community that have already told the city that gentrification, development, and market housing is not the answer. The answers and solutions already exist, and it is not to build more market housing. Aligned with the open letter signed by academics addressed to the city on the redevelopment of the DEOD and the Thornton district, I call for the city to consult "with impacted community members, including the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council and the Japanese Canadian community" (as stated in the open letter) and to increase social housing without displacement or gentrification.</p>	Diane Huang		

Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing - Oppose

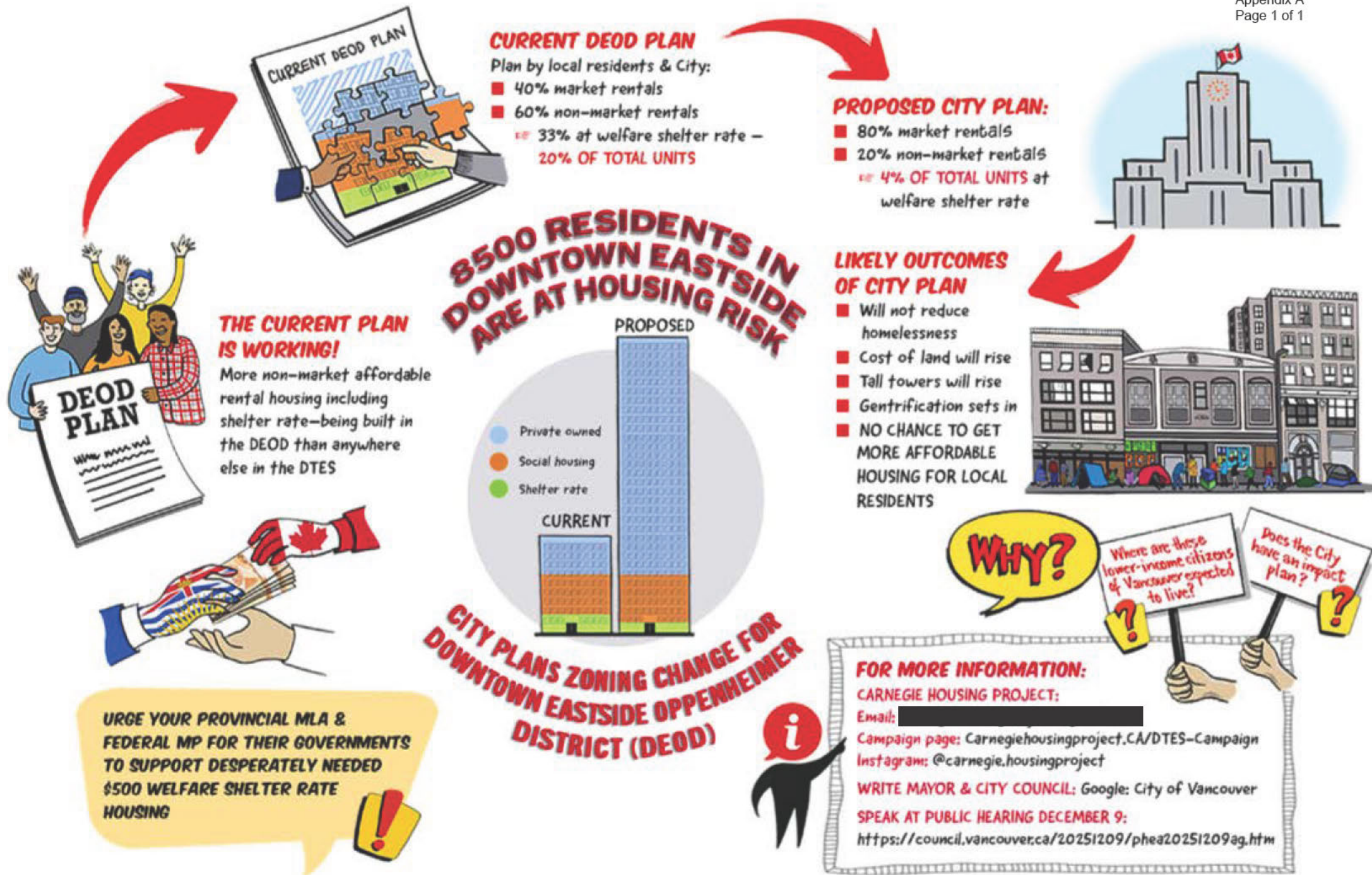
Date Received	Time Created	Subject	Position	Content	Author Name	Neighborhood	Attachment
2025-12-07	10:50	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	<p>Dear Vancouver Mayor and Council,</p> <p>After my Japanese Canadian grandparents and their family's were forced from the West Coast in 1942, due to their heritage, they chose to return and make Vancouver their home. But barriers persisted: the government fallaciously declared to them that they could not return as the war was ongoing, till 1949; banks would not give Asians loans; Vancouverites petitioned to prevent my family in their "Mount Pleasant" neighboured.</p> <p>Through tenacity and love of their children, who were born into BC war camps, my grandparents overcame bigotry as best one could in semi-segregated mid-century Vancouver.</p> <p>The ripple effects of bigotry still persists as our history is being erased. When and where has the City of Vancouver consulted with the Japanese Canadian community about changes to or most impressive pre-war neighbourhood? The anti-Asians who once were in power wanted to exterminate all Japanese Canadian culture on the West Coast. That includes the Oppenheimer district. Please don't let them succeed.</p> <p>~ Kevin/Taka</p>	Kevin Lee	I do not live in Vancouver	
2025-12-07	15:35	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	<p>December 3, 2025</p> <p>Dear Resident/Worker/Supporter of Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside. As you will know Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside residents are threatened by a zoning change in the Downtown Eastside - Oppenheimer District (DEOD) that will significantly reduce the availability of non-profit social housing and shelter welfare housing. The present plan, developed 15 years ago by local residents and businesses with the City is working, building more affordable/shelter rate housing then elsewhere in the Downtown Eastside.</p> <p>8,500 people are at housing risk.</p> <p>Attached is a graphic that illustrates the challenge with information about other information sources.</p> <p>Please post and pass on A larger poster version is also available.</p> <p>Urge folks to sign up with City Hall to speak at the December 9th public hearing.</p> <p>Thank you!</p> <p>Michael Clague and 5 other members of the Order of Canada resident and/or associated with the Downtown Eastside: Libby Davies, Terry Hunter, Donald MacPherson, Terry Hunter.</p> <p>Email: [REDACTED]</p>	No Name ReCollect		See App A

Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing - Oppose

Date Received	Time Created	Subject	Position	Content	Author Name	Neighborhood	Attachment
2025-12-07	20:29	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	Reduces per centre of housing available to current downtown Eastside residents	esther tennenhouse	Hastings-Sunrise	
2025-12-08	13:34	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	<p>We are writing as the CCRN, a network of organizations, non-profits, community workers, and residents of the Downtown Eastside (DTES). Our network represents many voices across the neighbourhood, and we are deeply concerned about the proposed DTES Housing Implementation Rezoning. We echo the calls of many who want Vancouver to uphold dignity, housing, health care, and belonging for all.</p> <p>We urge Council to carefully consider how this change will impact the DTES and its residents—especially those who are unhoused. We ask that you prioritize the people of this neighbourhood so that the needs of low-income, Indigenous, women, and other marginalized residents remain central to any planning process.</p> <p>We encourage Council to reconsider moving forward with these zoning changes in their current form. We ask that you take more time to meaningfully engage with the community and explore alternative options. Work with residents and organizations to plan for the integration of middle-income renters in ways that support, rather than displace, community-led initiatives. We also urge the implementation of solutions such as a social impact assessment, a comprehensive plan to address shelter and housing for people who are currently homeless, and a plan for the expansion of shelter-rate housing across the city.</p> <p>The Downtown Eastside is a unique and deeply valued community. Applying zoning changes that mirror the rest of the city overlooks the needs of this neighbourhood and the importance of a holistic and pragmatic approach.</p> <p>Key concerns include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The plan does not address how higher-income, market-rental tenants would integrate into a community already facing an overwhelming need for affordable housing.• The proposal makes no reference to housing the roughly 2,000 people with no fixed address in the DTES.• There is no updated housing needs assessment—an essential component of the 2014 DTES Local Area Plan and critical for any significant rezoning in a neighbourhood with the city’s most vulnerable residents. <p>As Council seeks to better define municipal, provincial, and federal roles in housing, we urge you to take the time to collaborate with all levels of government on a meaningful, effective approach to affordable housing in the DTES and across Vancouver. These changes are not the answer to the city’s worsening affordability crisis—a crisis that is already driving displacement and rising homelessness. Without real investment in deeply affordable housing and community-led solutions, these zoning changes will hurt the city’s most vulnerable residents. The DEOD remains one of the last areas where affordable housing has been protected from rampant land speculation. It is a community where people love their neighbourhood and deserve to remain in it.</p>	Hope Hart	Strathcona	Attachment 1

Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing - Oppose

Date Received	Time Created	Subject	Position	Content	Author Name	Neighborhood	Attachment
2025-12-08	14:36	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	Please see attached submissions and attachments.	Sarah Marsden	Strathcona	Attachment 1 Attachment 2 Attachment 3 Attachment 4 See App B Attachment 6 Attachment 7 See App C See App D See App E Attachment 11 Attachment 12 Attachment 13
2025-12-08	15:51	Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC 1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing	Oppose	I strongly oppose this rezoning. Shelter-rate housing exists as a last resort before homelessness, and this rezoning will drastically decrease the supply of it in our city. I applaud the efforts to replace unsafe and ageing SROs, but this plan significantly cuts the amount of shelter-rate and deeply affordable housing in the DTES while not doing anything to replace this housing elsewhere in the city. This rezoning will lead to an increase in homelessness and displacement. I urge everyone to vote no.	James Madden	Dunbar-Southlands	





**Mayor and Council
City Hall
453 West 12th Ave
Vancouver, BC
V5Y 1V4**

December 8, 2025

Copy delivered by email to: ken.sim@vancouver.ca, CLRbligh@vancouver.ca, CLRdominato@vancouver.ca, CLRfry@vancouver.ca, CLRkirby-yung@vancouver.ca, CLRklassen@vancouver.ca, CLRmaloney@vancouver.ca, CLRmeiszner@vancouver.ca, CLRmontague@vancouver.ca, CLRorr@vancouver.ca, CLRzhou@vancouver.ca

Re: Amendments to the FC-1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law

On June 4, 2025, The City of Vancouver passed a motion affirming housing as a human right, and recognized that an urgent policy shift is required in order to “ensure access to affordable housing through policies that prevent homelessness, address the escalating homelessness crisis, eliminate discrimination, and prioritize the needs of vulnerable and marginalized populations.”

The right to housing demands immediate attention in the Downtown Eastside (DTES), a diverse and resilient neighbourhood in which people face intersecting challenges of extreme poverty, historical and personal trauma, mental health challenges, disabilities and the overdose crisis.

T: 604.681.8365
E: info@firstunited.ca

firstunited.ca

320 E Hastings St, Vancouver BC V6A 1P4

Located on unceded Xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam),
Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), & Səlilwətaʔ (Tsleil-Waututh) lands.

This area is home to Indigenous people at a proportion more than four times higher than Vancouver overall.¹ In deciding on the proposed rezoning, Council must also meaningfully consider the outsized impact on Indigenous people in the context of its obligations under the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* and in light of the Court of Appeal decision in *Gixtaala v. British Columbia (Chief Gold Commissioner)*.²

Right now, the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District benefits from protective zoning which prioritizes the delivery of social and supportive housing, and which has been very successful in providing this urgently-needed kind of housing. The bylaw changes before Council propose to reduce this protection in favour of market-driven housing.

We write in opposition to the motion, and we call on Council to:

- direct staff to **conduct an assessment of the likelihood of homelessness, displacement, and other social and economic impacts of the proposed changes**, with particular attention to Indigenous people, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups, as was originally planned for these zoning changes;
- direct staff to obtain **an assessment of the potential impacts of land value increases on the viability of social housing, and to examine alternatives to a financial profit-based model**, in light of all relevant evidence;
- direct staff to conduct **a full analysis of whether project viability for for-profit developers will actually result in the delivery of more social housing on a faster scale** than what has been achieved under the existing bylaws;
- improve the language of the Tenant Relocation Protection Policy** for the DEOD and Thornton Park to require actual provision of permanent,

¹ Per federal census 2021 data, 9% of total population in the DTES identifies as Indigenous vs. 2% within Vancouver CMA.

² 2025 BCCA 430

adequate housing, to require consent prior to relocation outside the neighbourhood, to include all Notices to End Tenancy, and to provide top-ups to actual market rent for anyone who exercises a Right of First Refusal;

-remove the 60-year lease option with reversion to private ownership.

We make these calls on the basis of the following:

1. The proposed rezoning will cause additional displacement and homelessness

Social housing, and especially shelter-rate and SRO units, play a critical role in preventing displacement and homelessness in Vancouver. Shelter-rate units provide housing to our neighbours who rely on income assistance, and SRO units provide housing of last resort to those who would otherwise be homeless. All social housing provides housing to the many British Columbians who cannot afford market rent and who would otherwise be at risk of homelessness.

The current Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District zoning has been highly effective in getting social housing built. Staff reports state that “only two buildings have been built” under the current zoning, but this is inaccurate, as it refers only to buildings that are mixed market rental and social housing. In fact, from 2014 to 2024, 22 social housing projects delivering 2,251 units of social housing were built in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District under the current policy, providing urgently needed housing for lower-income people who would otherwise be at risk of homelessness. The staff referral report confirms that social and supportive housing construction in the DTES overall met and exceeded the goal for this time period, delivering 2500 social and supportive units to meet the increasing need for these units.³

³ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 6.

The proposed changes are designed to allow removal of shelter-rate and SRO units without a plan to replace all of those units, and to reduce the proportion of social housing in new developments. When shelter-rate, SRO, and social housing stock is decreased, the number of homeless people will increase accordingly. Homelessness in Vancouver has already increased a staggering 12.5 percent since last year, to 2715 counted individuals⁴ and there are already 6,340 households on B.C. Housing's waitlist, as noted in the Referral Report for the recent inclusionary zoning measures for social housing.⁵ Research shows that the cost of increasing homelessness by far outweighs the cost of providing housing to people when they need it.⁶

The proposed rezoning will reduce the number of available SRO spaces by removing the current 1:1 replacement requirement and instead requiring only 50% replacement (in the case of conversion to self-contained units) or 20% replacement (in the case of redevelopment). The plan does not explain where these tenants will go when their housing is removed.

These concerns were also raised by multiple stakeholders during the consultation process; as summarized in the most recent referral report, Indigenous stakeholders had "concerns around gentrification, displacement, private development options, and erosion of community support networks." Likewise, public stakeholders voiced "significant concerns around reducing shelter rate housing, introducing more privately led development, displacement risks, and gentrification (public)" and SRO resident stakeholder input included "opposition to reducing shelter-rate housing, concerns around privately initiated development options, and tenant relocation/displacement risks."⁷

The present bylaw change process originally anticipated a Social Impact Assessment to respond specifically to new indicators including the overdose crisis and increased

⁴ 2025 Point-in-Time Homeless Count in Greater Vancouver: Final Report, prepared for Lu'ma Native Housing Society by Homelessness Services Association of BC (September 2025). Vancouver, BC.

⁵ Referral Report RTS 17793 (October 21, 2025), p 21.

⁶ See, e.g. Pomeroy, Steve. "The cost of homelessness: Analysis of alternate responses in four Canadian cities." *Ottawa: Focus Consulting* (2005), Ly, Angela "Housing First Impact on Costs and Associated Cost Offsets: A Review of the Literature/Coûts et économies associés à l'approche «Logement d'abord»: revue de la littérature." *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 60.11 (2015): 475, Latimer, Eric A., et al. "Costs of services for homeless people with mental illness in 5 Canadian cities: a large prospective follow-up study." *Canadian Medical Association Open Access Journal* 5.3 (2017): E576-E585, Goering, Paula, et al. "National final report: cross-site At Home/Chez Soi project." Calgary, AB: Mental Health Commission of Canada (2014).

⁷ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 21.

homelessness, similar to that which was conducted in 2014 as part of the Downtown Eastside Area Plan.⁸ However, in February 2025, staff advised that a Social Impact Assessment was not feasible due to resource issues and noted that they were “exploring ways to leverage the HCS (Healthy Cities Strategy) as a framework for measuring changes...this would include measuring changes and impact in the DTES.”⁹ However, it appears that this was not done: the referral report in support of the changes makes no reference to the Healthy Cities Strategy or any other form of impact assessment. As a result, there is no assessment in the materials before Council on the risk of homelessness and displacement as a result of the proposed bylaws.

We therefore submit that prior to considering changes to the bylaws that protect social housing in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District, **Council should direct staff to conduct an assessment of the likelihood of homelessness, displacement, and other social and economic impacts of potential changes, with particular attention to Indigenous people, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups.**

2. The proposed rezoning is likely to cause land value increases, making it harder to build social housing

With existing social housing protections, the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District has maintained a lower land value relative to neighbouring areas of the Downtown Eastside. Reducing these protections as proposed in the bylaw amendment will result in a “land lift,” in which increased available market density will increase the profit potential of land and therefore its value.¹⁰ In Vancouver, the evidence shows that both land values and speculation have increased when zoning is changed to allow higher-density

⁸ Report to Council, Standing Committee of Council on Policy and Strategic Priorities (November 29, 2023) p. 21.

⁹ Uplifting the Downtown Eastside and Building Inclusive Communities that Work for All Residents: Progress Update, Council report RTS 16128 (February 25, 2025).

¹⁰ See, e.g. Kim, Minjee, and Hyojung Lee. “Upzoning and gentrification: Heterogeneous impacts of neighbourhood-level upzoning in New York City.” *Urban Studies* 62.10 (2025): 2009-2028; Freemark, Yonah. “Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a zoning reform on property values and housing construction.” *Urban affairs review* 56.3 (2020): 758-789; Marcuse, Peter. “Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City.” *Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L.* 28 (1985): 195.

market development.¹¹ This effect may be particularly pronounced in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District because the land currently has a lower value than adjacent areas. When land value increases, the ability for nonprofits and governments to buy and develop social housing slips further out of reach. In addition, land value increases will cause property tax increases for housing providers and businesses in the area, making it harder to provide critical housing, jobs, and services.

The economic report provided by Coriolis and included in the staff referral report gives a one-line opinion that they do not “expect upward pressure on land values” in several specific scenarios. In the attached expert opinion, Professor Patrick Condon an expert in urban planning, has stated that the idea that land values will not increase with this rezoning is “false and contrary to basic urban economics principles and observed patterns in Vancouver.”¹² He explains:

Land value increase is a standard outcome of market-driven densification in supply-constrained cities like Vancouver. Land prices reflect their highest and best use. Restrictive zoning caps potential revenue from development. Where restrictions are lifted through upzoning, greater development potential is unlocked, boosting projected income from rentals, sales, and commercial spaces. As such, this “land lift” directly raises the price developers and investors are willing to pay as the site becomes more profitable. Even the mere announcement of a potential upzoning triggers speculation, with buyers anticipating future gains.

Professor Condon’s opinion is that the proposed rezoning “would increase land prices in this way through allowing greater density and lowering the proportion of social housing...the neighbourhood’s hyper-central location near downtown jobs, transit, and amenities, means that demand for land outstrips supply, amplifying price surges.”¹³ Professor Condon notes that last time the DTES was

¹¹ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025. See also Quastel, Noah. 2009. “Political Ecologies of Gentrification.” *Urban Geography* 30 (7): 718. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.30.7.694; See also Gold, Kerry. “Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values – and rents.” *The Globe and Mail*, February 23, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190223101828/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>. See also Davidson, Mark, and Loretta Lees. “New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies.” *Population, space and place* 16.5 (2010): 395-411.

¹² Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 4.

¹³ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 6.

subject to rezoning, there was an assessment value increase of 16%.¹⁴ He concludes that these recommendations are “likely to cause speculation, land value surge, and gentrification. It is unclear how the stated goal of decreasing costs to construct new affordable housing can be achieved in that context.”¹⁵

The consultant report from Coriolis included in the staff referral report gives a one-line opinion that they do not expect upward pressure on land values in several hypothetical scenarios, but they do not provide any analysis as to why these scenarios would form an exception to the general expectation of upward pressure on land values with increased market density. Furthermore, the Coriolis report does not consider other avenues of housing delivery by non-profits which could provide an alternative to highly profit-driven supply, such as using nonprofit and government-owned land and equity sources. Right now, First United and other nonprofit organizations are delivering housing without the need to incentivize profit-driven developers and without the associated increases in land value.

Coriolis provided an additional two-page document (the “yellow memorandum”) on December 3, 2025 in which they state that a 188-unit project under the proposed bylaws would provide a “very low” potential annual income to the developer compared to total project costs, and on this basis, that land value will not be subject to upward pressure. This overlooks the evidence in Vancouver and elsewhere that land values consistently increase in response to upzoning (as they did by 16% in Strathcona following the initial DTES Area Plan, for example)¹⁶ and that the profits of developers rely at least as much on the assumption of land value increases in the long term as they do on rental income. This document also refers to purchase of the land at “its existing value under current zoning” which also seems to acknowledge that the value of land will increase under the new zoning. In other words, the opportunities that will be feasible and attractive to developers under this proposal (due to increase in land value and the perceived undervaluation of land under restrictive zoning) are the very same ones which will contribute to the escalation of land value.¹⁷

¹⁴ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 7.

¹⁵ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 10.

¹⁶ See, e.g. Kerry Gold, “**Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values - and rents**”

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>, Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 6.

¹⁷ Yellow Memorandum RTS 18120 (December 3, 2025).

Given the evidence on the likelihood of land value increases as a result of increasing market density, the absence of this analysis in the Coriolis report and their additional document creates a large gap in evidence to support the assumption that land values will not increase.

The Coriolis report implies at page 7 that there could be significant upward pressure on property values where “the number of replacement SRO units is significantly less than about 10% of the number of units in the overall new project.”¹⁸ If this scenario poses a risk of significant upward pressure, it stands to reason that developments with a similar rental proportion, such as high-density developers which include 4% shelter-rate housing as proposed by the bylaw changes, may well also be subject to this risk.

We submit that, prior to reducing the proportion of social housing and removing the 1:1 replacement requirement for SROs, Council should direct staff to obtain an assessment of the potential impacts of upward price pressure on housing, and viable alternatives to a profit-based model, in light of all relevant evidence.

3. The proposed rezoning includes no evidence that it will increase or hasten social housing supply

The staff materials in support of the proposed bylaw changes provide an analysis of financial viability for private market, for-profit developers, and they conclude that reducing the proportion of social housing will make it more viable for for-profit developers to build. However, the materials do not analyze the relationship between allowing for-profit development and the actual delivery of social housing. The reports appear to rely on the assumption that when developers can build more market housing with a small proportion of social housing, social housing will increase overall. But there is no analysis to show why this would be likely to provide more or faster social housing, nor is there a comparative analysis with the current zoning, which has been very effective at providing social housing without market components. This is especially critical to assess given the likely increase in land values if market density is increased.

¹⁸ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), Appendix L (the “Coriolis Report”) at p 7.

We therefore submit that, prior to changing protective bylaws, **Council should direct staff to conduct a full analysis of whether project viability for for-profit developers will result in the delivery of more social housing on a faster scale than what has been achieved under the existing bylaws.**

4. The proposed Tenant Relocation Protection Policy measures do not guarantee housing for displaced tenants

The proposal before Council states that all tenants being displaced by developments (whether private or non-profit) under the proposed changes will have access to the non-market stream of the Vancouver-wide Tenant Relocation and Protection Policy (TRPP) under Section 4.

That section requires developers to do the following, *inter alia*:

- to offer “permanent housing options” that limit disruption and involve minimal moves, and which must be priced at no more than 30% of the household gross income or current rent, and of a unit type in accordance with CMHC guidelines.

- to compensate displaced tenants for moving expenses (at a flat rate in the TRPP, but increased to actual moving costs in the proposed bylaw)

- to make “all reasonable efforts” to provide all residents with the right of first refusal, but if this is not possible, a “permanent housing option” must be offered. The bylaw materials also include reference to the option for rent top-ups as an interim measure while tenants wait to return to the new development¹⁹

¹⁹ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 12 and City of Vancouver Tenant Relocation Protection Policy (Amended June 11, 2019), s 4.0.

The policy recognizes that tenants will be displaced and provides an outline of responsibilities for developers, but it does not go far enough to ensure that tenants will not be made homeless or otherwise harmed through development and relocation processes.

As noted in the attached expert letter from Dr. Nicholas Blomley, legal protections for tenants in SRO's are often undermined in practice, including through the actions of landlords and managers who ignore the rules. Dr. Blomley further notes the importance of community in SRO settings, which his research shows can be "sites of resilience, Indigenous cultural practices, and mutual aid."²⁰

As such, **we recommend that the TRPP applicable to developments in the areas subject to the proposed bylaw changes be amended to include the following enhanced protections:**

-language specifying that an occupancy permit will not be issued until the applicant actually secures permanent, adequate²¹ housing for the tenant at the tenant's original rent or 30% of their gross household income, whichever is lower, and that city staff must confirm this with the tenants themselves prior to the issuance of the occupancy permit (and not based only on developer reports)

-language confirming that tenants will only be rehoused in a new neighbourhood with the written consent of the tenant(s) (no forced displacement)

-language confirming that all developer responsibilities in the TRPP will apply to all Notices to End Tenancy whose effective end dates would fall on the date of the initial development application onward, regardless of the reason specified on the Notice to End Tenancy (to help disincentivize bad faith evasion of TRPP obligations)

²⁰ Statutory Declaration of Dr. Nicholas Blomley declared on December 4, 2025.

²¹ "Adequate" housing has seven required components: security of tenure, availability of services, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location, and cultural adequacy. See UN Special Rapporteur on Housing, "The human right to adequate housing", online: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-housing/human-right-adequate-housing>.

-language confirming that where a tenant is offered a right of first refusal, the developer will provide rent top-ups to cover the difference between the tenant's original rent and the actual market rent paid for an adequate²² temporary rental unit in line with CMHC guidelines for unit size. It should confirm clearly that tenants will only be temporarily rehoused in a new neighbourhood with the written consent of the tenant (no forced displacement). It should further confirm that an occupancy permit will only be issued when all tenants in this situation have been provided with adequate, affordable permanent housing at their original rent or 30% of their gross household income, whichever is lower (whether through right of first refusal or other permanent housing).

5. The 60-year lease option represents a generational loss of social housing

In the current zoning regulations for the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District, social housing units must be owned by government or a non-profit. This bylaw proposal erodes the long-term protection of social housing by allowing for-profit developers to offer a 60-year lease instead of permanent ownership in non-profit hands, with the units reverting to for-profit ownership after 60 years. In our submission, it is unfair and inequitable to remove social housing protection from future generations in order to incentivize for-profit development today. The housing crisis is already borne disproportionately by younger generations, and removing critical social housing protections from future generations will undermine the goal of providing more social housing – by taking it away.

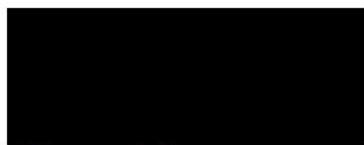
As such, we recommend **that the requirement for social housing units to be owned by government or a nonprofit be maintained and the 60-year lease option be removed.**

All of which is respectfully submitted,

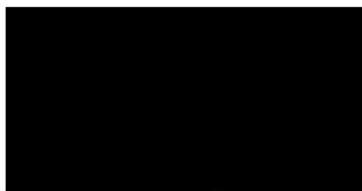
²² *Ibid.*



Dr. Sarah Marsden
Barrister and Solicitor, Director of Systems Change and Legal



Vinson Shih
Barrister and Solicitor, Staff Lawyer, Special Projects



Gwen Hamilton
Articled Student

ATTACHMENTS:

A. Statutory declaration of Dr. Nicolas Blomley, declared on December 4, 2025.

B. Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon, declared on December 7, 2025.

C. Kim, Minjee, and Hyojung Lee. "Upzoning and gentrification: Heterogeneous impacts of neighbourhood-level upzoning in New York City." *Urban Studies* 62.10 (2025): 2009-2028;


D. Freemark, Yonah. "Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a zoning reform on property values and housing construction." *Urban affairs review* 56.3 (2020): 758-789;

E. Marcuse, Peter. "Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City." *Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L.* 28 (1985): 195.

F. Quastel, Noah. 2009. "Political Ecologies of Gentrification." *Urban Geography* 30 (7): 718. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.30.7.694.

G. Gold, Kerry. "Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values – and rents." *The Globe and Mail*, February 23, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190223101828/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>.

H. Davidson, Mark, and Loretta Lees. "New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies." *Population, space and place* 16.5 (2010): 395-411.

This is **Exhibit "A"** referred to in the
Statutory Declaration of P. Condon
declared before me on December 7,

A commissioner for British Columbia

December 7, 2025

Attn: Mayor and Council
City of Vancouver

RE: Proposed changes in the DTES and DEOD

Dear Mayor and Council,

I am a professor at the School of Architecture at the University of British Columbia. I have 25 years of extensive experience and expertise in sustainable urban design and planning as a professional city planner, teacher, and researcher. A true copy of my curriculum vitae is attached demonstrating my qualifications.

I have reviewed the Vancouver City Council Referral Report dated October 22, 2025, and titled "Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC-1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing" (the "**Referral Report**").

I prepare this letter to provide my expert opinion on the recommendations contained in the Referral Report as a tenured professor of urban design and concerned citizen, and not to assist anyone nor advance a particular political agenda. In doing so, I certify that I am providing my opinion in conformity with the duty under *Supreme Court Civil Rules* R. 11-2 as if giving my expert opinion to court in a legal proceeding. If this letter is produced in a court proceeding, and if I am called on to give oral or written testimony, I certify that I will give that testimony in conformity with that duty.

The Referral Report states at page 17 that the changes proposed are not expected to result in significant upward pressure on land values in the Downtown Eastside (the "**DTES**"), as residual value is less than existing value in the area. This statement is false and contrary to basic urban economics principles and observed patterns in Vancouver.

Land value increase is a standard outcome of market-driven densification in supply-constrained cities like Vancouver. Land prices reflect their highest and best use. Restrictive zoning caps potential revenue from development. Where restrictions are lifted through upzoning, greater development potential is unlocked, boosting projected income from rentals, sales, and commercial spaces. As such, this "land lift" directly raises the price developers and investors are willing to pay as the site becomes more profitable. Even the mere announcement of a potential upzoning triggers speculation, with buyers anticipating future gains.

The Referral Report recommendations would increase land prices in this way through allowing greater market density and lowering the proportion of social housing in a development. The DTES is a high demand area. The neighbourhood's hyper-central location near Downtown jobs, transit, and amenities, means that demand for land outstrips supply, amplifying price surges.

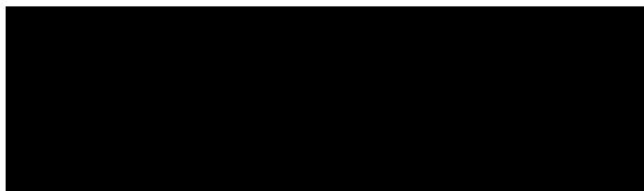
The City's previous reforms in the DTES demonstrably prove that the Referral Report recommendations would result in significant upward pressure on land values. The 2014 DTES Plan, which allowed modest density increases for social housing and mix-used projects, directly spurred gentrification and caused land values in the DTES and adjacent areas to rise sharply (ex. a post-plan assessment value increase of 16% in Strathcona). Even "crumbs" of new development inflated nearby rents and land costs, displacing low-income residents.

Similarly, the City's Marpole Community Plan of 2014 which allowed higher residential density saw Marpole experience significant value uplift from rezoning certainty. Attached is a copy of a *Globe and Mail* article in which I was interviewed discussing the effects of the 2014 DTES and Marpole plans.

While Vancouver has a history of using community plans and rezoning to add density and recapturing value via amenities contributions, this does not fully offset private gains—land prices still rise. Further, without strong taxes, upzoning-fueled land value increases benefit owners and developers, not renters.

The Referral Report bases its recommendations on the false assumption that they would not result in significant upward pressure in land value. To the contrary, the recommendations if implemented are likely to cause speculation, land value surge, and gentrification. It is unclear how the stated goal of decreasing costs to construct new affordable housing can be achieved in that context.

Sincerely,



Patrick Michael Condon

Encl.: Curriculum Vitae, *Globe and Mail* article

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Curriculum Vitae for Faculty Members

Date: December 5, 2025

1. **SURNAME:** CONDON **FIRST NAME:** Patrick
MIDDLE NAME(S): M.
2. **DEPARTMENT/SCHOOL:** School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture
3. **FACULTY:** Applied Science
4. **PRESENT RANK:** Full Professor **SINCE:** 1 July, 2002
5. **POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION**

University or Institution	Degree	Subject Area	Dates
University of Massachusetts at Amherst, MA	MLA	Landscape Architecture	1981
University of Massachusetts at Amherst, MA	B.Sc.	Environmental Design (Summa Cum Laude)	1978
Massachusetts College of Art, Boston, MA		Studies in Fine Art and Architecture	1973-76

6. **EMPLOYMENT RECORD**

(a) Prior to coming to UBC

University, Company or Organization	Rank or Title	Dates
College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, Landscape Architecture Department, University of Minnesota	Associate Professor	1989 -91
Moriarty/Condon, Landscape Architects and Planners, Minneapolis, MN, Vancouver, BC	Principal	1987-99
College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, Landscape Architecture Program, University of Minnesota	Assistant Professor	1984-89
Department of Community Development, City of Westfield, MA	Director	1980-84
Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Amherst, MA	Graduate Teaching Associate	1978-80
Youth Conservation Camps Program, Brockton, MA	Director	1978-79 (summers)
Brockton Family and Community Resources Inc., Brockton, MA	Community Coordinator	1974-1976

(b) At UBC

Rank or Title	Dates
Program Chair, Urban Design Program	2 January 2013 – July 2017
Program Director	2 January 1992 to 31 May 1996
Associate Professor	2 January 1992-July 2002
Professor	July 2002 -

(c) Date of granting of tenure at UBC:

2 January, 1992

7. **LEAVES OF ABSENCE**

University, Company or Organization at which Leave Was Taken	Type of Leave	Dates
UBC	Sabbatical	7/17 – 6/18
UBC	Sabbatical	1/07 – 12/07
UBC	Administrative	7/96 - 5/97

8. **TEACHING**

(a) *Areas of special interest and accomplishments*

Teaching is an important outlet for my creative energies. **My teaching evaluations have been consistently above average and in 2016 – 20 were the highest of my career** – well above the average for SALA. **Of particular note is the launching of a new course and a new course sequence for an entire new program, the UBC Master of Urban Design Program in 2014. Also worthy of note is my long participation as core faculty in that program.** While my teaching has evolved over the years as I have accepted different course responsibilities one thing has remained constant: my courses are a place where my research and creative work come together in a way that benefits my students. I have accepted the challenge of adapting my courses to changing situations and issues, thus ensuring that they continue to evolve. In 2010 I agreed to launch a service course to a large group of undergraduates focussed on sustainable communities. I taught this class for the first time in the fall of 2011 to outstanding reviews (available on request). In 2011 I volunteered to teach an overload course with former Vancouver Mayor Sam Sullivan called "North America's Most Sustainable City". In 1988, I received prestigious CELA award, an internationally renowned award for teaching excellence. Most currently I am focussed on bringing my passion for teaching and for urban design to the new Masters of Urban Design Program at UBC, which I shepherded to University approval. I hope that this can be a legacy contribution to the university.

My teaching is now focused on two critical areas: (1) urban design for cultural and ecological sustainability, and (2) **large format service courses to the broader UBC undergraduate community.** In both of these areas, I have successfully brought the world of ideas and current issues to my students in a way that both challenges and validates their abilities. **It is also notable that this year I produced a new service course, DES 230.** This course included material from my earlier 221 course but doubled the content by including material developed for my new book: Five Rules for Tomorrow's cities.

I accepted the offer to direct the UBC Landscape Architecture Program in 1992 in part because of the opportunity to make a significant contribution to curriculum design. With the strong support of my new colleagues, I initiated a curriculum overhaul that addressed critical issues in all parts of our course of study, including a transition from a bachelor's degree to a master's degree. We completed revised all of our studio classes, which are the core of our curriculum, in order to facilitate increased richness and efficiency. When the curriculum revision was passed by the UBC Senate in 1993, it was touted as a model for the university. Both the American Society of Landscape Architects and the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects accredited the program two years later, for the first time, for a full five-year term. During the following year, the UBC Senate approved transforming the four-year BLA program into a three-year MLA program, bringing us into parity with our sister disciplines in planning and architecture. These three achievements – curriculum revision, accreditation, and conversion – all occurred within three years and set the stage for the next generation of development in this twenty five-year-old program.

More recently I spent a very large amount of service time developing a proposal for a new UBC degree program: The UBC Master of Urban Design degree (MUD). The proposal was passed in the spring of 2013, our first students accepted March 2014. The first course in the MUD program will be offered September 2014, with our first cohort of students graduating after the summer of 2015. I have also volunteered to serve as the first program chair for the Master of Urban Design program, a three year position assumed in January 2013. I have delayed my sabbatical more than three years in order to shepherd this new master's degree program.

Finally my most significant teaching and curriculum structure accomplishment this year has been bringing to fruition an enduring collaboration and exchange with a partner Indian university, The Kamla Raheja Vidyaniidhi

Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies (KRVIA) <http://www.krvia.ac.in/>, a part of the constellation of University of Mumbai accredited schools. It was long the plan to allow our students to work with another global University, as part of the MUD goal for our program to equip our students to be significant contributors to solving the problems of world cities. Our first cohort travelled to Mumbai in April to join KRVIA faculty and students exploring the myriad potentials of the now available Mumbai historic waterfront redevelopment.
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B0WWDVAvvOPcoV1E2dIVqaTFnV2s/view>

(b) Courses Taught at UBC

Session	Course Number	Scheduled Hours	Class Size	Hours Taught			
				Lectures	Tutorials	Labs	Other
20	DESS 230	3,5	180	1	1		Service class
	UD 501	12	30	1		3	
	UD509C	3		3		3	
19	ENDS 211	3,5	70	1	1		Service class
	UD 502	12	17	1	12	3	Studio
	UD 509c	3	12	3			Seminar.
18	Sabbatical						
17	ENDS 221	3	150	2	1		Service class
16	UD501	12	15	3	12		Studio
16	VSI	3	70	4		4	Vancouver summer institute
16	ENDS 221	3	140	2	1		Service class
15	UD 501	12	13	1	12	3	Studio
15	VSI	3	70	4		4	Vancouver Summer Institute
15	ENDS 221	3	129	2	1		Service class
14	VSI	3	35	4		4	Vancouver Summer Institute
14	UD 501	12	16		12	3	MUD studio
14	ENDS 221	3	148	2	1		
13	LARC 501	12	13		2	3	Intro studio
13	ENDS 221	3	150	2	1		
12	LARC 598	12	16		2		Thesis studio
12	ENDS 221	3	150	2	1		
11			160				
11	ARCH 597B, LARC 582B PLAN 550E	3	15	2		1	(with Sam Sullivan)
09	581B	3	15	2		1	
05	ENDS	5	40	3		2	
06	440/ARCH 573D		42	1.5			
09	LARC 381	3	14	1.5		1.5	
03	CLR	Tutorial	12		3		
04	Internship		8		3		
12	LARC 504	12	18		3		
10			16		3		
08			16				
06			18				
03	ARCH 573 D	4	17	1		1	
04			18	1		1	

05	LARC 505	9	19	2		7	
04			18				
03			9				
02	LARC		12				
01	405/505		18				
00			20/7				
99			20/8				
98			15/4				
97			21				
96			22				
95			19				
94			13				
93			16				
13	LARC 525	4	20	2		2	
12			18				
11			19				
10			14				
08			16				
06			18				
05			17				
00			13/2				
99			11/6				
98			16				
97			7				
97			16				
06	ARCH 525	9	12	2		3	
02			14				
01			15				
00			13				
99			14				
98			13				
97			15				
94	LARC 205	9	23	2		7	
92	LARC 499	9	13	2		7	
92	LARC 306	9	20	2		8	

Student Name	Program Type	Year		Principal Supervisor	Co-Supervisor(s)
		Start	Finish		
Joing, Bei	PhD	1/15	8/19	Mooney	Roehr
Barron, Sara	PhD	3/13		Sheppard	x
Caelen Griffen	MLA	9/13	5/14	x	Kellett
Drache-Lambert, Charlotte	MLA	9/112	5/13		x
Thesis Studio Supervision of 16 students. Details available at: http://larc5982012.blogspot.ca/	Final project Studio MLA	1/12	4/12	x	various
Morrison, Stephen	MS	909	5/11	Rojas	Angeles
Rankin, Sarah	MLA	9/10	5/11	Paterson	
Hilmer, Mark	MLA	9/10	5/11	Paterson	
Brown, Stephanie	MLA	9/10	5/11	Paterson	
Morrison, Steve	PhD	9/10	-	Rojas	
Zhiwei Lu	MLA	9/09	5/10	yes	Kellett
Micole Wu	MLA	9/09	5/10	yes	Kellett
Hori Wu	PhD	9/09	-	Mooney, Patrick	
Kari Dow	MLA	9/08	5/09	yes	Girling
Ning Han	MLA	9/08	5/09	yes	Girling
Lindberg, Chris	MSci	9/05	11/07	Roseland	
Hutchinson, Jessica	MArch	9/04	5/05	Taylor	Wojtowicz

Philp, Lori	MLA	9/04	9/05	Mooney	Connelly
Smakal, Sean	MLA	9/04	9/05	Paterson	Larice
Good, Allison	MLA	9/04	5/05	Luymes	Watts
Lin, Lin	MLA	9/04	5/05	Paterson	Smallenburg
Teed, Mike	MLA	9/04	5/06	Kellet	Holland
Tebbs, Claire	MLA	9/04	1/06	Girling	
Barton, Annette	PhD (reader) Univesity of South Australia	9/03	2/05	Argue	
Brydon, Julia	MSc	5/03	6/04	Schrier	Hall
Underia, Jamie	MASA	9/01	5/03	Brock	Wodjtowitz
Montisano, Joseph	M Arch	9/02	5/03	Walkey	Pradinuk
Villagomez, Erik	M Arch	9/02	5/03	Walkey	Pradinuk
Sharif, Dorsai	M L Arch	9/00	5/04	yes	Luymes, Pagani
Neild, Karen	M L Arch	9/00	5/03	yes	McKenna, Sheppard
Green, Jane	M L Arch	9/00	5/03	Herrington	Long
De Matos, Claudia	M L Arch	9/00	5/03	Luymes	Long
Thompson, Andy	M L Arch	9/99	5/02	Lang	Cohen
Larue, Sherry	MLA	9/99	5/02	yes	Boddy, Paterson
Teed, Jaqueline	MASLA	9/00	5/03	Herrington	Paterson
Wang, Jian	MASLA	9/01	5/02	Co-chair	Mooney, Paterson
Gardham, Elaine	MLA	9/98	8/01	yes	Marsh, Paterson
Murdoch, Scott	MLA	9/98	5/01	yes	Marsh, Luymes
Issac, Katherine	MLA	9/98	5/05	yes	Mooney, Luymes
Amy, Tsang	MLA	9/98	8/01	yes	Luymes, Marsh
Karla Foster	MLA	9/97	8/00	yes	Moony, Haid
Bily, David	MASLA	9/99	9/01	yes	Paterson, Walkey
Proft, Joanne	MLA	9/97	8/00	Herrington	Condon, Luymes
Swanepoel, Lourette	MASLA	9/99	9/01	Mooney	Moffet, Condon
Schilling, Dean	M. Arch	9/98	5/99	yes	Walkey, Baldwin
Wei, Gillian	MLA	9/96	5/99	yes	Luymes, Smith
Smith, Cameron	MLA	9/96	5/99	yes	Duncan
Boltanski, Dalia	MLA	9/96	5/99		Luymes, Hall
Golden, Shira B.	Natural Resource Management, SFU		1/99	yes	Alexander
Pederson, Kimberly	MASA	10/97	6/99	yes	Brock
Buehler, Theodore	MRP	10/97	Wthd.	Dorcey	Condon

(d) *Continuing Education Activities*
See invited presentations 9(d) below.

(e) *Visiting Lecturer/ outside courses taught (indicate university/organization and dates)*

2016 Zhengzhou University School of architecture. <http://www.at0086.com/zhengzhu/index.aspx> visiting faculty member May 2016. Appointed as honorary faculty member University of Zhengzhou School of Architecture. Guest critic. Guest lecturer. Research collaborator with Professor Huang Jing.

Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Vancouver, BC. March 22, 2016.

2015 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Vancouver, BC. Saturday, March 21.

2014 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Edmonton AB. May 9, 2014.

Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Vancouver, BC. March 22, 2014.

Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. April 17 – 18. Ottawa, Ontario. May 9-10, 2013.

- 2013 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Vancouver, BC. March 16, 2013.

Simon Fraser University Cities Program. Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. April 17 – 18. Ottawa, Ontario. May 10-11, 2013.

ARUP University Master Module. *Cities as Systems: Focus on Urban Mobility*. ARUP University. Course designer, organizer, and adjudicator of completion. Portland Oregon and Vancouver, B.C. October 14 – 21, 2013.

- 2012 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. *Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards*. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. Vancouver, BC. March 17, 2012.

ARUP University Master Module. *Cities as Systems: Focus on Urban Mobility*. ARUP University. Course designer, organizer, and adjudicator of completion. San Francisco, California and Vancouver, B.C. October 20 – 29, 2013.

- 2011 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. *Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards*. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. April 17 – 18. Ottawa, Ontario. Sept 21 - 23, 2011.

- 2009 Simon Fraser University Cities Program. *Urban Design: Alternative Design Standards*. SFU Cities Program. Lecturer, facilitator and design instructor. April 17 – 18. Edmonton Alberta.

Lincoln Institute for Land Policy. *Edgeless City Instructional Workshop*. Co sponsored with Regional Plan Association, Connecticut Office. Organizer, facilitator, lecturer. Hartford Ct. May 28-29, 2009.

- 2008 Lincoln Institute for Land Policy and Harvard University Department of Urban Planning and Design. *Planning for Climate Change*. Journalists Forum on Cities and Climate Change. Organizer and Lecturer. Journalists Forum on Climate change. Harvard University School of Planning. April 11-12th. Cambridge Mass.

Regional Plan Association of New York. Organizer and Lecturer. Re-making the Edgeless City. Two day educational workshop and charrette. *Green Infrastructure for the Edgeless City*. May 7 -8, 2008, Dutchess County, NY.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst Massachusetts. Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning. TEI Environmental Lecture Series. Invited lecturer. *Sustainable cities for a carbon scarce future*. *Community patterns for living lightly on the planet*. October 2, Amherst MA.

- 2007 Lincoln Institute for Land Policy. Visiting research fellow. Senior researcher on Planning for Climate Change project. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/lincoln_climate_change.htm. August – December 2007. Cambridge, MA

Harvard University Department of Urban Planning and Design, Lincoln Institute for Land Policy, American Planning Association. Big City Planning Directors Institute. 2007 bi annual meeting. *Planning for Climate Change*. October 21-23. Cambridge, MA.

- 2004 University of Idaho at Moscow, Landscape Architecture Department, “Using Design Charrettes to Make Change” 19 April, 2004. Moscow, Idaho.

University of Idaho at Moscow, Landscape Architecture Department, “Good Solutions; Examples of Community Plans that Have Incorporated New and Emerging Policies for Sustainable Development.” 20 April 2004. Moscow, Idaho.

University of Minnesota, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. “East Clayton; a Case Study for Lighter Greener Cheaper Smarter Communities.” 30 April, 2004.

- 2002 - Lincoln Policy Institute. *The Edgeless City* course. Two day course continuing education course. Cambridge MA

- 2000 University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Landscape Architecture Department, 26-30 April 2000. Amherst MA.
- 1987 Invited critic and lecturer, Iowa State University, Department of Landscape Architecture Professor in Residence Program, Ames, IA. April 1987.
- 1985 Visiting Faculty in Landscape Architecture, Humberside Polytechnic University, School of Architecture, Hull, England, spring term.

9. SCHOLARLY AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

(a) *Areas of special interest and accomplishments*

Scholastic Goal:

To develop design theories and methods that help precipitate the development of more sustainable urban communities, both in British Columbia **and around the world.**, and to record the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of these new communities to the widest possible international audience.

Scholastic Objectives:

- To develop design methods (synthetic problem solving, collaborative design procedures and processes) capable of illustrating the consequences of meeting disparate and often contradictory sustainability policy objectives.
- To apply these new methods in ways that illuminate how sustainable design objectives are influenced and/or impeded by municipal and regional codes and regulations.
- To develop research models capable of measuring the performance of these communities on social, economic, climate and ecological grounds with a particular emphasis on greenhouse gas production associated with urban form.
- To communicate these research outcomes as broadly as possible, with a special emphasis on direct communication with citizens and community development regulators, in order to help overcome institutional barriers to more sustainable urban development.
- To document the outcomes and design methodologies for broad distribution and application by academics, practitioners, and regulators.
- To continue to develop a body of design theory that explores the qualitative and phenomenological dimensions of human/landscape experience in general, and sustainable urban landscapes in particular.
- To fashion all of the above into an accessible and useful theory and tool set for sustainable urban design. The most obvious embodiment of this project is the book *Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities*.
https://www.amazon.ca/Seven-Rules-Sustainable-Communities-Strategies/dp/1597266655/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1493266738&sr=8-1&keywords=seven+rules+for+sustainable+communities

This goal and each of the six objectives listed have been, and continue to be, met through the applied research and theoretical work discussed in the two sections below.

The James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments in the Design Centre for Sustainability at UBC – Design charrettes as holistic research

In our region, per capita consumption of non-renewable resources has doubled in the past fifty years and is a trend likely to continue. This and other largely negative patterns of consumption and resultant pollution are in large part a function of how we build our cities. Furthermore, human settlement on the planet is increasingly *urban* in nature. Understanding the pattern of our urban life is crucial to our ability to explore solutions to problems that, if left unattended, will inevitably lead to crisis.

Since 1994, when I was appointed to the UBC James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments (the Chair), my research has focused on developing practical methods for bringing about sustainable urban development.

With the assistance of many colleagues in the Chair, and now in its progeny, the UBC Design Centre for Sustainability, I have addressed this issue at all scales and employing a variety of educational methods.

My first challenge after appointment to the Chair was to determine the most effective research methodology for addressing our research goal. With input from my colleagues in the Landscape Architecture Program, we settled on the method recorded in various “design charrettes for sustainable urban landscapes” design workshops or charrettes. A design charrette is a creative event that brings together multi-disciplinary and multi-stakeholder teams in order to produce concrete proposals for complex problems within a limited amount of time. At the beginning of my work as Chair many policies and regulations for promoting sustainable community and site design existed, but not a clear image of what such a community should look like. The charrette method was a means of filling this gap between vision and reality. Thus, we have used the charrette method to achieve the following goal:

To illustrate what our communities would be like if they were designed to conform to emerging national, provincial, and regional policies for sustainable development.

Since becoming Chair, I have developed and executed several successful Sustainable Urban Landscape Design Charrettes within the lower mainland region, as well as in other communities both within Canada and in other parts of the United States. These charrettes have provided the data and insights used to form new theoretical constructs for approaching sustainable urban design and have unearthed a highly effective means for their realization. (Refer to item [g] in this section and in section 6 of the publication record, “Artistic Works, Performances, Designs” for a more detailed description and chronology of these events.) This earlier work provided the foundation for what is now the Design Centre for Sustainability, within which I function as Senior Researcher and principal investigator on numerous projects. In the DCS the role of design charrette processes was raised to a higher level, culminating lately in our Plan It Calgary project, a design vision for a Calgary of 1.5 million, and our Sustainability by Design project <http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/>, and our 100 Year Sustainability Vision for the City of North Vancouver, BC <http://www.cnv.org/server.aspx?c=3&i=541>. Most recently we have incorporated more research based tools into our public process work, in the form of complete measured urban pattern typologies and greenhouse gas measurements tied to GIS data, notably in the aforementioned City of North Vancouver project.

Sustainable Urban Landscape Charrettes have demonstrated proper site and neighbourhood design can produce remarkable reductions in the negative consequences to urban living: 40 percent reduction in auto dependence and a 90 percent to 100 percent reduction in stream degradation and water pollution – all while reducing the cost of site development. The model for this research is a “real world” demonstration of sustainable community design principles in the community of East Clayton, Surrey, BC (<http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Headwaters.html>.) This project, undertaken in 1999 in partnership with the City of Surrey, used the integrated method of the charrette to build consensus around sustainable development principles for the planning of a new 13,000-person community. In the intervening decade this community has been largely built out and represents a real world example of sustainable community practices. More recently these principles have been made manifest in the Pringle Creek Community Project in Salem Oregon, where I was invited to participate as a member of the planning team as their sustainability and green infrastructure expert. This multi year process led to another completed built project which is the largest North American application of pervious zero impact street designs. (<http://www.pringlecreek.com/>)

As the James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments and senior researcher at the UBC Design Centre for Sustainability, and facilitator and principle investigator of the Sustainable Urban Landscapes Charrettes, my work is recognized by a broad consortium of governmental, non-governmental and industry bodies involved in land use planning, design, and environmental regulation, both in Canada and abroad.

During the 2003-2008 period this effort reached a new level, with the establishment of the UBC Design Centre for Sustainability. I successfully grew the James Taylor Chair research entity into a much larger full service research center, the UBC Design Centre for Sustainability. The Centre has a director, six full time researchers, two support staff, four part time student research associates, five faculty members who use it as the vehicle for their research and annual internal research budgets in excess of \$1,500,000.

My own most notable project in the DCS is the Sustainability by Design project (SxD) (<http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/>). This project is intended to engage in a creative, collaborative, and educational process out of which will come consensus-based concepts for the various elements of a sustainable region. We will use these concepts as a framework for research, at our centre and in collaboration with other researchers. SxD constitutes a major effort with a suite of deliverables including public engagement tools, targeted research, exhibitions and publications and built demonstration projects. This project is ongoing and has spun of a variety of research and engagement processes, most notably the City of North Vancouver 100 Year Sustainability Vision for a zero carbon city.

Most recently with the progress made in integrating the Landscape Architecture Program with the Architecture Program in SALA, I have focused my attention on integrating the research activities previously most associated with the DCS into the broader school agenda. As such in 2011 I have pursued focussing my own activities more collaboratively with other school colleagues within the context of a move to the CIRS building. The new CIRS lab will join my DCS related activities with those of other school researchers, and allow for deeper integration of these activities with the ordinary curricular activities of the school. In this respect my participation on the creation of the new SALA/SCARP Masters of Urban Design program (as chair of the SCARP/SALA review committee that finalized the vision proposal).

This led to the approval of the Master of Urban Design program in 2014, now delivered solely by SALA, with our first cohort arriving the same year and graduating July 2015. I served as the first chair of the Program and developed and delivered the curriculum. I also shepherded the proposal through the elaborate UBC approval process. The program is now secure and profitable with a consistent stream of qualified applicants.

Design Theory

My work in contemporary landscape design theory involves how humans create and experience the landscape. A variety of lectures, publications, and courses have emerged from this effort. My recent 'Dan Kiley' lecture at Harvard University's Richard Haag Symposium, along with "Zen and the Art of Garden Design: Three Linked Gardens at Bloedel" (a chapter in William S. Saunders, eds. *Bloedel Reserve and Gasworks Park*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 1998.) expresses both the nature of this work and its significance to the profession.

My efforts as the James Taylor Chair, senior researcher for the UBC Design Center for Sustainability, to synthesize the method of the design charrette into a theoretical framework for designing more sustainable communities has borne fruit in the form of the "*Sustainable Urban Landscapes: Site Design Manual for BC Communities*." (<http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/DesignManual.html>) This manual advances a strand of urban design theory first established by architect Christopher Alexander in his revolutionary *A Pattern Language* (1977). This work will help bring sustainability into a body of urban design theory and practice and provide critical links that design theory currently lacks. Design theory continues to be dominated by either qualitative methods that do not directly connect to increasingly important scientific questions of landscape ecology and urban sustainability, or by works emerging from contemporary social and cultural criticism that also do not adequately address the links between urban form, liveability, and sustainability.

During the 2005 – 2006 academic year I secured a signed contract with Island Press to publish the book *Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities*. This book was published in 2008 and was honoured by Planetizen as one of the 10 top books in planning of 2008 (<http://www.planetizen.com/books/2008>). Writing this book gave me the opportunity to distil into a compact form the lessons learned from over thirteen years of community engagement.

I have a second and related book now out, also from Island Press. This one is titled "The Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities; Design Strategies for a Post Carbon World" (Island Press, 2010) and is a companion book to the charrette book. This book has been widely and favourably reviewed, and is in use as a text book in a number of planning and geography classes in both Canada and the US. The two together are conceived as a toolkit for citizens and officials that, if widely used, can significantly reduce the impacts of community development on regional and global sustainability. It distils down thirteen years of sustainable community design experience into a simple to use rule book for students, planners, and citizens. The Seven Rules Book has been widely and favorably reviewed and is now used as a text in many design and urban geography courses in Canada and the United States.

Simultaneous with these efforts I organized two symposia Nov 2015 and Nov 2016 titled "Five Crucial Decades of City Building" and "Re-Imagining the city – The (Im)possibility of Design" (details at: <http://www.sala.ubc.ca/programs/urban-design/master-urban-design/annual-theme-and-forum>). This is in the context of the Master of Urban Design program which is now the central locus of my scholarly activities. The presentations and papers presented at this forum are available on the SALA web site here: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLjXDYkuld0MUHpGKUwoe9qkX-L1QX8uB>

I have now completed a third book for Island Press, titled: *Five Rules for Tomorrow's Cities*. This book built on ideas contained in the Seven Rules book but deepens the theoretical underpinnings, while extending its ambitions to metropolitan developments beyond the US and Canada. The book is under contract with Island Press, Washington D.C. with a publication date of November 2019.

The MUD program efforts have created opportunities to fuse research, teaching, and support for students in the form of a \$240,000 grant from the city of Surrey as our first "community partner". This partnership provides funds to support student efforts on real world problems for both their benefit and for the benefit of the host community.

(b) Research or equivalent grants (indicate under COMP whether grants were obtained competitively [C] or non-competitively [NC])

Granting Agency	Subject	COMP	Amount	Year	Principal Investigator	Co-Investigator(s)
City of Surrey	Master of Urban Design Partnership Grant.	N	240,000	2014 – 2018 inclusive	x	
BC Bioenergy Network	100 Year Vision for Sustainable BC	N	5,000	2014	x	
Agriculture Canada	Bio Regional Agri-food Systems Modeling.	Y	30,000	2012		x
Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia.	100 Year Vision for Sustainable BC.	Y	45,000	2012	x	
Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives	Transportation Transformation, Building Complete Communities and a Zero Emission Transportation System in BC	N	10,000	2010		x
City of Surrey BC	Sensitive Urban Infill Project	N	110,000	2010/11	x	
Global Civic Foundation	Ecology and Density, Research Support	N	5,000	2009/10	x	
Center for Policy Alternatives	Transportation and Climate Justice, a Vision for Equitable Zero Carbon Transportation	N	15,000	2009	x	
District of North Vancouver	Sustainable by Design	N	40,000	2008	x	
Century Group	Sustainable by Design	N	100,000	2008	x	
Canada Transport	Sustainable by Design	Y	75,000	2008	x	
City of Calgary	Plan It Calgary	N	1,100,000	2007		x
District of North Vancouver	Sustainable by Design	N	80,000	2007	x	
City of North Vancouver	Sustainable by Design.	N	140,000	2008	x	
Real Estate Foundation of BC	Sustainable by Design	Y	340,000	2007	x	
Canadian Western Diversification	Sustainable by Design	Y	50,000	2006	x	
Greater Vancouver Regional District	Sustainable by Design	NC	25,000	2005	x	
Transport Canada Moving on Sustainable Transportation	Sustainable by Design	Y	50,000	2006	x	
Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia	Sustainable by Design	Y	75,000	2006	x	
Federation of Canadian Municipalities	Smart Growth on the Ground	Y	150,000	2005		x
Vancouver Foundation	Sustainable by Design	Y	30,000	2004	x	
City of Penticton	Subdivision and Development Works and Services bylaws review	NC	4,500	2003	x	
Farm Folk/ City Folk		NC	5,000	2003	x	
Real Estate Foundation of BC	Smart Growth on the Ground	C	220,000	2003	x	

City of Squamish	Design Charrette for Squamish Downtown Plan	NC	\$60,000	2004	x	
UBC CERM3	Design Charrette for Britannia Beach Community	NC	\$60,000	2003	x	
UBC CERM3	Design Charrette for Britannia Beach Research Facility	NC	\$10,000	2002	x	
Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Technology Transfer for Sustainable Homes	C	\$40,000	2003	x	
CitiesPlus	Integrated Design Workshop	NC	\$12,000	2002	x	
Sustainable Development Research Institute	Neighbourhood Typology Modeling	NC	\$45,000	2001	x	
Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD)	East Clayton Headwaters Project Phase II	C	\$35,000	2000	x	
Environment Canada	Headwaters Project: Phase Two and Neighborhood Concept Plan and Seminar Series for Decision-Makers.	C	\$25,000	2000	x	
Environment Canada	Headwaters Project: Phase Two and Environmental Monitoring Program	C	\$20,000	2000	x	
Canada Department of Fisheries and Oceans	Headwaters Project: Stream Protection Performance Standards (administered by Pacific Resources Centre)	C	\$10,000	2000	x	
BC Ministry of Agriculture and Food	Headwaters Project: Technical Team and Design Brief Support for Phase Two, Agricultural lands Protection from Upstream Impacts.	C	\$10,000	2000	x	
GVRD Wastewater Management Fund	Headwaters Project: Technical Team and Design Brief Support for Phase Two. BMPs for Stormwater Management	C	\$35,000	2000	x	
GVRD Policy and Planning Dept.	Headwaters Project	C	\$5,000	1999	x	
BC Union of Municipalities	Headwaters Project	C	20,000	1999	x	
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	Headwaters Project	C	\$20,000	1999	x	
BC Ministry of Municipal Affairs	Headwaters Project	C	\$10,000	1999	x	
Environment Canada	Headwaters Project	C	\$40,000	1999	x	
Canada Department of Fisheries and Oceans	Headwaters Project	C	\$20,000	1999		
Real Estate Foundation of BC	Headwaters Project	C	\$90,000	1998	x	
City of Surrey	Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities	NC	\$5,000	1997	x	
Greater Vancouver Regional District	Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities	NC	\$5,000	1997	x	
Real Estate Foundation of BC	Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities	C	\$18,500	1997	x	
BC Ministry of Municipal Affairs	Brentwood Design Charrette	C	\$20,000	1997	x	
Real Estate Foundation of BC	Brentwood Design Charrette	C	\$21,000	1997	x	

Real Estate Foundation of BC	1995 Sustainable Urban Landscapes Design Charrette	C	\$21,500	1995	x	
State of Minnesota Legislative Committee on Minnesota Resources	Providing Model Residential Land-Use Guides and Controls that Would Reduce Environmental Impact and Enhance Aesthetic Quality	C	\$140,000	1990	Co-investigator	Professor Sykes, University of Minnesota
US National Endowment for the Arts	Design Advancement Grant "A Designed Landscape Space Typology"	C	\$15,000	1986	x	
University of Minnesota Graduate School	Grants in Aid of Research "A Designed Landscape Space Typology"	C	\$3,300	1985	x	

(c) Research or equivalent contracts (indicate under COMP whether grants were obtained competitively [C] or non-competitively [NC])

Granting Agency	Subject	COMP	Amount	Year	Principal Investigator	Co-Investigator(s)
William Kerr Associates	Pegasus Sustainable Community, Melton, Victoria Australia	NC	20,000	2010	Principal	Rob Lane
City of Gosford, NSW Australia	Gosford Challenge 2040 Master Plan for Regional Capital	NC	75,000	2009	Principal	Bill Kerr, Kerr Partnering Melbourne Australia
City of Bainbridge Island	Winslow Tomorrow Community Planning	NC	30,000	2005	Principal	Sandy Fischer, City of Bainbridge
Pringle Creek Sustainable Community	Community design consultation services on Americas first fully infiltration based storm drain system and sustainable community	NC	20,000	2005/6	Principal	Sustainable Development Incorporated
Sustainable Fairview Associates	Community design charrette and sustainable community design services	NC	45,000	2003	Co-investigator	Sustainable Fairview Associates
UI/Idaho Urban Research and Design Center	Sustainable Communities for Idaho – Community Design Demonstration	NC	\$82,500	2002	Co-investigator	Sherry McKibben, Director UI/Idaho Urban Research and Design Center
100 Friends of Oregon	Portland Metropolitan Area Urban Growth Boundary Design Workshop Initiative	NC	\$180,000 US	2001-2	Co-investigator	Robert Liberty Executive Director 1000 Friends of Oregon.
Los Angeles County Department of Public Works	Alhambra Maintenance Facility Stormwater BMP Design Charrette	NC	\$25,000 US	2000	Co-investigator	Andy Lipkis, TreePeople Inc., Beverly Hills, California
SFU, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation	Community Design Charrette	NC	\$95,000	2000	Co-investigator	Michael Geller, President and CEO, Burnaby Mountain Corporation

City of Seattle, Seattle Public Utilities Dept.	Salmon Friendly Seattle Design Charrette	NC	\$110,000 US	2000	Co-investigator	Dove Alberg, Seattle Public Utilities Department
Regional Plan Assoc. of the New York Metropolitan Area	Somerset County Regional Center Vision Initiative	NC	\$85,000 US	1999	Co-investigator	Rob Lane and Robert Yaro, Regional Plan Assoc. of New York

(c) *Invited Presentations (includes invited keynote lectures, plenary session talks, and concurrent workshops)*

In the Lower Mainland

- 2020** Condon, Patrick M. **The Pandemic. Its not urban density that's the problem. It's inequality. B.C. Centre for Disease Control. Vancouver B.C. December 9, 2020. Featured speaker.**
- Condon, Patrick M. **"Access to Housing (designing way outside of the box)," Council for Canadian Urbanism. Vancouver, via Zoom. September 31, 2020**
- 2019 Condon, Patrick M. "The Roots of the Housing Crisis: Land." Burnaby Library Debate Series. Burnaby BC. April 25, 2019. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "The Roots of the Housing Crisis: Land." Unreal Estate Panel Discussion. Victoria Housing for All NGO. April 10, 2019. Victoria, BC. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. Victoria Housing Strategy Academic Roundtable. April 30, 2019. Victoria BC. Invited panelist.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Alternatives to the Broadway Subway." Point Grey Community Association. May 1 2019. Featured Speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Alternatives to the Broadway Subway." Upper Kits Community Association. April 6, 2019. Featured Speaker.
- 2018 Condon, Patrick M. "The Link Between Housing and Transit." Grandview Woodlands Community Association. November 5, 2018. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Urbanarium City Debates, "City Debate #11: Build Missing Middle Housing Without Lot Assembly". Vancouver Urbanarium. March Urbanarium City Debates. March 28, 2018. Debater.
- 2016 Condon, Patrick M. "The Old Paradigm, The Wrong Kind of Urbanization". Places Week Conference. Project for Public Places. Vancouver BC. September 12, 2012. Plenary address.
- 2015 Condon, Patrick M. "Transportation and the Broadway Corridor, Future Trends". David Eby Constituency breakfast debate on transit referendum. April 10, 2015. Invited speaker and panelist.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Transportation as a City Building Strategy". Grandview Woodlands Citizen Assembly Meeting. January 24, 2015. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker.
- 2014 Condon, Patrick M. "The Influence of the Broadway Subway Proposal on West Point Grey". West Point Grey Residents Association Annual General Meeting. November 25, 2014. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Yes Vancouver Needs a City Plan". SFU City Conversations: *Should Vancouver have a City Plan*. November 20, 2014. Invited panelist. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker/panelist.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Design Charrette as a Public Planning Process". Vancouver Urbanarium Sponsored Forum. *"IncluCity: Can Public Process be Truly Public?"* October 27, 2014. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker/panelist.

Condon, Patrick M. "Corridors as an Armature for Sustainable Urban Development". Vancouver Board of Trade, Transportation Subcommittee. June 5, 201. Vancouver BC. Invited speaker

Condon, Patrick M. "The Broadway Subway and its influence on Community Form". Upper Kits Residents Association. May 29, 2014. Vancouver BC. Invited speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Waste of Money that is the Broadway Subway" . Lets talk Science Forum. Simon Fraser University Lets Talk Science. January 28, 2014

- 2013 Condon, Patrick M. "Alternative Development Models for Carbon Neutrality". Embridge Pipeline Citizens Committee meeting. Tsleil Waututh Community Centre. September 11, 2013. Tsleil-Waututh Nation.

Condon, Patrick M. "Surrey Sensitive Infill Design Charrette Results". City of Surrey City Council Meeting. December 10, 2013. Invited presentation. Presentation content available on line at: <http://sensitiveinfill.blogspot.ca/>

- 2012 Condon, Patrick M. "A Convenience Truth, Vancouver in 2050". *Urban Forum*. Global Civic Policy Society. June 6, 2012. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker. Content available at: <http://globalcivic.org/vancouver-urban-forum/program/>

Condon, Patrick M. "House Types as Urbanism and Energy Conservation". SFU Cities Program; City Conversations Program. *New Building Types for Vancouver*. June 7, 2012. Vancouver, BC. Invited speaker and panelist.

Condon, Patrick M. "City Design as Energy Conservation" BC Minister of Energy and Mines. September 9, 2012. Vancouver, BC. Invited Presentation.

Condon, Patrick M. "Engaging BC Communities in 2020 OCP's; Getting to carbon neutral through integrated sustainable urban design". Presentation for Metro Vancouver Regional Planning Advisory Committee. September 14, 2012 , Burnaby, B.C. Invited meeting presenter.

- 2011 Condon, Patrick M. "Lynn Valley Town Centre and its Own Rules for Sustainability". Lynn Valley Community Association Community Speaker Series. The District of North Vancouver BC, May 11, 2011. Invited keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. Commentator for "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban Hisotry". Doxia Documentary Film Festival. Vancouver BC, May 8, 2011. http://www.doxafestival.ca/festival/films/pruitt_igoe_myth.html

Meyer, James. Condon, Patrick M. Santana, James. "Creating a Model Neighborhood for the Future from Old Values of Resource Conservation and Community". 11 Living Future: Cascadia Green Building Council 2011 Annual Conference. Vancouver BC, April 28, 201. Invited education session speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainability". Placemaking: Cool Ideas for Locally Elected Leaders. Harrison Hot Springs, January 26, 2011. Featured speaker and plenary panel.

Condon, Patrick M. "A Convenience Truth: A 2050 Plan for a Sustainable Vancouver". The Phoenix Group. Monthly meeting. Vancouver BC. June 21, 2011

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver the Streetcar City". CanU 3: Urbanizing the Whole Region. Council for Canadian Urbanism annual conference. Vancouver, B.C. October 1, 2011. Panelist and featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Streetcar City and North Vancouver; A Way Forward". Lynn Valley Citizens Association Meeting. May 11, 2011. District of North Vancouver, BC. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "A Convenience Truth; A 2050 Plan for a Sustainable Vancouver". Vancouver Public Space Network meeting. May 17, 2011. Vancouver, BC. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "A Convenience Truth; A 2050 Plan for a Sustainable Vancouver". Arbutus Ridge Community Council. May 24, 2011. Featured speaker and panelist.

- 2010 Condon, Patrick M. "Carbon and our Future. Sustainability by Design". SFU Undergraduate Semester in Dialogue. Simon Fraser University. Vancouver BC. January 10, 2010. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Most Influential Person in My Work". Public Salon. The Global Civic Policy Society. Vancouver Playhouse. Vancouver BC. June 9, 2010.

Condon, Patrick M. "Mode Integration, Urban Design & Travel Demand: Lessons from Other Places". Streetcars, the Missing Link. UBC Bombardier Chair in Sustainable Transportation and the UBC School of Environmental Health. Vancouver BC. September 29, 2010. Featured speaker and panelist.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". A Vision for Sustainable Communities 2010. Bowne Park Centre, November 13 2010. Keynote.

- 2009 Condon, Patrick M. "Designing the Future". SFU Undergraduate Semester in Dialogue. Simon Fraser University. January 13, 2009

Condon, Patrick M. "Broadway Rapid Transit Options. The Case for the Tram." St. James Community Centre. April 14, 2009.

Condon, Patrick M. "A Vision for a Region of Four Million". Capilano University Elders College – Metro Vancouver: Issues and Challenges. February 3, 2009.

- 2008 Condon, Patrick M. "How Do We Move Forward?" Imagine BC, Dialogues on the Future of British Columbia. Strengthening the Bond Between Health and Community, From Ideas to Action. May 22, 2008., Vancouver B.C. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Urbanism and the ALR. How do we Treat the Edge?" Southalnds Design Charrette, a Vision for Agricultural Urbanism. Century Group. 6 May 2008. Featured speaker.

2007 Sabbatical

- 2006 Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper Smarter. National sustainability and Community Design. Canadian Environment Awards Roundtable. June 6, 2006. Keynote speaker and workshop convener.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability by Design; Designing an Urban Region for 4 Million in One Day". Vancouver BC Study Tour. Portland Metro Council. September 16, 2006. Vancouver, BC. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability Re-invented". *Shifting Ground*, Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture/Canadian Society of Landscape Architects Joint Conference. 1 June 2006. Vancouver, BC. Featured Speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability and the Law: Municipal Powers, Federal Mandates" Sustainable Development and the Law, People – Environment – Culture, Annual Conference. 13 October 2006. Vancouver, BC. Featured plenary speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Intensification Along Major Roads, New Nodes and TODs". Affordability by Design Conference. Smart Growth BC. 20 October 2006. Feathered Presenter and Workshop Facilitator.

- 2005 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability and Community Design." Ministerial Consultation 2005. BC Federal Liberals Cabinet member local consultation session. 1 October 2005. Panelist, featured speaker.

- 2004 Condon, Patrick M. "Listening to all the Voices for Smarter Growth." BC Land Summit, University of British Columbia. 13 May 2004. Peer Reviewed Presentation - Panelist Presenter, Concurrent Session.
- Condon, Patrick M. Green Infrastructure Partnership, "Green Infrastructure Partnership for Supplement for Subdivisions." Vancouver BC, 11 May 2004. Panelist/Invited Expert Respondent
- Condon, Patrick M. "Creating a Market for Green Buildings: Barriers and Next Steps." Globe Foundation, 2004, 8th Biennial Conference. Vancouver BC. 1 April 2004, Panelist and moderator.
- Condon, Patrick M. "The Case for Participatory Planning: Multi-stakeholder and Integrated Planning Processes." Plus 30 Network Conference, University of British Columbia. 31 March 2004. Featured presentation.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Smarter, Cheaper Infrastructure; a Lanes Case Study". City of Richmond, Multistakeholder Workshop on Sustainable Lanes, Urban Development Division, 11 March 2004. Invited Speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "US - Canada Land, Laws, and People: A Primer on Similarities and Differences." Funders Network for Smart Growth, 2004 Annual Conference, Vancouver, BC. 10 March 2004. Commissioned Keynote Speaker.
- 2003 Condon, Patrick M. "Notes on Urban Design in the Vancouver Region." The School of Community and Regional Planning, UBC and the Vancouver Planning Department 50th Anniversary Urban Design Symposium. Vancouver Public Library. 28 March 2003. Responding speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. The Future of Housing in Vancouver symposium. Vancouver Planning Commission. 30 April 2003. Panelist.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Urban Design Elements of a Smart Community". Smart Growth Canada Strategy Meeting. Smart Growth BC. Vancouver, BC. May 6-8 2003. Plenary speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "From Vision to Visuals: articulating community goals through the charrette process." North American Growth Management Leadership Alliance Spring Meeting. Smart Growth BC. Vancouver, BC. May 8-11, 2003.
- Condon, Patrick M. "How can Planners Better Contribute to the Implementation of Progressive, Community Based, Sustainable Designs?" Plan Talk IX. PIBC Lower Mainland Chapter and the UBC School of Community and Regional Planning. Featured speaker.
- 2002 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Communities, Big and Small." Land Use- A Hot Topic. Bowen Island Community School and Bowen Island Lifelong Learning Society. 23 January, 2002. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Appropriate Technologies for Building and Water Systems. The Headwaters Sustainable Community for 13,000, the East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan." Globe 2002 7th Biennial Trade Fair and Conference on Business and the Environment. Globe Foundation. Vancouver, BC. 14 March 2002.
- 2001 Condon, Patrick M. "Are Sustainable Communities More Palpably Real." The Philosopher's Café. Simon Fraser University at the Grind Café. 21 December 2001. Vancouver, BC. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Is Sustainability Affordable? – or – Asking the Cost Questions the Right Way". Is Sustainability Affordable: A Case Study of East Clayton. Urban Design Institute Breakfast Seminar. 18 October 2001. Featured presenter.
- Condon, Patrick M. "East Clayton, A Vision for Green Infrastructure." The Business of Water/Wastewater and Stormwater Innovation in British Columbia Conference. BC Ministry of Trade and Investment. 11 –12 October 2001. Richmond, BC. Plenary.
- Condon, Patrick M. "East Clayton. Sustainability Initiative in Greater Vancouver." Green Buildings/Green Communities. Greater Vancouver Regional District. 3 October 2001. Concurrent workshop co-participant.

Condon, Patrick M. Ho, Cheeying. "SmartGrowthBC Sustainable Communities as an Economic Development Tool." Union of BC Municipalities Annual Convention. 28 September 2001. Vancouver, BC. Technical workshop organizer and presenter.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Headwaters Sustainable Community Demonstration Project." Canadian Environment Industry Association Luncheon. 26 September 2000. Featured luncheon speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper, Smarter Infrastructure." Creating More Liveable Communities Conference. Smart Growth BC. 6 & 7 June 2001. Simon Fraser University at Harbour Centre. Vancouver, BC. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Communities and Why We Don't Have Any: The Real Dirt." Conference on Leadership and Innovation for Urban Sustainability. 15-16 March 2001. Vancouver, BC. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Headwaters Suburban Community in Surrey. Understanding and Overcoming the Institutional Reluctance to Change Old Habits." Stormwater Management and Smart Development Conference. North Fraser Community Futures Development Corporation. 1-2 March 2001, Abbotsford and Maple Ridge, BC. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Smart Growth in Canada and the US, Differences and Similarities" and, "The Charrette Process for Urban Change." Northwest Smart Growth Retreat. 9 February 2001. Vancouver, BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Planning and Design." University of British Columbia Sustainability Conference. 3 February 2001, Vancouver, BC. Plenary.

2000 Condon, Patrick M. "Streams and Cities: Why Can't We All Just Get Along?" Watershed 2000 Conference, 8 July 2000. Vancouver, BC. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Alternative Development Standards, the Rationale and the Roadblocks to Implementation." *Alternative Development Standards*. Two day workshop at Simon Fraser University City Program. Fall 2000 Urban Design Course. December, 2000. Vancouver, BC. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Tales From the Urban Landscape: The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan – Envisioning a Sustainable Community in Surrey, BC." Evergreen Foundation "Breaking Ground" conference on greening the urban landscape. 13 & 14 October 2000, Vancouver BC. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Quantifying the Benefits of a Sustainable Approach." Invited speaker at one-day seminar during Globe 2000 on Green Building Design and Technologies and Sustainable Urban Development. Sponsored by the Ministry of Employment and Investment in conjunction with the GVRD, CMHC, and NRC. 2 February 2000. Vancouver, BC. Plenary.

1999 Condon, Patrick M. "Greener, Smarter and Cheaper Infrastructure." Co-presentation with Kim Stephens. The District of Chilliwack Presentation on Sustainable Communities. City Council Chamber, Chilliwack Municipal Hall. 4 November 1999, Chilliwack, BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Smarter Urban Design: Seven Principles for Sustainable Development." Smart Development and Stormwater Management: Protecting Property and Fish Habitat and Saving Money. Sponsored by Town of Gibsons; District of Sechelt; Sechelt Indian Band; Sunshine Coast Regional District; BC Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks; BC Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Habitat Conservation Trust Fund; Fisheries and Oceans Canada; and Environment Canada. Raven's Cry Theatre, Sechelt, BC. 22 September 1999. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Alternative Development Standards." 26 June 1999. District of Maple Ridge, BC. Keynote and Concurrent Workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Working Towards More Sustainable Communities: The Surrey Design Charrette." *Towards a Watershed Approach: Stewardship Initiatives and Land-Use Planning*. British Columbia Ministry of Environment Lands and Parks. June 1999. Surrey, BC. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Directions for Sustainable Communities in the Lower Mainland." RAIC/AIBC Annual Congress. May 1999. Vancouver, BC. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Surrey Sustainable Development Demonstration Project." Lambda Alpha International. May 1999. Vancouver, BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Curbs are Evil, or, It's the Little Things that Wreck the Planet." CSLA/AAPC Annual Congress. May 1999. Vancouver, BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Seven Principles of Sustainable Design." Headwaters Project. Eight separate presentations to different stakeholder groups as part of Headwaters initiative. January to March 1999. Surrey, BC.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Engineering for Sustainable Communities." CH2M Engineering Sustainability Series. March 1999. Vancouver, BC. Keynote.

1998 Condon, Patrick M. "Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities." James Taylor Chair Symposium. April 1998, Surrey. BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Issues and Solutions in Urban Ecology." SFU City Program / Urban Futures Institute, March 1998. Plenary

1991 Condon, Patrick M. "Built Landscapes: The Types of Spaces We Live In." The University of British Columbia, Landscape Architecture Program. Vancouver, BC. April 1991. Keynote.

In Other Parts of BC and Canada

2015 Condon, Patrick M. "The Streetcar City and the Flat City". Fanshaw College Environmental Design Program. London, Ontario. March 18, 2015. Invited lecturer.

2014 Condon, Patrick M. "A Sustainable Calgary, Seven Rules Applied". UBC Alumni Association, *Livability in the City Alumni Forum*. Calgary, AB. February 20, 2014.

2012 Condon, Patrick M. "Taking the Next Hundred Years to Fix It. Growing our Cities to Zero GHG." Lower Mainland Local Government Association annual AGM and conference. Whistler, B.C. May 10, 2012. Invited speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "City Design as Energy Conservation". BC Minister of the Environment. September 7, 2012. Victoria, BC. Invited presentation.

2010 Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Squamish, Lillooet Regional District Energy Resiliency Task Force. Meeting 4. Pemberton BC. June 9, 2010.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability Best Practices". Apres in Action Conference. Whistler Centre for Sustainability. Whistler B.C. May 26, 2010. Keynote.

2009 Condon, Patrick M. "Principles of Smart Growth". Fernie Area Builders and Developers Association. Fernie BC. 6 March 24, 2009

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainability by Design – Linking the Site to the Health of the Region". Smart Planning and Living Water Smart: Approaches and Tools for Doing Business Differently in BC. BC Water and Waste Water Association. Water Sustainability Action Plan for British Columbia. Technical Transfer Session. Penticton, BC. April 29, 2009.

Condon, Patrick M. "Water as the Centre of Sustainable Communities." Smart Planning and Living Water Smart. Workshop even of the Waters Sustainability Committee for the BC Waste Water Association Water Sustainability Committee. Penticton, BC. April 29, 2009.

- Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Strategies for Agricultural Communities. Tying Development to Agricultural Benefits". Summerland Municipal Council. Summerland, BC. August 19, 2009.
- 2008 Condon, Patrick M. "The Evolution of Green Values Strategies in B.C. and Elsewhere". Convening for Action on Vancouver Island. BCWWA. 24 May 2008. Victoria B.C.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Principles for Sustainable Communities" Evergreen Foundation. Calgary, AB. 4 June 2008. Featured speaker.
- 2007 Sabbatical
- 2006 Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper, Smarter Communities, Creating Equitable, Safe and Clean Places to Live." Amazing Possibilities Conference. Guelph Civic Action League. May 5 2006. Guelph Ontario. Keynote speaker.
- 2005 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Communities for Fun, Profit, and a Lasting Legacy for our Children." BC Home Builders Association. Kamloops, BC. 12 October 2005. Keynote lecture.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Protecting our Economy and Preserving the Planet for our Kids". Whistler Sustainability Conference. Environmental Success Showcase. 15 October 2005. Keynote Speaker.
- 2004 Condon, Patrick M. "A Global Perspective". University of Calgary Environmental Design Department, Calgary Alberta. 24 November 2004. Special lecture.
- Condon, Patrick M. "A Global Perspective." University of Alberta Department of Natural Resources, Edmonton Alberta. 25 November 2004. Special lecture.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Affordable, Equitable, and Ecological New Communities in Canada". City of Edmonton City Hall. City Council, Mayor, and senior city staff workshop. 25 November 2004. Edmonton Alberta
- 2003 Condon, Patrick M. "Amazing Possibilities, Lets Create the Harbour of the Future," Visioning Session. 19 November 2003, BC Provincial Capital Commission. Invited Facilitator.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper, Smarter". North Okanagan Smart Growth Conference. Smart Growth BC. 6 March 2003. Vernon, BC. Keynote.
- Condon, Patrick M. "The Surrey Headwaters Project; A Case Study in Affordable Infrastructure". South Okanagan Smart Growth Conference. Smart Growth BC. 12 March 2003. Plenary speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "The Smart Growth on the Ground Initiative." Union of BC Municipalities Annual Conference. 26 September 2003. Whistler, BC. Concurrent session.
- 2002 Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure in Sustainable Communities: The East Clayton Case Study." Sustainable Communities National Conference. Federation of Canadian Municipalities. 8 February 2002. Ottawa, ON. Concurrent Workshop.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure and the Urban Environment" and "Alternative Development Standards" and 2002 AACIP Conference; Rumble in the Region. 27 October 2003. Jasper, AB. Two one-hour lecture and hands on two-hour workshop session.
- 2001 Condon, Patrick M. "Integrating Green Infrastructure With Compact Urban Growth." Designing Community Lecture Series. Law Talk 2001, Penticton Community Law office and the South Okanagan Civil Liberties Society. 16 November 2001. Penticton, BC. Featured speaker.
- Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper, Smarter Infrastructure." Creating More Liveable Communities Conference, Smart Growth BC. 8 & 9 June 2001. Faculty of Law at University of Victoria, Victoria BC. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "East Clayton, ACT Project Case Study, Surrey, BC." Affordability and Choice Today Program: Regulatory Reform Solutions Forum, Alternative Development Standards Forum. 18 April 2001. Saskatoon, SA. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Design Charrettes as a Mode of Change." What the World Really Needs: The Smart Growth University, a new Paradigm in Campus Planning Forum. 19 April 2001. University of Victoria Eco Research Chair. Victoria, BC. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Newest Techniques in Reducing Urban Impacts on Fish." Fisheries Sensitive Urban Development Workshop for Local and Regional Governments. 22 February 2001. Kelowna, BC. Keynote.

- 2000 Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Smarter Communities: The Case for Lighter, Greener, Cheaper Infrastructure." Design Council of Saskatchewan. Design Week 2000 Speaker Series. 5 October 2000. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Facilitated design visioning exercise and keynote.
- 1999 Condon, Patrick M. "Cost Comparisons for Conventional vs. Alternative Standards," and "Green Engineering for Sustainable Communities." Integrated Stormwater Management Workshop. January 1999. Nanaimo, BC. Plenary.
- 1996 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Communities Presentation/Workshop." British Columbia Ministry of Municipal Affairs. Victoria, BC. March 1996. Keynote
- 1993. Condon, Patrick M. "Radical Romanticism." The University of Toronto, Landscape Architecture Program Lecture Series. February, 1993. Keynote.

In Other Countries

- 2021 Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver: A Canary in the Coal Mine." Vanishing Boise. Boise, Idaho. April 22, 2021. Featured speaker.**

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver, a case study in unaffordable housing." Livable California. Los Angeles California. February 6, 2021. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sick City; Disease, race, inequality and urban land." International making cities livable conference, 2021. Carmel, Indiana. June 11, 2021. Keynote speaker. <https://www.livable-cities.org/>

- 2018 Condon, Patrick M. "Fighting Climate Change with Urban Planning". Verde Exchange Conference. January 29, 2018. Los Angeles California. Concurrent presentation.
- 2017 Condon, Patrick M. "Imagining Tomorrow's Waterfront Cities" Pacific Cities Sustainability Institute. June 28, 2017. Asia Society. Los Angeles California. Plenary presentation and panel.
- 2016 Condon, Patrick M. "Rail Transit vs Rail Transit. Conflicting views on the best transit investment." New Thinking for a New Era. A Symposium on Transit Investment. September 21-22, 2016. Portland State University Sustainability Accelerator. Portland State University. Portland, Oregon. Plenary presentation.

Condon, Patrick M. "Right Sizing Transit for our Urban Aspirations." New Thinking for a New Era. A Symposium on Transit Investment. September 21-22, 2016. Portland State University Sustainability Accelerator. Portland State University. Portland, Oregon. Concurrent session presentation.

Condon, Patrick M. "Innovation Solutions. Flat City vs Pointy City." Pacific Cities Sustainable Cities Conference. Asia Society. June 1 – 3, 2016. Jakarta Indonesia. (<http://asiasociety.org/pacific-cities/forum-agenda-0>) . Plenary speaker and conference co-organizer.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Symposium on the Urban Block. Zhengzhou University School of Architecture. Zhengzhou, Henan, People's Republic of China. June 6, 2016. Invited faculty. Featured lecture.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Urban Block. The North American Experience. Symposium on the Urban Block. Zhengzhou University School of Architecture. Zhengzhou, Henan, People's Republic of China. June 7, 2016. Invited faculty. Featured lecture and panelist.

- 2015 Condon, Patrick M. "High Performance Buildings and Community Patterns." Pacific Cities Sustainable Cities Conference. Asia Society. April 20-23, 2015. Beijing, Peoples Republic of China. (<http://asiasociety.org/pacific-cities/forum-agenda-0>) . Concurrent session and conference co-organizer.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities" The Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture and Environmental Studies (KRVI <http://www.krvia.ac.in/>). December 5, 2015. Invited speaker.

- 2014 Condon, Patrick M. "Resilience and the Idea of the 'Flat City' "Asia Society San Francisco Branch. Resilience by Design Forum. December 10, 2014. San Francisco, California.

Condon, Patrick M. 2014. Making Cities Livable Conference. "Is the Sky the Limit? Concentrated vs. Distributed Density in Vancouver and Beyond". June 10, 2014. Portland OR. Invited keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Designing the Sustainable Region". Departamento de Arquitectura Tecnológico de Monterrey, Campus Querétaro. Masters in Urbanism Program. February 15, 2014. Queretaro Mexico. Invited presenter and forum participant.

- 2013 Condon, Patrick M. "Designing the Sustainable Region". *Pacific Cities Sustainability Initiative Annual Forum*. Asia Society and Urban Land Institute. February 18 - 20, 2013. Hong Kong, China. Invited presenter and forum participant. More information at: <http://asiasociety.org/northern-california/tomorrows-city-today>

- 2012 Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Congress for the New Urbanism Cascadia Region Regional Summit. *Envisioning Resilient Communities*. March 16, 2012. Seattle, WA. Keynote speaker. More information and presentation available at: <http://www.cnucascadia.org/events/summit2012/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Chile Verde, Acciones para un mundo sustentable. Bi-annual conference. June 14, 2012. More information on this event available at [2012.http://www.porunchileverde.cl/](http://www.porunchileverde.cl/)

Condon, Patrick M. "Rules for Sustainability. Emerging Economies and the Road Less Travelled". The Telephonica Chile Forum. November 19, 2012. Antofagasta, Chile. Keynote speaker. More information available at: <http://www.movistarinnova.cl/blog/noticias/noticias/tic-forum-telefonica-chile-el-mundo-empresarial-se-reune-en-torno-a-las-tecnologias-de-la-innovacion-y-la-comunicacion/>

- 2011 Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities - the Inner Ring Suburb". Sustainable Suburbs, Re-imagining the Inner Ring, Urban Design Conference 2011. NC State University College of Design. Charlotte, NC. February 12, 2011. Keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". National Building Museum Smart Growth Lecture Series. National Building Museum. Washington D.C. February 14, 2011. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Transportation and the Sustainable City". Oregon Department of Transportation Division One. Portland, Oregon. March 28, 2011. Invited workshop speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities, the Pringle Creek Experience". Public lecture City of Salem. Salem Oregon. March 28, 2011. Invited speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Oregon Department of Land Conservation and Development (DLCD). Salem Oregon. March 28 2011.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities and Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities". Public lecture, City of West Linn City Council and Staff. West Linn, Oregon. March 28 2011. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Urban Form and its Relationship to GHG, Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". Thousand Friends of Oregon. Portland, Oregon. March 29, 2011. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Selling Rosary Beads to the Vatican, More Streetcars for the Streetcar City", Portland Metro Council public "Brown Bag" lecture. Portland, OR. March 29, 2011. Featured speaker.

Condon Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities, Policy and Implementation Strategies". Portland Metro Council Public Work Session. Portland, OR March 29, 2011. Featured guest.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Damascus Community Design Workshop Revisited, What is Still Valid?". Damascus City Council open public meeting. Damascus, OR. March 29, 2011.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities, Restoring the Streetcar City. Making New Ones". Idaho Urban Research Design Center. Boise Idaho. April 12, 2011. Invited featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. Dow, Kari. "Transportation for Sustainable Communities: A cost and impact comparison between alternative transportation modes." CNU 18, Congress for the New Urbanism Annual Conference - Growing Local. Madison, WI. USA. June 3, 2011. Invited presenter for academic refereed academic paper.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Sustainable City as a System: A Holistic Approach to Sustainable City Planning". Sustainable Cities in Canada and the Netherlands; Case Studies from Vancouver and Rotterdam International Roundtable. Association for Canada Studies in the Netherlands. November 3, 2011. Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Featured speaker and roundtable participant.

Condon, Patrick M. "Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities: A Reading" VIA VOX series. Seattle Washington. November 28, 2011. Invited book reading and signing.

Condon, Patrick M. "Flat City: The Streetcar City and the Revival of the American Dream." University of Minnesota Center for Transportation studies. Minneapolis Minnesota, December 8, 2011. Invited feature speaker. <http://www.cts.umn.edu/Publications/CTSReport/2011/10/luncheon.html>

2010 Condon, Patrick M. "A Sustainable Communities Seminar with Professor Patrick Condon". CBG Australia. Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. September 2, 2010. Keynote speaker and workshop facilitator.

2009 Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Sustainable Communities" and "The Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". *Edgeless City Instructional Workshop*; Lincoln Institute for Land Policy. Co sponsored with Regional Plan Association, Connecticut Office. Hartford Ct. May 28-29, 2009. Co facilitator and keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Transportation, Housing, Energy, and Urban Design in North America." Changing Land Use to Mitigate Climate Change, A Trans-Atlantic Collaboration. Dubrovnik, Croatia, May 7-9, 2009. University of Maryland, National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education. Invited speaker and participant.

Condon, Patrick M. "Strategies in Real Estate, Land Use and Economic Development". Elevate '09, Climate Change and the New Frontiers of Urban Development. 26-27 February 2009. University of Colorado. Leeds School of Business and Law School. Invited plenary speaker.

2008 Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Dutchess County, NY" Re Making the Edgeless City. Regional Plan Association of NY – Lincoln Policy Institute. 7 May 2008. Poughkeepsie, NY. Featured speaker, event organizer, and facilitator.

Condon, Patrick M. "Modeling Climate Change, The State of the Art". Re Making the Edgeless City. Regional Plan Association of NY – Lincoln Policy Institute. 8 May 2008. Poughkeepsie, NY. Featured speaker, event organizer, and facilitator.

Condon, Patrick M. “*Policy, Urban Form and Tools for Measuring and Managing Greenhouse Gas Emissions; The North American Problem.*” Climate Change and Urban Design . Congress of European Urbanists 2008 Congress, Oslo Norway. Featured speaker and session host.

Condon, Patrick M. “Sustainable cities for a carbon scarce future. Community patterns for living lightly on the planet”. TEI Environmental Lecture Series. University of Massachusetts, Amherst Massachusetts. October 2, Amherst MA. Invited lecturer.

2007 Sabbatical

2006 Condon, Patrick M. “Green Urban Infrastructure for the 21st Century”, Open Space Seattle 2100 Green Futures Charrette. February 4, 2006. University of Washington, Seattle, WA. Keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for the Edgeless City". Redesigning the Edgeless City. Lincoln Policy Institute Education Program. 9 December 2005. 7-9 May 2006. Phoenix, AZ. Featured speaker and course instructor.

Condon, Patrick M. “Green Infrastructure for the 21st Century”. Revolve/Evolve, Where to Now?. Oregon Chapter ASLA Annual AGM. April 7, 2006. Portland, Oregon. Featured plenary speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. “Sustainable Regional Cities of the 21st Century”. Future Melbourne Series. *Urban Consolidation*. September 7 2006. University of Melbourne. Melbourne, Australia. Keynote speaker.

2005 Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter, Greener, Cheaper, Smarter Communities. Creating Equitable, Safe and Clean Places to Live." Winslow Tomorrow Planning Congress. 8 February 2005. Bainbridge, Washington. Featured topics speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for New Communities at the Edge". New Communities at the Edge. Lincoln Policy Institute and the Sonoran Institute Education Program. 26 January 2005. Phoenix AZ. Featured speaker and course instructor.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for the Edgeless City". Redesigning the Edgeless City. Lincoln Policy Institute Education Program. 9 December 2005. Cambridge Massachusetts. Featured speaker and course instructor.

Condon, Patrick M. "Protecting our Economy, and Preserving the Planet for our Kids" Ada County Plannig Department regional planning workshop. Boise Idaho. 18 May 2005. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Lighter Greener, Cheaper Infrastructure". Ada County Highway District, sustainable transportation workshop. Boise Idaho. 18 May 2005. Featured speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Planning for Change". University of Idaho, Integrated Design Lab. 18 May 2005. Featured guest speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Regional Planning for Sustainability". Sun Valley Sustainability Conference. 28 - 30 September 2005. Sun Valley, Idaho. Featured speaker.

2004 Condon, Patrick M. “Rainwater Harvesting; A Global Perspective.” ARCSA Rainwater Harvesting Conference. Seattle, WA. 23 September 2004. Keynote speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. “Good Solutions; Examples of Community Plans that Have Incorporated New and Emerging Policies for Sustainable Development.” Moscow City Hall. 20 April 2004, City of Moscow, Idaho. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. “Using Design Charrettes to Make Change.” Moscow City Hall. Moscow, Idaho. 19 April, 2004. Keynote.

2003 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Communities and Why We Don't Have Any." University of North Carolina, Charlotte, College of Architecture Fall Speaker Series, Charlotte, North Carolina. 10 November 2003. Invited Speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Sustainable Communities." New Jersey Mayors' Institute. Regional Plan Association of NY. 31 January 2003. Princeton, N.J. Plenary speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "The East Clayton Sustainable Community Case Study" The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Redesigning the Edgeless City, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 5 December 2003. Invited Faculty and Presenter.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure and Portland's Growth Strategies." US Departments of Land Management, Reclamation, National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Forest Service, Partners in Stewardship Conference, Los Angeles California. Invited Speaker.

Condon, Patrick. M. "Emerging Ideas in Storm Water Sensitive Design, The East Clayton Case Study". Seattle Public Utilities Natural Systems Workshop. Seattle Public Utilities. Seattle, WA. 5 May 2003. Plenary speaker.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Damascus Design Charrette and the Olmsted Legacy in Portland." The Olmsted Landscape Legacy 1903 – 2003, A Symposium. Urban Greenspaces Institute. 29 April 2003. Portland, OR. Plenary speaker.

Condon, Patrick. M. "Curbs are Evil and Other Development Horror Stories" Day long Smart Growth workshop. Economic Development Council of Snohomish County, WA. 15 October 2003. Keynote speaker, panelist.

2002 Condon, Patrick M. "Planning a Watershed: Smart Growth in Action." Kitsap Smart Growth Public Forum. Kitsap Smart Growth Coalition. 12 February 2002. City of Poulsbo, WA. Keynote

Condon, Patrick M. "Water is at the Heart of Sustainable Communities." Achieving Water by Reducing Nonpoint Pollution: Fourth Washington State Conference on Nonpoint Pollution. Washington State Department of Ecology. 10 April 2002. Spokane WA. Keynote

Condon, Patrick M. "Compact Cities and Green Infrastructure." 2002 Growing Communities Conference. Grand Valley Metropolitan Council. 13 June 2002. Grand Rapids, MI. Workshop host.

Condon, Patrick, M. "Environmental Performance at Urban Densities; Can it Be Coded." Congress on the New Urbanism X. 15 June 2002. Miami, FLA. Panel presenter.

2001 Condon, Patrick M. "Integrating Low Impact Development with Other Sustainability Imperatives: The East Clayton Case Study." Bridgeport Village Eco-Charrette. Washington County Department of Facilities Management. 1 December 2001. Tualatin, OR.

Condon, Patrick M. "Natural Urbanism, a New Old Fashioned Way to Make Communities with Lighter, Greener, Cheaper Smarter Infrastructure." A Watershed Event Conference. Gulf Coast Institute. 14 November 2001. Houston Texas. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for the Suburbs." Redesigning the Edgeless City. Lincoln Policy Institute. 29 October 2001. Cambridge, MA. Featured Presentation during day long conference and workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Smart Growth-Development and Redevelopment that Protect or Restore Aquatic Resources." Western Regions/States Non Point Source Pollution Control Meeting. United States Environmental Protection Agency. 31 July – 2 August 2001. San Diego, California. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "The East Clayton Low Impact Development: Having It All – Low Impact and Density Too!" Low Impact Development 2001 Conference. 5 June 2001. Seattle, WA. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Streets Concepts." The Green Streets Summit, Portland Metro Planning Council. 1 May 2001. Portland, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "The East Clayton Development Project." Urban Land Institute and American Rivers Inc. Ecological Design and Urban Waterfront Development Forum. 15 February 2001. Washington, DC. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "Smart Development, Sustainability Principles and Low Impact Development." Smart Growth Practitioners Workshop – Advancing Watershed Protection Through the use of Smart Growth Concepts, 5-6 February 2001. Port Townsend WA. Plenary.

- 2000 Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Community Design in British Columbia: The East Clayton Example." Billings, Big Sky and Beyond Conference and Visioning Workshop. Alternative Energy Resources Organization. 6-7 Oct 2000. Billings, MT. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "To Have a Car But Not Have to Use It: Land-Use Planning for Sustainable Communities." Transportation Technology Transfer Conference, CH2MHill. Transportation Business Group. Skamania Lodge, Gilford Pinchot National Forest. WA. 22-25 June 2000. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Density and Water Quality: Solutions for Stormwater Management." *The Politics of Place*, Oregon Livability Conference. 15-16 June 2000. Portland, OR. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Integration of Green Infrastructure and Compact Urban Development." Workshop for Eugene-area agencies, including discussion of broad issues within the metro area and design charrettes for various sites. 13 April 2000. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Urban Landscapes." HOPES (Holistic Options for Planet Earth Sustainability) Conference. 13-16 April 2000. University of Oregon. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Integration of Green Infrastructure and Compact Urban Development." Workshop for members of Eugene City Council, Eugene Planning Commission, and city staff. 12 April 2000. Eugene, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Implementation Issues in Community Stormwater Planning." Workshop for Eugene Public Works and Planning and Development Staff. 12 April 2000. Eugene, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Stormwater Planning Context and Critique of Proposed Stormwater Planning Strategies." Meeting with Eugene Public Works Stormwater Department Advisory Committee and staff. 12 April 2000. Eugene, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Preserving Community Character, the Role of Green Infrastructure." Partners for Smart Growth Conference, US Urban Development Institute and USEPA. Dec 5, 2000. Atlanta, GA. Concurrent workshop.

- 1999 Condon, Patrick M. "How Our Neighbors Are Growing Up: Urban Density and Design in Vancouver, BC." The McCall Society Speaker Series. 21 October 1999. Portland, OR. Keynote

Condon, Patrick M. "Preserving Community Character, the Role of Green Infrastructure." Partners for Smart Growth Conference, US Urban Development Institute and USEPA. Atlanta, GA. Dec 5, 2000. Concurrent workshop.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Habitat Protection." Environmental Learning Center, Clackamas Community College. 15 December 1999. Oregon City, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Green Infrastructure for Sustainable Communities." Presentation to Washington County Staff at Unified Sewerage Agency, 15 December 1999, Beaverton, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Building Compact Cities and Protecting and Restoring the Green Infrastructure: Integrating Salmon Recovery, Stormwater Management and Urban Density." Public lecture sponsored by: the Audubon Society of Portland; 1000 Friends of Oregon; City of Portland Bureau of Environmental Services; City of Portland Water Bureau; Coalition for a Liveable Future; Urban Greenspaces Institute; Urban Watershed Institute, and the Women's Transportation Seminar. 15 December 1999. Portland, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Building Compact Cities and Protecting and Restoring the Green Infrastructure: Integrating Salmon Recovery, Stormwater Management and Urban Density." Portland METRO Planning Authority. 16 December 1999. Portland, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Sustainable Community Design." TGM/DLCD staff, LCDC Commissioners, State of Oregon, Governor's Office Staff. 16 December 1999. Salem, OR. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "The East Clayton Sustainable Community." Presentation to City of Salem, OR, staff, elected officials, and community groups. Salem Main Library Auditorium. 16 December 1999. Salem, OR. Keynote.

1998 Condon, Patrick M. Member of Policy Team in Design Charrette. Nine-Mile Run Design Charrette for Watershed Retrofit. October 1998. Pittsburgh, PA.

1996 Condon, Patrick M. "The Work of Richard Haag: What Type Is It?" Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Dan Urban Kiley Lecturer. April 1996. Plenary.

Condon, Patrick M. "The Bloedel Reserve: America's Boldest Dialectical Landscape." University of Massachusetts, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, LARP Lecture Series. April 1996. Keynote.

1995 Condon, Patrick M. "Selected Work." Pennsylvania State University, Landscape Architecture Department. April 1995. Keynote.

1992 Condon, Patrick M. "Radical Romanticism." The University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Fall 1992. Lecture Series. Keynote.

1987 Condon, Patrick M. "New Issues and Theories in Landscape Design." Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN, and The University of Minnesota College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. Lecture series.

28 September	"Mind and Nature"
5 October	"Landscape Space"
12 October	"Landscape Typology"
19 October	"Landscape Deconstruction"

1988 Condon, Patrick M. "The Structure of Urban Existence." Lecture as part of a series sponsored by the Urban Design Centre of The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. "Typology: An Alternative Approach to Site Planning Controls." Lecture given as part of the Minnesota Chapter of the American Planning Association Site Planning Workshop, Minneapolis, MN.

1987 Condon, Patrick M. Invited critic and lecturer, Iowa State University, Department of Landscape Architecture Professor in Residence Program, Ames, IA. Keynote.

Condon, Patrick M. NEA-sponsored "Designed Landscape Space Typology: A Theory Based Design Tool." Presented spring 1987 at:

City College of New York, Urban Landscape Architecture Program, New York, NY.

Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, Landscape Architecture Department, Cambridge, MA.

University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Amherst, MA.

California Polytechnic University, School of Environmental Design, Department of Landscape Architecture, Pomona, CA.

1986 Condon, Patrick M. "EUR: Form Follows Fascism – Modernism and Italian Fascism. Twin Cities Committee on Urban Environment, Minneapolis, MN. Keynote.

1985 Condon, Patrick M. "Landscape Architect as Politician." University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Amherst, MA. Keynote.

1984 Condon, Patrick M. "Esposizione Universale di Roma. Form Follows Fascism." Rhode Island School of Design, Rome Program, Palazzo Cenci, Rome, Italy.

- 1983 Condon, Patrick M. "Problems in Small City Planning." Westfield State College, Westfield, MA.
- 1982 Condon, Patrick M. "The Westfield Walk Project." Frank A. Waugh Alumni Association Annual Meeting, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Amherst, MA.
- 1981 Condon, Patrick M. Commencement Address, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, Amherst, MA.

(g) *Conference Organizer*

Conferences and Workshops

- 2010 Expert panelist. Sonoran Institute experts panel for Planning Assist Tools. Land Use Planning and Climate Change in the West Round Table. Phoenix, AZ. February 20, 2010.
- Expert panelist. for Denver Open Source Planning Tools Meeting. Sonoran Institute and Lincoln Institute for Land Policy. Denver CO. November 2, 2010.
- 2009 Featured speaker, teacher, and facilitator. "Alternative Development Approaches". The City Program, Simon Fraser University. Edmonton Alberta. 17-18 April, 2009.
- 2008 Featured speaker, event organizer, and facilitator. Condon. "Carbon Smart Cities , NY" Re Making the Edgeless City. Regional Plan Association of NY – Lincoln Policy Institute. 7 May 2008. Poughkeepsie, NY.
- Featured speaker, event organizer, and facilitator. Condon. Re-designing the Edgeless City. "*Modeling Climate Change, The State of the Art*". Regional Plan Association of NY – Lincoln Policy Institute. 8 May 2008. Poughkeepsie, NY.
- 2006 Featured speaker and course organizer and instructor. "Green Infrastructure for the Edgeless City". Redesigning the Edgeless City. Lincoln Policy Institute Education Program. 9 December 2005. 7-9 May 2006. Phoenix, AZ.
- 2005 Organizer, Instructor, and Keynote lecturer. *Re-making the Edgeless City; New Communities at the Edge*. "Green Infrastructure for The Edgeless City; Dry Sites, Wet Sites.." Sponsored by the Lincoln Policy Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Sonoran Institute, Phoenix Arizona. April 13 – 14, 2005.
- Panel Member and Lecturer. *Regulatory Rethink Project, Advisory Council of Experts (ACE) Workshop*. "The Seven Principles for Sustainable Community Design" City of Portland. Portland, Oregon. April 17 – 19, 2005.
- 2004 Organizer, Instructor, and Keynote lecturer. *The Suburban Industrial District Reconsidered*. "Green Infrastructure for New Communities." Sponsored by the Lincoln Policy Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, Massachusetts. December 10, 2004.
- 1998 Keynote and principal organizer of "Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities Workshop." Sponsored by the Real Estate Foundation of British Columbia, Greater Vancouver Regional District, and City of Surrey. Surrey, BC.
- 1996 Keynote speaker assistant to Professor Michael Van Valkenburgh in organization of "The Landscape Architecture of Richard Haag." Harvard Graduate School of Design, Dan Kiley Urban Lecture. Panel discussant with Richard Haag, Richard Haag Associates, Seattle, WA; Professor Michael Van Valkenburgh, Chairman, Harvard GSD, Department of Landscape Architecture; Elizabeth Meyer, Director, Landscape Architecture Program, University of Virginia; Gary Hilderband, Harvard GSD, Assistant Professor of Landscape Architecture. Harvard Graduate School of Design, Cambridge, MA.
- 1995 Workshop organizer of EDRA 26 Environmental Design Research Association annual conference, "Typologies Linking Meaning-In-Form-In-Landscape-In Architecture. Chapel Hill, NC.

1991 Workshop organizer of EDRA 22 Environmental Design Research Association annual conference workshop, “The Landscape of Survival and the Landscape of Spirit: Dialectical Hypotheses of Landscape Aesthetics.” Urbana, IL.

1990 Workshop organizer of EDRA 21 Environmental Design Research Association annual conference symposium, “Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape, Place and Design.” Athens, GA.

Member of the Advisory Board, Midgard Journal. University of Minnesota College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, Journal of Architectural Theory and Criticism, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Session Chair with Professor Robert Sykes, University of Minnesota, at Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference, “Historical Landscape Precedents/Types,” Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI.

1990 Chair and commentator for EDRA 21 Symposium, “Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape, Place, and Design.” University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, IL.

1987 Co-chair for a national conference on the relationship of landscape architecture to contemporary art, “The Avant-Garde and the Landscape: Can They Be Reconciled?” University of Minnesota College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, Minneapolis, MN.

1987 Session chair, Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference, “Historical Precedents/Types,” Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI.

Design Charrettes (partial listing)

2012 The Surrey Sensitive Infill Design Charrette. Design Centre for Sustainability in partnership with City of Surrey Planning Department. Effort to visualize organic changes to mature district currently housing 70,000. Objective is a sustainable district of 150,000 by 2050. Final project results available at: <http://sensitiveinfill.blogspot.ca/>

2010 Peachland Revitalization Charrette. DCS project in partnership with Peachland Municipal Council. Peachland, BC. Effort was to create a plan to allow this lake front community to cope with changing demographics and the effects of sprawling development in their immediate areas. Final project results available at: <http://www.dcs.sala.ubc.ca/default.htm>

The Pegasus Project Design Charrette. Kerr Consulting project in partnership with PMC Associates and Rob Lane. Effort to pre plan a large sustainable community adjacent to Melton, Victoria, Australia. Sept 1 - 4, 2010. Project Designer and Facilitator. <http://www.pegasusproject.com.au/>

2009 Gosford Challenge. A partnership with Kerr Partnering, Melbourne Australia, and Gosford Municipal Council, Gosford NSW, Australia. Effort was to create a detailed plan for a redevelopment of a Sydney satellite town as a regional governmental, medical, and residential center using sustainability principles as guide. I was brought in as the charrette designer, workshop designer, and design charrette and workshop facilitator. Final project results on line at: <http://www.thegosfordchallenge.com.au/gosford-draft-master-plan/>

2008 Lynn Valley Town Centre Charrette. A partnership with the Township of North Vancouver for a major greyfield retrofit of a mall site, for the purposes of a high density job rich town center. Effort was to use charrettes methods to maneuver through a highly charged political context, a context that had stymied progress for a decade. This charrettes was a case study charrettes for the much larger Sustainable by Design project. For more information go to: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies/5_cs_hillside.htm

City of North Vancouver 100 Year Sustainability Plan. A partnership with the City of North Vancouver for an ambitious plan to reach carbon zero by 2107. Effort used charrette methods in context of robust green house gas analysis. GIS based GHG modeling allowed real time assessment of proposals on GHG production. For more on this go to: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies/5_cs_cnv.htm. For a broadly distributed article about his project see. <http://www.terrain.org/articles/25/condon.htm>

- 2006 Phoenix Apache Junction Charrette. A collaboration with Regional Plan Association of New York, Lincoln Policy Institute of Cambridge MA, and the Sonoran Institute of Phoenix. This effort involved over 100 person from various stakeholder groups producing a collaborative vision for a 220 square mile area slated for urban development in Phoenix. Objective was to derive policies for a sustainable city of one million persons.
- Greater Vancouver Regional Charrette. Design charrettes in context of World Urban Forum and joint meeting of Canadian Planning Association, Canadian Society of Landscape Architects, Architectural Institute of Canada. Over 200 participants in a one day charrettes to locate housing and jobs for 2 million additional residents in the Vancouver region. For more see: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/16_reg_charrette.htm
- Sustainability by Design: Case Study Charrettes. Sustainable visions for Delta, Langley, and Burnaby. Three concurrent charrettes in conformance with SxD principles. Conducted to test out principles on the ground and set the stage for the Super Saturday regional charrettes. For more info see: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies.htm
- 2005 The Squamish Charrette. The second of the Smart Growth on the Ground community design charrettes. This effort consumed over \$200,000 in research and outreach effort and involved partnerships with many outside agencies. In this charrette we effectively co-ordinated the delivery of sophisticated development information to citizen stakeholders within the one week long planning charrette format. Results were universally applauded, providing Squamish with a sustainable development blueprint for 2010 and beyond. For more see: www.sgog.bc.ca/content.asp?contentID=130
- 2004 The Maple Ridge Charrette. The first of the Smart Growth on the Ground community design charrettes. This effort consumed over 200,000 in research and outreach effort. The results was a plan adopted by Maple Ridge Municipal Council in April 2005 which will, when executed, make Maple Ridge a leader in the nation in sustainability and provide over 10,000 new units of housing in a sustainable, walkable, mixed use setting. For more see: www.sgog.bc.ca/content.asp?contentID=125
- 2003-04 The Squamish Downtown Waterfront Concept Plan (SDWCP) is the result of an integrated planning and design (charrette-based) process that occurred through a partnership between the District of Squamish, the Fraser Basin Council, and the UBC Sustainable Communities Program. Rooted in principles of sustainability that guided the process as well as the outcome, the Plan is intended to guide the future development of the Squamish Downtown Waterfront. Charrette details and concept plan can be found on line at: http://www.fraserbasin.bc.ca/action/documents/SDWI_concept_plan.pdf
- 2002-03 “Britannia Beach Environmental Mining Research Centre Community Design Charrette.” Design Program production for 13 million dollar UBC CERM3 Mining Research Center. Conceived to provide a fulcrum for generating community consensus behind this and myriad other community design and site remediation issues, the process led to later collaborative process between UBC, BC Ministry of Mining, BC Ministry of Highways, National Resources Canada, the Britannia Community, and the Mining Museum of BC to produce a consensus plan for this crucial landscape. The details of this charrette can be seen on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/britanniabeach/index.html>
- 2002 “Sustainable Communities for Idaho. The Caldwell/Karcher Charrette”. November 15-19 2002. The Charrette explored how to develop walkable neighborhoods with local centers of culture, community and commerce which respect adjacent agricultural operations and maintain the integrity of groundwater resources, air quality and stream systems. Project info and results available on line at: http://www.ua.uidaho.edu/iurdc/sci/caldwell_karcher%20default/ck_default.htm
- “Damascus Deign Workshop”. Charrette planner for Coalition for a Livable Future and 1000 Friends of Oregon. May 29 – June 3, 2002. This charrette explored the opportunities and constraints for a proposed major expansion of the Portland area urban growth boundary. Visioning answered questions re. capacity of this 25,000 acre site for accepting 100,000 additional residents in affordable and transit friendly form without degrading environmental systems. Charrette details and plans can be found at: <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/Damascus/Final%20Report.htm>

- 2000 “Florida State Road 7/US 441 Sustainable Corridor Charrette.” Hollywood, Florida. 25 – 27 June. I served on the design team and provided consultant services to the Regional Plan Association (RPA) of the New York, who was principal consultant for the project.
- Burnaby Mountain Community Design Charrette.” Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC. 10-13 February, 2000. Worked in partnership with Burnaby Mountain Community Development Corporation to design and manage the charrette event.
- 1999 “The Headwaters Project: The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan Community Design Charrette.” Spring, 1999. Co-Managed and facilitated with Pacific Resources Centre and City of Surrey Department of Planning and Development, Surrey BC. For more information see: <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Headwaters.html>
- “Salmon Friendly Seattle Charrette.” April, 1999. Organized and managed five-day charrette sponsored by Seattle Department of Public Utilities.
- Somerset County Regional Center Vision Initiative, Somerset County, NJ. April 1999. Regional “Smart Growth” design charrette for an eleven-square-mile “Edge City” site. Served as charrette organizer and participant working for the Regional Plan Association of New York and Somerset County, NJ, Planning Department.
- 1998 “Nine Mile Run Design Charrette.” Pittsburgh, PA. March 1998. Invited team leader and co-organizer.
- Southeast False Creek (SEFC) Charrette.” October 1998. Co-organizer with ORCAD Group and the City of Vancouver Planning Department.
- 1997 Second Nature Design Charrette.” TreePeople Inc., Los Angeles, CA. June 1997. Organized and developed program for five-day charrette sponsored by TreePeople Inc. and funded by a consortium of government agencies, including the EPA, National Forest Service, Los Angeles County, the City of Los Angeles, and the City of Santa Monica.
- Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Brentwood Design Charrette” August 19-25 1997 Burnaby, BC. Organized, developed the program, and managed the event. More information at: <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Brentwood.html>
- 1995 Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Surrey Design Charrette.” 11-15 September 1995. Surrey, BC. Organized, developed the program, managed and participated as a team leader. More information at: <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Surrey.html>

10. **SERVICE TO THE UNIVERSITY**

(a) *Memberships on committees, including offices held and dates*

2020 - SALA Curriculum Committee.

2019 - SALA Outreach committee

2018 - SALA Strategic Planning Committee.

SALA Outreach Committee.

2013-17 Chair, UBC Master of Urban Design Program

2015- Member SALA Academic Affairs Committee

2013-17 Member SALA Executive Council

2013 - Member, Search Committee. Assistant professor of Urban Design. UBC Master of Urban Design Program.

- 2012 Member, LARC Admission Committee.
- Chair, UBC SALA/SCARP joint review committee for Masters of Urban Design Program proposal.
- Member, UBC "Pascal's Quadrant" ad hoc committee for "Change Lab" PhD consortium.
- 2011 Member, Larc Admissions Committee
- Chair, SALA Merit Review Committee
- Chair, UBC SALA/SCARP joint review committee for Masters of Urban Design Program proposal.
- Member, Pascal's Quadrant ad hoc committee for "Change Lab" PhD consortium.
- 2010 Juror. Transportation Consultation 2010 Ideas fair. March 30, 2010. Competition sponsored by UBC Camups and Community Planning.
- Coordinator. Graduation awards Reception. Class of 2010. June 1, 2010.
- Member, LARC Admission Committee.
- 2008 Search Committee member. Joint position on sustainable design. Landscape architecture and architecture.
- Member, LARC Admissions Committee.
- 2008 Chair, LARC Admissions Committee.
- 2000-03 Member of UBC Architectural Design Review Panel.
- 1999-01 Director of Graduate Studies, UBC Landscape Architecture Program.
- 1999- Member, University of British Columbia Heritage Advisory Committee.
- 1999-02 Member, University of British Columbia Environmental Programs Committee.
- 1998-01 Representative, UBC Academic Community on the UBC Advisory Design Panel.
- 1994-96 Member, University of British Columbia Facilities Regulatory Appeals Committee.
- 1993-98 University of British Columbia representative to the BC Society of Landscape Architects Board of Examiners.
- 1993-05 Member, Cascadia Alliance of Design and Planning Schools.
- 1992-06 Director, University of British Columbia Landscape Architecture Program. Partial list of administrative achievements:
- Revised Landscape Architecture Curriculum (LARC). University of British Columbia Faculty Senate recognized revision as exemplary.
 - Established fiscal controls for this newly independent unit.
 - Provided policies and systems for student admissions, student advising, and assigning faculty teaching responsibilities.
 - Initiated and completed conversion of our BLA degree to MLA status.
 - Managed promotion and tenure review and contract renewal process for LARC faculty.
 - Staffed LARC courses with adjunct professors from practising community, as required.
 - Initiated and equipped the first computer-based media lab for landscape architecture.
 - Secured final funding for endowed chair in Landscapes and Liveable Environments.
 - Secured endowment for Landscape Architecture Program Lecture Series.

- Organized and successfully completed the first joint ASLA/CSLA accreditation of the first UBC professional design degree (February 1996).
- As first holder of the James Taylor Chair in Landscapes and Liveable Environments, organized and held the first of a series of “Design Charrette for Sustainable Urban Landscapes.”

1992-6 Member, Faculty of Agricultural Sciences Executive Committee.

1992-6 Member, University of British Columbia Deans, Heads, and Directors of Administrative Units Committee.

University Service while at the University of Minnesota

1990-91 Member, Department of Architecture, Department Head Search Selection Committee.

Chair, Scholarship Committee, Landscape Architecture Department.

1989-91 Chair, College Assembly, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota. I was the first holder of this position in the newly reorganized unit. The chair is elected for a two-year term by a vote of all college faculty.

Member, Dean's Administrative Committee, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota. Committee meets bi-weekly to advise the dean on all aspects of collegiate policy and administration.

1987 Member for the Landscape Architecture Department-College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture Lecture Series Committee.

Member, University of Minnesota Graduate Faculty in Landscape Architecture.

1987-90 Chair, Committee on Cleveland Endowed Chair, Landscape Architecture Department, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota.

1986 Member, Search Committee for Associate Professor of Landscape Architecture.

1985 Initiated restructuring the design studio curriculum in the Landscape Architecture Department of the University of Minnesota. This design sequence has been recognized nationally.

1985-91 Member, University of Minnesota Graduate Faculty in Architecture.

1985 Member, Search Committee for Assistant Professor of Landscape Architecture.

11. SERVICE TO THE COMMUNITY

2015 Juror. SoHo Redevelopment Plan. Fanshawe College Environmental Design Program. March 19, 2015. London Ontario. Invited outside juror.

2012 Member. "Housing Now" Technical Committee. SFU sponsored regional forum on housing affordability.

2011 External reviewer. “Switch Exhibition”. Science World Exhibition on Sustainability. Science World at Telus World of Science. Vancouver BC. June 2011.

2009 - 10 Consultations and support for community stakeholders with regard to transit futures for the Broadway corridor. Extensive meetings with stakeholders and presentations to community groups.

1999 Jury member, 1999 Energy Aware Award. Sponsored by the BC Energy Aware Committee, a group of public and private agencies dedicated to the promotion of Community Energy Planning in British Columbia, including BC Hydro, BC Gas, BC Transit, Translink, Pacific Northern Gas, PIBC, UBCM, and the Ministry of the Environment, Lands, and Parks.

- 1995-07 Chair, Vancouver Public Art Committee. Appointed by Vancouver City Council to advise on public art policy and projects in the City of Vancouver.
- 1995-7 Member, Vancouver Public Art Committee. Appointed by Vancouver City Council to advise on public art policy and projects in the City of Vancouver.
- 1995 Member, Steering Committee, Design for Density Conference. Whistler Centre for Business and the Arts.
- Member, Steering Committee, Communities Portfolio, Council for Sustainability. Whistler Centre for Business and the Arts.
- Member, Conference Advisory Committee. Getting Around and Getting Along: Transportation, Land Use and Livability in the 21st Century. University of British Columbia School of Community and Regional Planning.
- Member, Selection Panel, Marina Neighbourhood. Coal Harbour Public Art Program.
- 1990-91 Member, Board of Directors, Public Art St. Paul, a non-profit advocacy group concerned with elevating the significance of public works in the city of St. Paul, MN.
- 1988 Member, Ad Hoc Committee on the Nicollet Mall Urban Design Proposal. Sponsored by the magazine *Architecture Minnesota* to offer advice to the City of Minneapolis and the city's design consultants on the reconstruction of the Nicollet Mall.
- 1986-90 Chair, Administrative Committee for the University of Minnesota Centre for Community Studies (CCS). CCS is a liaison between communities that have a need for physical planning and design explorations and students and faculty who use them for case studies. Since 1986, over forty communities have received completed projects and services at nominal cost.

(b) *Memberships in other societies, including offices held and dates*

American Society of Landscape Architects	1984 - present
Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture	1985 - present
Environmental Design Research Association	1987 - 1992
Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology Association	1987 - 1995

(c) *Memberships on scholarly committees, including offices held and dates*

- 2008 - Member, editorial board, Journal of Urbanism
- 2004 - Member, editorial board. Landscape Journal
- 2009 Juror. *ASLA Student Awards Jury. American Society of Landscape Architects. International competition.* July 26 – 28, 2009.
- 1996-98 Juror, *Critique of Built Works in Landscape Architecture* Vol. #3 and Vol. #4. Louisiana State University, Department of Landscape Architecture.

(d) *Memberships on other committees, including offices held and dates*

- 2004/05 Member, Vancouver/University Area Transit Plan Advisory Committee. Appointed by Vancouver City Council to advise on Trans-Link five year plan for University/Vancouver area.
- 1997-99 Chair, Vancouver Public Art Committee. Appointed by Vancouver City Council to advise on public art policy and projects in the City of Vancouver.
- 1997 Jury member, Architectural Institute of British Columbia Innovation Awards, May 1997.

1989 Jury member, Iowa chapter of American Institute of Architects Annual Awards, April 1989.

(e) *Editorships (list journal and dates)*

2011 Condon, Patrick M. Hein, Scot. Eds. *A Convenience Truth, A Sustainable Vancouver by 2050*. 2011 Design Centre for Sustainability. Vancouver, B.C. Canada. <http://www.urbanstudio.sala.ubc.ca/2010/book%20templates.html>

2006 Condon, Patrick M. Sustainability by Design, a Design Vision for a Region of 4 Million. 2006. Design Center for Sustainability. Vancouver, BC. Canada. http://www.amazon.com/Sustainability-Design-Vision-Region-Million/dp/0978096622/ref=sr_1_4?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1274128494&sr=8-4

1990 Condon, Patrick M., and Lance M. Neckar, eds. 1990. "The Avant-Garde and the Landscape: Can They Be Reconciled?" *Landscape Journal* 10, 1 (Spring 1991)

(f) *Reviewer (journal, agency, etc., including dates)*

2009 - Journal of Planning Literature

2008 - Journal of Urbanism

2007 - Peer Reviewer Academic Call for Papers, Congress for the New Urbanism Conference XVI, Austin 2008

2000 - Reviewer, *Journal of Planning Literature*, Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio.

1996 - Reviewer, *Landscape Review*, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.

1992 - Reviewer, *Landscape Journal*, University of Wisconsin, Madison Wisconsin.

(g) *External examiner (indicate universities and dates)*

2018 External Reviewer, University of Calgary, College of Environmental Design. Calgary AB. March 19-20, 2018

2014 External examiner for the University Of Manitoba Faculty Of Architecture Environmental Design Program. May 22 - 23, 2014

2013 External examiner for University of Calgary, College of Environmental Design. Calgary AB. May 1-3, 2013.

2005 External reader. Barton, Annette. "Management and Reuse of Local Water Resources in Residential Developments in Adelaide". PhD Philosophy, School of Natural and Built Environments, Division of Information Technology, Engineering and the Environment, University of South Australia. February 2005.

2002 External examiner. Cecelia Achiam, "Linking Visual Preferences to Stormwater Management." Master of Art (Planning) Faculty of Graduate Studies, UBC School of Community and Regional Planning. 19, April, 2002.

External examiner. Robert Patrick, Masters in Geography, Simon Fraser University. April 25, 2002.

2003 External examiner. "A Behavioral Approach to Design of High Density Housing." Mohit Srivastava. MASLA Faculty of Agricultural Sciences. 12 December 2001.

2000 External reviewer. "Sustainable Community Planning and Design: A Demonstration Project as Pathway." David van Vliet, PhD, School of Community and Regional Planning, 29 February 2000.

(h) *Consultant (indicate organization and dates)*

This list of major consultancies represent a selected portion of professional work undertaken in my capacity as project designer, planner, consulting expert, and/or manager. All projects have been chosen for the opportunity they presented for advancing the practice of sustainable site and community design.

- 2011-13 State Road 520 Community Consultation and Facilitation. Invited by State of Washington Department of Transportation to facilitate stakeholder consultation for 4.5 billion dollar multi modal freeway reconstruction project through existing neighbourhoods and sensitive landscapes.
- 2010 The Pegasus Project. Long term vision for the Toolern addition to Milton, Victoria, Australia. Overall design charrette planning and facilitation. Information available at: <http://www.pegasusproject.com.au/>
- 2009 The Gosford Challenge. 2040 Vision for Gosford, NSW Australia. Overall design charrette planning and facilitation. Information available at: <http://www.thegosfordchallenge.com.au/>
- 2006 Bainbridge Island Sustainable Development plan. Design Charrette based project to provide development vision for the village center of Bainbridge Island Washington State. Recipient of a Governors Design Award in 2007.
- 2004 Pringle Creek Sustainable Community planner. General master planning with specific task of conceptualizing green infrastructure system. Pervious pavement zero impact storm drain system is largest residential application of green infrastructure system in US. For more on this project see: <http://www.pringlecreek.com/>
- 2003 South Waterfront Greenway Plan. September 2003 – June 2004. Retained by the City of Portland, Oregon, Bureau of Planning to develop a rainwater management plan for the South Waterfront District and develop a street network that incorporates sustainable stormwater management strategies.
- Harbor Peak Master Plan. Brookings, Oregon. May 2003. Hired by development corporation to consult on sustainable community development guidelines.
- New Jersey's Major's Institute on Community Design. January 2003. Resource team member for developing community design guidelines for several New Jersey municipalities.
- Markham Town Centre Plan. October 2003. Retained by the city of Markham, Ontario, to advise on development of a performance measuring framework to achieve the vision of smart growth
- 2002 Sustainable Fairview Project. August 2002 - ongoing. Hired by the Sustainable Fairview Associates as a consulting team member to develop a comprehensive model sustainable development in Salem, Oregon.
- "Designing Downtown: A Civic Alliance Planning Workshop." December 2002. Hired by the Regional Planning Association to be a resource team member at a 4 ½ day-long workshop which addressed urban design and planning issues for Lower Manhattan.
- 2001 Bridgeport Village Eco-Charrette. December 2001. Retained by Washington County, Oregon, to provide information about water quality and stormwater management for the purposes of a design charrette for a former quarry site slated for development.
- 2000 Green Streets: Environmental Designs for Transportation. October 2000. Retained by the Oregon Department of Transportation to assist in developing handbook that provides guidelines that support projected land uses as well as protect stream corridors.
- City of Eugene Stormwater Plan Critique. Retained by the City of Eugene, Oregon, Department of Public Works Stormwater Department to critique its stormwater management plan and to make suggestions for regional, local, and site scale best management practices (BMPs) for their community.
- Simon Fraser University, Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation (BMCC). Hired by the BMCC to advise the CEO and Board of the Burnaby Mountain Community Corporation on matters relating to the implementation of its sustainable community plan. Authored design program used to guide development of the community.
- Los Angeles County Department of Public Works. Retained by the county, with TreePeople Inc. of Beverly Hills, California, to choreograph and hold a two-day design charrette for enhanced ecological performance of its fifty-acre headquarters site.
- 1999 Somerset County Regional Center Vision Initiative, Somerset County, NJ. April 1999. Regional "Smart Growth" design charrette for an eleven-square-mile "Edge City" site. Served as charrette organizer and participant working for the Regional Plan Association of New York and Somerset County, NJ, Planning Department. Authored design charrette program for the charrette.

Landview Group. *Riverwalk on the Coquitlam – Official Community Plan Amendment*. Developed plan for a mixed-use community proposal for 1,300-unit community on the shores of the Coquitlam River. Moriarty Condon Ltd, with multi-disciplinary team under Aplin Martin Engineering.

- 1998 Taylor Yards, Los Angeles, CA. Provided site design consultation and education to promote development of this site as Los Angeles' first demonstration of sustainable site design on an industrial site.

Retained by City of Vancouver Planning Department to organize "Southeast False Creek Design Charrette." International design charrette for community sustainability, covering a wide range of sustainability performance objectives applied to a planned community for 5,000 in Vancouver, BC. Served as charrette co-organizer, wrote design program, and was design team leader.

- 1997 Trans-Agency Resources for Environmental and Economic Sustainability (TREES), Los Angeles, CA. International design charrette for site sustainability, focusing on water resource protection and conservation. Retained by TreePeople Inc., Beverly Hills, CA, to organize, participate in, and write the design brief for the Second Nature Design Charrette.

- 1995 Upper Iowa University, Fayette, IA. Developed *East Campus Master Plan*. Passive and active recreation and landscape preservation and management plan for 300-acre river edge site.

- 1994 Upper Iowa University, Fayette, IA. Campus Landscape Reconstruction. Phases 2 and 3.

- 1992 Upper Iowa University, Fayette, IA. Co-authored *Campus Master Plan* with Stacy T. Moriarty, Moriarty/Condon Landscape Architects and Planners Inc.

- 1989 Governor's Official Residence, St. Paul, MN. Estate design for official residence for the Governor of Minnesota and family.

The selected projects listed below were completed prior to my first academic appointment at the University of Minnesota.

- 1984 Aldenville Master Plan, Chicopee, MA. Performed under contract to the City of Chicopee Department of Community Development and Planning.

- 1983 "Industrial Zone Ordinance," Westfield, MA. City of Westfield Code of Ordinances, Appendix B Zoning. City of Westfield Department of Community Development.

- 1982 Community Development Block Grant Program, Fiscal Year 1982, Depot Square Economic Development Project, Westfield, MA. City of Westfield Department of Community Development.

Westfield Walk Plan, Westfield, MA. City of Westfield Department of Community Development.

- 1981 "Condominium Conversion/New Construction Ordinance," Westfield, MA. City of Westfield Code of Ordinance, Appendix B Zoning. City of Westfield Department of Community Development.

- 1981 "Planned Unit Development/Cluster Zone Ordinance," Westfield, MA. City of Westfield Code of Ordinance, Appendix B Zoning. City of Westfield Department of Community Development.

12. AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

(a) *Awards for Teaching (indicate name of award, awarding organizations, date)*

- 2006 Nominated by students in LARC 505 Sustainable Urban Design Studio for Killam prize.

- 1987 Chosen for "Award of Distinction" for innovation and achievement in the theory and practice of teaching landscape architecture. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture (CELA) annual meeting, Providence, RI.

(b) *Awards for Scholarship (indicate name of award, awarding organizations, date)*

2010 BC Union of Municipalities Award of Excellence for the “100 Year Sustainability Vision, City of North Vancouver, BC.”

Canadian Institute of Planners Award for Planning Excellence award for “100 Year Sustainability Vision: City of North Vancouver, BC.

This award recognizes planning projects for their excellence, innovation, contribution to the body of the professional knowledge, implementation potential, and presentation. The centre won in the Environmental Planning category for its project “100-Year Sustainability Vision: City of North Vancouver,” which provides a framework for action that, when realized, will reduce CO2 produced by North Vancouver residents by 80% by 2050 and by 100 percent by 2110. The City of North Vancouver partnered with the centre on this innovative project and will be incorporating it as policy in the Official Community Plan for the city.

American Society of Landscape Architects, ASLA Honor Award for Research for "Getting to Minus 80: Defining the Contribution of Urban Form to Achieving Greenhouse Gas Emission Reduction Targets".

A synthesis and analysis of the results achieved in the DCS' project work in Emerald Hills, Alberta; Calgary, Alberta; and the City of North Vancouver, B.C., and outlines in detail the combinations of urban form strategies that landscape architecture professionals can promote and implement to achieve up to an 80-84% reduction in relative GHG emissions, and beyond.

2008 Chosen Planetizen Top Ten Books List for Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities. Island Press, 2007. <http://www.planetizen.com/books/2008>.

2002 Selected as one of three jurors (and the only Canadian) for the American Society of Landscape Architects Annual Awards for Research jury. Washington, DC.

Selected as team leader for “Civic Alliance Planning and Design Workshop”, December. Lower Manhattan and World Trade Center Design Charrette. Regional Plan Association of New York and New York Civic Alliance. 13-18 December 2002.

Promoted to Full Professor, University of British Columbia. July 1 2002.

2001 Article “Cubist Space, Volumetric Space, and Landscape Architecture,” originally published in *Landscape Journal*, Spring 1988, selected by editors as one of the most significant theory articles of the last 20 years for re-publication in: "Theory in Landscape Architecture: A Reader." Simon R. Swaffield, Ed. Pennsylvania University Press, Philadelphia. Spring 2002. Part of the Penn Series, John Dixon Hunt, General Editor.

2000 Alumni of Distinction Award, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning. Amherst, Massachusetts.

Included in the “Top 50 Public Intellectuals” list by a committee of seven British Columbia scholars for the *Vancouver Sun*. Published August 25, 2000.

1995-97 Selected as one of three jurors who were, in the opinion of the editors of the third and fourth annual *Critique of Built Works Journal*, best qualified to conduct peer review submissions.

1994- Nominated for Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments, University of British Columbia, Landscape Architecture Program.

1985 Principal Investigator, National Endowment for the Arts, Design Advancement Grant for: "A Designed Landscape Space Typology: A Theory-Based Design Tool."

1978 Suma Cumme Laude Graduate, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst, MA

1975 “Outstanding Student of Architecture Award,” Massachusetts College of Art, Boston, MA.

(c) *Awards for Service (indicate name of award, awarding organizations, date)*

2000 City of Burnaby “Environmental Star Award for Planning and Development.” for the Brentwood Design Charrette, (1997). City of Burnaby, BC. May, 2000.

1999 BC Energy Aware Committee's 1999 “Energy Aware Award” for excellence in the implementation of Community Energy Planning principles in connection with the East Clayton Neighbourhood Plan, City of Surrey in partnership with the UBC James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.

1997 Certificate of recognition for outstanding contribution at the Santa Monica Civic Center Sustainable Design Charrette, Los Angeles Chapter AIA, Committee on the Environment.

1989 Elected to Chair, College Assembly, College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

1976 Resolution of commendation from Massachusetts House of Representatives for "Focusing attention on ways of reviving older neighborhoods" through the construction of Off-Street Park in Brockton, MA.

(d) *Other Awards and distinctions*

2007 National Association of Home Builders, Land Development of the Year Award. For Pingle Creek Community. ““Pringle Creek Community is the first project to receive the NAHB Green Land Development of the Year award,” said NAHB President Brian Catalde, a home builder in Southern California. ‘Selected from a pool of excellent candidates, Pringle Creek Community and its developers stood out with this very instructive, resource-efficient site design. The onsite recycling, preservation of trees and use of porous pavement, which is an innovative water retention feature, demonstrate the true sense of green commitment at Pringle Creek.’”

2006 Governors Office, Sate of Washington. Award for Excellence. Winslow Tomorrow Community Plan and Planning Process. Puget Sound Regional Planning Council. March 2006.

2005 Member, Editorial Board. Landscape Journal. Premier North American research journal in the field of Landscape Architecture.

2004 “Rethinking Suburbia” Recognized for research in the James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments. LEAP magazine, Journal of Research, University of British Columbia, Issue 3 - 2004

“Beautiful Minds” Special Report, *Vancouver Sun*, May 14. Recognized as one of BC’s 50 most influential scholars.

1997 Design Effectiveness Award, granted by *Financial Post* of Canada for design work at Upper Iowa University – work that materially enhanced the economic viability of the client. This is considered one of Canada’s top national awards and is highly competitive. Projects from fields as diverse as furniture design and landscape architecture compete against each other for the honour of being selected solely on the basis of the economic and social “value added” that one’s design provides.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Publications Record

SURNAME: Condon

FIRST NAME: Patrick
MIDDLE NAME(S): Michael

Initials: PMC
Date: 9/3/2001

1. REFEREED PUBLICATIONS

(a) Journals

Condon, Patrick M. Mullnix, Kent. Fallick, Arthur. Harcourt, Mike. 2010. Agriculture on the Edge: Strategies to Abate Urban Encroachment Onto Agricultural Lands by Promoting Viable Human scale Agriculture as an Integral Element of Urbanization. 8 (1&2) 2010. Pages 104 – 115.

Miller, Nicole. Cavens, Duncan. Condon, Patrick. Kellett, Ronald. 2009. *Policy, Urban Form, and Tools for Measuring and Managing Greenhouse Gas Emissions: The North American Problem*. University of Colorado Law Review. Volume 80 Issue 4, Fall 2009.
<http://www.colorado.edu/law/lawreview/issues/summaries/80-4.htm>

Condon, Patrick M. Isaac, Katherine. 2003. "Green Municipal Engineering for Sustainable Communities." Municipal Engineer Journal/ Volume ME156 / Issue 01, (Spring 2003) http://www.telford.co.uk/TTLpub/Journals/TT_Access/pdf/ME/ME1560102.pdf

Condon, Patrick M. Gurstein, Penelope. Proft, Joanne. August 2003 "The Urban Design Studio as a Catalyst for Change: Fresh Eyes on Gibson, Fall, 2001". Landscape Review. Refereed Studio Special Edition.

Condon, Patrick M. Muir, Sara K. 2001. "The Headwaters Sustainable Community for 13,000: The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan." *Colloqui – Irreconcilable Differences Spring 2001*. Colloqui, Cornell University, Ithaca NY, USA.

Condon, Patrick M. 1995. "Sculpture in the Expanded Garden." *Critique of Built Works 2* (Fall): 5-9. Baton Rouge, LA, Louisiana State University, Department of Landscape Architecture.

Condon, Patrick M. 1991. "Radical Romanticism." *Landscape Journal*. 10, 1 (Spring): 3-8.

Condon, Patrick M. 1991. "Towards a Designed Landscape Space Typology." *Midgard Monograph of Architectural Theory and Criticism: Types and the Impossibilities of Convention*. 2: 97-105.

Condon, Patrick M. 1988. "Cubist Space, Volumetric Space, and Landscape Architecture." *Landscape Journal* 8, 1 (Spring): 1-4.

(b) Conference Proceedings

Condon, Patrick M. Dow, Kari. 2011. "Transportation for Sustainable Communities: A cost and impact comparison between alternative transportation modes." CNU 18, Congress for the New Urbanism Annual Conference - Growing Local. Madison, WI. USA. On line at:
http://www.cnu.org/sites/www.cnu.org/files/condoncnu19finalpaper_0.pdf

Miller, Nicole. Cavens, Duncan. Condon, Patrick. Kellet, Ronald. Carbonell, Armando. 2008. "Policy, Urban Form and Tools for Measuring and Managing Greenhouse Gas Emissions: The North American Problem." *Climate Change and Urban Design; the Third Annual Congress of the Council for European Urbanism*. Oslo, Norway.

Condon, Patrick M. Muir, Sara K. 2001. "The Headwaters Sustainable Community for 13,000: The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan." *United States/International Association for Landscape Ecology Conference Proceedings*. Tempe, Arizona: US/IALE.

Ferguson, Bruce, Andrew Lipkis, Patrick M. Condon, and Richard Pinkhan. 1999. "The Future of Old Urban Watersheds." *ASLA/CELA Annual Meeting Conference Proceedings*. Washington, DC: American Society of Landscape Architects.

Condon, Patrick M. 1987. "Typology as Design Tool for Landscape Architecture." *Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Conference Proceedings*. Providence, RI: Rhode Island School of Design.

Condon, Patrick M. 1986. "The Minnesota Model for Introductory Design." Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture (CELA) Annual Conference. University of Georgia, Athens GA: CELA.

(c) *Other*

Refereed Book Chapters

Tara L. Moreaul,³ Tegan Adams²'s, Kent Mallinif, Arthur Fallicl and Patrick M. Condon. 2012. "Recommended practices for climate-smart urban and peri-urban agriculture". In *Sustainable Food Planning - Evolving Theory and Practice*. Viljoen, A., and J.Sngen Academic Publishers, The Netherlands. p. 295 -303. (blind peer refereed chapter).

Refereed Conference Participation

"Transportation for Sustainable Communities: A Cost and Impact Comparison Between Alternative Transportation Modes". Blind reviewed research paper for CNU 19, Chicago IL, June 2011.

"Types: The Prison and the Promise." Workshop member with Professors Schneekloth, Franck, Brill, Francesca, Friedman, LaMarch, Robinson, Wolf, Dovey, Feldman, and Sanoff. Environmental Design Research Association Annual Conference – EDRA 26. Boston, MA. 1995.

"Sustainable Research, Finding a Language to Explore Healing Relations with the Earth." Workshop member with Professor Louise Chawla of Kentucky University, Professor Claire Cooper-Marcus of Berkeley University, and Professor Lynda Schneekloth of SUNY Buffalo, Environmental Design Research Association Annual Conference – EDRA 23. Boulder, CO. 1995.

"The Landscape of Survival and the Landscape of Spirit: Dialectical Hypotheses of Landscape Aesthetics." Workshop participant and organizer with Professor Michael Brill of SUNY Buffalo and Professor Judith Herwagen of the University of Washington. Environmental Design Research Association Annual Conference. EDRA 22 – Mexico City. Mexico. 1992.

"Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape, Place and Design". Symposium Chair and commentator with Professor David Seamon of the University of Kansas and Professor Robert Mugerauer of the University of Texas, Austin. Environmental Design Research Association Annual Conference – EDRA 21. University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, IL. 1991.

"The Modes of Space". Workshop participant with Professor John Furlong of the Radcliff Seminars and Professors Joseph Volpe and David Laws of the University of Massachusetts. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference. Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, RI. 1987.

"Historical Landscape Precedents/Types." Symposium organizer and chair with Professor Robert Sykes of the University of Minnesota. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference, Rhode Island School of Design. Providence, RI. 1987.

"Modeling in Landscape Design. Workshop participant with Professor Joseph Volpe of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Roger L. Washburn of the Radcliff Seminars. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference/ University of Georgia. Athens, GA. 1986.

"Narrative Inquiry in the Design Studio." Workshop participant with Professors J. Stephen Weeks and Robert Sykes of the University of Minnesota and Professor Joseph Volpe of the University of Massachusetts. Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture Annual Conference. University of Illinois. Urbana/Champaign, IL. 1985.

2. NON-REFEREED PUBLICATIONS

(a) *Journals*

Condon, Patrick M. 2013. "Flat City, Communications and Freedom in the 21st Century City". *Visiones de Telefonica*. Paper no. IX, 2013. Invited article.

Condon, Patrick M. 2013. " Three Global Crises and One Simple Solution: Revive the Streetcar City". *The View*. Library of American Landscape History. Number 13. Summer 2013 (in press). Invited commentary.

Condon, Patrick M. 2010. " Planning a Post Carbon World, The City of North Vancouver and the 100-Year Plan" *Terrain.org*, A Journal of the Built and Natural Environment. Number 25. Spring/Summer 2010.

Condon, Patrick M. 1989. "The Street, What Are We Talking About?" *Inform Design. Volume 1, No 2* (Spring): 16-17.

(b) *Conference Proceedings*

Condon, Patrick M., and Lance Neckar, eds., 1989. "On the Possibility of an Avant-Garde in Landscape Architecture." In *Proceedings of the Avant-Garde and the Landscape Conference*, 2-11. Minneapolis, MN: Landworks.

(c) *Other*

Papers for Research Organizations

Condon, Patrick, Doherty, Eric, Dow, Kari, Lee, Marc, and Price, Gordon. 2011. *Transportation Transformation: Building Complete Communities and a Zero Carbon Transportation System in BC*. CCPA, Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives., Vancouver BC.
http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/BC%20Office/2011/04/CCPA-BC_Transportation.pdf

Community and Regional Plans (partial listing)

City of Gosford NSW, Australia. "Our City our Destiny, Gosford's Journey from Community Inspired Vision to Community Informed Plans". Kerr Partners and Cox Architects. Overall design and choreography for workshops and Charrettes. Design team manager.
http://issuu.com/bigclick/docs/the_gosford_challenge_final_draft_masterplan_2009-?mode=embed&layout=http://skin.issuu.com/v/light/layout.xml&showFlipBtn=true

Sustainable Fairview. Master Plan. Sustainable Fairview Associates. 2003. Adopted through zone change by City of Salem Oregon. 2003. Salem Oregon: City of Salem Planning Department.

City of Maple Ridge, James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Livable Environments. Maple Ridge Town Centre Concept Plan. Adopted by council Spring 2005. First suburban centre sustainability plan in BC.

City of Surrey, James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments, Pacific Resources Centre, Ramsay Worden Architects, Reid Crowther Inc. *East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan*. 1998. Vancouver, BC: City of Surrey Department of Planning and Development.

Regional Plan Association of New York. April 1999. *Somerset County Regional Center Vision Initiative* (co-organized charrette that led to this publication).

Book Reviews

Condon, Patrick M. 2020. Journal of the Urban Affairs “The Urban Fix: Resilient cities in the war against climate change.” By Doug Kelbaugh, Journal of Urban Affairs. March 8, 2021.

Condon, Patrick M. 2006. Journal of Planning Literature. Review: *America’s National Park Roads and Parkways: Drawings from the Historic American Engineering Record* by Davis, Timothy, Todd A. Croteau, and Christopher H. Marston, eds 2004

Monographs

Condon, Patrick M. Doherty, Eric. Dow, Kari. Lee, Marc. Price, Gordon. 2011. *Transportation Transformation: Building Complete Communities and a Zero Carbon Transportation System in BC*. CCPA, Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives., Vancouver BC.
http://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/BC%20Office/2011/04/CCPA-BC_Transportation.pdf

Condon, Patrick M. Cavens, Duncan. Miller, Nicole. 2009. *Planning Tools for Climate Change and Mitigation*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. 48 pages; Inventory ID PF021; English; Paperback; ISBN 978-1-55844-194-1. http://www.lincolninst.edu/pubs/1573_Urban-Planning-Tools

Condon, Patrick M. 1989. *A Designed Landscape Space Typology: A Theory Based Design Tool*. Minneapolis, MN: College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, University of Minnesota. 53 pp.

Discussion Paper

Condon, Patrick M. 1990. “Phenomenological Approaches to Landscape, Place and Design.” *Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology Newsletter* (Fall): 3

Selected list of Studio-Produced Publications, Edited and Compiled

***Reviving Community Rail for a Sustainable Fraser Valley*. Condon, Patrick M. and Jishun Toeh, eds. Publication of the fall 2018 fall UD 501 class. The intent of the studio was to demonstrate how the suburban Lower Mainland could be re organized around reviving the existing interurban rail line abandoned in 1956. Publication is available on line here: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1pb0FLQ1B_vjTsCiZBkzHCZ5ThffMUyD/view?usp=sharing**

***Imagining an Affordable Vancouver 2060*. Condon, Patrick M. and Kaenat Seth, eds. Publication of the fall 2019 UD 502 class. The intent of the studio was to demonstrate how to double the population of the city for affordable housing. Publication is available on line here: https://drive.google.com/file/d/10C-HCv0vdQPj7qFLSFCeY_nq9qCesDKo/view?usp=sharing Summary web site available here: <https://imagining-an-affordable-vancouver.webflow.io/>**

The Future Lives Here: Surrey as a 21st Century Transit City. Condon, Patrick M. and Gocova, Anezka Eds. Publication from the Fall 2018 UD 501 class. The intent of the studio was to demonstrate how suburban city of Surrey can be transformed into a “transit city” with the proper relationship between transportation investment and land use planning and design. Project chosen for UBC Annual Report as exemplar of UBC outreach strategy.

A Convenience Truth, A Sustainable Vancouver by 2050. Condon, Patrick M. Hein, Scot, Eds. Publication from the Fall 2010 Urban Design Studio Larc 504, co taught with SCARP Urban Design Studio taught by Scot Hein. The Intent of this studio was to provide a vision for what the city of Vancouver would be like in 2050 should it meet its sustainability goals. Project was featured on more than 5 occasions in local and national press. Publication is available on line at: <http://www.urbanstudio.sala.ubc.ca/2010/book%20templates.html> (book published January 2012)

Sustainability by Design: A Design Vision for a Sustainable Region. Publication from the Fall 2005 Urban Design Studio Larc 504. The intent of this studio was to provide ideas and visions for a sustainable region, showing what the implications for the region would be of sustainable neighborhood landscapes, and what the implications for the neighborhood would be consequent to living in a sustainable region. This studio provided the testing grounds for the Larger and Ongoing Sustainability by Design Project. Studio work at:
<http://www.urbanstudio.sala.ubc.ca/2005/overview.htm>

Fresh Eyes on Britannia Beach. Publication from the Fall of 2003, LARC 505 Urban Design Studio. This course explores the power of urban design to structure an equitable, healthy, sustainable and gratifying context for the social lives of its users in an area with rich cultural and mining history, and with tremendous environmental degradation from unsustainable mining practices. These characteristics provided a unique opportunity for research into mining practice, remediation, and community. On line at:
<http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/britanniabeach/ubc.html>

Two neighbourhood patterns. Publication from the Fall 2002, LARC 505 Urban Design Studio. This studio explored typologies of the built environment as represented by neighbourhoods in the City of Vancouver and the City of Surrey and developed site strategies that incorporate sustainability principles. On line at:
<http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/urbanstudio/urbanstudio2002/2002.htm>

Scenes on Hastings. Publication from the Fall 2001, LARC 505 Urban Design Studio. This interdisciplinary studio involved students from architecture, landscape architecture and planning in the development of a vision for the Vancouver region's most important and problematic urban corridor. On line at:
http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/urbanstudio/scenes_on_hastings_2001/

Fresh Eyes on Gibsons. Publication from the Fall 2000, LARC 505 Urban Design Studio. This interdisciplinary studio involved students from architecture, landscape architecture and planning in the development of sustainable visions for the Town of Gibsons, BC. On line at: <http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/urbanstudio/index.htm>

Last Chance for False Creek. Publication from the Fall 1998 LARC 505, Urban Design Studio. This Studio focused on the development of a sustainable community for 5,000 citizens in the southeast corner of False Creek. Students from this class were involved in the City-sponsored international design charrette for a sustainable Southeast False Creek community.

Design Alternatives for the South Campus. Publications from the Fall 1993 and Fall 1994 LARC 405 Urban Design Studio. This studio focused on the relationship between vernacular cultural settlement patterns, university policy, and sustainable development.

Design Process Paradigms: Rational, Intuitive, Concept-Test, and Typological Methods for Design. A publication of the Spring 1994 LARC 206 Design Process Studio.

Policy, Pattern, Type. A publication of the spring 1990 Landscape Architecture 5103 Urban Design Studio, which focused on the relationship between energy use, transportation policy, urban forestry, and landscape typology in constructing sustainable cities.

The Basilica Neighbourhood: Urban Design Proposals. A publication of the Fall 1990 LA 5103 Urban Design Studio. This studio explored a series of circulation and land-use alternatives for a key district in downtown Minneapolis.

A Few Good Types: Selected Designed Landscape Space Types. A publication of the Spring 1989 LA 8310 graduate seminar: A Designed Landscape Typology. Students explored one of a pre-determined set of "types" of designed landscapes using phenomenologically based descriptive methods.

Four Design Process Paradigms. A publication of the Spring 1988 LA 3083 Design Process/Methods studio. Students explored the history, philosophy, and methodology of design processes, which ranged from the highly intuitive to the highly rational.

Historical Space Types: A Strategy for Campus Design. A publication of the Spring 1987 LA 3092 Design Studio. Students explored three basic historical space types evident on the University of Minnesota Campus: Romantic, Classical, and Modern.

3. **BOOKS**

(a) *Authored*

Condon, Patrick M. 2021. *Sick City: Disease, race, inequality, and urban land*. James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Livable Environments. Vancouver, BC. (note: this was published from my research chair as speed was paramount. It was only six months between initiation and release. Full text is available here: <https://justicelandandthecity.blogspot.com/p/download-sick-city-pdf.html>)

Condon, Patrick M. 2020. *Five Rules for Tomorrow's Cities; Design in an age of Urban Migration, Demographic Change and a Disappearing Middle Class*. Island Press, Washington D.C. <https://islandpress.org/books/five-rules-tomorrows-cities>

Condon, Patrick M. 2010. *Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities: Design Strategies for a Post Carbon World*. Washington D.C.: Island Press http://islandpress.org/bookstore/details4c1a.html?prod_id=1908

Condon, Patrick M. 2007. *Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities*. Washington D.C. Island Press. http://islandpress.org/bookstore/details5e68.html?prod_id=1131

Condon, Patrick M. Proft, Joanne 2002. With Gonyea, Angela, Muir, Sara, and Teed, Jacqueline. *Sustainable Urban Landscapes; Site Design for BC Communities*. James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments. http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/DesignManual/SDM_entire_web_edit.pdf

Condon, Patrick M. 1998. *Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments. <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/ADS.html>

(a-i) *Reviews of my books.*

Kelbaugh, Douglas. 2021. *Five rules for tomorrow's cities*. Journal of the American Planning Association. 87:1 149 -150. 2021.

Kelbaugh, Douglas. 2021. *Five Rules for Tomorrow's Cities*. Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability. 14:1. 125-127

Holyoak, Joe. 2021. *5 Rules for Tomorrow's Cities*. Urban Design Group. January 18, 2021. 16:42.

Faraone, Maria. 2021. *Five Rules for Tomorrow's Cities*. Housing Studies. 36.2, 303-305. February 28, 2021. :

(b) *Edited*

***Imagining an Affordable Vancouver 2060*. Condon, Patrick M. and Kaenat Seth, eds. Publication of the fall 2019 UD 502 class. The intent of the studio was to demonstrate how to double the population of the city for affordable housing. Publication is available on line here: https://drive.google.com/file/d/10C-HCv0ydQPj7qFLSFceY_nq9qCesDKo/view?usp=sharing Summary web site available here: <https://imagining-an-affordable-vancouver.webflow.io/>**

Condon Patrick M. *Reviving Community Rail for a Sustainable Fraser Valley*. Patrick M. Condon. Ed. May 2019. UBC SALA Master of Urban Design Program. By Master of Urban Design Program. 2019 Publication downloadable at: <http://www.lulu.com/shop/master-of-urban-design-2019/reviving-community-rail-for-a-sustainable-fraser-valley/ebook/product-24067501.html>

Condon, Patrick M. Avishan Aghazadeh and Hannah Gibson. Eds. Graphic layout and production administration by Avishan Aghazadeh *The Future Grows Here: A visioning by the class of 2017 – Master of Urban Design*.

UBC School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture.
<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B0WWDAVvOPcoOFVVS193dnF1cTg>

- Condon, Patrick M. Maryam Mahvash, Fahimeh Vahabi, Kirsten Harrison and Avishan Aghazadeh Eds. 2016. *The Future Works Here; A Visioning by the Class of 2016 – Master of Urban Design*. UBC School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. Vancouver, BC
(<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B0WWDAVvOPcoaUFTXzJuTF8zWWs>)
- Condon, Patrick M. Maryam Mahvash, Fahimeh Vahabi, Kirsten Harrison and Avishan Aghazadeh Eds. 2015. *Frequent Transit as the Armature for a Sustainable Urban Region; A Vision for the City of Surrey by the Fall 2016 Master of Urban Design Studio*. UBC School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. Vancouver, BC.
(<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B0WWDAVvOPcoRS1lWHgwanRaMDQ>)
- Condon, Patrick M., Korbin DaSilva, Simone Levy, Dale Lewis, Manali Yadav. 2015. *The Future Lives Here: Surrey as a 21st Century Transit City. A Visioning by the Class of 2015 UBC Master of Urban Design*. UBC School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. Vancouver, BC.
- Condon, Patrick M., Korbin Dasilva, Manali Yadav, Kristen Harrison, Eds. 2015. *The Future Lives Here: Guildford as a 21st Century Transit City. A Visioning by the Class of 2015 UBC Master of Urban Design*. UBC School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. Vancouver, BC.
(<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B0WWDAVvOPcoaUFTXzJuTF8zWWs>)
- Condon, Patrick M. Barron, Sara. Eds. *City of Surrey; Sensitive Urban Infill Charrette*. Vancouver, BC: The Design Centre for Sustainability. <http://sensitiveinfill.blogspot.ca/2012/11/surrey-sensitive-infill-project-final.html>
- Condon, Patrick M. Hein, Scot, Eds. 2010. *A Convenience Truth, A Sustainable Vancouver by 2050*. Vancouver, BC. The Design Centre for Sustainability at UBC.
<http://www.urbanstudio.sala.ubc.ca/2010/book%20templates.html> (printing financed by City of Vancouver, 2012)
- Condon, Patrick M. Teed, Jackie, eds. 2006. *Sustainability by Design; A Vision for a Region of 4 Million*. Vancouver, BC. The Design Center for Sustainability at UBC.
http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/10_publications.htm
- Condon, Patrick M. and Joanne Proft, eds. 1999. *Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Brentwood Design Charrette*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
<http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Brentwood.html>
- Condon, Patrick M. and Moriarty, Stacy T. eds. 1999. *Second Nature: Adapting L.A.'s Landscape for Sustainable Living*. Los Angeles: TreePeople Inc.
- Condon, Patrick M., ed. 1996. *Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Surrey Design Charrette*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.

(c) *Chapters*

- Condon, Patrick M. 2021. “5 Rules for Cities Bracing for Dramatic Change.” *Resilience Matters*. Mazur, Laurie Ed. Island Press. Pgs. 80-83. Washington D.C. pdf available at
https://islandpress.org/sites/default/files/resilience_matters-reimagining_the_future_in_a_tumultuous_year_reduced_size.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M. 2013. "Climate Change". In *Charter Book, 2nd Edition*. Emily Talen, Ed. McGraw-Hill. pgs 23-25. New York, NY. at: https://mail-attachment.googleusercontent.com/attachment/u/0/?ui=2&ik=30765ca7ab&view=att&th=13da96c7c74f1ec5&attid=0.1.1&disp=inline&safe=1&zw&saduie=AG9B_P_pBu2Ru39W5pZxzTeBbE1t&sadet=1364347999104&sads=FGEP9IQMJWolkvHmg4PiFpx67vA

- Condon, Patrick M. and Teed, Jacqueline T. 2012. "Design Charrettes for Sustainable Communities". In *Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond*. Tigran Haas Editor. Rizzolli International Publications, Inc. New York, NY. View at: http://www.amazon.com/Sustainable-Urbanism-Beyond-Rethinking-Cities/dp/0847838366/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1364349552&sr=8-1&keywords=tigran+haas
- Condon, Patrick M. Mullnix, Kent. 2010. "Agriculture on the Edge. Abating urban encroachment by promoting agriculture as an integral element of urbanization". In *Agricultural Urbanism*. Mark Holland and Janine de la Salle. Greenfrigate Books: Vancouver, BC, Canada.
- Condon, Patrick M. 2002. "Cubist Space, Volumetric Space, and Landscape Architecture." *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A Reader*. S R Swaffield Ed. Pennsylvania University Press, Philadelphia. Reprint of 1988 *Landscape Journal* article. (Selected as one of most significant articles in Landscape Architecture theory.)
- Condon, Patrick M. 1998. "Zen and the Art of Garden Design: The Three Linked Gardens at the Bloedel Reserve." In *Richard Haag: Bloedel Reserve and Gasworks Park*. Richard Haag and William S. Saunders, Eds. New York, N.Y: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Condon, Patrick M. 1994. "A Designed Landscape Space Typology: The Language of the Land We Live In." In *Ordering Space: Types in Architecture and Design*. Karen A. Franck, Lynda H. Schneekloth, Eds. New York. N.Y: Van Nostrand Reinhold. pp 79-93.

6. ARTISTIC WORKS, PERFORMANCES, DESIGNS

The Design Charrette as Research Method

The design charrette method is at the core of our centers research and scholarship . A design charrette is a creative event involving multidisciplinary and multi-stakeholder teams coming together to produce concrete proposals for complex problems within a limited amount of time. In our case, we used charrettes to reach the following goal: *To illustrate what our communities would be like if they were designed to conform to emerging national, provincial, and regional policies for sustainable development.*

Because of our efforts, our region has a set of clear working hypotheses for achieving sustainable communities. These proposals and prototypical visions have encouraged regional authorities to work more aggressively towards building a sustainable region. The work of the Chair has influenced policy in virtually all Lower Mainland municipalities and, increasingly, beyond – both in Canada and in other parts of North America. Our work in Surrey (our first design charrette for sustainable urban landscapes) is particularly significant, as it has led directly to the proposed East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan – a sustainable community plan for a 250-hectare site that will eventually provide homes for 13,000 people. <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/projects/Headwaters.html> Also of significance is the Pringle Creek Sustainable Community about to be built in Salem Oregon. This project began with a charrette organized by me in 2002. Since that time I have stayed involved in the project, nurturing the plan and engaging in deep and numerous negotiations with Oregon public officials at all levels. As a result of these efforts the Pringle Creek community is the first North American residential project with an entirely infiltration based storm drain system. In this way it has been proven that a practical solution for the devastation of urban streams consequent to development exists and is practical.

<http://pringlecreekcommunity.blogspot.com/search/label/Porous%20pavement>

Design Charrettes Conducted for the UBC James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments (Partial listing)

- 2011-12 The Surrey Sensitive Infill Design Charrette. Design Centre for Sustainability in partnership with City of Surrey Planning Department. Effort to visualize organic changes to mature district currently housing 70,000. Objective is a sustainable district of 150,000 by 2050. <http://sensitiveinfill.blogspot.ca/>

- 2008 Lynn Valley Town Centre Charrette. A partnership with the Township of North Vancouver for a major greyfield retrofit of a mall site, for the purposes of a high density job rich town center. Effort was to use charrettes methods to maneuver through a highly charged political context, a context that had stymied progress for a decade. This charrettes was a case study charrettes for the much larger Sustainable by Design project. For more information go to: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies/5_cs_hillside.htm
- City of North Vancouver 100 Year Sustainability Plan. A partnership with the City of North Vancouver for an ambitious plan to reach carbon zero by 2107. Effort used charrette methods in context of robust green house gas analysis. GIS based GHG modeling allowed real time assessment of proposals on GHG production. For more on this go to: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies/5_cs_cnv.htm
- 2006 Phoenix Apache Junction Charrette. A collaboration with Regional Plan Association of New York, Lincoln Policy Institute of Cambridge MA, and the Sonoran Institute of Phoenix. This effort involved over 100 person from various stakeholder groups producing a collaborative vision for a 220 square mile area slated for urban development in Phoenix. Objective was to derive policies for a sustainable city of one million persons.
- Greater Vancouver Regional Charrette. Design charrettes in context of World Urban Forum and joint meeting of Canadian Planning Association, Canadian Society of Landscape Architects, Architectural Institute of Canada. Over 200 participants in a one day charrettes to locate housing and jobs for 2 million additional residents in the Vancouver region. For more see: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/16_reg_charrette.htm
- Sustainability by Design: Case Study Charrettes. Sustainable visions for Delta, Langley, and Burnaby. Three concurrent charrettes in conformance with SxD principles. Conducted to test out principles on the ground and set the stage for the Super Saturday regional charrettes. For more info see: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/5_case_studies.htm
- 2005 The Squamish Charrette. The second of the Smart Growth on the Ground community design charrettes. This effort consumed over \$200,000 in research and outreach effort and involved partnerships with many outside agencies. In this charrette we effectively co-ordinated the delivery of sophisticated development information to citizen stakeholders within the one week long planning charrette format. Results were universally applauded, providing Squamish with a sustainable development blueprint for 2010 and beyond. For more see: www.sgog.bc.ca/content.asp?contentID=130. Leadership assumed by Elisa Campbell. Participant and adviser.
- 2004 The Maple Ridge Charrette. The first of the Smart Growth on the Ground community design charrettes. This effort consumed over 200,000 in research and outreach effort. The results was a plan adopted by Maple Ridge Municipal Council in April 2005 which will, when executed, make Maple Ridge a leader in the nation in sustainability and provide over 10,000 new units of housing in a sustainable, walkable, mixed use setting. For more see: www.sgog.bc.ca/content.asp?contentID=125. Led the effort.
- 2003-04 "The Squamish Downtown Waterfront Concept Plan." The Squamish Downtown Waterfront Concept Plan (SDWCP) is the result of an integrated planning and design (charrette-based) process that occurred through a partnership between the District of Squamish, the Fraser Basin Council, and the UBC Sustainable Communities Program. Rooted in principles of sustainability that guided the process as well as the outcome, the Plan is intended to guide the future development of the Squamish Downtown Waterfront. Charrette details and concept plan can be found on line at: http://www.fraserbasin.bc.ca/action/documents/SDWI_concept_plan.pdf
- 2002-03 "Britannia Beach Environmental Mining Research Centre Community Design Charrette." Design Program production for 13 million dollar UBC CERM3 Mining Research Center. Conceived to provide a fulcrum for generating community consensus behind this and myriad other community design and site remediation issues, the process led to later collaborative process between UBC, BC Ministry of Mining, BC Ministry of Highways, National Resources Canada, the Britannia Community, and the Mining Museum of BC to produce a consensus plan for this crucial landscape. The details of this charrette can be seen on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/britanniabeach/index.html>
- 1999-01 "The Headwaters Project: The East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan Community Design Charrette." This four-day charrette was conducted in the spring of 1999 and was facilitated by two landscape architects, two architects, and one biologist working with a multi-stakeholder group of individuals representing those agencies and

entities (from landowners to federal fisheries regulators) typically responsible for the planning and development of new communities. Our innovative charrette process, designed and executed by the Chair in partnership with Pacific Resources Centre and the City of Surrey Planning Department, provided plans and design details that would become the basis for the East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan, adopted by Surrey City Council in November, 1999. Passage of this plan marks the first time that a BC municipality has used sustainable site design principles as the basis for planning a community. In partnership with the Pacific Resources Centre and the City of Surrey, we secured over \$300,000 in funding for this multi-faceted implementation project. I organized, developed the program for, and participated in this event. The details of this charrette, and the plan that resulted from it can be seen on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/projects/Headwaters.html>.

- 1997 “Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Brentwood Design Charrette” 19-25 August. Four international and multidisciplinary teams, assisted by UBC Architecture and Landscape Architecture students, produced four different proposals for housing 20,000 persons on the 450-acre study site. I secured funding for, organized, authored the program for, and managed this event. The complete results of this charrette can be seen on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/projects/Brentwood.html>.
- 1995 “Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Surrey Design Charrette.” 11-15 September. Four international and multidisciplinary teams, assisted by UBC Architecture and Landscape Architecture students, produced four different proposals for housing 10,000 persons on the 400-acre study site. I secured funding for, organized, authored the program for, managed, and participated as a design team leader in this event. The complete results of this charrette can be seen on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/projects/Surrey.html>.

Design Charettes Organized and Executed for Others

- 2010 The Pegasus Project Design Charrette. Kerr Consulting project in partnership with PMC Associates and Rob Lane. Effort to pre plan a large sustainable community adjacent to Melton, Victoria, Australia. Sept 1 - 4, 2010. Project Designer and Facilitator. <http://www.pegasusproject.com.au/>
- 2009 “Gosford Challenge Design Charrette”. November 2009. The Gosford Challenge charrette was a partnership between PMC Associates of Vancouver, Kerr Partnering of Melbourne Australia, and Cox Architects of Sydney Australia. The objective was a deeply public design and planning process in what had heretofore been a frustratingly contentious community where little progress could be made. Several stakeholder workshops were organized to stream community aspirations together with regional policies for the purposes of coming up with a consensus vision for the region. After the project more than 80% of citizens supported its implementation. I was responsible for all workshop choreography and guided all content delivered. I was responsible for all charrette choreography and guided the process while acting as a member of a team.
- 2005 “Winslow Tomorrow Design Workshop” April 2005. The Winslow tomorrow Design Workshop was managed in partnership with the City of Bainbridge Island, WA. It attempted to create a new model for sustainable development in the Seattle Metro area, based on equity, ecology, and economy. This intensely public effort successfully overcame typical opposition to density and mixed use development while incorporating cutting edge low impact development strategies. This work was awarded the “Award for Excellence” from the Puget Sound Regional Planning Council. March 2006. To see more visit: <http://www.ci.bainbridge-isl.wa.us/default.asp?ID=456>
- 2002 “The Damascus Area Community Design Workshop” May 25 – June 3, 2002. The greater Damascus Area Community Design Workshop was an effort to create a regional model for the potential urban growth boundary expansion area that is environmentally sound, that provides a variety of housing and job choices for current and future residents, and fairly distributes the benefits and burdens of development among current and future residents of all incomes and backgrounds. This effort involves residents of the local area and region with a variety of interests and perspectives. I was invited by 1000 Friends of Oregon and the Coalition for a Livable Future, both Portland Oregon public interest non profit groups, to help them organize and conduct a week long charrette. This charrette has without any question had the broadest influence on regional policy and the tenor of regional design policy debate of all my previous charrette work. Results are available on line at: <http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/Damascus/Index.htm>

Sustainable Communities for Idaho. The Caldwell/Karcher Charrette”. November 15-19 2002. Charrette Goal: In recognition of future growth projected for the City of Caldwell, the Caldwell/Karcher Charrette is an effort to demonstrate how this growth might be guided to create more liveable, affordable and ecologically sustainable communities. The Charrette will explore how to develop walkable neighborhoods with local centers of culture, community and commerce which respect adjacent agricultural operations and maintain the integrity of groundwater resources, air quality and stream systems. I was invited by the Idaho Department of Natural Resources and the University of Idaho Urban Research and Design Center to partner with them to organize and conduct a four day design charrette. The charrette was intended to provide new development models appropriate for this rapidly sprawling area where policy tools are few and antipathy to government control is high. Project info and results available on line at: http://www.ua.uidaho.edu/iurdc/sci/caldwell_karcher%20default/ck_default.htm

“Civic Alliance Planning and Design Workshop.” New York, NY. December 13 – 18, 2002. The goal of this charrette was to place the decisions about the world trade center in the context of the larger problems confronting Lower Manhattan. Three teams comprised of leading experts from across the US were included. I was the only non U.S. resident brought in for this important and challenging charrette. While I was not brought in to help organize the charrette I was brought in to lead one of the teams with a special charge of insuring that the conflicts were resolved between the various stakeholders on the charrette team, and that a consensus plan emerged. My team was the “Livable Neighbourhoods” team. Results are available on line at: <http://www.civic-alliance.org/pdf/workshop%20executive%20summary.pdf>

- 2001 “Florida State Road 7/US 441 Sustainable Corridor Workshop.” Hollywood, Florida. 25–27 June. A two-day charrette conducted by a team of invited experts to explore urban redevelopment options for a 22-mile highway corridor in the Ft Lauderdale Florida area. The charrette produced design and implementation strategies for the South Florida Regional Planning Council. I served on the design team and provided consultant services to the Regional Plan Association (RPA) of the New York. RPA was principal consultant for the project.
- 2000 “Burnaby Mountain Community Design Charrette.” Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC. 10-13 February. A four-day charrette conducted by four teams competing for the master-planning contract. This contract was for urban design and development plans for a sustainable Burnaby Mountain community for 5,000 residents. I authored the design program for this sustainable community and partnered with the Burnaby Mountain Community Development Corporation to design and manage the charrette event. Results are available for review on-line at: <http://www.sfu.ca/bmcp/designbrief.html>
- “Salmon Friendly Seattle Charrette.” A five-day charrette sponsored by the Seattle Department of Public Utilities. Five sites were examined to determine cost-effective strategies for retro-fitting sites for improved habitat protection. Results are available for review on-line at: <http://www.cityofseattle.net/util/charrette/>. I organized the charrette, assembled international design teams, and developed the design brief on behalf of the client.
- 1999 “Somerset County Regional Center Vision Initiative.” Somerset County, NJ. Regional “Smart Growth” charrette for eleven-square mile Edge City site in northern New Jersey. April 1999. The Somerset County initiative produced replicable prototype strategies for retrofitting suburban landscapes for improved social and ecological sustainability. I served as charrette organizer and design team leader, working under contract with the Regional Plan Association of New York and Somerset County, NJ, Planning Department.
- 1998 Invited team leader in “Nine Mile Run Design Charrette.” Pittsburgh, PA. This charrette led to the publication of Bruce Ferguson, Richard Pinkham, and Timothy Collins’s *Re-evaluating Stormwater: The Nine Mile Run Model for Restoring Redevelopment* (Snowmass, CO: Rocky Mountain Institute, 1999). The Los Angeles “Second Nature” design charrette, discussed below, provided the model for this charrette.
- “Southeast False Creek (SEFC) Charrette.” Fall 1998. SEFC will be North America’s first urban brown-field restoration and urban development project based on sustainability principles. In partnership with ORCAD Group and the City of Vancouver Planning Department, I authored the design brief for this sustainable community for 5,000 on the south shore of False Creek in Vancouver, BC. I participated as a team member during the charrette.
- 1997 “The Second Nature Design Charrette.” TreePeople Inc., Los Angeles, CA. Five-day charrette sponsored by TreePeople Inc. and funded by a consortium of government agencies, including the EPA, National Forest Service, Los Angeles County, the City of Los Angeles, and the City of Santa Monica. Five sites were examined to determine cost-effective strategies for retrofitting sites for improved environmental and economic performance. Results are

available for review on-line at: <http://www.treepeople.com/trees/index.htm>. I organized the charrette, assembled international design teams, and developed the design brief on behalf of the client.

7. OTHER WORKS

Articles Written for Media (partial list)

- 2021 Condon, Patrick M. “Density, Affordability, & The ‘Hungry Dogs’ of Land Price Speculation”. The Planning Report. February 18, 2021. <https://www.planningreport.com/2021/02/18/patrick-condon-density-affordability-hungry-dogs-land-price-speculation>

Condon, Patrick M. “Bring Back Vancouver Co-op Living. All along Broadway The affordability crisis persists. Here is a bold step the city should consider.” The Tyee. March 4, 2021. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2021/03/04/Bring-Back-Vancouver-Co-op-Living-Broadway/>

Condon, Patrick M. “We Could Zone Whole Areas for Rental Only. Why Don’t We? A BC law change lets cities do it. But they seem scared of one thing.” The Tyee. January 25, 2021. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2021/01/25/Rental-Only-Zoning-Areas/>

Condon, Patrick M. “The Pandemic, Inequality, Housing Affordability, and Urban Land. “ Meeting of the Minds Organization. March 17, 2021. <https://meetingoftheminds.org/the-pandemic-inequality-housing-affordability-and-urban-land-35068>

2020. Condon, Patrick M. “Not Your Parents City.” Building Magazine. 25-27. April/May 2020.

Condon, Patrick M. “Why This Skyscraper Idea (Still) Is Not Cool Bold, yes. But its scale and placement will wound a critical Vancouver site.” The Tyee. November 25, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Culture/2020/11/25/Skyscraper-Idea-Still-Not-Cool/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Vancouver’s Incentives to Get Affordable Homes Built Are Too Rich Why the Moderate Income Rental Housing Pilot Program gives too much for too little.” The Tyee. November 12, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/11/12/Vancouver-Incentives-Affordable-Homes/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Is Vancouver Inching Toward a Renoviction Ban? Council has backed a motion that would effectively end the practice. But good intentions don’t equal action.” The Tyee. October 29, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/10/29/Vancouver-Inching-Renoviction-Ban/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Winter Is Coming for Vancouver’s Homeless. Where’s the Urgency? Council toyed with tiny homes as an emergency response. But required no deadline.” The Tyee. October 23, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/10/23/Winter-Coming-Vancouver-Homeless/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Vancouver’s New Affordable Housing Plan Needs a Serious Tweak. It will accelerate land-price inflation, which drives our housing crisis. Here’s the math.” The Tyee. September 17, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/09/17/Vancouver-Affordable-Housing-Needs-Tweak/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Portland Just Showed Vancouver How to Fix Its Housing Crisis End single-family zoning, reward developers who provide affordable units and put families first to make homes affordable.” The Tyee. August 28, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/08/28/Portland-Showed-Vancouver-Fix-Housing-Crisis/>

Condon, Patrick M. “If We Care about the Homeless, We’ll Build Lots of Tiny Homes, Fast. Many US cities are showing us how. Vancouver and other BC cities can’t pretend they don’t know a solution.”. The Tyee. August 19, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/08/19/Tiny-Homes-For-Unhoused/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Can Free Fares Save Public Transit? Ridership has tanked. How to get it back rather than underuse billions in infrastructure." The Tyee. June 4, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/06/04/Free-Fares-Save-Public-Transit/>

Condon, Patrick M. "What Would Camus Do? On returning to his masterpiece 'The Plague,' and this time paying attention." The Tyee. May 18, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Culture/2020/05/18/Albert-Camus-The-Plague/>

Condon, Patrick M. "A Safer, More Enjoyable Street for Our New Times Let's convert lightly used roads so we can walk and bike feeling secure about distancing." The Tyee. May 12, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/05/12/Vancouver-Could-Save-Money-On-Sewage-With-Swales/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Thomas Piketty, the Brilliant Economist of Inequality, Is Back with a Solution. His advice for global leaders applies to fixing, for example, Vancouver's unfair housing." The Tyee. April 21, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Culture/2020/04/21/Thomas-Piketty-Inequality-Economist-Solution/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Let's Debunk the Myth Living More Densely Breeds Disease. The keys to healthy cities have more to do with equality and infrastructure." The Tyee. April 14, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/04/14/Poverty-Not-Density-Spreads-Disease/>

Condon, Patrick M. "'Push': How Big Finance Is Driving Up Housing Costs. Around the globe, documentary finds, people are paying a high price as housing becomes the latest big investment commodity." The Tyee. February 25, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Culture/2020/02/25/Push-Documentary-Tracks-Housing-As-Latest-Investment-Commodity/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver Looks Poised to Sell off False Creek South. The warning signs are there. Greed may ruin a model for diverse affordability." January 3, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2020/01/03/Vancouver-Poised-Sell-Off-False-Creek-South/>

2019 Condon, Patrick M. "Uh oh. I'm a Planner and Planning Makes Housing More Expensive" 26 Feb 2019. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2019/02/26/Planning-Expensive/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Am I the Last Voice against SkyTrain to UBC?" 29 Jan 2019. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2019/01/29/Last-Voice-Against-SkyTrain-to-UBC/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver's Land Tax Idea: Good, Bad and Ugly". 2 Jan 2019. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2019/01/02/Vancouver-Land-Tax/>

2018 Condon, Patrick M. "A Bold Proposal to Make Surrey's Mayor a Transit Hero" 17 Dec 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2018/12/17/Surrey-Mayor-Transit-Hero/>.

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver's Booster Class, Greed and the Real Estate 'Play of the Century'" 3 Dec 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/12/03/Vancouver-Booster-Class/>

Condon, Patrick M. "So Kennedy Stewart Truly Loves 'The Growth Side of Things'". 6 Nov 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/11/06/Kennedy-Stewart-Growth-Side/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Subway to UBC? What No Mayoral Candidate Dares Say". 16 Oct 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/10/16/Subway-UBC-No-Mayoral-Candidate-Dares-Sau/>

Condon, Patrick M. "One Brilliant Example of How to Rezone Vancouver for Affordability". 27 Sep 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/09/27/How-Rezone-Vancouver-Affordability/>

Condon, Patrick M. "The Real Ballot Question in Vancouver Is Worth Billions". 18 Sep 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/09/18/Ballot-Vancouver-Worth-Billions/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Timid Tinkering and Partisan Politics Won’t Fix Vancouver’s Housing Crisis”. The Tyee. 14 Sep 2018. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/09/14/Fix-Vancouver-Housing-Crisis/>
Condon, Patrick M. “How a Smart, Progressive Property Tax Could Ease Our Housing Crisis”. 6 Sep 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/09/06/A-New-Land-Tax/>

Condon, Patrick M. “How Vancouver Can Pay for the Housing We Need”. 29 Aug 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/08/29/We-Need-Vancouver-Housing/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Hard Questions about Vancouver’s New Affordability Approach”. 19 Jul 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/07/19/Hard-Questions-Vancouver-Affordability-Approach/>

Condon, Patrick M. “How Vienna Cracked the Case of Housing Affordability”. 6 Jun 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Solutions/2018/06/06/Vienna-Housing-Affordability-Case-Cracked/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Fixing Unaffordability Means Embracing Non-Market Housing”. 5 Jun 2018. <https://thetyee.ca/Solutions/2018/06/05/Fixing-Unaffordability-Means-Embracing-Non-Market-Housing/>

Condon, Patrick M. “A Tax that Would Solve the Housing Crisis”. 4 Jun 2018. <https://thetyee.ca/Solutions/2018/06/04/Tax-To-Solve-Housing-Crisis/>

Condon, Patrick M. UBC “Has a Housing Problem, Not a Transportation Problem”. April 25, 2018. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2018/04/25/UBC-Housing-Problem/>.

2017 Condon, Patrick M. Tax Land to House Vancouver’s Fleeing Middle Class. September 1, 2017. The Tyee. <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2017/09/01/Vancouver-Fleeing-Middle-Class/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Fix a Failing City Mayor Robertson? Here’s How”. March 6, 2017. The Tyee. (<https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2017/03/06/Fix-Failing-City/>)

Beers, David and Condon, Patrick M. “Make Vancouver the World’s Slowest City: A Manifesto. December 9, 2016. The Tyee. (<https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2016/12/09/Vancouver-Slowest-City-Manifesto/>)

Condon, Patrick. “How Vancouver’s Housing Segregation Became Policy: A 2040 Look Back “. August 12, 2016. The Tyee. (<https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2016/08/12/Vancouver-Housing-Segregation/>)

Condon, Patrick. “Vancouver, We Need a Lighter Shade of Green”. March 24, 2017. The Tyee. (<https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2017/03/24/Vancouver-Lighter-Shade-Green/>)

Condon, Patrick M. “Stop the Dubaization of Vancouver”. February 10, 2015. The Tyee. (<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2015/02/10/Stop-Dubai-zation-of-Vancouver/>)

Condon, Patrick M. “Young Prospects? Vancouver’s Wealth Gap Demands a Drastic Move.” November 20, 2014. <http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2014/10/20/Rising-House-Prices-Screwing-Millennials/>

Condon, Patrick M. “Should Vancouver Change How It Zones Big Projects?
Gordon Price and Patrick Condon spar over good and bad of ‘spot zoning.’” The Tyee, 13 Aug 2014

Condon, Patrick M. “Vancouver’s ‘Spot Zoning’ Is Corrupting Its Soul
No more one-off deals with developers. Invite citizens to help zone the whole city and everyone wins.”
. The Tyee. 14 Jul 2014

Condon, Patrick M. “Notes on Scot Hein’s Quitting Vancouver’s Planning Department
An urban design prof passes on Hein’s farewell memo, and reads it through a dark lens.”
The Tyee. 9 May 2014

Condon, Patrick M. Whose City Is It, Anyway?
In Vancouver and around the world, middle-class citizens rage against planning that favours profit over people.”
The Tyee. 26 Aug 2013.

Mandell, Kathryn , Condon, Patrick M. "Why Is TransLink's Price for Light Rail Triple What Other Cities Pay?" The Tyee. November 28, 2012. <http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/11/28/TransLink-Light-Rail/>

Condon, Patrick M. " Transit Report Forces Vancouver to Ask: "How Will We Live? Why advocating a pricey subway to UBC implies a sterile, steroidal future for the city". March 6, 2013.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2013/03/06/Vancouver-Transit-Report/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Big Pipe Webs, Little Pipe Nets". The Tyee. April 4, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/04/04/Vancouver-Paradigm-Shifts/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Making Vancouver Work for Everyone". The Tyee. February 15, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/02/15/Future-Of-Vancouver/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver in 2050: Transit City". The Tyee. February 22, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/02/22/Vancouver-2050-Transit-City/>

Condon, Patrick M. "A City that Runs on Itself". The Tyee. March 1, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/03/01/City-That-Runs-Itself/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Vancouver's Demographic Time Bomb". The Tyee. March 8, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/03/08/Vancouver-Demographic/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Rules for Protecting our Common Place". The Tyee. March 14, 2012.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/03/14/Vancouver-Rules/>

Condon, Patrick M. "The Convenience City Ultimatum". March 20, 2012.
http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2012/03/20/Convenience_City/

Condon, Patrick M. ""Seven Rules for Sustainable Communities". The Tyee, September 15, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2010/09/15/SevenSustainableRules/> .

Condon, Patrick M. "Why a Streetcar is Something to Be Desired". The Tyee, Septmber 16, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/09/16/StreetcarToBeDesired/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Cul-de-sacs: Dead End in More Ways Than One". The Tyee, September 22 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/09/22/CulDeSacDeadEnd/>

Condon, Patrick M. "How to Get People Out of Their Cars". The Tyee, September 23, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/09/23/GetOutofCars/>

Condon, Patrick M. "You Don't Have to Spend Your Life Stuck in Traffic". The Tyee, September 29, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/09/29/LifeInTraffic/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Why Illegal Suites are Good for the Planet". September 30, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/09/30/IllegalSuitesAreGood/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Why Cheaper Streets are Smarter Streets". October 7, 2010.
<http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/10/07/CheaperStreetsAreSmarter/>

Condon, Patrick M. "Beware the Killer Pavement," *Vancouver Sun*, Friday, 9 April, 1999.

Condon, Patrick M. " Commentary: Our Next Great City Arrives," *Georgia Straight*, November 24, 2005

Research Whitepapers

- Condon, Patrick M, Sigrid Gruenberger, Marta Klapotocz. 2008. *The Case for the Tram: Learning from Portland*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 6. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_FRB06_tram.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M, Kari Dow. 2008. *A Cost Comparison of Transportation Modes*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 7. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_FRB07Cost_Comp.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M, Jone Belausteguigoitia.. 2007. *Qualitative Exploration of Potential Urban Transformation in Lynn Valley Town Centre, District of North Vancouver, BC*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 4. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_FRB04_qualitative.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M., Jone Belausteguigoitia, Sara Fryer, Kristi Tatebe. 2007. *Demystifying Density: A Comparison of different Forms of Density in Five Case Studies in the Greater Vancouver Region*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 5. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_FRB05_casestudies.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M., Jone Belausteguigoitia, Sara Fryer, Ray Straatsma. 2006. *Office Park Location and Design: Challenges and Opportunities for a Sustainable Region*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 1. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_TB01_officeparks.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M., Jone Belausteguigoitia.. 2006. *Growing a Greater Vancouver Region: Population Scenarios for a Region of 4 Million*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 2. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_TB02_population.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M., Jone Belausteguigoitia.. 2006. *Demographic and Housing Projections for a Region of 4 Million*. Sustainability by Design White Paper no. 3. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Design Centre for Sustainability. http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/8_research/sxd_TB03_demo_housing.pdf
- Condon, Patrick M. and Jackson Ann. 2006. Shallow Stormwater Infiltration Devices vs. Injection Well Systems: a Comparison of Groundwater Contamination Potential. Technical Bulletin No 13. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments. <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/bulletins/stormwater%20bulletin%2013%20final.pdf>
- Proft, J and Condon, P. 2001. Transportation and The Built Environment: The Effects of Land Use, Density and Street Pattern on Travel Behavior.” *Technical Bulletin No. 10*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. “Case Study: Concord roads Trial Project. NSW, alternative stormwater management system.” *Technical Bulletin No. 1*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. “Case Study: Status quo standard vs. East Clayton alternative standard.” *Technical Bulletin No. 2*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. “Case Study: Reebok Corporate Headquarters, alternative stormwater management system.” *Technical Bulletin No. 3*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. “Case Study: Amble Greene, District of Surrey, BC, alternative stormwater management system.” *Technical Bulletin No. 4*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.

- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. "Case Study: Brookwood, Township of Langley, BC, Alternative Stormwater Management System." *Technical Bulletin No. 5*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Sara Muir. 2000. "A comparison of street and backyard character of small lot single-family residential using front access driveways vs. rear access lanes." *Technical Bulletin No. 7*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Joanne Proft. 2000. "Headwaters Project – East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan: environmental benefits." *Technical Bulletin No. 8*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Angela Gonyea. 2000. "Effects of community green space on property value and community completeness." *Technical Bulletin No. 9*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon, M. and Joanne Proft. 2000. "Effects of developer cost charges on sustainable growth in Greater Vancouver Region." *Technical Bulletin No. 10*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments.
- Condon M. and Joanne Proft. 2001. "The Headwaters Project – East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan." *CMHC Research Highlight – Socio Economic Series - # 78*. Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Web-Based Research and Project Library

The James Taylor Chair in Landscape and Liveable Environments on-line project and research library at: <http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/jamestaylorchair/index.html>. This page contains the major research products produced by the Chair to date, and it helps to disseminate these concepts around the world. Projects housed at this web site include:

- A. Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Surrey Design Charrette
<http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/jamestaylorchair/SurreyProject.html>
The design program challenged the four teams to create a vision for a hypothetical community of 10,000 persons on a 400-acre greenfield site in Surrey, BC. The site is comprised of both highland and low wet areas, and it is situated close to a number of sensitive aquatic systems. Charrette participants were required to meet projected housing demand in ways that made efficient use of land, enhanced ecological systems, and provided for a vibrant and pedestrian-oriented community.
- B. Sustainable Urban Landscapes: The Brentwood Charrette
<http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/jamestaylorchair/Html/Brentwood/Tableofcontents.htm>. A second charrette, held in the summer of 1997, tested sustainable design principles on the site of the Brentwood Town Centre, a 590-acre medium-density, first-ring suburban commercial strip site in Burnaby. A site already completely developed and nearing the end of its first economic life, the design challenge of the Brentwood Design Charrette lay in accommodating projected housing demand and commercial capacity in ways that would establish transit-oriented, identifiable neighbourhoods while maintaining and potentially enhancing existing ecological systems.
- C. Alternative Development Standards for Sustainable Communities
http://www.agsci.ubc.ca/jamestaylorchair/Html/ADS%20WEB/HTML_Files/TitleFrame.htm
The principles that emerged from the Surrey project provided the impetus for a workshop to explore the costs and benefits of alternative development standards for more sustainable communities. This project is unique in that no other study or initiative has explored the costs and benefits of the "green infrastructure" system, which is characterized by narrow streets, gravel lanes, and infiltration devices linked to a preserved and enhanced natural drainage system. This project is also unique in that no other initiative has shown how a combination of efficiencies can dramatically decrease the cost of detached housing.

D. The Headwaters Project

<http://www.sustainable-communities.agsci.ubc.ca/projects/Headwaters/PDF/toc.pdf>.

The findings that emerged from the Alternative Development Standards project became the foundation for the Headwaters Project – an integrated partnership between local and provincial constituencies aimed at producing a model for testing the feasibility of alternative development standards "on the ground." The site for this project is the community of East Clayton, a 560-acre site on the east edge of the municipality of Surrey, BC. The outcome of Phase 1 of this project is the East Clayton Neighbourhood Concept Plan, which sets out both general and specific targets for land-use diversity, density, street connectivity, and green infrastructure for the future development of an approximately 13,000-person sustainable community.

Partial list of Articles Written by Others about the Work of Patrick M. Condon

Loman, Claire. "Exporting California's Housing Challenges? Michael Storper & Patrick Condon Correct the Record on Out-Migration". The Planning Report. February 16, 2021.

<https://www.planningreport.com/2021/02/18/exporting-californias-housing-challenges-michael-storper-patrick-condon-correct-record>

Beers, David. 2020. "Three Big Waves Are Reshaping Cities. How to Ride Them to a Better Future UBC planner Patrick Condon on his new book 'Five Rules for Tomorrow's Cities.'" The Tyee. March 11, 2020. <https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/03/11/Three-Big-Waves-Shaping-Future/>

Longer more current list is available on line at: http://www.sxd.sala.ubc.ca/11_news.htm and <http://www.jtc.sala.ubc.ca/newsbody.html>.

"Landscape Architects Map the Future". William Boei, *Vancouver Sun*. December 27, 2005

"Visualizing 2050" *Vancouver Sun*, Kim Davis, March 25, 2006 'Greenies' get abundance of food for thought

"Asking the tough regional questions" Bob Ransford *Vancouver Sun*, Feb. 18, 2006

"Rethinking Suburbia" LEAP magazine, Journal of Research, University of British Columbia, Issue 3 - 2004

"The New Suburbia" by William Boei, *Vancouver Sun* September 6, 2003 C-1 to C-6

"The \$364,000 Question" by Lila MacLellan. *Vancouver Magazine*. March 2003 p.48-58.

"East Clayton Project Receives \$862,000 Grant: Innovative Drainage system could set provincial standard." *The Surrey Leader*. June 26, 2002

"Sustainable Learning: Design charrettes combine principle and policy to illustrate urban liveable community strategies". *Landscape Architecture*. September, 2001.

"Curbing 'slurban' sprawl: End to suburban fortresses urged", *The Vancouver Sun*. June 8, 2001.

"Surrey Flips Status Quo for Sustainability in East Clayton." *The Now Newspaper*, March 25, 2001.

"Community Planning Expert Patrick Condon has Smart, Practical Ways to make Cities Better". *Business in Vancouver*. March 2001.

"Developments try to make peace with the Environment," *The Vancouver Sun*, September 27, 2000.

"Engineers Plan New Approach." *The Vancouver Sun*, August 25, 2000.

"Saving the Troubled Waters around Us," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 25, 2000.

"Closing the Drainpipe on Urban Streams," *The Vancouver Sun*, August 25, 2000.

"Consultant aims to Develop Better Environment." *Globe and Mail* - British Columbia Bureau, July 24, 2000.

“Surrey and UBC Cooperate on Creation of Sustainable Urban Community.” Business in Vancouver, June 6-12, 2000.

“\$75 won't Solve Transit Woes.” The Vancouver Sun, Thursday, June 1, 2000.

“Land-Use Planning: The Ultimate BMP.” Erosion Control, April 2000.

“East Clayton Neighbourhood Gears up to Welcome Home-based Business.” The Vancouver Sun, Tuesday April 25, 2000.

“Environmental Ministers won't Pay more to Help Strait.” Vancouver Sun, January 25, 2000.

“Back to the future for East Clayton: storm sewers out, pedestrians in.” The Leader, Sunday August 19, 1999.

8. **WORK SUBMITTED** (including publisher and date of submission)

I have submitted a book proposal to UBC Press and they have accepted it subject to peer review. The book is an elaboration of my *Sick City* book, this time written for an international audience (*Sick City* is exclusively focused on the USA). Since much of the research is complete and certain themes are common to both books I expect the manuscript to be completed by December 2021. The tentative title for this new book is: *Pandemic, Inequality, and Urban Land*.

9. **WORK IN PROGRESS** (including degree of completion)

See above and below.

10. **RESEARCH UNDER WAY**

Rising Tides Project: Through my contacts with US activists on climate change I have managed the review of the challenges and policy initiatives taking place in the Lower Mainland aconnected the efforts of Professor Kees Lockman and his Coastal Adaptation lab to a US and China led initiative to explore approaches to sea level rise common to global coastal cities. Funded by the James Taylor Chair.

**TOP STORIES**

RBC earnings overcome volatile December to post profit growth



Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values - and rents

KERRY GOLD

VANCOUVER

SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE AND MAIL

PUBLISHED 21 HOURS AGO

FOR SUBSCRIBERS



Homes in Vancouver, photographed from Queen Elizabeth Park on March 5, 2017.

YIBAOTY/ISTOCK

Vancouver neighbourhoods that underwent community plans by the city in the past decade have seen the highest spikes in property values – particularly in vulnerable, low-income neighbourhoods.

If affordability was the goal, then the plans are a fail, housing experts say.

New analysis of assessment data shows a relationship between community planned neighbourhoods and a spike in property values, much higher than the 4-per-cent citywide average. Higher values generally mean higher rents and tenant displacement both for residential and commercial properties. And new market housing unit prices go higher, shutting out local income earners.

“It’s interesting to see that the leading neighbourhoods with property increases were ones that received community plans within the last 10 years,” says Andy Yan, director of Simon Fraser University’s city program, and who analyzed the data. “That tells you the role that city planning plays in regard to property values. These plans are not neutral. Effectively, what you have is a windfall for property owners and a hurricane for residential and commercial tenants. This type of planning, you could argue, increases the vulnerability for renters.”

A community plan is a policy document that determines future land use guidelines for a neighbourhood, such as housing, commercial districts, transit hubs, community centres, public art and parks. Vancouver has 22 neighbourhoods and several in recent years have undergone community plans, which have included rezoning for more housing density.

The city describes a community plan as having long-term and short-term goals that will result in positive change and benefit to the community, especially affordable housing. But a series of community plans that focused mostly on the east and south parts of the city in recent years appear to have achieved the opposite effect.

Mr. Yan analyzed assessments for all property types in the city, including condos, for the July, 2017, to July, 2018, period. Using specialized software, he coded the data to city of Vancouver planning areas.

“It’s not to say all properties in those neighbourhoods went up,” says Mr. Yan. “But there’s this assertion that if we go through these plans, we increase certainty and we increase density, but then that is not necessarily true. What happens first seems to be an increase in property values before you see an increase in housing units.”

Businesses were most affected. Multifamily dwellings such as condos increased an average of 10 per cent in these community-planned neighbourhoods. Industrial soared 42 per cent higher in assessed values; light industrial shot up 27 per cent; and commercial went 15 per cent higher in value. Businesses, including small retailers, would have seen rent and tax increases as a result.

The high assessments are a sign that land speculators have pushed values before building even begins. Renters and buyers looking for homes to live in end up paying the high price of speculation.

“It appears the worst thing you can do if you want to enhance affordability is to engage in a planning project for a particular neighbourhood,” says University of B.C. professor Patrick Condon, founding chair of the school’s urban design program. He also writes about housing issues for the Tyee. “Because that plan seems to lead to a clear and obvious increase in land values, which makes it that much more difficult to create affordability. As land values go up, so too does the cost of housing, usually on a per-square-foot basis.”

Prof. Condon has long argued that speculative behaviour is reducing affordability, as well as government’s reliance on development dollars to fund infrastructure such as the SkyTrain to UBC. Speculators routinely snap up properties and assemble them at the first hint of any rezoning, driving up the land price.

“Any increase in the allowable density, even a hint of it, in the form of a neighbourhood plan leads to an immediate response in the market based on a presumption of how many buildable square feet a particular parcel is going to in the future allow,” Prof. Condon says.

“By the time a developer comes in with a proposal ... the inflated value has been baked into the land by speculators, often years before a developers come along and tries to develop it.”

Prof. Condon, who ran for mayor in the last election but pulled out for health reasons, says Mr. Yan’s numbers didn’t at all surprise him.

“I have been watching the consequences of the city council’s rezoning activities in area plans and spot zoning for years, and have recognized that whenever there is even a hint of opportunity to change the allowable density on a particular parcel of land, the main beneficiaries are the land owners and speculators.”

And because the city’s plans were often directed at working class neighbourhoods, the resulting increase to land values and housing prices triggered the process of gentrification,

pushing existing tenants from their homes as wealthier people moved in.

“It seems patently obvious that the city has, for whatever sets of reasons, looked to the lower income areas to do local area plans, maybe with the best of intentions, feeling their efforts were going to increase affordability,” Prof. Condon says. “Unfortunately, Andy’s work provides clear evidence that their intentions may have been at cross purposes with the actual results.”

Strathcona neighbourhood, which was part of the Downtown Eastside community plan done in March, 2014, saw the biggest percentage change in total assessment value, at a 16 per cent increase. The next biggest increase was seen in Marpole, which underwent a community plan in 2014. That neighbourhood saw values increase 14 per cent. Mount Pleasant increased 13 per cent, following a community plan done in November, 2010. The West End increased 12 per cent, after a December, 2014, community plan. Grandview Woodland increased in value by 10 per cent, after the July, 2016, community plan. South Cambie neighbourhood values rose 9 per cent, following the three phase Cambie Corridor Plan. The neighbourhood of Fairview, which falls under the False Creek South plan, saw an increase of 7 per cent. That plan started in 2017.

Prof. Condon and Mr. Yan agree that the city needs an immediate strategy to quash speculation, particularly as it embarks on a citywide plan that will likely mass rezone the city.

“So is there a city financial device to capture these gains, these windfalls?” Mr. Yan asks. “And that’s what we need, is a financial instrument to capture this wealth that’s being privatized by the stroke of a pen.”

Your house is your most valuable asset. We have a weekly Real Estate newsletter to help you stay on top of news on the housing market, mortgages, the latest closings and more. Sign up today.

© Copyright 2019 The Globe and Mail Inc. All rights reserved.

351 King Street East, Suite 1600, Toronto, ON Canada, M5A 0N1

Phillip Crawley, Publisher

STATUTORY DECLARATION

CANADA) IN THE MATTER OF
) Vancouver City Council Referral Report dated October 22, 2025;
) "Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the
) FC-1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the
) Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan
) (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and
) Increase Social Housing"
)
PROVINCE OF)
BRITISH COLUMBIA)

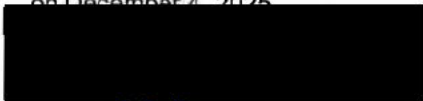
TO WIT:

I, Nicholas Blomley, of Maple Ridge, of the Province of British Columbia, SOLEMNLY DECLARE that:

1. I am a professor at Simon Fraser University and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada with 30 years of research experience in the Downtown Eastside. A true copy of my expert opinion with regard to the above noted matter is dated December 4, 2025, and attached as **Exhibit "A"**. My statement of my qualifications can be found at paragraph 1 of my report.
2. The opinions contained in Exhibit "A" are my opinions alone and I believe them to be true.

AND I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same legal force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the *Evidence Act*, RSBC 1996, c 124.

DECLARED BEFORE ME at
Burnaby, British Columbia,
on December 4, 2025


A Commissioner for taking Affidavits
for British Columbia

VINSON SHIH
Barrister and Solicitor
Law Society No. 518005



DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
Faculty of Environment

Nicholas Blomley, PhD, FRSC | *Professor and Chair*

Robert C Brown Hall
8888 University Drive, Burnaby, BC
Canada V5A 1S6

TEL 778.782.3718
MAIN 778.782.3321
FAX 778.782.5841

blomley@sfu.ca

This is **Exhibit "A"** referred to in the
Statutory Declaration of N. Blomley
declared on 2025 [REDACTED]
A com [REDACTED] ia

December 4, 2025

To Mayor and Council

I am a professor at Simon Fraser University, who has researched, engaged with, and learnt from the Downtown Eastside for over 30 years. I have published on the dynamics of gentrification, as well as on the legal status of SROs. A copy of my CV is attached to this letter.

I have reviewed the Vancouver City Council Referral Report dated October 22, 2025, and titled "Downtown Eastside Housing Implementation – Amendments to the FC-1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan (DEOD ODP) By-law to Accelerate SRO Replacement and Increase Social Housing". I prepare this letter to provide my expert opinion on the recommendations contained in the report as a scholar, researcher, and concerned citizen, and not to assist anyone nor advance a particular political agenda. In doing so, I certify that I am providing my opinion in conformity with the duty under *Supreme Court Civil Rules* R. 11-2 as if giving my expert opinion to court in a legal proceeding. If this letter is produced in a court proceeding, and if I am called on to give oral or written testimony, I certify that I would give that testimony in conformity with that duty.

My most recent engagement has been with the federally funded [Right to Remain](#) research project. The Right to Remain was a multi-year research project that examined the privately owned Single Room Occupancy (SRO) buildings in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (DTES). Our project was run collaboratively, involving academic researchers, non-profit societies, grassroots community organizers, students, and alumni. We worked in close partnership with the SRO-Collaborative. Together, we aimed to uncover the story of the privately owned SRO. I draw from the findings from this project in my comments. While I have many concerns with the proposals regarding the DEOD, I confine my comments to the proposed changes regarding the regulation of SROs in the area. There are, I believe, 58 occupied privately owned SROs in the area.

People who live in SROs in the Downtown Eastside, our research demonstrates, have long been subjected to systemic patterns of legalized discrimination. This is realized, paradoxically, both through the legal abandonment of SRO residents, and through their hyper-regulation. Peer reviewed publications from the Right to Remain research project, drawing from archival research, document

this story. For example, Masuda¹ (2021) notes the regulatory shift in public health in Vancouver's regulation of SROs, constituting 'an epistemic and regulatory abandonment of SRO housing, leading to the accelerated deterioration of the entire housing stock and costing incalculable human suffering and the loss of lives'. Blomley (2021)² traces the process whereby SRO residents were deemed to be non-tenants for the purposes of the Landlord and Tenant Act in the 1970s, denying them of the meagre protections available to other tenants. Even with the reversion of tenant protections, the effects were, and still are, clearly evident, directly contributing to the everyday violences and depredations of slum landlords.

SRO tenants, the record shows, are both regulated in distinctive and often problematic ways. It is vital, therefore, to consider these proposed regulatory changes in this context. Are SRO residents being treated in the same manner as other citizens? While there may be justifiable reasons for treating people differently, it is also ethically important to ask whether such differences are based on stigma, rather than necessity. If 200 square ft. micro-suites are deemed adequate for poor people, then they should be adequate for other tenants, for example.

This is not to say, however, that SRO tenants, in general, experience the same tenancy conditions as non-SRO tenants. For example, while the proposed extension of tenant relocation protections may seem superficially beneficial, it assumes that the remit of such bylaws would extend to the practical experiences of SRO tenants. However, we know from our research that this cannot be taken for granted. Tenants told us, time and again, that 'regular' tenant protections can't be assumed to apply in many hotels (both private and state-owned). Landlords and managers would frequently ignore rules regarding evictions, for example, threatening violence and force. Tenancy laws and bylaws on the books have historically and demonstrably failed to adequately protect SRO tenants from unjustified eviction in practice. Given this, it is doubtful that the City's tenant relocation protections would succeed in doing so, especially given that much is subject to 'best efforts' of the developer and the City's discretion.

Our research also demonstrated that private SROs can provide important spaces of community and connection, with tenants taking on important leadership roles. Yes, SROs can be violent and unsafe, but they can also be sites of resilience, Indigenous cultural practices, and mutual aid. SRO residents are not simply individual problems who are to be managed, but human beings who are integral members of residential communities, with their own perspectives and insights. I note that these findings are replicated in the City's *Engagement Summary* from July 2025, including feedback from SRO residents who met via the SRO-Collaborative:

'Many tenants emphasized the importance of the DTES as a place that provides community, belonging, meaningful relationships, and essential services not found elsewhere. This extends inside SRO buildings, where tenants are often part of close-knit communities that offer social support, help with daily activities and harm-reduction. Tenants indicated that

¹ Masuda, J. (2021). Abandoning the SRO: Public Health Withdrawal from Sanitary Enforcement in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Journal of Urban History*, 49(4), 821-843.

² Blomley, N (2021) 'Making property outlaws: law and relegation' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 45, 6, 911-929.

being separated from these support systems would be traumatic for many tenants, even putting lives at-risk, particularly seniors and those with addiction challenges'

Intelligent policy, I would suggest, must be evidence-based. It needs to recognize the realities of SRO life, including its problematic regulatory history, and its distinct and varied local ecologies, including its resilient collective qualities.

Yours sincerely

A black rectangular box redacting the signature of Nicholas Blomley.

Nicholas Blomley, Professor and Chair of Department
Fellow, Royal Society of Canada.

Encl.: Curriculum Vitae

Masuda, J. (2021). Abandoning the SRO: Public Health Withdrawal from Sanitary Enforcement in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Journal of Urban History*, 49(4), 821-843.

Blomley, N (2021) 'Making property outlaws: law and relegation' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 45, 6, 911-929.

CURRICULUM VITAE NICHOLAS KJØLSEN BLOMLEY

Education

University of Bristol, Department of Geography. Ph.D. in Geography, 1986.

University of Bristol, Department of Geography. B.Sc. (Hons.) in Geography, 1983.

Professional Employment

Simon Fraser University, Department of Geography:

Fall 2002-present:	Professor
1995-2002:	Associate Professor
1990-1995:	Assistant Professor
1989-1990:	Visiting Assistant Professor

1996 - 1998: Adjunct Professor of Law, University of British Columbia

2015-present Associate Professor, Urban Studies, Simon Fraser University

Boston University, Department of Geography:

1988-89:	Assistant Professor.
----------	----------------------

University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Geography:

1986-1988:	Visiting Assistant Professor.
------------	-------------------------------

PUBLICATIONS

Major publications:

a. Books

Blomley, N (2023) Territory: New Trajectories in Law: Routledge

Sylvestre, M-E, Blomley, N and Bellot, C (2021) Red Zones: Criminal law and the territorial regulation of marginalized people (Cambridge U P) (winner, W Wesley Pue Book award for best law and society book in Canada)

I. Braverman, N. Blomley, D. Delaney & A. Kedar, eds. (2014) The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography. Stanford University Press.

Blomley, N (2011) Rights of passage: sidewalks and the regulation of public flow. Routledge (winner Hart/Socio Legal Studies Association Book Award)

Blomley, N K (2004) Unsettling the city: urban land and the politics of property. Routledge, New York

Blomley, N K, D Delaney, and R Ford, Eds. (2001) The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, power, and space. Blackwell, Oxford

Blomley, N K (1994) Law, space, and the geographies of power, Guilford Press, New York

b. Refereed journal articles

Nicholas Blomley, Alexandra Flynn, Marie-Ève Sylvestre, and Nicholas Olson, (2023) Law, Urban Space, and Precarious Property: The Governance of Poor People's Possessions Fordham Urban Law Journal 50, 223

Elsa Noterman and Nicholas Blomley (2023) 'Children's legal geographies and the "make believe" of property' Social and Legal Studies <https://doi.org/10.1177/096466392311716>

Ferencz, Sarah, Alexandra Flynn, Nicholas Blomley & Marie-Eve Sylvestre (2022). Are tents a 'home'? Extending section 8 privacy rights for the precariously housed. McGill Law Journal. 67, 4, 371-407

Blomley, Nicholas and the Right to Remain Collective (2021) Making property outlaws: law and relegation. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 45 6 911-929

Blomley, N (2020)' Precarious territory: Property law, housing and the social order' Antipode 52, 1, pp 26-57.

Blomley, N, Flynn, A & Sylvestre M-E (2020) 'Governing the possessions of the precariously housed: a critical legal geography' Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 16:165-81

Blomley N (2019) 'The territorialisation of property in land: space, power and practice' Territory, politics, governance, 72, 233-249

Freeman, Lisa and N Blomley (2019) 'Enacting property: making space for the public in the municipal library' Environment and Planning C, Politics and Space, 37(2) 199-218

Marie-Eve Sylvestre, Francis Villeneuve Ménard, Véronique Fortin, Céline Bellot et Nicholas Blomley (2017) "Conditions géographiques de mise en liberté et de probation imposées aux manifestants: une atteinte injustifiée aux droits à la liberté d'expression, de réunion pacifique et d'association" McGill Law Journal 62 4 923-973.

Jordan-Stanger Ross, Nicholas Blomley & the Landscapes of Injustice Research Collective (2017) "'This land is worth a million dollars': Property, restitution, and reductivism in the dispossession of Japanese Canadians' Law and History Review 35 3 711-751

Blomley, N (2017) 'Land use, planning, and "the difficult character of property' Planning Theory and Practice, 18, 3, 351-364 (nominated for the annual AESOP (Association of European Schools of Planning) competition for best paper published in 2017

Blomley, N (2016) 'The boundaries of property: complexity, relationality, spatiality' Law and Society Review, 50 1 224-255.

Blomley, N (2015) 'The ties that blind: making fee simple in the British Columbia treaty process' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 40 2 168-179

Sylvestre, Marie-Eve, Nicholas Blomley, William Damon and Celine Bellot (2015) 'Court-imposed Spatial Tactics and the Politics of Legal Technicalities' Antipode 47 5 1346-1366

Ojalaami, Sanna and Nicholas Blomley (2015) 'Dancing with wolves: making legal territory in a more-than-human world' 62, 51-60 Geoforum.

Blomley, N (2014) 'Property, law, and space' Property Law Review, 3 229-235.

Blomley, N (2014) 'Making space for property' Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 104 6 1291-1306.

Blomley, N (2014) 'Disentangling law: the practice of bracketing' Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 10, 133-148

Blomley, N (2013) 'Performing property, making the world' Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence 26, 1, 23-48

Liu, Sikee and Blomley, Nicholas (2013) Making news and making space: Performing the geographies of poverty in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, The Canadian Geographer, 57, 2, 119-132

Blomley, N (2012) 'Colored rabbits, dangerous trees and public sitting: sidewalks, police and the city' Urban Geography (invited Urban Geography plenary lecture) 33 7 917-935

Blomley, N (2011) 'Cuts, flows, and the geographies of property', Law, Culture and the Humanities, June, 7 203-216.

Blomley, N (2010) 'The right to pass freely: circulation, begging and the bounded self' Social and Legal Studies 19 3, 331-350

Blomley, N (2009) 'Homeless, rights and the delusions of property' Urban Geography, 30 6, 577-590)

Blomley, N (2008) 'Simplification is complicated: Property, nature, and the rivers of law' Environment and Planning, A, 40, 1825-18

Blomley, N (2008) 'Enclosure, common right, and the property of the poor' Social and Legal Studies, 17, 311-331.

Blomley, N (2007) Civil rights meets civil engineering: public space and urban traffic logic. Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 22, 2, 55-72

Blomley, N (2007) 'How to turn a beggar into a bus stop: Law, traffic, and the "function of the place"'. Urban Studies, 44, 9, 1697-1712

Blomley, N (2007) 'Making private property: enclosure, common right and the work of hedges', Rural History, 18, 1, 1-21

Blomley, N (2005) 'The borrowed view: privacy, propriety, and the entanglements of property', Law and Social Inquiry 30, 4, 617-661.

Blomley, N K (2005) 'Flowers in the bathtub: boundary crossings at the public-private divide', Geoforum, 36, 3, 281-296.

Blomley, N K. (2004). 'The boundaries of property: lessons from Beatrix Potter'. Canadian Geographer, 48(2), 91-100

Blomley, N. K. (2004). 'Un-real estate: proprietary space and public gardening', Antipode 36, 4, 614-641.

Blomley, N K (2003) 'Law, property, and the spaces of violence: the frontier, the survey, and the grid' Annals, Association of American Geographers 93, 1, 121-141

Blomley, N K (2002) 'Mud for the land' Public Culture 14, 3, 557-582

Blomley, N K and G Pratt (2001) 'Canada and the political geographies of rights', The Canadian Geographer, 45, 1, 151-166

Blomley, N K (2000) "'Acts", "Deeds" and the violences of property', Historical Geography, 28, 86-107

Blomley, N K (1998) 'Landscapes of property'. Law and Society Review 32, 3, 567-612.

Blomley, N K (1997) 'Property, pluralism and the gentrification frontier' Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 12, 2, 187-218.

Blomley, N K (1996) "'Shut the province down": First Nations' blockades in British Columbia. B.C. Studies, III, 5-35.

Blomley, N K (1994) 'Mobility, empowerment and the rights revolution', Political Geography, 13, 5, 407-422.

Blomley, N K (1992) 'The business of mobility: geography, liberalism and the *Charter*', Canadian Geographer, 36, 3, 238-253.

Blomley, N K and Bakan J (1992) 'Spacing out: towards a critical geography of law', Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 30, 3, 661-690.

Bakan, J and Blomley, N K (1992) 'Legal categories, spatial boundaries and the judicial construction of the worker', Environment and Planning, A, 24, 629-644.

Blomley, N.K. (1990) 'Federalism, place and the regulation of worker safety', Economic Geography, 66, 1, 22-46.

Ducatel K J and Blomley, N K (1990) 'Rethinking retail capital' International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 14, 2, 207-227.

Blomley, N K (1989) 'Retail regulation in England and Wales: the results of a survey' Environment and Planning, A, 19, 10, 1399-1406.

Blomley, N K (1989) 'Text and context: rethinking the law-geography nexus' Progress in Human Geography, 13, 4, 512-534.

Blomley, N K (1988) 'Law and the local state: enforcement in action' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 13, 2, 199-210.

Blomley, N K (1987) 'Legal interpretation: the geography of law' Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 78, 4, 265-275.

Blomley, N K (1986) 'Regulatory legislation and the legitimation crisis of the state: the enforcement of the Shops Act (1950)' Environment and Planning, D, 4, 183-200.

Blomley, N K (1985) 'The Shops Act (1950); the politics and the policing', Area, 17, 1, 25-33.

d. Reviewed journal articles:

Blomley, N and J C Sturgeon (2009) 'Property as abstraction', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 32, 3, 564-6.

Blomley, N (2008) 'The spaces of critical geography' Progress in Human Geography 32, 2, 285-293 (invited review, 3 of 3)

Blomley, N (2007) 'Kelo, contradiction, and capitalism' Urban Geography, 28, 2, 198-205

Blomley, N (2007) 'Critical geography, anger and hope' Progress in Human Geography, 31, 1, 53-66 (invited review, 2 of 3)

Blomley, N (2006) 'Uncritical critical geography', Progress in Human Geography, 30, 1, 87-94 (invited review, 1 of 3)

Blomley, N K (1997) The properties of space: history, geography and gentrification' Urban Geography, 18, 4, 286-295.

Blomley, N.K. and Clark, G.L (1990), 'Law, theory and geography' Urban Geography, 11, 5, 433-446.

e. Book chapters/sections

Blomley, N (2020) Urban commoning and the right not to be excluded, in Derya Ozkan and Guldem Bayal Buyuksarac (eds) Commoning the City, Routledge (pp 89-103)

Stanger-Ross, Jordan and Nicholas Blomley "'My land is worth a million dollars": How Japanese Canadians contested their dispossession in the 1940s' In Stanger-Ross, Jordan (ed) 2020 Landscapes of Injustice: a new perspective on the internment and dispossession of Japanese Canadians. McGill-Queen's University Press, pp129-160

Findlay, Kaitlin and Nicholas Blomley '(De)valuation: The state mismanagement of Japanese Canadian personal property in the 1940s' In Stanger-Ross, Jordan (ed) 2020 Landscapes of Injustice: a new perspective on the internment and dispossession of Japanese Canadians. McGill-Queen's University Press pp 213-254

Blomley, Nicholas and the Right to Remain Collective (2019) 'Law and property relations: contesting the "outlaw zone"' In Ananya Roy and Hilary Malson (eds) Housing justice in unequal cities. Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA., pp 79-84. Open access book.

Blomley, N and E McCann (2019): "'A necessary stop on the circuit': Radical geography at Simon Fraser University' In Spatial Histories of Radical Geography: North America and Beyond, First edition. Edited by Trevor J. Barnes and Eric Sheppard. John Wiley & Sons Ltd. pp 117-147.

Blomley, Nicholas (90%) and Natalia Perez (2018) 'Eviction: Precarious property, access and territory' in Access to land and social issues : precarity, territoriality, identity Yaëll Emerich, Laurence Saint-Pierre (eds) Éditions Thémis, Faculté de droit, Université de Montréal

Blomley, N (2018) 'How property matters' in Maja Hojer Bruun, Patrick J L Cockburn, Bjarke Skaerlund Risager and Mikkel Thorup (eds) Contested property claims: what disagreement tells us about ownership. New York, Routledge pp xi-xv

Marie-Eve Sylvestre, Céline Bellot and Nicholas Blomley (2017) 'Une peine avant jugement? La mise en liberté provisoire et la réforme du Droit Pénal Canadien' In Reformer le droit criminel au Canada: défis et possibilités. Julie Desrosiers, Margarida Garcia and Marie-Eve Sylvestre (eds.) Montreal: Thomson-Reuters, pp 191-228.

Blomley, N (2016) 'The right to not be excluded: common property and the right to stay put' In Ash Amin and Philip Howell (eds) Releasing the commons: rethinking the futures of the commons. Routledge, pp 89-106.

Blomley, Nicholas (2015) 'Property, law, and space' In Susan Bright and Sarah Blandy (eds.) Researching Property Law. Palgrave, pp134-144.

Braverman, I, N Blomley, D Delaney, A Kedar (2013) 'Introduction: expanding the spaces of law' In Braverman, I, N Blomley, D Delaney, A Kedar (eds.) The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography, Stanford University Press.

Blomley N 2014 'Disentangling property, performing space'. In Rueben Rose-Redwood and Michael Glass Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space (Routledge,)

Braverman, I, N Blomley, D Delaney, A Kedar (2014) 'Introduction: expanding the spaces of law' In Braverman, I, N Blomley, D Delaney, A Kedar (eds.) The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography, Stanford University Press.

Blomley, N (2014) 'Learning from Larry: pragmatism and the habits of legal space'. In I. Braverman, N. Blomley, D. Delaney & A. Kedar, eds. (2014) The Expanding Spaces of Law: A Timely Legal Geography, Stanford University Press.

Blomley, N (2013) 'Sidewalks' The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities (Peter Adey, David Bissell, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman and Mimi Sheller eds), pp 472-482. Invited submission

Blomley, N (2013) 'What kind of legal space is a city?'. In Brighenti, A (ed) Urban Interstices: the Aesthetics and Politics of Spatial In-betweens. Farnham: Ashgate, pp 1-25

Blomley N (2012) 'Begging to differ: panhandling, public space, and municipal property' In Eric Tucker, James Muir and Bruce Ziff eds Property on Trial: cases in context, Osgoode Society, Toronto, 393-425

Blomley, Nicholas (2013) 'Foreword: the complexity of urban law' In Policing Cities: Urban Securitization and Regulation in a 21st Century World (Routledge). Edited by Randy K. Lippert and Kevin Walby

Blomley, N (2010) 'Le piétonnisme et l'espace public : le trottoir comme espace de flux' In Rosiere S, Cox K., Vacchiani-Marcuzzo C., Dahlman C. (eds) *Penser l'espace politique* Ellipses, Paris pp 324-339

Blomley, N (2009) 'public space'; communitarianism'; critical human geography'; equality; 'justice'; 'land tenure'; 'law'; 'property'; 'retailing'; 'rights'; 'social justice'. Dictionary of Human Geography, 5th edition.

Blomley, N (2008) 'Space/spatiality' The New Oxford Companion to Law. Cane, Peter and Joanne Conaghan eds. Oxford University Press.

Blomley, N (2008) 'Making space for law', Handbook of Political Geography, Cox, K, Low, M. Robinson J eds. Sage Publications. pp 155-168

Blomley, N and Robertson, S (2006) 'Introduction: The place of justice' In Law Commission of Canada, eds, The Place of Justice. Fernwood Publishing, Black Point, Nova Scotia, pp 7-22.

Blomley, N (2006) 'Professional Geographies' In Laurie, Nina and Liz Bondi, eds. Working the spaces of neoliberalism. Blackwell, Malden MA, pp 222-226.

Blomley, N (2004) 'Law, geography of', Encyclopedia of Human Geography, Warf, B (ed.), Sage, 8461-8465

Collins, D and Blomley, N K (2003) 'Private needs and public space: politics, poverty and anti-panhandling by-laws in Canadian cities' In Law Commission of Canada eds. New Perspectives on the Public-Private Divide. University of British Columbia Press pp 40-67

Collins, D and Blomley, N (2003) 'Besoins privés et espace public' La Commission du droit du Canada, La réforme du droit et la frontière entre le public et le privé. Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 71-109 (translation of 'Private needs and public space')

Blomley, N K (2003) 'From "what?" to "so what?" Law and Geography in retrospect'. In Holder, J and C Harrison, eds. Law and Geography. Oxford University Press: Current Legal Issues, Vol. 5, pp 17-33.

Sommers, J and Blomley, N (2002) 'The worst block in Vancouver' In Shier, Reid (ed.) Stan Douglas: Every building on 100 West Hastings. Contemporary Art Gallery and Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver, pp 18-61 (winner, 2003 City of Vancouver Book Award)

Blomley, N K (2001) 'Law and geography' In N J Smelser and P B Bates (editors) International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Pergamon, Oxford (pp 8461-8465).

Delaney, D, Blomley, N and Ford, R (2001) 'Where is law?' In Blomley, N.K., D Delaney, and R Ford eds The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, power, and space. Blackwell. pp xiii-xxii.

Blomley, N K (2000) 'Law, geography of', 'Retailing, geography'; 'Property rights' Dictionary of Human Geography, Johnston R J , Gregory, D, Pratt, G and Watts, M (Eds.); 4th edition. (Blackwell) (pp 435-438; 713-715; 651)

Blomley, N K and Sommers, J (1999) 'Mapping urban space; governmentality and cartographic struggles in inner-city Vancouver' In Governable Places: Readings in Governmentality and Crime Control. Smandych, R ed. Dartmouth Publishing; Aldershot, pp 261-286

Blomley, N.K. (1996) 'I'd like to dress her all over': masculinity, power and retail space', in Retailing, consumption and capital: towards the new economic geography of retailing. Wrigley, N. and Lowe M. (eds.). Longman, London pp 238-256

Blomley, N.K. (1994) 'Representing the Canadian city: space, power and mobility rights'. In Changing agendas for urban studies: an interdisciplinary guide. Lustiger-Thaler H. & Amit-Talai V. (eds.). McLelland & Stewart, Toronto. pp. 45-70

Blomley, N.K. (1994) 'Health, society and geography' in The determinants of population health: a critical assessment. Hayes, M.V., Foster, L. T. and Foster, H.D. (eds.). Western Geographical Series, Vol. 29, Victoria. pp. 49-56.

Blomley, N.K. (1993) 'Law, geography of'; 'Retailing, geography of' Dictionary of Human Geography (3rd edition), Johnston, R.J. and Gregory, D. (eds.). pp 321-325; 533-535.

Blomley, N.K. (1989) 'Interpretive practices, the state and the locale' in The power of geography: how territory shapes social life Wolch, J, Dear M (eds) Allen & Unwin, 175-186.

f. Book reviews

(2014) David Delaney 'Nomospheric Investigations' *The Canadian Geographer*

(2009) Becky Mansfield (ed) *Privatization: property and the remaking of nature-society relations*. Blackwell. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99, 3, 629-631.

(2004) Cole Harris (2002) Making Native space: colonialism, resistance and reserves in British Columbia. Society and Space 22, 6, 935-6

(2002) AAbramson and D Theodossopoulos (eds.) 'Land, law and environment: mythical land, legal boundaries' Progress in Human Geography. 26, 2, 261-262

(2002) Davina Cooper (1998) 'Governing out of order: space, law and the politics of belonging'. Rivers Oram, London. Progress in Human Geography.

(1997) Sharon Zukin: 'The Culture of Cities'. Transactions, Institute of British Geographers. 22, 1, 134-136

(1994) 'The new geography of consumer spending: a political economy approach', Hallsworth A.G. (1992) Bellhaven Press: London. Economic Geography 7, 1, pp. 84-86.

(1991) Extended review essay of 'The condition of postmodernity' Harvey, D (1989) Blackwell; Canadian Journal of Law and Society, 6, 165-180.

(1989) Extended review essay of 'Store choice, store location and market area analysis' Wrigley, N (ed) 1988, Routledge, Economic Geography, 65, 2, 153-159.

Other publications

a. Reprints:

2024: Territorios Y Ancestralidades de la Propiedad: Legalidades en los espacios de Nick Blomley (translation, edited by Mathew Calukins, and Voltaire Alvarado, Editorial Universidad de Concepción

2022: Translation of Sylvestre, Marie-Eve, Nicholas Blomley, William Damon and Celine Bellot (2015) 'Court-imposed Spatial Tactics and the Politics of Legal Technicalities' Antipode 47 5 1346-1366, published in special issue of French open access journal Clio@Themis

Blomley, N (2021) 'Territory and law' in Mariana Valverde, Eve Darian-Smith, Kamari Clarke and Prabha Kotiswaran (eds) Routledge Handbook of Law and Society

2020: Reprint of Blomley, N (2019) The territorialization of property in land: space, power and practice in Agnew, John (2020) The confines of territory. Regional Studies Association's Cities and Regions Book Series.

2019: Blomley, N (2003) Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid' Annals of the Association of American Geographers, reproduced in Belanger, Pierre (ed) Urbanism after 1993: Landscape Texts, Contexts, & Pretexts. MIT Press

2017: Blomley, N. 'Law, property, and the geography of violence: The frontier, the survey, and the grid' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93(1), 2003, 121-141 reproduced in Postcolonialism and the Law, edited by Mark Harris and Denise Ferreira da Silva (Routledge)

Sommers, Jeff and Nick Blomley 'The worst block in Vancouver' in Stan Douglas: every building on West 100 Hastings, R Shier (ed) Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver: reprinted in Canadian Compositions, 1e, Jay Dolmage, Pearson.

Reprint of Blomley N (2014) 'Performing property, making the world' (*Canadian J of Law and Jurisprudence*) in Property (ed. Margaret Davies) Routledge.

Martine August, Lisa Freeman and Nicholas Blomley "Mixed neighbourhoods not always a good idea. Marginalized groups least likely to benefit" Op-ed, Vancouver Sun, reprinted in Andy Jonas, Mary Thomas, and Eugene McCann Urban Geography: A Critical Introduction

N. K. Blomley and J.C. Bakan 'Spacing Out: Towards A Critical Geography of Law' (1992) 30 *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 661, Reproduced in Environmental Law: Text, Cases, and Materials, eds Liz Fisher, Bettina Lange, Eloise Scotford, Oxford University Press (2013)

Collins, D and N Blomley 'Private needs and public space: politics, poverty and anti-panhandling by-laws in Canadian Cities' Reproduced in Ziff, Bruce, Jeremy de Beer, Douglas C Harris and Margaret McCallum (eds) A property law reader: cases, questions and commentary. Thomson, pp 118-121 (2009)

Blomley, N (2009) Mobility, empowerment and the rights revolution. Reprinted in: Geographic thought: a praxis perspective edited by George Henderson and Marvin Waterstone, Routledge. Originally published in 1994.

Blomley, N (2009) 'Flowers in the bathtub: boundary crossings at the public-private divide', Geoforum, 36, 3, 281-296, reprinted in 40th Anniversary Virtual Special Issue of Geoforum (Originally published in 2005)

Blomley, N (2007) 'Un-real estate: proprietary space and public gardening' In Neoliberal environments: false promises and unnatural consequences, Nik Heynen et al (eds) Routledge, New York (Originally published in 2004)

Blomley, N (2008) 'Activism and the academy', In Reader in Critical Geography, Harald Bauder and Salvatore Engel-Di Mauro (eds) (2008) Praxis (e)Press pp 28-32 (Originally published in 1994)

Blomley, N (2007) 'The borrowed view: privacy, propriety, and the entanglements of property', In Ethnography and Law, Darian-Smith, Eve (ed), Ashgate. (Originally published in 2005)

Ducatel, K and Blomley, N (2002) 'Rethinking retail capital in Findlay, A (ed) Retailing: Critical Perspectives (Originally published in 1990)

Blomley, N K (2002) Sections of "I'd like to dress her all over" in Lowe, M and Wrigley, N (eds) Reading retail: A geographical perspective on retailing and consumption spaces.

Blomley, N K (2001) Sections of 'Landscapes of property' In Blomley, N.K., D Delaney, and R Ford eds The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, power, and space. Blackwell.pp 118-128 (Originally published in 1998)

Blomley, N K (1998) Sections of Law, space and the geographies of power. In Hicks, Stephen C ed. Modern Legal Theory: Problems and perspectives. Rothman and Co, Littleton, Colorado. pp 374-375. (Originally published in 1994)

b. Other publications:

2023: Landscapes Podcast: 'The where of law': Interviewed by Frankie McCarthy (Glasgow Law): <https://plinkhq.com/i/1552882054/e/1000623283813>

Blomley, N and C Long (2023) 'Homeless people deserve the same right to their belongings that we all have'. The Conversation (online)
<https://theconversation.com/homeless-people-deserve-the-same-right-to-their-belongings-that-we-all-have-201374>

Blomley, N, A Flynn, M-E Sylvestre (2023) 'Belongings are essential to personhood. Why would deny this dignity to homeless people' Globe and Mail (opinion piece), April 12 (<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-belongings-are-essential-to-personhood-why-would-we-deny-this-dignity/>)

2023: Podcast: The Urban Lives of Property (in conversation with Hannah Hilbrandt - Zurich - and Markus Yip - Jena) https://urbanpolitical.podigee.io/62-property_conversation_blomle

'The zero-sum violence of the precarious property space: a conversation with Nicholas Blomley' (Adrian Blackwell and David Fortin' (2021) Scapegoat: Architecture / Landscape / Political Economy issue 12

Stanger-Ross, Jordan, Leah Best, Nicholas Blomley, Sherri Kajiwarra and Audrey Kobayashi (2020) 'Broken Promises: exhibition tells stories of the victims' Vancouver Sun, October 3 2020, B2.

2020: Short film - 'The stuff we own: social justice and the geographies of homelessness' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bMBd-H4vI58>

2020: Participant in video of international scholars addressing the relationship between pandemics, property and planning:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cwS65jUw2v0&feature=youtu.be>

Sylvestre, M.-E., A. Duchesne-Blondin, C. Bellot, V. Fortin and N. Blomley (2018) "Les conditions géographiques de mise en liberté et de probation et les personnes marginalisées à Montréal, rapport de recherche," Research report..

Blomley, Nicholas, Natalia Perez, and Andy Yan (2018) Evictions in the private rental housing market in Metro Vancouver –preliminary findings. Unpublished research report

Marie-Eve Sylvestre, Nicholas Blomley, William Damon & Celine Bellot (2017) Red zones and other spatial conditions of release imposed on marginalized people in Vancouver. Research report (84 pages)

Blomley, N (2017) 'Taking up property: comments on Ananya Roy' *Geoforum* 80 A20-21 (comments following Geoforum Lecture)

August, Martine, Lisa Freeman and Nicholas Blomley (2014) 'Mixed neighbourhoods are not always a good idea' *Vancouver Sun*, op-ed piece on 'social mix' policies in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Jan 3, A11.

Blomley, N, D Ley and E Wyly (2011) 'Gentrification pushes out the poor' *The Vancouver Sun* 2 February (op-ed)

Blomley, N (2010) 'Property, liberty and the category' *Geoforum*, 41, 353-355

Blomley, N (2006) 'Is this journal worth US \$1, 118?' *Geoforum* 37, 877-880

Blomley, N (2006) 'Hedging out the poor': Invited art exhibit: 'Not sheep: New urban enclosures and commons', Artspeak Gallery, Vancouver (May)

Blomley, N (2005) 'Enacting landscape, claiming property' In Peil, Tiina and Michael Jones ed. *Landscape, law, and justice*. Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo University.

Blomley N (2005) 'Remember property?' *Progress in Human Geography*, 29, 2, 125-127

Blomley, N (2005) 'Professional Geographies' In Laurie, Nina and Liz Bondi, eds. *Working the spaces of neoliberalism*. Blackwell, Malden MA, pp 222-226.

Blomley, N K and Heap of Birds, E (2004) 'Artistic displacements: an interview with Edgar Heap of Birds' *Society and Space*, 22, 4, 799-807

Blomley, N K (2002) 'The Rules' *Geoforum* 33, 149-151

Blomley, N. K. (1997) 'The myth of development' *Carnegie Newsletter*, Jan 15, 8-9.

Blomley, N K (1998) 'The poetic geography of gentrification' *Society and Space*, 16, 3, p 279. (Introduction to poem)

Blomley, N K (1994) 'Editorial: Activism and the academy', Environment and Planning, D, Society and Space 12(4), 383-385.

Blomley, N K (1993) Editorial: Making space for law', Urban Geography, 14, 1, pp 3-6.

Blomley, N K (1995) Reply to Tickell. Environment and Planning, D, Society and Space, 13, 239-240.

c. Expert opinions and affidavits:

Blomley, Nicholas (2015) 'Independent expert report' - submitted in case of BC-Yukon Drug War Survivors v. City of Abbotsford.

Blomley, N K (2000) Panhandling and public space. Submitted as expert opinion in BC Supreme Court Charter challenge to City of Vancouver's panhandling by-law (Federated Anti-Poverty Groups of B.C. v. Vancouver (City) [2002] BCSC 105)

Blomley, N (2008) Affidavit prepared in the case of Shawn Brant, Mohawk activist.

d. Conference proceedings:

Blomley, N (2005) 'Enacting landscape, claiming property' In Peil, Tiina and Michael Jones ed. Landscape, law, and justice. Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo University.

Blomley, N. K. (1997) 'Spaces of property, properties of space: the politics of land development in inner-city Vancouver'. In Valverde, M (ed.) New forms of governance: theory, practice and research - Conference Proceedings Centre of Criminology: University of Toronto. pp 37-38

PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Invited talks

Blomley N (2023) 'What is legal geography (for me)?' Climate Demands and Legal Performances: Legal Geography Workshop. University of Glasgow, Faculty of Law

Blomley N (2023) Spatial justice, housing precarity, and the territory of property (Justicia espacial, precariedad de la Vivienda, y el territorio de la propiedad) University of Concepcion, Chile

Blomley, N (2023) 'Spatial justice, housing precarity, and the space of injustice' Lincoln Centre for Ecological Justice (University of Lincoln, UK) (online talk)

Blomley, N and Brenna Bhandar (2022) Deputies and Outlaws: law, territory and colonial dispossession in British Columbia (plenary, via zoom) Descolonizando territorios urbanos: regímenes propietarios, apropiación y reivindicación territorial indígena, Facultad de Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Geografía, Universidad de Concepción, Chile

Blomley, N (2022) 'Property, power, territory, commoning'EASA Commons (Sheffield UK student network)

Blomley, N (2022) 'Dispossession in action' Fostering Inclusive Community Responses to Homelessness: University of Guelph

Marie-Eve Sylvestre (University of Ottawa), Céline Bellot (University of Montreal) et Nicholas Blomley (Simon Fraser University): Criminal law and the territorial governance of marginalized people, Seminar: Géographie du droit et de la justice at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris

Blomley, N (2022) 'Land, justice, and territory' Accessing Land Justice: Cambridge University

Blomley, N and the Right to Remain Collective 'Making property outlaws: law and relegation' (2021) Dean's Lecture Series: University of Melbourne Faculty of Planning and Design

Blomley, N and the Right to Remain Collective (2021) 'Making property outlaws: law and relegation' University of California, Irvine: Department of Criminology, Law and Society colloquium

Blomley, N (2021) 'Territory and property' (online) Routledge Handbook of Property, Law, and Society Conference, Sydney

Blomley, N (2021) 'Living in the "hum": precarious lives and personal possessions' University of Durham Institute of Advanced Studies

Blomley, N (2021) 'Thinking territorially about property' (online) Institute of Advanced Studies, Durham University

Blomley, N (2020) 'Commoning, cities, and the common good' Panel: Ecological Law and Governance Association: Reimagining and realizing cities for the common good - webinar

Blomley, N and the Right to Remain Collective (2020) 'The "Skid Road" exemption: property law and the geographies of legal relegation' [presented online] Progressive Property Workshop 2020: Fordham Law School, New York

Blomley, N (2020) 'How red zones punish the poor, generate crime, and break the law' SFU FENV Dean's Lecture Series

Blomley, N (2020) 'Property, tenancy and SROs' The Right to Remain: Housing Justice from Vancouver. Institute of Inequality & Democracy, UCLA

Blomley, N (2019) Governing the possessions of the precariously housed: a critical legal geography Home/City/World: workshop at UFMG Law School, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Blomley, N (2019) 'Governing the belongings of the precariously housed: a legal geography' Property Works In Progress Conference, Northeastern University School of Law, Boston

Blomley, N (2019) 'Precarious relationality: Property law, housing, and the sociospatial order' Invited keynote: Association of Law, Property and Society Annual Conference: Syracuse University, College of Law

Blomley, N (2019) Rent, precarity, and property relations: Learning with the 'margins' Housing Justice in Unequal Cities Conference, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs.

N Blomley (2019) 'Governing the possessions of the precariously housed: a legal geography' Kent Law School, Canterbury UK

Blomley, N (2019) 'Governing the possessions of the precariously housed: a legal geography' Seminar, Drexel University, Dept of Sociology

Blomley, N (2018) 'Precarious property' University of Victoria - Institute for Global Studies

Nicholas Blomley and Marie-Eve Sylvestre (2018) 'Judicial territories: spatial "conditions of release" and the legal regulation of marginalized people' American Bar Foundation Seminar, Chicago

Blomley, N (2018) 'Legal geography: some preliminary reflections' Legal Geographies III: University of Turku, Finland

Blomley, N (2018) 'Property, territory, power' Legal Geographies III: University of Turku, Finland

Nicholas Blomley (presenter) and Marie-Eve Sylvestre (2017): Judicial territories: spatial conditions of release and the regulation of marginalized people. Colloquium Series, UBC Geography.

Blomley, N (2017) 'Property, precarity, power' Antipode Institute for Geographies of Justice, Montreal

Blomley N (2017) "R2NBE: common property and the urban poor" Department of Urban Studies, Malmo University

Blomley, N (2017) 'The territory of property' Universidad de los Andes, Faculty of Law, Colombia

Blomley, N (2017) 'Common property and the right to not be excluded' Universidad del Norte, Colombia

Blomley, N (2017) 'Property, precarity, power' UCLA Department of Geography Colloquium Series

Blomley, N (2017) 'Property, precarity, and power' Yi Fu Tuan Colloquium: Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin - Madison

Blomley, N (2016) 'Property, precarity, and power' Colloquium: Department of Geography, University of Reading.

Blomley, N (2016) 'Property, precarity, power' Workshop: Property as a Constitutional Problem in Mexico City (in Mexico City)

Blomley, N (2016) 'The right to not be excluded: common property and the right to stay put' Cornell University Law School: JD research seminar

June 2016 Challenging traditional notions of property in land use planning; Osgoode Hall Law School, York University. Blomley, N 'Land use', planning, and property. Invited plenary.

May 2016 Placing Justice/Critical Perspectives: University of Winnipeg. Blomley, N 'Making space for justice': invited plenary.

April 2016 'Spaces in common' series, Studio X Istanbul. Blomley, N 'Commoning the city: the right not to be excluded': invited talk

March 2016 Legal Boundaries workshop; International Institute for the Sociology of Law, Onati, Spain. Blomley, N 'Legal bracketing'

February 2016 MIT Planning, Cambridge MA. Blomley, N "'Land use", planning, and the "difficult character of property' Invited graduate seminar + colloquium presentation

December 2015 Contested Property Claims, Aarhus University, Denmark. 'Property, territory, and the right to not be excluded' - invited keynote

September 2015 Invited seminar, CIDE, Mexico City. 'Territory, property, and the right not to be excluded'

September 2015 El (des)orden urbano y los sectores populares: nuevas aproximaciones a la ciudad Seminar Series, UNAM, Mexico City. Blomley, N 'How to turn a beggar into a bus stop' Seminar

April 2015 Landscapes of Injustice Spring Institute, University of Victoria. Blomley, N 'How property matters to the "Landscapes of Injustice" project' Seminar.

February 2015 Dalhousie Law School. Blomley, N 'The territory of property. Seminar
December 2014 Critical Analysis of Law workshop, University of Toronto Law School.
Blomley N 'Disentangling law: the practice of bracketing'

October 2014 Law School, University of Ottawa. 'The space of property'

September 2014 The Shrinking Commons - University of Cambridge. Blomley, N
'The right to not be excluded: common right and the struggle against displacement'

September 2014 Department of Geography, University of Cambridge. Blomley, N
'The space of property'

March 2014 City Debates: American University of Beirut. Invited plenary: Blomley,
Nicholas 'Why and how property matters to planning'

'Legal geography: origins and destinations'. Panel on public space, law and rights, McGill
Law School, July 2013

'Property/space at the edge', Plenary panel: Law, space and boundaries' Law at the Edge:
Canadian/Australian/NZ Law and Society Associations joint conference: UBC Law School,
May 2013

UBC graduate student workshop on urban politics, May 2013

'The ties that blind: performing fee simple in the BC treaty process', Progressive Property
Workshop, Loyola college of Law (invite-only gathering of property law professors: paper
workshop), April 2013

'Property and geography', Plenary panel, Association of Law, Property and Society Annual
Conference: University of Minnesota Law School, April 2013

'Making space, making property: fee simple and the B.C. treaty process', Departmental
Seminar, Geography, SFU, February 2013

'Learning from Larry: inhabiting legal space', 'Where now: beyond traditional legal
geographies' workshop, University of Buffalo Law School, November 2012

'Remaking the bell jar: space, property, and the BC treaty process', Colloquium,
Geography, University of Toronto, Scarborough, November 2012.

'Fee simple and the BC Treaty Process'. Invited research presentation at First Nations
Summit Chief Negotiators Meeting. October 2012

'Performing property, making the world' 2012 International conference in Law and
Society, Honolulu, Hawaii. June 2012.

'Performing property, making the world' Progressive Property Workshop, Harvard Law School (invite-only gathering of property law professors: paper workshop), May 2012

'Rights of passage: sidewalks and the regulation of public flow' (invited talk associated with book award) Socio Legal Studies Association Annual Meeting (UK), March 2012

'Performing property' Institute of Australian Geographers Special Presentation, Wollongong, NSW, 2011

Plenary panellist: Nature, space and the planet - Law and Society Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, 2011.

'Pedestrianism, circulation and rights' Distinguished speaker series in urban studies, University of Victoria, 2011

'Police power and public space' Urban Geography lecture, Association of American Geographers conference, Seattle, 2011.

'Making space for property' University of Washington, Department of Geography, 2010

Invited presenter/panelist, 'Property Stories' workshop, University of Alberta, Faculty of Law, 2010

Invited presenter/panelist, 'Territorialization workshop' Audain Gallery, SFU Woodward, 2010

'Making space for property: categorical politics and the BC treaty process' 2010, Opening plenary, Cascadia critical geography mini-conference, Victoria

'Pedestrianism, circulation, and the logic of flow', University of Kentucky, Department of Geography, 2009

Invited presenter/panelist, 'The hidden places of law' workshop, University of Buffalo, Law School 2009

'Cuts, flows and the geographies of property', Keynote, 'Contested spaces' seminar, Jerusalem, 2009

'Space, place, territory and the law', Law and Society Association/Canadian Law and Society Association, plenary 2008

'Pedestrianism: public space and the logic of flow' University of Toronto, Centre for Criminology, 2008.

'Traffic logic: a public space of flow', Distinguished Visiting Scholar Seminar, Queen's University, Belfast, April 2008

'Rights, begging, and the separative self', Theorizing Boundaries workshop, Leeds University, March 2008

'Who owns the land? Restitution and the historical geographies of property' Keynote speaker at conference on 'Land, memory, reconstruction and justice: Perspectives on land restitution in South Africa', Cape Town, South Africa, September 2006.

'Begging law, rights space, and the "function of the place"'. Keynote address, 'Law, spaces and rights' symposium, University of Bristol, June 2006.

'Hope and anger': Opening plenary panel, Canadian Law and Society Association, York University, June 2006.

'Homelessness, space, freedom and the liberal cringe' University of Washington, Simpson Center for the Humanities, 2007

'Homelessness and the delusions of property', Socio-Legal Studies Association Annual Meeting, Canterbury UK, keynote, 2007

'Safe Streets Talk; begging and the geographies of liberalism', School of Law, University of Kent, November 2007

'How to turn a beggar into a bus stop', Department of Geography, Lund University, May 2007

'Seeing like a judge (or, simplification is difficult)' Department of Geography, Stockholm University, May 2007

'Making private property: enclosure, common right, and the work of hedges', Department of Geography, Uppsala University, May 2007

'Hope and anger', Opening plenary, Canadian Law and Society Association Annual Meeting, York University, 2006.

'Making private property: enclosure, common right, and the work of hedges' Research Seminar, School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol, June 2006.

A-liberalism, begging law, and the logic of traffic' University of Washington, Department of Geography. October 2005.

'Anti-citizenship: Begging, law and rights', 'Citizenship symposium, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge, September 26, 2005

'Enclosure, common-right, and the property of the poor', University College London, 'Commons' workshop, July 6, 2005.

'Who owns your front garden? Privacy, propriety and the complications of property', Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, February 2005.

'Unsettlement: Woodward's, property, and the ideal city'; Living out the metropolis lecture series, St John's College, UBC, November 2004.

'Hedging out the poor: enclosure, dispossession, and the work of things': Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, October 2004.

'Re-thinging property': Workshop, Onati Institute, Spain, June 2004.

'Un-real estate: proprietary space and public gardening': Western Washington University, May 2004.

'Shooting the Sheriff: Land, power and conflict in early Vancouver', Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, November 2000

Panellist, Canadian Law and Society Association Mid-Winter meeting, UBC, Green College, Jan 2000: 'Law and Society issues in the next century'

'Landscapes of property in Vancouver Downtown's Eastside': Green College, UBC, October 1998

'The properties of maps: geographies of ownership in the Downtown Eastside/East Downtown/Victory Square': Department of Geography, UBC, November 1997.

'The properties of space: gentrification in inner city Vancouver': Department of Geography, University of Washington. November 1996

""The Golden metewand of the law"": common law and cartography in sixteenth century England""; Department of Geography, University of Iowa. April 1994.

'Remapping social theory: law and the geographic imagination'; West Coast Law and Society Group colloquium; Green College, University of British Columbia. March 1994.

""The Golden metewand of the law"": common law and cartography in sixteenth century England""; Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University; February 1994.

'Law and geography: recent research', Department of Geography, University of Southampton: Visiting Scholar 1993: Advanced Studies Committee.

'Judges as geographers', School of Law, University of Victoria, Spring 1991.

'Judges as geographers: mobility and the Canadian Charter' Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, March 1990

'Interpretive practices, the state and the locale' Department of Geography, UCLA, 1987

'The Shops Act (1950): a geographical perspective', Department of Geography, University of Bristol, 1986.

Visiting Fellowships to other Departments

April-May 2024: Fellowship, École Nationale Supérieure, Paris

January-March 2021 Institute of Advanced Study Fellowship, University of Durham

2019: Visiting Fellowship, University of Kent Law School

September 2014: Distinguished Visiting Fellowship, University of Cambridge

June 2006: IAS Benjamin Meaker Visiting Professorship, University of Bristol.

2008: Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Queen's University, Belfast.

April 1994: Visiting Scholar, Department of Geography, University of Iowa.

January 1993: Visiting Scholar: Department of Geography, University of Southampton.

Awards and Honours:

2023: Warren Gill Award for Community Engagement, SFU

2023: Community Engaged Research Achievement Award, SFU (CERi)

2020: SFU Community Engaged Research Initiative (CERI) Researcher-in-Residence

2017: Elected Fellow in the Social Sciences Division of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Royal Society of Canada

2012 Hart/Socio Legal Studies Association Book Award (for my 2011 book *Rights of Passage*)

2009 Canadian Association of Geographers Award for Scholarly Distinction (Nominated)

2005 Sterling Prize Award for Controversy (Nominated)

2004 'Author of the month'; SFU Bookstore.

RESEARCH FUNDING:

External grants received:

2022-2029:

Past Wrongs, Future Choices

\$2,493,075

Co-Investigator

2019-2023

Governing the possessions of the precariously housed: a legal geography

\$235,878

Principal Investigator

2014-2021 SSHRC Grant \$2,600,000.

Landscapes of Injustice.

Co-Investigator

2012-2015: Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Standard Research Grant,
\$117,416

Court imposed restrictions to public spaces and marginalized people in Canada

Co-Investigator

2009-2014: Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Standard Research Grant,
\$86,500

Property, liberty and the First Nations treaty process.

Principal Investigator

2005-2008: Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Standard Research Grant,
\$ 106,616

Panhandling law and the place of rights

Principal Investigator

2001: Law Commission of Canada (Legal Dimensions Initiative Award)

\$3,000

'Private needs and public space: politics, poverty and anti-panhandling by-laws in
Canadian Cities'

Principal Investigator

1999: Social Science and Humanities Research Council

\$5,000

CURA development grant

Principal Investigator

1999-2003: Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Standard Research Grant

\$29,700

'Property, nature and gentrification in inner-city Vancouver'

Principal Investigator

1994 -1997: Social Science and Humanities Research Council, Standard Research Grant
\$38,000

'Health policy and the construction of place: Vancouver's Downtown Eastside'
Principal Investigator

Abandoning the SRO: Public Health Withdrawal from Sanitary Enforcement in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Journal of Urban History

2023, Vol. 49(4) 821–843

© The Author(s) 2021

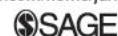


Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/00961442211018795

journals.sagepub.com/home/juh



Jeffrey Masuda¹ and the Right to Remain Research Collective

Abstract

This paper situates a ten-year period of political upheaval in addressing the problem of Single Room Occupancy (SRO) housing in Vancouver, Canada, within an epistemic transformation of public health. Until 1970, the Vancouver Health Department exemplified a colonial history of public health in establishing the city's skid road as a *cordon sanitaire*. But the 1970s saw a sudden fading of the Department's authority just as a more collaborative approach to housing policy was emerging. The sunset of sanitary enforcement was driven in part by the arrival of a "new public health" that became primarily concerned with defining public health problems and solutions through the regulation of racialized bodies and behaviors—a *cordon thérapeutique*. By the 1980s, this shift constituted an epistemic and regulatory abandonment of SRO housing, leading to the accelerated deterioration of the entire housing stock and costing incalculable human suffering and the loss of lives.

Keywords

public health knowledge, policy failure, *cordon thérapeutique*, Vancouver, Canada

Introduction

On June 12, 2017, the City of Vancouver shut down the Balmoral Hotel, a run-down century-old Single Room Occupancy (SRO) building located in the heart of the predominantly low-income Downtown Eastside (DTES). The shutdown came as little surprise to most locals who have borne witness to its steady decay from decades of neglect. The Balmoral is owned by members of the Sahota family, the most notorious slumlords in the city, and the subject of a litany of media headlines going back decades.¹ Eviction orders had come only ten days earlier, prompting a frenetic effort to re-house 173 low-income tenants in a context where both homelessness was at an all-time high and mortality from opioid overdoses was skyrocketing. Only one year later, on June 28, 2018, history repeated with the shutdown at the Sahota-owned Regent Hotel on the other side of Hastings Street facing the Balmoral, evicting a further 143 tenants.

Generations of tenants have suffered the precipitous decline in the state of repair of SRO buildings like the Balmoral and Regent, despite consistent efforts by community activists over

¹Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada

Corresponding Author:

Jeffrey Masuda, Queen's University, 28 Division Street, Kingston, Ontario, Canada K7L 3N6.

Email: jeff.masuda@queensu.ca

the last half-century. While the Sahotas were subjected to much public vilification during both closures,² their chronic negligence had been made possible only through consistent wavering in governmental SRO oversight, including a record of half-measures in both enforcement and reinvestment directed at stemming the erosion of their habitability going back decades. The city's recent complicity ostensibly lay in part to the lack of enforcement of its regime of bylaws designed to uphold basic standards of health, safety, maintenance, and repair. In the months prior to the evictions, local housing organizer Wendy Pedersen had hoped one bylaw in particular would prevent the shutdowns altogether as they were designed to do, demanding that "the city should use a clause in its bylaws to undertake the necessary repairs, then bill the owners."³ Pedersen was citing Section 23.8-11 of the city's Standards of Maintenance Bylaw, which empowers the city to avoid condemning buildings by undertaking repairs in buildings that are in violation and billing the owners, with timely repayment assured through the threat of a tax sale.⁴ But it has been a point of endless consternation to local organizers that this bylaw provision has never been utilized since it was put into force on SROs in 1981.

There are nearly 4,500 tenants who live in the just over 100 privately owned SROs that remain today.⁵ Many of these SROs, like the Balmoral and Regent, have been on the precipice of closure for years and have been poorly managed, hazardous, and beset with violence and criminality. Yet, the problem of SRO housing habitability in the city has hardly registered in public health policy in recent memory, reflecting an absence of oversight that belies well-established accounts of its historic role in the sanitary regulation of housing that began over a century ago. Indeed, the Balmoral/Regent fiasco reflects a much longer "slow-motion" public health crisis in the DTES since the 1980s.

This paper examines the relationship between housing bylaw non-enforcement, the decline of SRO habitability, and the public health crisis in Vancouver through the prism of policy failure theory.⁶ Policy failure is read not simply as the ineffectiveness of a single bylaw, nor even to account for the widespread inability of twentieth-century public health measures to address the complex and contradictory challenges of the city.⁷ Rather the idea of failure implied here is that of a productive injustice—that is, the creation of the modern SRO slum—found in the epistemic *abandonment* of policies and practices prioritizing sanitary health first developed a century ago that suddenly disappeared after the 1970s. The bylaw can be read as a fulcrum in the production and interpretation of knowledge concerning the shifting role of public health in the regulation and racialization of urban places and human lives. Building on critical historical scholarship, such knowledge when put to work in places like the DTES is a form of colonial rule in which governmental technologies of sanitary surveillance and enforcement that dictated the creation of a *cordon sanitaire* in Vancouver were set aside under the increasing influence of neoliberal technologies of behavioral surveillance and control. Public health's epistemic transformation of the DTES created a *cordon thérapeutique*, a novel concept that describes the abandonment of not only a bylaw but of a place through the medicalization of inner-city lives. The timing of such an abandonment, enacted through the selective relegation of policy, coincides in both time and political context with similar neoliberal governance shifts in the DTES that have undermined tenants' rights and well-being for the past half-century.⁸

The Vancouver Health Department (VHD) played a shifting role in SRO housing leading up to its abandonment of habitability enforcement altogether at the turn of the 1980s. While previous critical scholarship has examined the earlier pre- and postwar period of the VHD's establishment of the *cordon sanitaire*,⁹ more recent developments remain unexamined. Closer scrutiny of events of the 1970s will show how the shift to a *cordon thérapeutique* was (and is) an equally colonial apparatus, contributing to the establishment of what Nick Blomley describes as an outlaw zone.¹⁰ Recent critical interdisciplinary urban scholarship sees public health's role in the city as a continuation of, rather than a disjuncture from, colonial urbanization over the twentieth century. Failure therefore occurred at a key historical moment that precipitated today's SRO

challenges; the nascent neoliberal public health knowledge mobilized to govern the DTES “at a distance”¹¹ and ultimately leading to the VHD’s abandonment of SROs and the increasingly adverse health circumstances of tenants after 1981.

Bylaw Enforcement and the *Cordon Sanitaire*, 1914-1969

The analysis of contemporary policy failure in SRO housing begins with studies on the co-constitutive history of municipal public health bureaucratization in Vancouver and processes of racialized containment in the DTES, then known as skid road,¹² during the city’s early-to-mid-twentieth-century period of colonial urbanization. Critical scholarship has moved beyond institutional histories, to trace how public health discourses and practices have been shaped by and have given shape to urban form and function.¹³ Such historiographies see public health knowledge as an essential part of the colonial apparatus, providing a technology of spatial power premised upon principles of population surveillance, public hygiene, and a politics of social amelioration.¹⁴ For Alison Bashford, “Public health programmes and visions were a key way in which colonised people and territory were administered and came to be rendered intelligible to colonisers.”¹⁵ In the frontier city of Vancouver as elsewhere, such practices were critical in the colonial vision for an exclusively white settler society, yet built upon unceded Indigenous lands and heavily dependent on a workforce of predominantly Chinese and Japanese immigrants.

From the late nineteenth century, governing poor non-European immigrants and Indigenous peoples was synonymous with the sanitary agenda of early public health leaders, to be realized through the application of municipal bylaws directed at living conditions in racialized ghettos in Vancouver. Bylaw inspection was implicated in the city’s earliest efforts to limit Asian immigration; Jill Wade documents the city’s sanitary inspector participating in the 1902 Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration to demonstrate the putative incompatibility of Chinese living standards with the provisions of housing bylaws.¹⁶ The establishment of bylaws was instrumental to the exercise of colonial municipal authority; Dorothy Porter reflects on how the realization of the colonial city made the establishment of a public health bureaucracy possible through the epistemic authorization of medical knowledge that was both selective and exclusionary on the basis of class, race, and gender.¹⁷ By the interwar period, the maturing discipline of public health sciences influenced public health practices on the ground contributing to a white, masculinist urban vision by “naturally” cordoning off Chinatown and adjacent Japanese Canadian *Pauert Gai* through racist and pathologizing imaginaries of social inferiority, disease susceptibility, and xenophobia.¹⁸

As the city’s resource economy expanded, the built environment accommodated a rapidly growing and increasingly diverse transient labor force. Primarily, but not exclusively in the skid road area, single room accommodation was the norm, from basements and spare rooms in single-family houses, to cabins, to dedicated lodging houses and multistory hotels.¹⁹ Regulation of lodging houses allowed the early city to segregate a cheap labor force primarily of immigrants from Japan and China from European settlers. As Patricia Roy notes, “white British Columbians generally believed that Asians were protected by ‘our laws,’ but that they did, and *should*, live in ‘a world of their own’” [emphasis in original].²⁰ According to Kay Anderson, the VHD played a major role in the creation and legitimation of racialized containment, writing and applying bylaws as a method of gradually delineating skid road into a colonial *cordon sanitaire* to assuage the fear that white Vancouverites held about the “degraded humanity from the Orient,”²¹ including their “loathsome diseases.”²²

According to Margaret Andrews’ authoritative account, from the city’s founding in 1886, the ongoing challenges associated with the largely unplanned housing sector created a governable terrain that led to the establishment of the VHD, in part through the establishment of bylaws.²³ Appointed in 1904, the city’s first full-time Medical Health Officer (MHO), Dr. Frederick T.

Underhill aimed to solve the problem of housing habitability enforcement in the city's expansive and arguably chaotic stock of lodging houses.²⁴ Beginning in 1913, he undertook a model bylaw process that drew from notable British and North American cities, exemplifying a colonial impetus and technology. For Underhill, "What other countries have done, Canada can do, nay must do, if she is to retain her place in the foremost ranks of the peoples of the World . . ."²⁵ While delayed by the war, Underhill was ultimately successful in creating the city's first Lodging House Bylaw, passed by City Council in 1921. The bylaw provided a more secure status for the nascent Health Department relative to the more established Works Department.²⁶ Underhill had insisted that the Lodging House Bylaw must be distinct from the Building Bylaw on the basis of the human-centered expertise that engineering lacked, pointing out that "A building may be of first-class construction but not fit for a dwelling."²⁷

To Underhill and his contemporaries, public health expertise began where bricks and mortar ended—where building bylaws were for *construction*, health bylaws were for *conditions*. Therein lay the latter's role in racialized containment as they expressed as much as they enforced what constitutes an acceptable modality of habitation. The Lodging House Bylaw set a disciplinary frame of reference for constituting a "healthy" urban infrastructure premised upon minimum standards of habitability in accordance with British North American ideals. In mandating an orderly approach to housing design and maintenance dictated by sanitary considerations, the bylaw designated existing housing as inherently problematic and often on the basis of the assumed lifestyles of its residents. Advocating for a strong presence on the ground, Underhill insisted upon uniforms for health inspectors when on duty.²⁸ In its rearguard application to the racialized enclaves of Chinatown and *Pauert Gai*, sanitary principles provided a means to designate places that were "unhealthy" through perceived disorder, the threat of disease outbreak, and general non-conformity to the domestic norms of the white population.²⁹

The shift west in Vancouver's downtown development over the first three decades of the twentieth century made matters worse as a gradual increase in the proportion of rooming house ownership and tenancy in the core area accommodated the concentrated growth of Japanese and Chinese Canadians. Also key to the changing environment, the management and maintenance of housing fell increasingly to these communities: by the end of the century's third decade, nearly 50 percent of business licenses for lodging houses in the core area were held by Japanese Canadians, supporting large parts of the housing inhabited by Japanese Canadian workers and families, as well as laborers from diverse ethnic groups.³⁰ This demographic and economic shift influenced the nature of interactions between public health inspectors and an increasingly racialized community of owners, managers, and tenants. The Lodging House Bylaw formalized the authority of the MHO and central role of health inspectors in intensive and effective, if intrusive, scheme of housing enforcement.³¹ Through the bylaw, health inspectors were mandated to provide routine surveillance over the tenants who occupied such forms of housing, leaving them more vulnerable to strict enforcement measures whose violation could end in eviction.

The expulsion of Japanese Canadians from the city in 1942 dramatically changed the social and built environment on skid road. But in many buildings, the good general upkeep of Japanese Canadian housing belied popular characterizations, ensuring that their legacy would live on in the built environment they left behind. This legacy was assured as early as July 1942, when city building inspector Andrew Haggart thwarted the efforts of Alderman George Buscombe, the notably anti-Asian chair of the city's Special Committee on Japanese Property, to demolish the "Japanese District." Haggart insisted that unoccupied buildings were "not structurally dangerous" and "no worse than some other sections of the City."³² His intervention effectively blunted Buscombe's efforts to guarantee the irreversibility of the uprooting, declaring that "the Department will not condemn buildings which are not structurally unsafe for private gain."³³

For Buscombe and others, the removal of the locally integrated Japanese Canadian community was motivated by a desire to reclaim at least one part of the *cordon sanitaire* for “white habitation”³⁴; however, the uprooting had an unanticipated effect, ultimately creating the conditions for negligent management and requiring a significant intensification of bylaw enforcement against tenants and managers who replaced the Japanese Canadians. Although the consequences of ownership transfer remain poorly understood, the repositioning of a large part of the area’s lodging houses into new hands likely had the effect of reducing the level of residential attachment and internal cultural affiliation among those responsible for the maintenance and repair of much of the skid road housing stock after 1950.³⁵ These changes contributed to decisions to further marginalize the area, including the closure of the streetcar line in 1955, and the end of service from the north shore ferry and Union Steamship boats in the late 1950s.³⁶ Another significant contributor was the “aging in place” of—largely white—war veterans, pensioners, and other social groups left behind in the changing postwar economy but who found a refuge of affordability in the degraded housing environment. The demographic changes created a neighborhood that was no longer a haven for working-class resource workers. A later commentator described it as the “ashcan” of society.³⁷

For the sanitary inspectors on the ground, this period represented a marked shift from a relatively straightforward, if ethically fraught, policy of regulating a largely integrated community and housing economy to one that mediated between external rent-seekers and an increasingly socially marginalized and exploited population. Bylaw enforcement remained a high priority in the postwar period, even as the VHD expanded into a fully fledged multidisciplinary bureaucracy following the rationalist and socially reformist ideologies of provincial leadership after 1933.³⁸ Interestingly, while the new scientific aspects of public health medicine—audiometry, X-ray, and so on—became regionalized under a wider metropolitan authority, the more traditional practices of inspection and nursing remained locally funded and delivered.³⁹ Now operating under a local health unit structure, detailed inspector records from Health Unit 1 beginning in 1943 reveal a consistent and intensifying surveillance campaign within the skid road area.⁴⁰ Inspections in Chinatown describe interactions between landlords and tenants that show little room for negotiation. Enforcement resulted in fines and evictions under the health bylaws, and over time the shuttering and demolition of a substantial part of the housing stock in the DTES under the building bylaw.⁴¹

The rapid growth of the city after the 1950s, combined with an aging housing stock, kept sanitary inspectors busy, even while it seemed the problems were only worsening. Sanitary inspection priority lists from the late 1960s and early 1970s placed “Lodging House (licensed or not)—other than good quality” at the top of the list.⁴² Requiring a minimum of one inspection annually, lodging houses constituted nearly one-third of total premises subject to routine inspection across the city. With a cadre of about twenty staff, nearly 21,000 inspection actions were completed in 1967 alone, 4,389 were in “rooming houses.”⁴³ By 1971, staff reductions resulted in an unsustainable population ratio of one inspector per 18,200 citywide, leading the VHD to undertake a work evaluation in 1972 as an effort to improve overall efficiencies and accommodate the increase in duties and focus on areas of highest need.⁴⁴ But the lack of progress meant that something clearly needed to change.

Adding Carrots to Sticks, 1970-1978

City documents confirm that by 1970, the economy of skid road had fully shifted toward meeting the needs of society’s “down and outs,”⁴⁵ largely referring to single, unemployed white men who preferred the affordable accommodation and abundance of beer parlors in the area. While such accounts tended to elide racial dynamics surrounding the area’s growing impoverishment, the worsening situation of the lodging houses—SROs in current parlance—was nonetheless an

objective reality for both residents and those who surveilled them. This period of deterioration and isolation facilitated the arrival of the rapidly urbanizing population of Indigenous peoples, numbering nearly 20,000 in the city by 1976, 50 percent of whom were unemployed.⁴⁶ But in failing to anticipate the housing impacts of this coercive urbanization of Indigenous peoples, long-standing problems of rural colonial exclusion were being translated into problems of urban colonial invisibilization. Rather, for the VHD, the problem of skid road became framed within a professional discourse that would imbricate its people neither in their susceptibility to sanitary risks nor their experiences of colonial trauma or racial and class-based segregation, but rather on the basis of substance use and corresponding behaviors. The arrival of a singular “chronic alcoholic” set the stage for a sea change in skid road housing action in the next decade. By 1967, a total of 3,239 single unemployed men on the welfare payroll were living in Vancouver, with the city’s MHO reporting a more than threefold increase in drinking-related offenses on skid road since 1950.⁴⁷ By 1967, City Council had established a “Joint Committee re: ‘Skid Road,’” which met regularly to coordinate municipal departments’ (including VHD’s) respective efforts in the neighborhood.⁴⁸ That same year, Council appointed a new MHO, Dr. Gerry Bonham, who would champion VHD’s housing file for the next decade.⁴⁹

The summer of 1969 marked the beginning of a series of concerted efforts by the VHD to shift toward the medicalized perspective, even while inspection played an important rearguard role. A University of British Columbia (BC) medical student hired as a summer student in what was now the VHD’s North Unit conducted a study of skid road with an emphasis on the plight of the chronic alcoholic. C. A. Gill spent two months interviewing local residents, health workers, and housing operators, eventually generating a report that was consistent with a new public health mentality inclined to clinical intervention rather than inspectorial enforcement. Recognizing the “appalling” quality of housing, Gill endorsed an approach that would see housing used as a form of place-based therapeutic containment:

Since most indigents on Skid Road who require a place to stay have no serious intention of changing their pattern of living, compulsory rehabilitation-oriented services are futile. An alternative to present facilities would be to have a . . . building which would accommodate a large number of men, whose rent is looked after by the City Social Service Department.⁵⁰

The medicalization of the DTES after 1970, corresponding to a sea change in public health discourse and practice, could be construed as the beginning of the end of public health’s historic mandate in the enforcement of a *cordon sanitaire* and its replacement with one inclined toward a *cordon thérapeutique* premised on governmental technologies of behavioral surveillance and control. Within a decade, this shift put an end to the health inspectors’ primary role in housing bylaw enforcement in Vancouver.

Gill’s report prompted the next invocation of VHD authority on the concentrated problem of skid road that initially retained the know-how of the health inspectors, but gradually led to their marginalization. Housed in the Department of Social Planning/Community Development, a new Local Area Coordinator’s top priority was to “survey the present available accommodation, the skid road population, behaviour problems and transiency”⁵¹ that relied heavily on VHD inspectors and MHO Bonham’s sometimes conflictive leadership.

The sequence of events in taking up the housing problem after 1970 was swift and turbulent. The new approach acknowledged a need to match bylaw enforcement with housing reinvestment—a carrot to match sticks. A May 1970 report of the Vancouver Board of Administration placed the “purchase and conversion of existing housing” last on a list of priorities to secure federal housing support.⁵² This was the first instance of the city’s decade-long pursuit of the carrot and stick approach to SRO rehabilitation in the DTES that, at least at first, relied on the eyes and ears of VHD inspectors working on the ground.⁵³

A July 1970 meeting of representatives of the health, police, and social planning/community development departments charged inspectors in the VHD North Unit with implementing a two-part survey of demographic and built environment characteristics of the area.⁵⁴ The resulting report, *Downtown Eastside*, published in May 1971, characterized the demographic profile of the DTES and the number, types, size, and condition of dwelling units, painting a grim picture of the state of housing: 33 percent of nearly 7,000 residential buildings included in the survey had received health bylaw violations and 24 percent of interviewees had “serious complaints” about their housing conditions.⁵⁵ A new phenomenon was the finding that rising rents were being driven by an increasing rate of building closures, leading to a high level of internal displacement among long-term residents.⁵⁶ Clearly, a new approach was needed.

Alarmed by the findings, City Council requested two follow-up reports, first on “the problems of persons forced to relocate because of the demolition of their dwelling units” and second on the “means of improving housing conditions in the Downtown Eastside.”⁵⁷ Both requests led to the publication of an amalgamated *Skid Road Report*, delivered on November 18, 1971. Portending the future decentering of the VHD’s traditional role in housing enforcement, a reporter described it as a “unique session,” where “nine civic department directors sat around the conference table with the aldermen for an exchange of ideas.”⁵⁸ Reflecting the same finding as the Board of Administration from a year earlier, the report concluded that a strategy of strengthened bylaw enforcement must be tied to measures to protect and rehabilitate the housing infrastructure.

The report called for an increase in fines for violations of the Lodging House bylaw and the creation of a competency-based landlord licensing system that would be issued by the MHO. Not mentioned in the report but apparently discussed at committee was a new housing standards bylaw, prompted by changes to Provincial legislation, which had been designed for citywide application. A reporter covering the meeting noted that the bylaw was proposed to work alongside a “method to have grants or loans provided to building owners to upgrade facilities,”⁵⁹ although there was little appetite for such a program among Aldermen at the time.⁶⁰

In the absence of an identifiable funding mechanism to incentivize structural rehabilitation, the total effect of municipal efforts in the early 1970s was to increase pressure on health inspectors to address worsening housing disrepair within their existing capacity. This go-alone approach in the context of a newfound aversion to condemning buildings and a rapidly changing political context proved counterproductive. A February 10, 1972, article in *The Province* reported on a VHD “crackdown,” citing twelve charges against operators and fifteen shuttered “flopouses” under the Lodging House Bylaw, with an unprecedented fine of CAN \$300 given to one landlord.⁶¹ Internal VHD documents reported a total of 400 units lost.⁶² It had become clear that an enforcement policy on its own was not going to work, and thereafter the role of the VHD became increasingly tenuous.

The replacement of the long-governing and conservative-leaning Non-Partisan Association (NPA) party by the more centrist The Electors’ Action Movement (TEAM) party in the civic election of December 1972 hastened the changes to come. Within weeks of the election, TEAM Councilor Michael Harcourt, who had earlier become chair of the Interdepartmental Committee on Skid Road Housing, began courting the federal Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). He was anticipating the passing of the federal National Housing Act by the Trudeau government, “with all the goodies it has promised for rehabilitation.”⁶³

Harry Rankin, another newly elected Councilor from the leftist Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) party, was working with the director of the Welfare and Rehabilitation Department, W. Boyd, on a stepwise plan to identify and provide subsidies to SROs with reputations for better conditions and management.⁶⁴ Rankin recognized that considerable costs to purchase and renovate properties would require a horizon of ten to twenty years to be realized, and therefore interim actions were needed. It was also widely recognized that many residents in the area were not amenable to any plan that would have them move into public housing, as they

preferred to remain in the places that they lived—a recurring theme noted in earlier reports.⁶⁵ Throughout this formative stage, North Unit health inspectors including one David Morgan remained at the table due to their expertise on SRO conditions and management relations, albeit now in a more subordinate role.

During the same period, the DTES community was finding its organizing feet by directing attention to public health oversight. Modest initial efforts began with a city-sponsored and federally funded program called the People's Aide Association, housed at First United Church in the heart of the DTES. Created in 1972 by former First United community worker Peter Davies, by then working for the city's Social Planning/Community Development Department, People's Aide hired longtime area resident and steelworker Bruce Eriksen, who quickly radicalized the program's approach before going on to become the "big man" of community organizing in the neighborhood and later a COPE City Councilor.⁶⁶ In response to the acceleration of city actions on skid road, Eriksen held the VHD's feet to the fire to ensure that "lofty sentiment" would be translated into meaningful change for residents, lest, as he and fellow People's Aide worker Calvin Sandborn put in a February 19, 1973, open letter to the Mayor, they be forced to "burn the City Health By-Laws to warm themselves in freezing rooming houses."⁶⁷

Sandborn and Eriksen were adamant that adding more health inspectors would be futile unless they be empowered to enforce continuing \$50 fines against slumlords, a bylaw measure that he claimed had "been lying unused on the lawbooks for 15 years."⁶⁸ In a critique of the VHD's crackdown, they also appealed for a policy to "clean up, not to shut down" the 150 SROs that remained open.⁶⁹ Initially, they sought a commitment to strengthen and enforce the city's bylaws, filing complaint reports to the City Prosecutor on eight SROs they deemed in violation of sections of the Lodging House Bylaw.⁷⁰ The chief Constable forwarded their concern to MHO Bonham, with the likely effect of further adding to the pressure on the inspectors.⁷¹

It appears that the community's efforts had an effect. Council ordered Bonham on April 10, 1973, to redraft the Lodging House Bylaw with strengthened provisions.⁷² Reflecting the more collaborative civic environment, the MHO sought input from several DTES organizations, including the fledgling Community Legal Assistance Society.⁷³ Most notable in the proposed new bylaw was the requirement for landlords to obtain competency-based operating permits to be issued by the MHO.⁷⁴ It may be the success of the early campaign that played a role in Eriksen's further politicization. By August 1973, Eriksen had convinced Davies to call a public meeting at First United, wherein the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA) was formed.⁷⁵ The moniker of skid road was hereinafter anathema; the neighborhood was now to be referred to only as the DTES.⁷⁶ For the next several years, DERA became the most prominent community voice on the SRO housing file. In pushing for investment carrots to go with bylaw sticks, the relationship between DERA and the VHD became one of agonistic cooperation.

Prior to passing the bylaw amendment, the Council directed MHO Bonham on October 23, 1973, to "report on any additional staff required or ramifications necessary to enforce the (revised) Lodging House Bylaw."⁷⁷ In his report, Bonham requested staffing increases to support the operating permit program, as well as for joint inspections with the Fire Department. Council passed the revised bylaw on November 6, 1973, setting in motion a "program of inspection with emphasis on maintaining public health," which was subsequently referred to as the "Lodging House program."⁷⁸

Exemplifying the old approach, Bonham pushed for intensified surveillance and enforcement of buildings throughout the mid-1970s, consistently advocating for a larger health inspection workforce and stronger bylaws. But within three months of the onset of the Lodging House program, the approach was yielding disconcerting results. A March 29, 1974, progress report to the Board of Administration outlined the intensity of the unit's inspections within the first few months since the bylaw was passed: 120 initial letters of violations, 1,500 inspection reports, 61

short-term orders to correct structural problems, 4 cases forwarded to prosecution, and, as at the time of the report, a further 303 units lost in the year since the previous crackdown.⁷⁹

These impacts were concerning to DERA, who increasingly saw the futility of the VHD's enforcement approach. As reported in the November 1975 issue of their newspaper, *The Downtown East*, they castigated the city for its reluctance to impose stronger fines and to carry enforcement through to prosecution.⁸⁰ Morgan, who was seen to be something of a mediator between DERA and the city,⁸¹ did not disagree. Quoted in the same issue, he said it is "more profitable for an operator to not maintain his premises and pay a small fine every year."⁸² Likewise, in another piece in the same article, Alderman Rankin wrote that "To spend \$50 or \$100 for a fine rather than to spend \$500 or \$1000 to clean up or repair premises is good business."⁸³ At the very least, this sometimes-tenuous alignment of community, bureaucratic, and political voices appeared to portend changes to come in establishing the case for a stick and carrot approach as well as the declining role of the VHD within it.

Bonham's response to DERA's pressure with a new level of urgency to the situation of SRO safety and habitability was only matched by his own sense of futility of a go-it-alone approach, including what he saw as halfhearted support from Council. A December 10, 1975, update to Council's Standing Committee on Housing and Environment summarized his frustration over the lack of progress from the previous three years of enforcement efforts. In the report, Bonham laments that with additional inspector hires granted the previous year, amid ongoing staffing challenges, "an increased lodging house program was [only] temporarily feasible" (emphasis added).⁸⁴ The MHO's report went on to state that the VHD

is not anxious to build any empire directed to the Lodging House program. The staff who have done a difficult job so well do not feel that they are fully utilizing the full range of their 2½ year training and find this work frequently exasperating.⁸⁵

But as will be seen, the push to move the VHD out of its historical role in enforcement was to be accompanied by a pull toward a new mentality of intervention that led to the sidelining of health inspection altogether.

Withdrawing from SRO Health Inspection, 1978-1989

The carrot and stick idea gained traction within the context of increasing community pressure, media attention, and more formal interdepartmental and intergovernmental collaboration. But the role of the VHD faded from prominence at the moment that a stronger stick, and perhaps more importantly public health leadership in housing, was needed most. What ensued after 1978 was a concerted effort to link Lodging House bylaw enforcement to efforts by DERA and civic officials to bring federal dollars to the table through the federal Rental-Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (Rental-RRAP). Established in 1973, RRAP was part of a national strategy to preserve Canada's aging housing infrastructure, but a technicality in the program had left out privately owned SROs.⁸⁶ It took several years and numerous advocacy efforts on the part of politicians and DERA alike for this oversight to be rectified.⁸⁷

At first, Bonham and the VHD found a basis for cooperation with DERA, who had earlier embarked on their own campaign to bring stronger bylaw enforcement to the lodging houses. On June 9, 1977, DERA advocated to Alderman Rankin, their natural ally on Council, that more health inspectors be hired and authorized to use the city's new Standards of Maintenance Bylaw to impel landlords to "rectify illegal conditions" (i.e., today's Section 23, then Section 6 of the pre-amalgamated bylaw), citing once again the protracted and ineffective prosecutorial strategy that was required by the Lodging House bylaw.⁸⁸ But Standards of Maintenance enforcement fell to property use inspectors in the Department of Permits and Licenses. Critically, its modus

operandi was complaint based rather than the intensive routine approach of health inspectors. These differences quickly proved fatal for the VHD's role in SRO enforcement.

Concerned that the VHD was grossly understaffed and underpowered, DERA began something of an insurgent inspections process, surveying forty rooming houses to point out the urgency of the problem of deteriorating conditions in hopes of impelling action.⁸⁹ Also that summer, DERA collected 550 signatures for a petition to demand more health inspectors for the DTES.⁹⁰ Prompted by DERA's actions, a June 23, 1977, report to Council from the Standing Committee on Community Services references Bonham's report from two years earlier in an effort to convince Council to hire additional inspectors.⁹¹ Once again, Morgan is quoted, this time in the *Downtown East*, "You've got to be on their (the landlords') backs."⁹² One month later, Council voted in favor of the proposal to "return to the lodging house inspector standards of 1974–75."⁹³

Unfortunately, the climate of tenuous cooperation between the VHD and DERA did not last long. In early March 1978, DERA submitted a report demanding action against landlords, based on complaints they compiled in twenty-five premises. Viewing their campaign as a "stab in the back," Bonham had inspectors revisit all twenty-five premises, finding their concerns to be "not valid" and "overstated."⁹⁴ He also positioned the VHD in opposition to Council, which he accused along with DERA of hampering the efforts of inspections staff and of "dithering" on the SRO housing file altogether.⁹⁵ Despite a sense of resignation, Bonham kept up his campaign, reporting in May 24, 1978, on the closure of two SROs totaling seventy-eight rooms due to repeated offenses under the Lodging House Bylaw.⁹⁶

By the late fall, Council appeared to be ready to take bold bipartisan action on a new approach to a new housing program that had been developed by the Standing Committees on Community Services and Planning and Development. Critical to the public legitimacy of the program was the extent to which bureaucrats consulted with several delegations, including both DERA (representing tenants' interests) and the BC Hotel's Association (representing landlords' interests), both of whom endorsed the plan.⁹⁷ On November 7, 1978, Council approved the Committee's recommendations, formally establishing the Downtown Housing Implementation Committee (DHIC), comprised of representatives from Health, Fire, Permits and Licenses, Planning, and Social Planning departments.⁹⁸ Its initial mandate was to "develop and expedite a comprehensive and coordinated plan," subsequently referred to as the Downtown Housing Program (DHP), focused specifically on matching enforcement to reinvestment.⁹⁹ Charged with improving enforcement of bylaws, the DHIC was also instructed to bring both provincial and federal governments to the table with commitments to improved social assistance levels (under provincial jurisdiction) and to work directly with hotel and rooming house owners and operators to "develop a modified (federal) Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program."¹⁰⁰

But on the eve of the birth of the DHP, the VHD's leadership suddenly faded from view. While internal VHD records indicate both Bonham and Morgan were present during the November Council meeting, it appears from the minutes that they did not contribute to the deliberations.¹⁰¹ Two months later and likely reflecting his exasperation from earlier in the year, Bonham was no longer working for the City. After eleven years as MHO, during which time the DTES housing file had been a signature focus, he had taken a new position with the provincial government, leaving Morgan alone to represent the VHD on the DHIC.¹⁰²

The sudden void in MHO leadership on the DHIC may have played a role in the ensuing withdrawal of frontline health inspectors from their historical role in routine housing bylaw enforcement. DHIC's first quarterly report, delivered to the Standing Committee to Council in a split session on March 22 and April 3, 1979, provides a detailed synopsis of these events. The DHIC Chair Doug Purdy, deputy director of Social Planning/Community Development, was attempting to establish an argument for a "undisciplinary" approach to inspections, citing the previous shortcomings in Lodging House Bylaw enforcement efforts noted above.¹⁰³ In response to

concerns raised at Council at the March 22 meeting, Purdy elaborated in a letter to the Committee his case for a new enforcement approach under what he called the “Housing Standards for Older, Multiple Residential Buildings By-law.”¹⁰⁴

His core argument drove a stake into the heart of the VHD’s long legacy of enforcing the *cordon sanitaire*:

The existing Lodging House by-law which has been the primary tool applied by the City to ensure a sanitary standard in residential hotels and rooming houses contains a major deficiency—it does not contain the power to invoke the application of other appropriate by-laws for upgrading purposes.¹⁰⁵

He was referring to the provision for mandatory repairs billed to landlords referred to in the introduction of this paper, and the ultimate realization of his proposal was a revised Standards of Maintenance bylaw. But rather than have VHD health inspectors take a lead role in a strengthened and ostensibly more coordinated unidisciplinary approach, he concluded,

it is felt that a consolidated enforcement approach will be improved by transferring some Public Health Inspectors to the Department of Permits and Licenses. The involvement of so many different By-laws is simplified by the adoption of this By-law and the Inspection Task centralized in one Department.¹⁰⁶

The details of his plan revealed that this transfer was to be a temporary secondment, long enough, it was argued, for health inspectors to pass along their knowledge and skills to the property use inspectors on the health dimensions of lodging house surveillance and enforcement.¹⁰⁷

The rationale for why Permits and Licenses, whose experience in Standards of Maintenance enforcement was at the time less than five years, none of which related to SROs or to issues of livability, should replace a more than half-century of VHD inspections can only be speculated upon. But its effect on the leadership and arguably morale among the VHD’s health inspectors is clearer in the historical record. The minutes to the April 3 session of the Council meeting suggest a rearguard effort by Morgan and Bonham’s replacement, acting MHO Tim Kinloch:

The Acting MHO suggested that integration of by-law enforcement staff will not result necessarily in better enforcement; that rewriting of current by-laws must occur first. He also suggested that if Health inspector positions are transferred away from his department, the department may not have sufficient manpower to carry out its routine health inspections with the same frequency as now . . . The Director of Environmental Health [Morgan] added that the problem of poor housing is not just a matter of poor building conditions, that problems of “hard to house” tenants and bad management also must be examined.¹⁰⁸

It is revealing how Kinloch and Morgan’s appeal attempted to link both old and new public health mentalities of sanitary enforcement and behavioral management. But interdepartmental animosity may have lent support to Purdy’s effort toward consolidation. The Deputy City Manager concluded,

on the matter of Health inspectors being seconded to the Permits and Licenses Department, a lot of time was spent on this question; that the original proposal to do this was put forward by former MHO, Dr. Bonham, some two years ago.¹⁰⁹

This statement misconstrued Bonham’s earlier position, as he had been pleading for more, not fewer, inspectors.¹¹⁰ Ultimately, the Committee recommended the transfer, which Council approved, with provisions for a progress report within a year.¹¹¹

The funding strategy of the DHP came as an advocacy-based campaign for provincial subsidies and modifications to the CMHC Rental-RRAP. Changes to bylaw enforcement became the major focus of efforts by staff, who opted for consolidation. Given the staffing secondments to Permits and Licenses, the simplest approach was to cut and paste the health provisions of the historic Lodging House bylaw into the new Standards of Maintenance bylaw and to repeal the former in 1981. The consolidated bylaw would be utilized on a proactive basis only in the DTES area as the stick in a Comprehensive Inspection program tied to the DHP. This DHP therefore represented a fundamentally new regime of bylaw enforcement, departing from a concern for the maintenance of sanitary *hygiene* to one of triaging and valuing *property*.

The transition of duties and concomitant evacuation of health inspectors from housing inspection did not go uncontested. An April 1980 letter from Tim Roark, BC Chair of the Canadian Public Health Inspectors Association, proved to be prescient:

A move for public health inspectors from the Health Department to the Permits and License Department would severely impede the effectiveness of the “public health team.” Not only does the public health inspector enforce the provisions of the Lodging House Bylaw, but as a member of the Public Health team he [*sic*] has always been concerned with the health of the people residing within these premises.¹¹²

The Association recognized that the inspector was not simply a technical aid but in their role in bylaw enforcement also carried the powerful and historically wielded authority of the MHO and the collaborative approach to health protection. Kinloch refused to sign a DHIC progress report out of a concern that property use inspectors were not receiving adequate health-related training.¹¹³ Regardless of these concerns, by the time of their third report to Council on June 23, 1980, the DHIC had commenced with aligning the bylaws to their new staffing arrangements. In the meantime, the inspectors continued to be exasperated by their new roles within Permits and Licenses, reporting,

Over the past two years, the regular Lodging House Enforcement Program has been able to maintain but not significantly improve the standards of livability of accommodation in the core area. This reinforces the need for a combined program of City Bylaw Enforcement and RRAP financial aid to landlords.¹¹⁴

Possibly reflecting VHD’s obstructionist views on the effort to consolidate inspections, Morgan’s role in the DHP was reduced to working on a lodging house operators’ certification program intended to mitigate landlords’ negligence toward their bylaw responsibilities. Rubbing salt in the wound, he was instructed to inform the 911 operator that public health inspectors’ after-hours emergency telephone numbers were to be replaced by those of property inspectors working in Permits and Licenses.¹¹⁵ Finally, on December 16, the new Standards of Maintenance bylaw went to Council, just in time for that month’s civic election.

The election of December 1980 not only represented the sunseting of the TEAM era but, particularly significant, brought DERA President Bruce Eriksen onto Council. By 1981, the Downtown Housing Plan, rebranded as the Downtown Eastside Housing Upgrading Program (DHUP), was the realization of the long-sought stick and carrot approach designed to secure the sustainability of the DTES SRO housing stock.¹¹⁶ The stick was now the Comprehensive Inspection Program, enforced by the strengthened Standards of Maintenance Bylaw, used as a means to identify priority buildings and incentivize landlords into the program through the issuing of repair orders exercised through Section 23. Over the next two years, the program encompassed a total of sixty-five lodging houses, totaling 1,974 units, undertaken by property use inspectors.¹¹⁷ VHD health inspectors, on the contrary, had been reduced to occasional consultants.

Rental-RRAP was the long-anticipated carrot, which by then had been improved and made applicable for the entire DTES area. The essential role of Rental-RRAP was its ability to tie federally subsidized renovations through forgivable loans and grants to fifteen-year vacancy controls designed to preserve the affordability of the housing stock. Over the next several years, the funding available through the Rental-RRAP program grew to the point that by the end of 1989, thirty SRO buildings in the DTES (roughly 20% of the building stock at the time) had undertaken major structural repairs, securing improved conditions and affordable rents in over 1,500 units. Critically, city reports concluded that the Rental-RRAP program had a significant impact on improving housing habitability for low-income people in the city.¹¹⁸ What is more, the key outcome of the program was expressed in terms of not only the structural dimensions of buildings undergoing improvement but, in the context of the DTES specifically, the greatly improved “livability and safety” of participating SROs. Yet, such assessments were made without dedicated public health presence on the ground.¹¹⁹

While the DHUP program’s success was objectively laudable, its failure lay in its short life span. On April 27, 1989, Rental-RRAP was suddenly canceled in the Conservative government’s federal budget.¹²⁰ Both municipal and provincial politicians undertook a flurry of multipartisan efforts over several months to reverse the cancellation.¹²¹ Contra justifications offered by Allan Redway, the federal Minister of State for Housing, claiming that the program had failed to deliver for those in core housing need, the city offered statistics confirming that 698 units of affordable rental stock had been structurally upgraded in the previous three years alone, comprising 70 percent of the city’s Rental-RRAP funding.¹²² Citing the collaborative approach, the city manager report stated, “The Rental RRAP assisted the enforcement and upgrading program for the Downtown Eastside rooming houses and has been an important asset in raising housing standards for low-income tenants.”¹²³ The Mayor took these arguments to Ottawa himself, requesting meetings with both Minister Redway and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.¹²⁴ The advocacy efforts were to no avail—Redway’s response to the Mayor revealed the neoliberal motivation behind the termination of the Rental-RRAP: “Efforts to reduce the federal deficit have meant that many difficult choices have had to be made. The termination of the Rental RRAP on April 27, 1989 was one of these.”¹²⁵ Reading between the lines of the 1989 budget, the termination of Rental-RRAP was an early indication of the broader shift toward the neoliberal ownership society that emerged over the next decade across the North American continent.

Epistemic Abandonment and the New Colonial Governmentality

The termination of Rental-RRAP was a sudden end to a long-standing “potential history” of public health intervention on SRO housing.¹²⁶ Rather than culminating in a shift toward more sustainable housing reinvestment, the demise of DHUP resulted in the further erosion of SROs and a worsening health crisis in the DTES since 1990. But the preceding analysis shows that this policy failure not only implicates the funding cut itself but also to the abandonment of VHD’s commitment to SRO sanitary enforcement more than a decade earlier. Moreover, the rearguard effort of political leaders to reverse the funding cuts held little sway in the absence of an authoritative public health voice that might have argued for the program’s health benefits. The balance of this paper addresses not just what took place but how the abandonment of the VHD over SRO housing was facilitated by the epistemic shift toward behavioralism that ultimately pulled the VHD into a new colonial apparatus for the regulation of urban space and bodies and that subsequently disregarded housing altogether.

As stated earlier, the analysis of this shift moves well beyond descriptive institutional histories of municipal politics and toward an exposure of how epistemic influences from above influenced and were deployed by individual actors on the ground. This analysis draws specifically from

Alison Bashford, for whom the arrival of the “new” public health after the mid-1970s represents a genealogical transition from “old” colonial public health practices of racial containment, toward new colonial governmentalities predicated on the “mapping of racial segregation onto health segregation.”¹²⁷ From this perspective, the abandonment of housing bylaw enforcement after 1981 is an exemplary illustration of this genealogy as it saw VHD authorities pulled away from their historical responsibilities just as neoliberal influences ensured the eventual demise of the promising carrot and stick approach of the DHUP. The evidence suggests that these were convergent moments.

During the mid-1970s, turbulent epistemic undercurrents of public health appear to have had profound implications for the continued leadership of the VHD on the housing file. With the local housing crisis quickly accelerating and the VHD responding along largely traditional lines, another much more broadly scaled “epistemic crisis” was brewing within federal and provincial political epistemic communities that resulted in sudden and major shifts in public health institutions and practices across the globe. The historical and political context of the “healthcare crisis” prompted by Canada’s Medical Care Act of 1966 is amply documented elsewhere,¹²⁸ so will only be summarized briefly here.

Responding to the growing chorus of alarmist voices about the simultaneous escalation of health care costs and diminishing returns on investment, in 1974, Federal Minister of Health and Welfare Marc Lalonde instigated, via the release of the think tank report, *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians*, a radical transformation of the fundamental premise of public health.¹²⁹ Distinguishing itself from an ostensible “old” public health centered on sanitary surveillance and enforcement, events of the 1970s saw to the emergence of a “new public health” premised upon a more persuasive approach within governmental practice that was highly influenced by advances in epidemiological and behavioral sciences.¹³⁰

Starting in the second half of the 1970s, public health institutions embraced these twin disciplines to take their place within a biomedical revolution that had captured imaginations across the wider health care sector.¹³¹ The new approach valorized coupling population-based measurements of human illness with individualized lifestyle-based programs designed to be mobilized en masse to change population health outcomes. This approach represented a gravitational epistemic shift not only in how public health was re-conceived to prevent disease and promote health through persuasion. This epistemic shift quickly came to restructure radically public health institutions and practices on the ground in places like Vancouver.

It is not a coincidence that the gradual disappearance of VHD from the DHP after 1978 occurred just as the Lalonde report had begun to metastasize within the local public health bureaucracy, casting work on sanitary enforcement to the periphery in favor of the new approaches.¹³² From the inside, VHD reports reveal how the city was to be a model for the delivery of a Lalonde-style “Lifestyle Program”:

There is an exciting opportunity to deal with extremely important health problems. The major causes of death are due to unhealthy lifestyle. The Department, within existing resources, has explored the opportunities for developing a system for successful lifestyle change programs. To take advantage of new opportunities in the area of preventative health care more staff resources are needed . . . The Department of National Health & Welfare appears willing to fund a partnership within the City of Vancouver in Developing a model program. Federal participation is planned to commence January 1, 1978.¹³³

The new methods were reflected in early public facing documents. A 1976 VHD document, *You, Vancouver: What your city health department knows and does*, presaged a revolutionary new ethos for the department that very much reflected the zeitgeist of the Lalonde report in applying the new behavioral science toward problems of fiscal unsustainability:

Sometimes just an attitude can make a big difference. At your Public Health Unit we've had a quiet revolution in the past couple of years. In our "bureaucratic" it sounds like, "try for a client-centred, rather than agency-centred approach." It means we're trying to build you up, to help you with your problems, rather than promote, or sustain, or build ourselves up . . . You know, and we know, that your most valuable possession, and our country's greatest resource, is yourself.¹³⁴

From a historical perspective, the influence of *A New Perspective* on the VHD corresponded in time and practice to a shift from its long-standing role in upholding a colonial *cordon sanitaire* via bylaw enforcement to one that would establish a *cordon thérapeutique* premised upon the medicalization of both the DTES as a place and of its people through behaviors deemed as deviant from a white, middle class perspective. Over time, the public health revolution at a national level contributed to a very different understanding of health priorities that resulted in new responsibilities for the VHD in the DTES based on medical risk factors and behavioral persuasion and control. The place of housing and the role of inspectors are presented in the 1976 document only in parody: a back-page mock letter describes the predicament of inspector Dave Morgan cited earlier, too encumbered in his old responsibilities to contribute to the new priorities (Figure 1).

The behavioral approach suited the times: in light of the economic recession that had taken hold in the city, acting MHO Kinloch acceded to the reality that a focus on lifestyles represented the most important and practical response to the present climate of austerity that had arrived at all levels of government. As conveyed in his introductory remarks to the VHD's 1980 annual report:

The present and foreseeable economic situation will limit the resources available such that only work of the highest priority ought to be done, and good information is necessary for good priority setting . . . We know that the major underlying determinants of preventable early death in Vancouver are cigarettes, excess alcohol, stress, accidents, poverty and poor nutrition.¹³⁵

Notably, neither the DHIC nor the role of seconded public health inspectors in the DHUP is mentioned by Kinloch, nor in any subsequent executive and public health inspection staff meetings thereafter. Kinloch was seen to be a major proponent of "saving money by promoting healthy lifestyles"¹³⁶ that in the DTES pointed squarely to the problem of chronic alcoholism.¹³⁷ Thereafter, the role of health inspectors in the VHD was limited to less politicized environments such as swimming pools and restaurants.

The new climate in the VHD was lamentable. By December 1982, Kinloch had been fired, following an ongoing dispute with the City Manager related to the controversial fiscal restraints being foisted on the VHD by the new Council.¹³⁸ VHD records during this period reveal a department in turmoil, plagued by low morale and without a clear focus. A July 1983 memo indicates staff in the North Unit advocating for a stress management workshop, focusing on a "problem solving process, intended as a helping thing, [as a] result of changes in the Vancouver Health Department and the toll taken on the staff."¹³⁹ Within the year, Kinloch's replacement, another VHD clinician, took over the acting MHO role. Ted McLean, formerly Clinical Director, continued to oppose the City Manager's austerity agenda, who at the time was endeavoring to strip the MHO position of its administrative authority.¹⁴⁰ The shift was sudden and clear: By 1984, the AIDS crisis had landed in Vancouver and a permanent MHO was hired who had no recollection of VHD's role in the development of the DHUP through the 1980s.¹⁴¹

Re-situating Bylaw Non-enforcement

The fate of public health inspection in Vancouver's SROs after 1981 provides at least a partial explanation to Wendy Pedersen's predicament in 2017: the perplexing non-enforcement of Section 23 of the Standards of Maintenance Bylaw. Adapted in 1980 specifically for DTES SRO

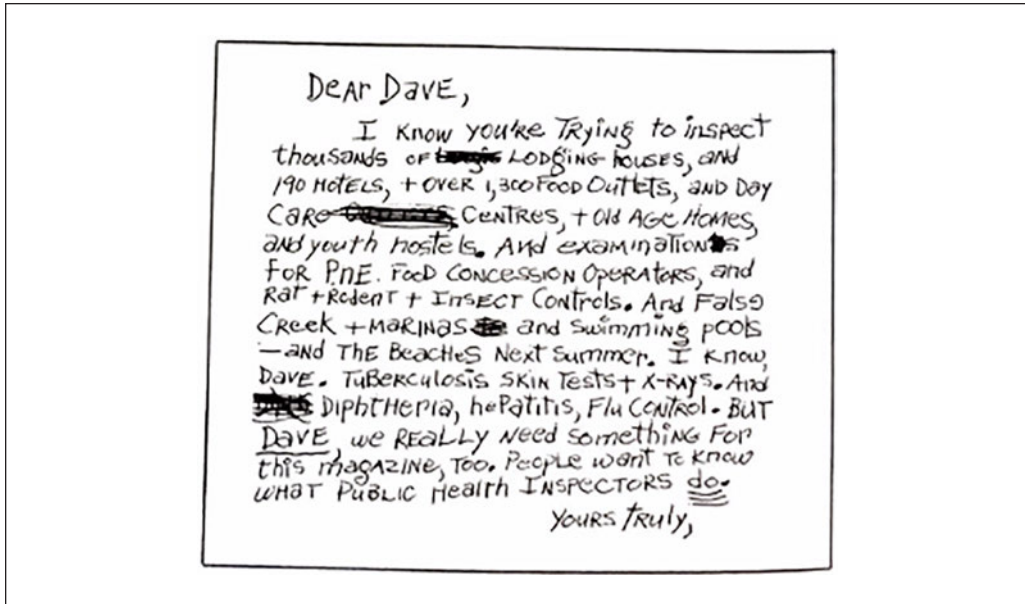


Figure 1. Anonymous mock letter to “Dave,” public health inspector. *You, Vancouver: What your city health department knows and does* (1976).¹³⁵

housing, the bylaw was rendered effectively obsolete after the demise of DHUP in 1989. Ironically, the Balmoral was one of four SROs identified as “worth rehabilitating” at the outset of DHUP, although it is unknown at the time of this writing whether the Sahotas received Rental-RRAP funding.¹⁴² Originally designed to serve as the “stick” for a significant program of SRO rehabilitation tied to federal “carrots,” Section 23 was never envisioned by its designers as a stand-alone enforcement mechanism.

But the more important history is of epistemic abandonment; the shift from colonial enforcement to colonial persuasion through the implicit disavowal of established standards of sanitation inspections in favor of a morally tinged focus on behavioral control seen to be typical of the DTES population. The impacts of Canada’s embrace of neoliberalism in housing policy and on public health are both well established but distinct areas of scholarship. The present study ties these two threads of neoliberal history directly together. Vancouver’s SRO history exemplifies Canada’s failure to ensure a basic standard of housing since the onset of neoliberal policy conditions after 1990. Homelessness in Vancouver was unheard of in the early 1980s. At last count, in 2019 it had reached 2,223 people.¹⁴³ This study of public health’s changing role in housing adds an intimate level of detail to the wider arc of the story of homelessness. While Rental-RRAP had been restored by the federal government under the Liberals in 1994, it was never funded to the same extent, nor coordinated to the degree that had been achieved by DHUP in the late 1980s.¹⁴⁴ By the mid-1990s, the brief success of a new stick and carrot paradigm of the Rental-RRAP program in the DTES was long forgotten and stand-alone municipal efforts to enforce its bylaws have failed to prevent SRO decline.

The final nail in the coffin of public health policy abandonment in Vancouver occurred soon after. Following the lead of the neighbouring province of Alberta, BC undertook a decade-long process of neoliberal health care restructuring starting in 1993. The 2001 creation of a regional health authority, Vancouver Coastal Health (VCH), stripped municipal oversight over public health altogether. A critical perspective demonstrates how this restructuring was designed to place provincial ministries at a political distance from the burden of escalating health care costs,

wait times, and overcrowded hospitals.¹⁴⁵ In the context of the DTES, regionalization has had the effect of obfuscating who, between the city and the province, should take responsibility for the public health disaster that has unfolded in the neighborhood. The removal of a public health presence from the municipal apparatus has created a permanent governmental schism between institutional public health leadership vested in the province and the municipal oversight of the built environment.

For its part, VCH, reflecting a public health paradigm focused on population-based data and the individualization of risks, has largely focused its attention in the DTES on substance use and communicable disease prevention, followed perhaps by the recognition of the mental health crisis within the DTES population. For years, housing habitability has been left largely to municipal inspectors with no public health qualifications, who have been either unwilling or incapable of responding to the full scale of the health crisis happening in and around SRO buildings. VCH inspectors respond to housing complaints only when called upon by city inspectors. Their presence in DTES SRO housing inspection has been ad hoc and largely ineffectual.

The abandonment of the historical role of public health in the colonial governance of sanitary health in favor of an equally colonial ethos of epidemiological evidence and behavioral persuasion consistent with the “new public health” expresses the neoliberal episteme. Meanwhile, both within and beyond the SROs, the DTES is ground zero of the current opioid epidemic, with mortality rates compounded by the adverse living conditions in the neighborhood. It is questionable whether the conditions of life for the 4,500 people currently living in the remaining 104 privately owned SROs, one-third of whom self-report as Indigenous, are “better” than that of the 2,500 occupying shelters and living on the streets.¹⁴⁶ The extent of adversity has been brought sharply into focus with the advent of the COVID-19 crisis, which has amplified already untenable housing conditions. The Right to Remain Research Collective within which this study has been embedded represents one attempt to help public health to “unlearn” its recent history, and hopefully to “relearn” the importance of protecting the housing rights of SRO tenants in Vancouver as a bona fide determinant of health.

Acknowledgments

This paper is made possible through the Right to Remain Research Collective, a participatory archival research project involving health and legal geographers, DTES housing organizers, and SRO tenants. The paper’s insights are owed to both rigorous historical methods and the in-depth expertise of tenant organizers who dwell within historic SROs. While the analytic arguments contribute to scholarship in the critical geography of public health, the political significance of public health policy failure are relevant to the front line of the fight to protect the housing rights of SRO tenants in the DTES. Special thanks to Nick Blomley and Audrey Kobayashi for comments on earlier drafts, to Aaron Bailey for extensive archival cataloguing and analysis, and to Tom Degray, Seraphina Skands, and Angela May for meticulous archival retrieval and review.


Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This study was supported by grant 435-2017-1162 from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

ORCID iD

Jeffrey Masuda  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9681-3932>

Notes

1. "Slave Labor," *The Vancouver Sun*, March 16, 1987, p. B4; Larry Pynn, "On Seedy Side of the Street, It's Well, Seedy: BALMORAL Life on Vancouver's Skid Road Remains the Same: A Scummy and Nasty Business," *The Vancouver Sun*, October 3, 1992, p. A1; Lori Culbert, "Hotels Charge More Than Welfare Allows," *The Vancouver Sun*, June 19, 2009, p. A10.
2. Mike Hager, "Vancouver Seeks Further Charges against Regent Hotel Owners," *The Globe and Mail*, December 12, 2017, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/vancouver-seeks-further-charges-against-hotel-owners/article37311022/>; Wendy Stueck and Mike Hager, "For Low-Income Residents in Vancouver, a Different Kind of Real Estate Crisis," *The Globe and Mail*, May 28, 2018, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/british-columbia/article-for-low-income-residents-in-vancouver-a-different-kind-of-real-estate/>; Wendy Stueck and Mike Hager, "Vancouver Orders Closing of Sahota-Owned Regent Hotel, Plans Purchase," *The Globe and Mail*, June 20, 2018, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/british-columbia/article-vancouver-orders-closing-of-sahota-owned-regent-hotel-plans-purchase/>.
3. Stueck and Hager, "Vancouver Orders."
4. Caitlin Shane and Pivot Legal Society, *Re: Section 23.11 of the Standards of Maintenance Bylaw*, Legal briefing, August 31, 2017.
5. The Downtown Eastside SRO Collaborative Society, *The Lowdown on Upkeep: A Report on Tenants' Experiences Living in Vancouver's SROs*, Report, November 2019.
6. Allan McConnell, "What Is Policy Failure? A Primer to Help Navigate the Maze," *Public Policy and Administration* 30, no. 3-4 (2015): 221-42, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0952076714565416>; Mark Bovens and Paul 't Hart, "Revisiting the Study of Policy Failures," *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 5 (2016): 1350-763, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13501763.2015.1127273>.
7. Daniel J. Wilson, "The Limits of Public Health Reform in Urban America," *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 4 (2016): 800-805, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0096144216645785?journalCode=juha>.
8. See Nick Blomley & the Right to Remain Collective. Producing the outlaw zone: property law and the geographies of relegation. Forthcoming in the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.
9. Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (Houndsmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
10. Ibid.
11. Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political Power beyond the State: Problematics of Government," *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (1992): 173-205.
12. Skid Road (v. Row) is the historically accurate toponym in Vancouver as in other cities of the Pacific Northwest.
13. Barry Doyle, "Ideology, Discourse, and Locality: New Histories of Urban Public Health," *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 2 (January 1, 2005): 241-48, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0096144204265205?journalCode=juha>.
14. Dorothy Porter, *The History of Public Health and the Modern State* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1994).
15. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*.
16. Jill Wade, "Home or Homelessness? Marginal Housing in Vancouver, 1886-1950," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 25, no. 2 (1997): 19-29, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43552094?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.
17. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*.
18. Susan Craddock, "Embodying Place: Pathologizing Chinese and Chinatown in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco," *Antipode* 31, no. 4 (October 1999): 351-71, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1467-8330.00109>; Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*.
19. Wade, "Home or Homelessness?"
20. Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (University of British Columbia Press, 1990), 13.

21. Kay Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of a Racial Category," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 4 (1987): 580-98, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1987.tb00182.x>.
22. Roy, *White Man's Province*.
23. Margaret W. Andrews, "The Emergence of Bureaucracy: The Vancouver Health Department," *Journal of Urban History* 12, no. 2 (1986): 131-46, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/009614428601200203>.
24. Andrews, "The Emergence of Bureaucracy."
25. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, Archival File Re Lodging Houses, 1913-1927, COV-S69, Box 145-C-01, Folder 01, City of Vancouver fonds, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada (hereafter referred to as COVA).
26. Andrews, "The Emergence of Bureaucracy."
27. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, Archival file re: Lodging houses, 1913-1927, COVA.
28. Andrews, "The Emergence of Bureaucracy."
29. Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).
30. Vancouver License and Business Tax Office, General License Register: Lodging Houses, 1939, COV-S-383, Box 126-C-02, Folder 01-03. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA; Very few Chinese names are listed in the city's Registry of Lodging House Business Licenses in 1938-1939. Jill Wade notes that a majority of Lodging Houses were unlicensed, suggesting this was more the case among Chinese managed businesses.
31. Shlomo Hasson and David Ley, *Neighbourhood Organizations and the Welfare State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown."
32. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, Japanese Property—Powell Street, 1942, COV-S27, Box: 027-E-06, Folder 17, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
33. Vancouver License and Business Tax Office, General License Register: Lodging Houses, 1939, COVA.
34. "Whites Already Taking Over Evacuated Homes in Japtown," *The Vancouver Sun*, July 15, 1942, p. 15.
35. By 1950, conditions in the core area had deteriorated to the point that the Lodging Bylaw was amended to specifically include hotels and cabins, as many of the historic hotels in the area were by then largely accommodating permanent residents. "New City Lodging Bylaw," *Vancouver Daily Province*, April 22, 1950, p. 2.
36. Larry Campbell, Neil Boyd, and Lori Culbert, *A Thousand Dreams: Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the Fight for Its Future* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 2009), 12.
37. Vancouver Community Development Department, Downtown East Side, 1971, PUB-: PD 899, Box 148-A-02, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
38. Stewart Murray, "Administration of the Greater Vancouver Metropolitan Health Services," *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 43, no. 5 (May 1, 1952): 202-208, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41980325?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents; Megan J. Davies, "Competent Professionals and Modern Methods: State Medicine in British Columbia during the 1930s," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76, no. 1 (April 1, 2002): 56-83, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/4820>.
39. Murray, "Administration of the Greater."
40. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, Subseries 2—Correspondence, Housing, 1930-1966, COV-S71-2. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
41. Office of the City Clerk, Report to Council of the Standing Committee of Council on Community Services, B.C. March 22/April 3, 1979, COV-S31-F131.15, Box: 897-E-03, Folder 06. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
42. J. A. Stringer, Sanitation Section Priority Lists, September 27, 1973, COV-S71-6, Box: 129-C-02, Folder 05, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
43. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, Inspector's Reports, 1967-1976, COV-S69, Box: 145-B-07, Folder 06. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
44. Ibid.

45. Hasson and Ley, *Neighbourhood Organizations*.
46. Reva Dexter, Equal Opportunity Program Departmental Status Profile, July 20, 1982, COV-S643, Box 138-F-3, Folder 1-4, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
47. Vancouver Planning Department and Vancouver Town Planning Commission, "Urban Renewal—Social Planning [i.e. Social Aspects]," 1965-1970, COV-S648, Box: 926-E-01, Folder 02, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
48. Ibid.
49. "Suburban News," *The Vancouver Sun*, June 23, 1967.
50. C. A. Gill, A Report on Skid Road, August 1969, PUB-: PD 275, Box 147-C-02, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA, p. 3.
51. Vancouver Planning Department and Vancouver Town Planning Commission, "Urban Renewal—Social Planning [i.e. Social Aspects]," 1965-1970, COVA.
52. Office of the City Clerk, Information submitted by the Vancouver Board of Administration to the Standing Committee on Planning and Development, May 7, 1970, COV-S20, Box 018-G-05, Folder 07, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
53. Ibid.
54. Vancouver Community Development Department, Downtown East Side, 1971, COVA.
55. Ibid.
56. Vancouver Community Development Department, Downtown East Side, 1971, COVA.
57. Ibid.
58. Gary Bannerman, "Poor Housing Facing Trial," *The Province*, November 26, 1971.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. "Crackdown Shuts 15 Flophouses," *The Province*, February 10, 1972, p. 31.
62. G. H. Bonham, Letter from G. H. Bonham to A. S. McMorran and Schedule "A," December 7, 1973, City of Vancouver fonds, COV-S69, Box 145-C-01, Folder 11. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
63. Ibid.
64. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, File—Downtown Eastside Housing, 1970-1973, COVA.
65. Vancouver Community Development Department, Downtown East Side, 1971, COVA.
66. Hasson and Ley, *Neighbourhood Organizations*.
67. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, File—Downtown Eastside Housing, 1970-1973, COVA.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Vancouver Environmental Health Division, File—United Housing Fund, 1973, COV-S69, Box 145-C-02, Folder 16. City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
73. Ibid.
74. City of Vancouver Bylaw No. 4738, *Lodging House Bylaw* (1973).
75. Hasson and Ley, *Neighbourhood Organizations*.
76. Personal Communication with Libby Davies, 2020.
77. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COV-S132-4, Box 129-G-02, Folder 02, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
78. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
79. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
80. Harry Rankin, "Law Protects Slumlord's Property, Not People," *The Downtown East*, November, 1975, p. 7.
81. Personal Communication with Libby Davies, 2020.
82. Enforcement Rankin, "Law Protects Slumlord's Property, Not People."
83. Ibid.
84. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
85. Ibid.

86. Dale Falkenhagen and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *The History of Canada's Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP)/Prepared by Dale Falkenhagen for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation* (Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2001); Hasson and Ley, *Neighbourhood Organizations*.
87. Bruce Eriksen, Letter from Bruce Eriksen to Barney Danson, May 6 1976, R13905-0-X-E, Vol 22, File 50, Library and Archives Canada, Barney Danson fonds, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Residential funding—Downtown Eastside, 1975-1978, COV S62-8, Box 10-F-5, Folder 3, City of Vancouver fonds, City of Vancouver Archives, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada; “Danson Waffles on Slum Upgrading,” *The Downtown East*, July 1976.
88. Vancouver Health Department, Downtown Eastside Residents' Association, 1977-1979, COV-S643, Box 087-B-05, Folder 08, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
89. “DERA Wants Inspectors,” *The Downtown East*, July 1977.
90. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
91. Ibid.
92. “DERA Wants Inspectors.”
93. “City Council Okays 3 More Health Inspectors,” *The Downtown East*, August 1977.
94. Vancouver City Manager, Report to City Council, March 7, 1978, COV-S31-F128.12, Box 897-D-07, Folder 10, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA; Randy Glover, “Slum Owners Get Breather as Council Dithers,” *The Vancouver Sun*, March 18, 1978.
95. “DERA Wants Inspectors”; Glover, “Slum Owners.”
96. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
97. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, Council Meeting Minutes, November 7, 1978, COV-S31-F130.12, Box: 897-E-02, Folder 06, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
98. Office of the City Clerk, Report to Council of the Standing Committee of Council on Community Services, March 22/April 3, 1979, COV-S31-F131.15, Box: 897-E-03 Folder 06, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
99. Office of the City Clerk, City Council Meeting Minutes, November 7, 1978, COVA.
100. Ibid.
101. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, Policy Advisory Committee Minutes, November 9, 1978, COV-S643, Box 87-C-5, Folder 12, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
102. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, Policy Advisory Committee Minutes, February 22, 1979, COV-S643, Box 94-B-1, Folder 3, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
103. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, Report to Council of the Standing Committee of Council on Community Services, 1979, COVA.
104. Vancouver Social Planning Department, Downtown Housing Implementation Committee, 1979-1983, COV-S571, Box 101-D-01, Folder 01, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
105. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
106. Ibid., p. 80.
107. Ibid.
108. Vancouver Health Department, File—Housing—Lodging House By-law enforcement, 1977-1979, COVA.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.; City Clerk, Extract from the Minutes of the Vancouver City Council Meeting, August 12, 1980, COV-S571, Box: 101-D-01, Folder 01, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
111. Ibid.
112. Tim Roark, Letter to Mayor Volrich and Members of Council, April 9, 1979, COV-S643, Box 243-B-05, Folder 06, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA, p. 1.
113. Vancouver Social Planning Department, Downtown Housing Implementation Committee, 1979-1983, COV-S571, Box 101-D-01, Folder 01, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
114. Vancouver Social Planning Department, Downtown Housing Implementation Committee, 1979-1983, COVA.
115. Ibid.

116. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, City Council Meeting Minutes, July 8, 1978, COV-S31-F120.12, Box 897-C-07, Folder 2, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
117. Vancouver Social Planning Department, Downtown Housing Implementation Committee, 1979-1983, COVA.
118. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, File—Residential funding—Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), 1988-1990, COV S62, Box 937-B-1, Folder 3, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA; Jim Green, Stephen Learey, Sue Harris, Anna Wong, and Moon Yee, *Downtown Eastside Housing and Residents Survey, 1987-1988* (Vancouver and Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1989).
119. Ibid.
120. Parliament of Canada, Budget Papers Tabled in the House of Commons by the Honorable Michael H. Wilson, Minister of Finance, Ottawa, Government of Canada, April 27, 1989.
121. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, File—Residential funding—Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), 1988-1990, COVA.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2019).
127. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 11.
128. Ann Robertson, “Shifting Discourses on Health in Canada: From Health Promotion to Population Health,” *Health Promotion International* 13, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 155-66, <https://academic.oup.com/heapro/article/13/2/155/615396>.
129. Marc Lalonde, *A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians: A Working Document* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975).
130. Barbara Legowski and Lindsey McKay, *Health beyond Health Care: Twenty-Five Years of Federal Health Policy Development* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2000).
131. Ibid.
132. Vancouver Office of the City Clerk, City of Vancouver Review of Department Activities and Budgets, 1977: Health Department, City of Vancouver, November 3, 1977, COV-S40, Box 120-G-01, Folder 90, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
133. Ibid., p. 8.
134. Vancouver MHO, You, Vancouver: What Your City Health Department Knows and Does, 1976, PUB-: PD 914, Box: 148-A-02, City Publications Collection, COVA, p. 1.
135. Vancouver Health Department, Vancouver, Health: 1980, 1980, COV-S643, Box 243-B-05, Folder 08, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
136. Jan O’Brien, “‘Visionary’ Lost Sight of Realpolitik,” *The Province*, February 6, 1983, p. B2.
137. Vancouver Health Department. “Vancouver, Health: 1980,” 1980, COVA.
138. Fritz Bowers. Memo from the City Manager to Health Department Employees, December 13, 1982, COV-S643, Box 243-A-2, Folder 2, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
139. Fran Cluett, Memorandum to Sharon Clark, July 20, 1983, COV-S643, Box 138-F-3, Folder 14, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
140. H. E. McLean, “Memo to Management Committee Members, Professional Seniors and Program Coordinators,” August 11, 1983, COV-S643, Box 243-B-03, Folder 08, City of Vancouver fonds, COVA.
141. Personal communication with Dr. John Blatherwick, 2019.
142. Vancouver Social Planning Department, Downtown Housing Implementation Committee, 1979-1983, COVA.
143. The Homeless Services Association of B.C., The B.C. Non-Profit Housing Association, and CCC Urban Matters, *Vancouver Homeless Count 2019*, Vancouver, B.C., 2019.
144. Greg Suttor, *Still Renovating: A History of Canadian Social Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016).
145. Jonathan Lomas, John Woods, and Gerry Veenstra, “Devolving Authority for Health Care in Canada’s Provinces: 1. An Introduction to the Issues,” *Canadian Medical Association*

- Journal* 156, no. 3 (February 1, 1997): 371-77, <https://www.cmaj.ca/content/156/3/371>; Jeffrey R. Masuda, Kerry Robinson, Susan J. Elliott, and John Eyles, "Chronic Disease Prevention and the Politics of Scale: Lessons from Canadian Health Reform," *Social Work in Public Health* 27, no. 7 (November 1, 2012): 639-57, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19371910903182880>; David Clark, "Neoliberalism and Public Service Reform: Canada in Comparative Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (December 2002): 771-93, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3233289?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.
146. The DTES SRO Collaborative, *The Lowdown on Upkeep*.

Author Biography

Jeffrey Masuda is Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Environmental Health Equity at Queen's University. An urban health geographer, his research focuses on the politics of place and place making, community activism, multiracial coalitions, and environmental justice and well-being. He founded the Right to Remain Collective in 2016 to support the tenants' right movement in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside through mixed-methods research that brings to light the living history of Single Room Occupancy hotels in the city.

– MAKING PROPERTY OUTLAWS: Law and Relegation

NICHOLAS BLOMLEY AND THE RIGHT TO REMAIN COLLECTIVE

Abstract

Drawing from community-based research in the Downtown Eastside, the poorest part of Vancouver, Canada, a neighbourhood long demonized as an ‘outlaw zone’, we suggest that what may appear to be illegal property practices in the area’s infamous Single Room Occupancy (SRO) hotels are, in fact, harder to detach from formal legality than supposed. We characterize the state’s withdrawal of tenancy law from SRO in the 1970s as productive of property outlaws. A form of legal relegation, outlawry places SRO residents in a space of lesser protection, stripping them of rights. A space of decades of systematic legal relegation, the outlaw zone is a product of law, not its antithesis, predicated on organized forms of devaluation and discrimination.

‘I think it gets back to the definition of tenants.
[W]hen is a tenant a tenant, and when is a tenant not a tenant?
It’s a question that seems to evade the government.’
Emery Barnes¹

Introduction

In the middle of the night, someone tried to break down Jack Gates’s door with a shovel. In 2018 Jack was renting a room in the Regent Hotel, a single-room occupancy (SRO) building in the heart of Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (DES) neighbourhood. The hotel, owned by the Sahotas, an infamous slumlord family, was in terrible condition, without heat and hot water. Activists like Jack had worked hard to mobilize law against the rampant illegalities of his landlord, without much success. The Regent was one of the city’s top violators of provincial landlord–tenant law. The city, however, was reluctant to enforce its own property maintenance bylaws.

Jack had elected to stay at the Regent as he felt an obligation to support fellow tenants from the predations of his landlord. His activism ensured that he became the target of continuous and ongoing violence. The Sahotas routinely hired other tenants as muscle, one of whom had broken down Jack’s door. The police response to this brazen attack was not to buttress Jack’s rights to safety and legal protection, but the blunt advice that he should simply move out. Jack stayed, continuing to live in fear of his life but continuing to organize the tenants, until the Regent was finally condemned and the residents relocated.

Jack Gates, an Indigenous man from the Haida Nation, is a friend of ours, whom we came to meet through his involvement with the Right to Remain research project.² The Right to Remain is a collaborative research project involving academic researchers and grassroots community organizers. Together we are uncovering the story of the SRO,

Thanks to the IJURR reviewers and handling editor, and to Jeff Masuda, Joy Connelly, Diana Ojeda, Mariana Valverde, Lisa Freeman, Libby Davies, John Shayler, Jean Swanson, Anna Cooper, Julie Jones, Marc Roark, and the 2020 Progressive Property workshop. Funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council is gratefully acknowledged (The ‘right to remain’ of single room occupancy dwellers in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (2017–2021): 435-2017-1162).

1 https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/31st-parliament/2nd-session/31p_02s_770830p#05091 (30 August 1977, p. 5092; accessed 12 February 2020).

2 RighttoRemain.ca (accessed 12 February 2020).

to reveal the importance of these dwellings for addressing—both theoretically and practically—the interface between urban activism and socio-spatial rights. Drawing inspiration from the strong Japanese-Canadian history rooted in this place, we have used haiku as a way of exploring the experience of life in SROs. Jack offered this, in response to his experience:

Shovel breaks down door.
Shadows breaking walls still here.
Something strange appears.

His haiku evokes the brutal, territorial power of the landlord, echoing the experiences of many other SRO residents we have spoken to. The most immediate lesson we have learnt from them is that property relations in SROs are highly irregular. Hotels are poorly regulated, and many landlord actions are simply illegal. Illegal evictions, or threats of eviction, appear widespread and are not confined to a few ‘bad apples’ like the Sahotas. Illegal entries by landlord or managers, as with Jack, are common. As one SRO resident noted in one of our peer-led surveys: ‘[The landlord] tried to force his way into my room. He said that it is his hotel and he can come into my room anytime he wants’. Housing conditions in SRO are also often illegal, with endemic problems such as a lack of heat, black mould, broken elevators, poor water conditions, and pests. Tenants are often unwilling to complain, due to landlord backlash, or are unaware that they may actually have tenancy rights. As another respondent noted: ‘Nobody wants to make complaints because of the fact that if you do complain, ... they [landlords] are going to get the feeling that they [tenants] are a problem ... and let’s get rid of them’.

The temptation is to treat this irregular situation as the antithesis of formal law, on the presumption of a clear divide between the legal and the illegal, echoing a wider discourse that treats poor neighbourhoods like the Downtown Eastside as a space of criminality, deviance and lawlessness. They are imagined, in that sense, as outlaw zones (Blomley, 2019). We aim here to challenge the idea that the Regent is simply outside law. That which appears illegal cannot be so easily detached from law’s empire.

‘Something strange appears’, Jack’s haiku concludes. Strangeness becomes evident when we uncover the legal history of landlord–tenant relations in the Downtown Eastside. Rather than creating an anarchic space outside law, we reveal a systematic process of legal relegation (or ‘outlawry’, as we shall describe it below), the effect of which is to consign residents like Jack to legally produced ‘outlaw zones’ that place them in conditions of heightened legal vulnerability. In that sense, we argue, property law has empowered landlord violence, such as the shovel, producing the heightened precariousness of tenants such as Jack.

We do so in solidarity with Jack and fellow Downtown Eastside SRO residents. Their histories, including this story of legal relegation, have too often been ignored and forgotten. More generally, our article contributes to recently reinvigorated critical scholarship on housing and rentier capitalism (Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Roy, 2017), particularly in relation to the work of law in producing vulnerability (Desmond and Bell, 2015; Blomley, 2020).

Outlawry

Western liberal legality relies on a sharp divide between that which is law and that which is imagined as outside law (Blomley, 2003). However, Southern urbanists ask us to question this divide in their treatment of informality, a sector of urban life that takes place supposedly without state oversight, seemingly detached from formal regulation and control. However, informality may not be a space outside regulation, they argue, but produced through state action, ‘where the seeming withdrawal of regulatory

power creates a logic of resource allocation, accumulation and authority' (Roy, 2009: 83). Rather than being the antithesis of formality and state action then, informality is produced by the state when certain practices are valorized and regularized while others are marginalized and delegitimized (Roy, 2005). If, as Bhan (2016: 20) puts it, 'we must understand and account for the differentiated implications of various illegalities when exercised by different urban actors', it becomes useful to trace how the boundaries of law are socially differentiated through the negotiation of value (Roy and AlSayyad, 2004: 5). The production of informality becomes a 'site in and through which social hierarchies are reproduced and negotiated' (Bhan, 2016: 144), frequently entailing associated forms of territorial stigmatization.

It is useful to bring this literature to bear to understand cities in the global North, such as Vancouver, while recognizing the challenges of so doing (Devlin, 2018: 2011). To do so, it is useful to 'provincialize' Western law, in particular focusing on the way in which it negotiates and produces its boundaries. Here, we suggest, the legal concept of the outlaw is useful. The Downtown Eastside has long been regarded as an outlaw zone, or a lawless space. The Regent Hotel occupies the infamous 100 block of West Hastings Street, characterized by one observer in 1998 as the 'worst block in Vancouver', transformed by 'escalating anarchy' into a space beyond the pale of 'civilization'. Outsiders who blunder into this space soon wonder 'when it was that they crossed the boundary into hell'.³ Media portrayals of the neighbourhood trade heavily on its assumed criminality (Liu and Blomley, 2013).

But the word 'outlaw' has two meanings. In its first sense, as above, it denotes lawlessness. The transitive verb signifies the legal designation of something as illegal, such as the outlawing of duelling. Likewise, as a noun, 'outlaw' refers to a lawless or rebellious person, someone who refuses legal constraints to advance their own anomic ends. An 'outlaw motorcycle club' like the Hells Angel, for example, has been recognized by the Canadian courts as a group that bands together with a refusal to 'abide by society's laws'.⁴ As landlords, the Sahotas are outlaws in their refusal to abide by landlord-tenant law or the constraints of fire codes or property maintenance bylaws.

However, there is a second very different meaning to 'outlaw'. As a noun, it also refers to a person formally *excluded* from the benefit or protection of law; as a transitive verb, to the *designation* of outlaw status, in which a person is deprived of such benefits. It is the movement between these two meanings that is productive in thinking about the outlaw zone in the Regent Hotel and the other SROs in the Downtown Eastside, we argue.

In particular, it is useful to unpack this second meaning. Outlawry in this sense is not a condition outside or in opposition to law, but a legally produced status, in which the outlaw loses the protections and rights of law. The outlaw loses the right to have rights, in other words. Outlawry has precedents in Greek and Roman law, and was taken up in Germanic and Scandinavian legal systems. In Icelandic law, for example, someone declared an outlaw as an outcome of a suit lost the rights accorded to members of the community, such as the right to own property, was exiled for life, stripped of legal personality and thus treated as though dead (Hathaway and Shapiro, 2011). In English law, a person could be declared an outlaw if they failed to appear before the court to answer serious criminal charges, breaching the king's peace (Stewart, 2009).

Outlaw status, therefore, is a product of law, entailing a performative proclamation: *caput gerat lupinum* ('may he bear the wolf's head') in the English common law variant, and *wargus esto* ('become a wolf') in the Frankish version. As Blackstone (1979/1769: 315) notes, the outlaw was 'said to have *caput lupinum* [the wolf's head], and might be knocked on the head like a wolf ... because, having

3 Bula, F. (1998) 'A look at the worst block in Vancouver', *Vancouver Sun*, 7 August, A1-A8.

4 British Columbia Supreme Court *R. v. Violette*, 2009 BCSC 1557, 7.

renounced all law, he was to be dealt with as in a state of nature'. Deprived of legal protection, the outlaw could therefore be killed with impunity. Outlawry entails a form of legal relegation, therefore, in which a person is placed in a condition of heightened vulnerability, providing legal immunity to others who are empowered to subjugate the outlaw. This is not a state of abandonment or exile, in other words, for the writ of the law is clearly operative. Outlaw status is legally produced, and legally regulated.

Outlawry entails both a legal and a moral 'outcasting' (Jones, 2010; Hathaway and Shapiro, 2011). Due to their failure to conform to the norms of the community, outlaws are expelled from its protections. Bracton's thirteenth-century treatise on English law makes clear that outlaws 'deservedly perish without law who have refused to live according to law' (Stewart, 2009: 41). The outlaw does not deserve the benefits of membership in a community of law: cast out, they become ineligible for personhood, confronting a civic and social death (Mitchell, 2009; Cacho, 2012). Such logics of (de)valuation are, of course, not neutral, but inevitably laden with conceptions of worth, membership and standing. It should not surprise us, therefore, that racialized notions of personhood can be at work. Outlawry, for example, was widespread in US slave law: 'fugitive slaves' in North Carolina were outlawed, making it lawful for any person to kill them with impunity. State laws gave whites broad leeway to commit lethal violence against enslaved people who resisted their authority. Even if not formally outlawed, slave law viewed enslaved people as outside law. A South Carolina judge in 1847 noted that 'in the very nature of things ... [a slave] is subject to despotism. Law as to him is only a compact between his rulers' (Rosen, 2018: 130). Lynch Law also relied on forms of outlawry. As Wiegman (1993: 445) notes: 'Above all, lynching is about the law'.

Outlawry, in this sense, entails more than an imaginative outcasting from a figurative community. The peace, Goodrich (1990: 242) points out, is conceived of in spatialized terms, such that a breach of the peace is tantamount to:

the breaching of a wall so as to invade a city, so as to end a siege, a manner of moving in, of invasion or intrusion, a breaking through. The breach itself is a wounded spot, a broken space, a disputed place, a gap or fissure in fortifications made by a battery.

Outlawry, in placing a threat to the peace beyond the wall, as it were, helps 'to make the wall whole, to make the city secure, to reintroduce order'. Spatial imaginaries are also at work in the conceptualization of the outlaw zones to which the outlaw flees, imagined as liminal, threatening, bestial and transgressive. Often beyond the reach of effective sovereign power, they become outlaw spaces in the first sense of the meaning—lawless spaces of criminality and predation. The outlawing of fugitive slaves was similarly justified by portraying them as people who had chosen to live in a lawless condition in forests and swamps outside of the civilized community (Rosen, 2018: 129).

The outlaw, to summarize, is not 'out' of 'law'. While spatially and symbolically an outcast, the outlaw is still inside law's empire. A form of legal relegation, it places a person in a space of lesser protection, stripping them of rights. Non-outlaws are granted legal impunity in acting against outlaws. Outlawry entails a devaluation that places the outlaw outside the space of community.

While formal outlawry no longer exists in law, we can trace its continued logic in many contemporary legal practices. The status of 'enemy combatants' held at Guantanamo Bay are one obvious example, as are the illegal aliens and gang members discussed by Cacho (2012), evidencing forms of 'differential inclusion' in which those ineligible for personhood are deemed worthy of discipline and punishment but not

protection. However, our focus here is on what we might term ‘property outlaws’.⁵ Traditional forms of outlawry stripped away property rights: English practice entailed the attainer of the outlaw, in which the outlaw’s property was forfeited to the Crown. Their blood being corrupted, they could not bequeath assets to others.

Following Blomley (2020), we can characterize modern property outlaws as those who are legally relegated to sites of radical property precarity, stripped of rights and subject to the will of other more powerfully placed actors. Property law constitutes social relations in particular ways, structuring forms of privilege and vulnerability. Property law also differentiates subjects in relation to property status, serving to ‘produce and delimit subjectivation, property, and value’ (Byrd *et al.*, 2018: 3). Only a legally privileged few enjoy the full exclusionary benefits of liberal capitalist settler property, given the differential value attached to particular property arrangements, permanently tied to the ‘valorization of whiteness’ (Harris, 1993: 1713) and settlers’ ‘assertion of sovereign prerogative’ (Saito, 2015: 47). For most people, consequently, access and use of property for shelter depends on privileged others, who grant access under legally framed terms. In extreme cases, such as that of Jack Gates, people are effectively outlawed even from such meagre benefits. Stripped of all rights, others are granted legal impunity to mobilize violence against them.

We must condemn the actions of the landlord, in breaking down Jack’s door with a shovel. Yet we must also condemn the outlawry that makes this possible. The legal relegation we document entails state endorsement and institutional support for a property regime that maintains and enhances legal precarity and relegates vulnerable people into outlaw zones. This turns, we suggest, on a particular legal-spatial imaginary of the Downtown Eastside, which elides this legal move, situating its problems as endogenous. To be clear: property law is not the exclusive cause of housing precarity. Nor is it the case that the legal protections of tenants under landlord–tenant law are sufficient: far from it. However, as manifestation, legitimation and product, property law plays a crucial role in producing vulnerability for some and privilege for others (Blomley, 2020).

To summarize what follows: when modern landlord–tenant law was created in British Columbia in 1970, it was extended to hotel residents in the Downtown Eastside. However, this was recalibrated in the mid-1970s, when the state chose to relegate residents to the status of licensees, outlawing them to a regulatory space that granted landlords sovereignty to exercise predatory discretionary powers. This both created and relied upon a devaluing of hotel residents and their homes. While creating legal vulnerability, it also rested on the argument that the very precarity of hotel residents justified the removal of heightened legal protection. The effects proved catastrophic in the mid-1980s, when hundreds were summarily evicted. Only in 1989 was tenant status notionally reinstated. Yet slumlords like the Sahotas continue to enact property using this earlier logic of relegation and outlawry.⁶

The dawn of modern landlord-tenant law

Until 1970 the law governing the relationship between landlords and tenants in British Columbia (landlord–tenant relations are under provincial jurisdiction) unequivocally affirmed the sovereign power of the former over the latter. The prevailing law had been largely unchanged since 1897, treating the tenant as akin to a rightless vassal.⁷ Landlords could raise rents at will and evict without cause. The chief purpose

5 In this we differ from Peñalver and Katyal (2007), who characterize property outlaws according to the first meaning of the term.

6 While the focus here is on Vancouver, it would be interesting to learn the regulatory history of SROs in other cities (of which there are very few recorded).

7 Schuler, D. (1969) ‘The tenant is bottom man on the totem pole when it comes to the Landlord and Tenant Act’, *Vancouver Sun*, 27 March 1969, p. 6.

of the 1897 Landlord and Tenant Act was to enforce the ability of landlords to seize the possessions of tenants for non-payment of rent. Later amendments remained broadly within these parameters, the presumption seeming to be that landlords deserved coercive legal powers over their fly-by-night tenants.

Tenant organizing, begun in earnest in Vancouver in the late 1960s, sought to drag these feudal relationships into the dawn of contractual landlord-tenant law (Jon, 2020). This proved reasonably successful. In 1970 the province enacted a revised Landlord Tenant Act (LTA), limiting rent increases to one/year, abolishing distraint,⁸ and limiting summary evictions. Tenant organizing in downtown neighbourhoods in Vancouver, where the vulnerabilities produced by the prevailing legal regime were in sharp evidence, played a crucial role in this reform. People living in the rooming houses of what was then dubbed Skid Road were particularly precarious. They lived in the remnants of what had been a large inventory of affordable rooming houses, hotels and shacks that had accumulated in the downtown of the city to accommodate Chinese- and Japanese-Canadian residents, other poor people, and resource workers, many of them inactive during the winter months. By the 1970s, the majority of this housing was concentrated in the area.⁹

Skid Road had long been perceived by dominant society as a space of deviance, dereliction and difference. The predominance of hotel living by single men, with the lack of families and the respectability that came with them, meant the residents were easily typecast as ‘criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts and sex perverts’. Their presence constituted ‘a grim abode’ where sickness and immorality were assumed to be pervasive (Sommers, 1998: 296). While residents of SROs are now increasingly Indigenous, in the 1970s most were white, an affront to dominant tropes of whiteness, masculinity, propriety and property (Harris, 1993). But these framings of the neighbourhood obscure a dialectic of expulsion and remaining, racialized violence and resistance, that has shaped a form of dispossessive collectivism characterized as the defence of the ‘right to remain’ that has inflected urban life for over a century of colonial urbanization (Masuda *et al.*, 2020).

Contesting abjection, Skid Road organizers mobilized to seek tenancy rights, in partnership with those of tenants elsewhere in the city. In 1970 the Downtown Tenants Association (DTA), which drew its membership from this community, began organizing ‘downtown apartment-hotel and rooming house residents’. A rally in 1970 organized by the DTA (see Figures 1 and 2) warned of the ‘harsh world’ of tenant life in Skid Road.¹⁰ Alderman Harry Rankin, a sympathizer of the DTA, worried that many Skid Road residents were ‘dismissed as drunks and subhumans and ignored’.¹¹ Yet the pressure on hotel residents was clearly intensifying, with early signs of gentrification, the local press reporting that ‘skid roaders’ were increasingly being priced out as the neighbourhood went ‘mod’. The media also flagged the role of ‘slumlords—tenement owners who glean high returns on hovels most people probably wouldn’t pay five cents for’.¹² John McCuish, the vice-president of the VTA and an ex-IWA organizer, observed that rent increases were illegal, but the ‘tenant is often afraid to squawk when the landlord tells him the rent is going up a couple of dollars a week’.¹³

⁸ The seizure of a tenant’s property to recover unpaid rent.

⁹ In November 1978 there were 278 lodging houses containing 11, 321 units in the neighbourhood. Residents were predominantly white men, many of them former resource workers, with an average age of 51 and an average length of residency of 4 years. The majority were unemployed, often with a disability. Housing conditions had deteriorated due to disinvestment. By the mid-1980s, the average income was around \$500 CAD/month. Average rents at around this time were around \$236 CAD/month. Half of the SRO residents were paying more than 40% of their income for rent (Antolin, 1989).

¹⁰ ‘Gastown’s “harsh world” rapped as tenants meet’, *Vancouver Sun* 3 August 1970, p. 6.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ ‘No room at the inn as Gastown goes mod’, *Vancouver Sun* August 8 1970, p. 10.

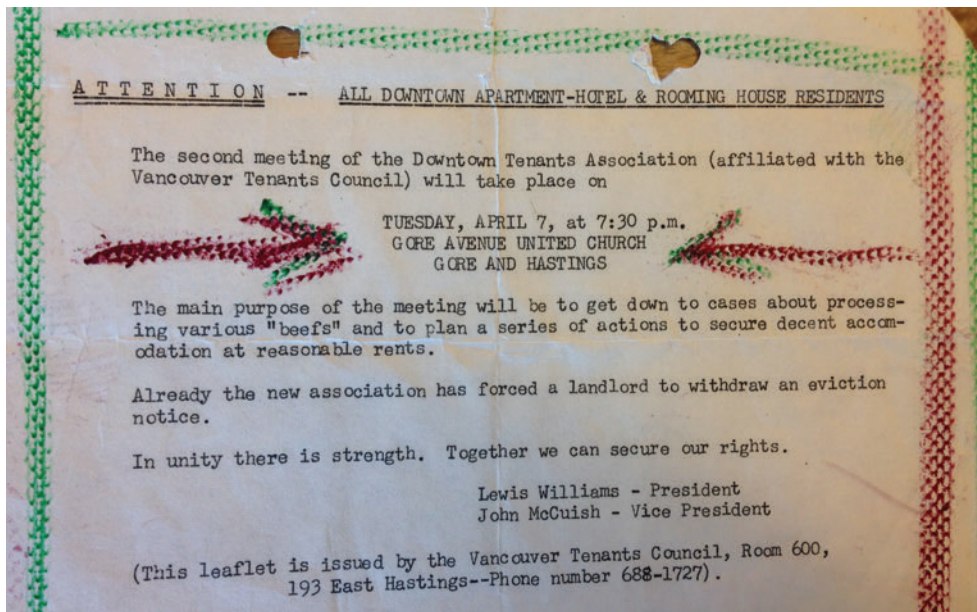


FIGURE 1 Organizing notice for Downtown Tenants Association, 1970 (source: City of Vancouver Archives S518 Rental Accommodation Grievance Fonds. Photograph taken by a member of the Right to Remain Research Collective)

Yet it was in Skid Road that the new LTA was first put to work, with the DTA successfully bringing the first case under the new law in June 1970.¹⁴ The court refused an application by the landlord to evict a tenant of the Orwell Apartments who refused to pay an improper rent increase. Under the act, a landlord could not evict if the 'notice to quit was given because of the tenant's attempt to secure or enforce his legal rights'.¹⁵ The tenant, interestingly, was Lewis Williams, president of the DTA. The Orwell was a rooming house built in 1911.

The Skid Road Exemption

Formally, the distinction between a licensee and a tenant is well established in the common law.¹⁶ Conventionally, someone who stays overnight in a hotel acquires only a conditional licence to use the room. But what of a long-term rooming house resident? Clearly, the courts assumed that they were tenants, as did state officials. A 1970 letter from the provincial Inspector of Legal Services to Bruce Yorke, the Secretary of the BC Tenants Organization, confidently opined that the new LTA applies to 'apartment hotels where such accommodation is to all intents and purposes the residence of the tenant'.¹⁷

So it was clear that the writ of modern landlord-tenant law ran even to the 'flop houses' of Skid Road. But this was to change, ironically, with the 1972 election of the progressive pro-tenant New Democratic Party, crafting a new LTA in June 1974. Activists in Skid Road, now relabelled the Downtown Eastside (DES) by the newly created activist group, the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA), assumed

14 Tenants group moves against city landlords', *The Province* 11 April 1970, p. 23.

15 'Eviction barred in Tenant Act case', *Vancouver Sun* 5 June 1970, p. 17.

16 This was made sharply evident in the report from the Law Reform Commission of British Columbia (LRCBC) in July 1973, requested by Attorney General Alex Macdonald as a precursor to the 1974 Act. Essentially, the relationship of a licensee is deemed 'a personal one'. As such '[s]ecurity of tenure in an apartment is one thing but security of tenure at the dinner table is quite another' (LRCBC, 1973, 21-22).

17 City of Vancouver Archives, COV S518 Rental Accommodation Grievance Board fonds.

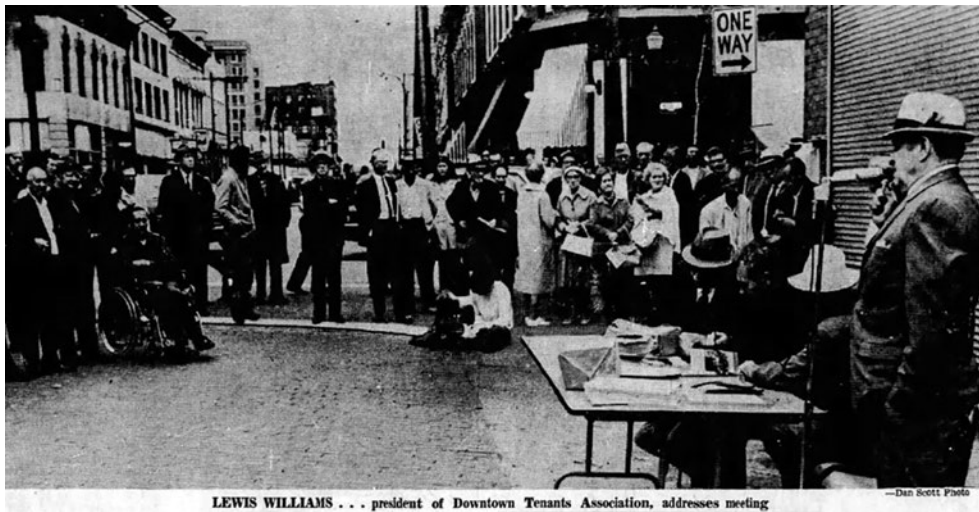


FIGURE 2 Lewis Williams, President of the Downtown Tenants Association, addresses a meeting (source: material republished with the express permission of *The Vancouver Sun*, a division of Postmedia Network Inc.)

that the new law was still operative in the city's low-income hotels and rooming houses.¹⁸ In October, 1974 the new law came into effect. A rent increase at the Drake Hotel was imposed, without regard for the new legislation. DERA queried this with Barrie Clark, the newly appointed Rentalsman, a government official charged with the administration of provincial landlord-tenant law. In November 1974, he confidently announced that Skid Road hotels came under the protection of the LTA, asserting that he would recognize long-term hotel residents as tenants under the Act, boldly claiming that his office 'claim jurisdiction and assume that this type of situation is a tenancy unless our decision is contested and overturned in the courts'.¹⁹

However, on 28 May 1975 in an unprecedented shift Clark changed his mind, citing a report from his lawyers that indicated that the hotels were exempt from the Act. As the media reported it, he claimed to be 'powerless over skid road hotels'.²⁰ The 'property space' (Blomley, 2020), in other words, was recalibrated, with 'tenants' becoming 'licensees'. The 'lodger loophole' or 'Skid Road Exemption', as it was dubbed by activists, was a radical departure.²¹ As noted, judging by the actions of the courts and tenant groups such as the VTA, those living in hotels had been regarded as tenants since 1970. While the LTA was hardly a radical assertion of the rights of tenants, it was clearly an improvement. Hotel residents had evidently organized on the basis that they were tenants, protected by the LTA, successfully persuading the courts of their rights.

DERA was furious, arguing that DES hotels were not 'true hotels',²² and complaining that residents were now back under the thumb of unscrupulous owners. Activists noted that some tenants had been locked out of their rooms without notice following Clark's determination, while others were 'terrified of their landlords'. DERA alleged that some hotels were raising rents by 100%, on the assumption that they were exempt from the LTA.²³

18 'How to fight your landlord', *Downtown East* May 1974, p. 7.

19 'Rentalsman to protect roomers', *The Province* 12 October 1974, p. 1.

20 'Powerless over skid road hotels', *The Province* 28 May 1975, p. 41.

21 *ibid.*

22 'Eastsiders protest tenant act loopholes outside legislature', *Vancouver Sun* 4 June 1975, p. 11.

23 'Rent increase complaint probed', *The Vancouver Sun* June 6 1975, p. 40; 'Tenants regard rent commission, as oppressive force', *Downtown East* July 1975, p. 3.

However precarious, property relations in hotels were not outside the law. First, as noted, they were legally produced, insofar as state officials had placed residents in a space of legal precarity. Second, these arrangements continued to be legally constituted, albeit through a highly predatory set of arrangements that echoed the pre-1970 landlord-tenant regime. Despite its name, the 'exemption' was not one of legal *abandonment*, in other words, but one of relegated *outlawry*. For the default regulatory framework governing hotel residents, once exempted from the LTA, was the venerable Innkeepers Act.²⁴ This Act itself was remarkably brief, at just two pages long. It was mostly focused on the personal belongings of 'guests', empowering the innkeeper to seize their belongings for non-payment of services, limiting the liability of the innkeeper regarding the belongings, and allowing for the expulsion of undesirable visitors. Beyond this, it was entirely silent on rent increases, rates and evictions: these matters were to left to the discretion of the innkeeper.

In that sense, the exemption 'outlawed' hotel residents. The Innkeepers Act, true to its name, allowed innkeepers to act upon residents and to do so with impunity. They were publicly empowered to govern their 'private' domain, creating a space for extractive relations. The residents became effectively rightless, subject to the powers of the landlord. Therefore residents' access to shelter could be characterized as dependent on a 'precarious' property relation, held at the pleasure of the landlord, who could withdraw access at any moment (Blomley, 2020). The resultant regime, predicated on dominance and discretion, noted a DERA leader in the mid-1980s, meant that residents were 'left to the whim and mercy of the landlord':

In the majority of cases the landlord takes full advantage of his legislated powers. General practices that most residents experience are: a resident pays his or her rent by the month only to find out that in a long month he or she must pay extra for the 31st day. On a long month the rates are shifted from monthly to weekly.

As the landlord has total right to determine who may enter the lodging house, a host of practices have developed. They include:

- allowing no visitors.
- charging the resident for visitors (the going rate currently is \$5.30 CAD).
- excluding community workers, relatives and political canvassers from visiting the resident, at the landlords' discretion.
- excluding members of the media from visiting the resident or examining the housing conditions.
- rent may be raised by any amount at any time and at any interval. We have recently witnessed hundreds of rent increases given with one week's notice ranging from 300 to 600%.
- No legislation governs evictions. No notice is required, no cause is required, no reasons given. There is no mediation mechanism. There is no appeal. When a lodging house resident contests his or her eviction the police are called in and they 'stand by' while the resident and belongings are moved onto the street. The Vancouver Police's position of non-intervention always leads to the resident being evicted.²⁵

This empowerment of hotel landlords was to prefigure the rule of contemporary slumlords like the Sahotas. Yet slumlordism was by no means predetermined: other

24 R.S. 1948 c 160, s 1 <https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/hstats/hstats/192150783> (accessed 5 May 2021).

25 Green, J. (1986) *The experience of low-income singles in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver*. Prepared for The Ontario Task Force on Roomers, Boarders and Lodgers, pp. 4-5.

regulatory paths, opening at precisely this time, were not taken. As noted later, the period also saw a growing recognition of the particular challenges that DES hotel owners confronted. A report prepared for the BC Hotels Association in 1978 on downtown hotels differentiated regular hotels from those catering primarily to the ‘permanent single guest’, noting that for the latter, rents and occupancy rates were low.²⁶ Frustrations at inconsistent regulatory by-law enforcement were noted, as were the costs of maintaining old buildings. The report noted that, because of the poor returns on investment in hotels (particularly evident in the DES), many hotel owners were willing ‘to accept a form of control as a condition of obtaining financial relief by means of government subsidies’.²⁷ It was for these reasons, presumably, that many hotel owners subsequently participated in a federal scheme that forgave rehabilitation loans to landlords in return for rent control for a fixed period. Had this continued and been intensified, it is possible to imagine that private hotel owners would have become quasi-public housing providers.

Yet, absent state action, relegation intensified, and the outlaw zone became more entrenched. Moreover, legal relegation such as the LTA exemption occurred in other sectors, notably the City’s conscious non-enforcement of its Building and Standard of Maintenance Bylaw (Masuda and the Right to Remain Collective, 2021). This surely sent a signal to landlords that they were free to act with impunity towards those residents who bore the wolf’s head of the outlawed, effectively granting them considerable extractive powers with minimal state oversight.

‘Sixteen down, 11,984 to go’: ‘deemed’ tenants

The Skid Road Exemption was always contested. DERA, in particular, lobbied hard against it, meeting with the NDP caucus in 1975 to press for an amendment to the LTA to explicitly include tenants of residential hotels, rooming houses and lodging houses.²⁸ Their insistence that SRO residents be treated like non-SRO tenants should not be regarded as a claim that the two are the same. Rather, it is an attack on outlawry, with the claim that the former should not be relegated to a rightless non-citizenship. Yet, rather than collapsing the exemption, the state offered an internal, secondary one. Rather than resolving the issue, this merely created a space of discretionary ambiguity and irresolution, leading most commonly to denial. For the reversal of outlaw status required an institutional commitment that the state was unable and unwilling to provide.

The 1974 LTA was amended, empowering the Rentalsman to designate or deem hotel residents as tenants under certain conditions and thus granting them protection under the Act. But from the outset it was made clear in legislative debates that this was intended to be a highly particular form of differentiation. Rather than a legion of bureaucrats combing the rooming houses of the province, the responsible Minister made clear that this assessment was intended to apply only to the SRO residents of the Downtown Eastside. Moreover, rather than realized by fiat, the expectation was that individual requests would be made to the Rentalsman.²⁹

Not surprisingly, questions were raised in the Legislature concerning the granularity of the process, with one MLA noting that he was ‘just a little boggled at the bureaucracy that must be involved if each individual decision on designation has to be taken in relation to the person occupying the premises, which in these cases that we’re

26 J.D. Clark Consulting (1978) *Report on occupancy decline in the Vancouver Downtown East Side and Granville Corridor hotels and the effect on hotel employment*.

27 *ibid.* p. 96.

28 ‘DERA Requests Amendment to Bill 105’, *Downtown East* June 1975, p. 4.

29 https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/31st-parliament/2nd-session/31p_02s_770830p#05091 (30 August 1977, p. 5089; accessed 12 February 2021).

talking about is one room'.³⁰ Critics pointed out that, effectively, all hotel residents in the DES were in continuous occupation and queried why a blanket designation was not appropriate. Government ministers responded by insisting that the situation was uncertain: 'We're not in a very clear situation here. You can't look at one of these buildings and say: "Yes, it is a hotel," or "No, it is not a hotel." It is often part one and part the other, and that indeed is what the problem is'.³¹ The Opposition MLA for the area, Emery Barnes, was more blunt:

We are again asking: when is a tenant a tenant, and when is a tenant not a tenant? It's a question that seems to evade the government. I think the reason is that it's more concerned about protecting people who have financial and economic muscle ... Why is it that the tenant has to be subjected to abuse and has to have a nebulous situation and not be sure of himself, with no guarantee?³²

DERA's Bruce Eriksen characterized the 'deemed tenant' loophole as a cop-out. 'Either residents of hotels receive total protection under the act or none at all', he complained. 'The compromises ... are inadequate, ineffective and unconscionable'.³³ DERA did indeed submit multiple requests to have hotel residents deemed tenants in response to the predations of the Innkeepers Act. Jean Swanson, a DERA organizer, noted that tenants were coming to the Association's office everyday with hardships caused by evictions, confiscated possessions, exorbitant rent increases, and seizure of rent advanced prior to an eviction. However, the discretionary logic of the deemed tenant process meant that DERA was unsure where to submit these grievances other than 'swamping the offices of the Minister of Human Resources and the Rentalsman with hundreds of individual complaints'. Rather than the case-by-case approach, Swanson asked reasonably, could not the state generate a list of all those tenants who are residents in hotels and rooming houses, and in receipt of public funds, and then designate them all as covered by the LTA?³⁴

Indeed, state officials seemed equally uncertain as to how to respond to such individual complaints, such as the 'handicapped pensioner' illegally evicted from the Woodbine Hotel or the resident of the Anchor Hotel who faced two rent raises during a 12-month period amounting to a 70% increase. An internal state memorandum noted candidly that full implementation of the deemed tenant assessment 'could not be done due to insufficient staff', but also indicated that there were rumours of a new amendment. In a classic bureaucratic buck-passing move, it was recommended that requests be compiled and forwarded to provincial officials until such time as it becomes clear whether the amendment was operative.³⁵

Internal documents show the dismissive response of a bureaucrat to the litany of 'complaints and grievances' that had been forwarded to him up the chain, dismissing most on the *a priori* assumption that these were obviously cases involving licences, not tenancies, providing a didactic textbook distinction of the two:

Many people do not understand the difference between renting an apartment and a room in a motel/hotel. The former gives the tenant exclusive possession, and the landlord cannot freely enter the premises or pursue [a] course of action contrary to the Landlord and Tenant Act. In the latter case, the guest does not have exclusive possession of the premises, and the regulations under the Innkeeper's Act do not afford too much protection to the guest.³⁶

30 *ibid.*

31 *ibid.*

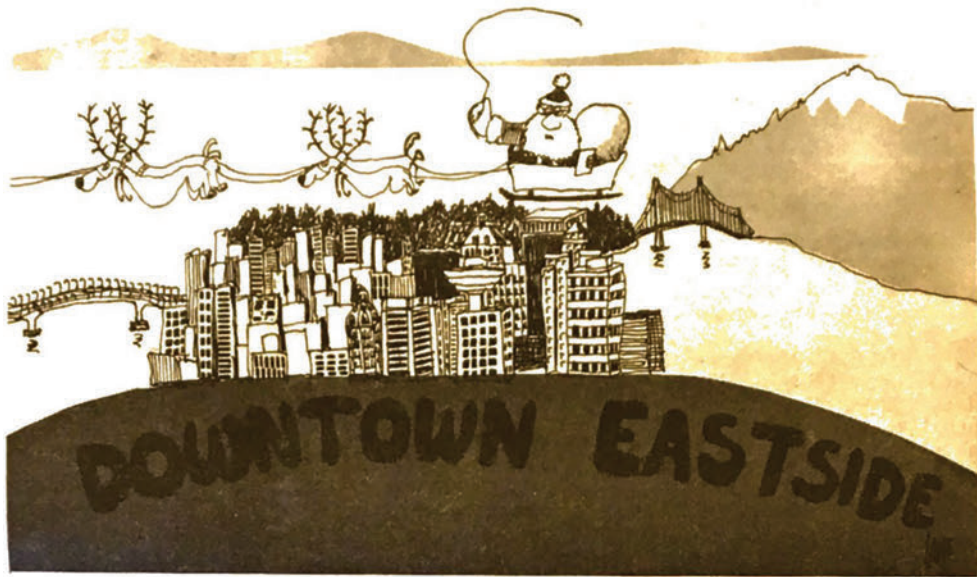
32 *ibid.*

33 'Petition urges dismissal of A-G over rents', *Vancouver Sun* 20 June 1975.

34 Jean Swanson to Harry Rankin 4 July 1975 (BC Archives GR-2921 box 9 file 1 pt 2 redacted).

35 Memorandum 3 October 1975: To J. Noble, Executive Director Social Services and Income Security from H.E. Saville, Assistant Executive Director, Income Security (BC Archives GR-2921 box 9 file 1, pt 2 redacted).

36 B.D. Bentley to B. Wynn, 11 December 1975 (BC Archives GR-2921 box 9 file 1 pt 1_redacted).



"Nope, there's no permanent residents on my list for the Downtown Eastside!"

FIGURE 3 Looking for 'permanent residents' (source: *Downtown East*, January 1978, p. 6. Created by David Lane, used with permission)

Yet, whatever the legal technicalities, it was clear to the Rentalsman that the majority of the hotel units of the DES would meet the state's own criteria for tenant status.³⁷ Yet, despite this, the authorities insisted on maintaining the burdensome policy of case-by-case assessment of individual residents. It is hard not to surmise that the state regarded SRO residents, by virtue of their devalued status, as less than worthy of inclusion in the imagined space of legal tenancy. Once an outlaw, always an outlaw, it seems.

Acquiring tenant status, then, was a Sisyphean task. So challenging was escape from outlawry that it seems to have taken until January 1978 before the first cases—16 residents of the Brazil Hotel, facing rent increases of up to 57%—were successful in receiving tenant status, after an extensive campaign by DERA. As the Association pointed out in its newsletter, nearly another 12,000 residents were without such protection: '16 down, 11,984 to go' they lamented. Requiring a declaration before a commissioner of oaths, and a formal hearing, the process 'defies logic', Eriksen complained, also noting that the designation was removed as soon as a tenant relocated. The Rentalsman, Barrie Clark, worried at his office's ability to cope with a large number of applications, yet continued to acknowledge the 'hundreds and thousands of people who have every right to protection of the Landlord and Tenant Act'.³⁸ A cartoon of Santa flying over the neighbourhood (Figure 3) in DERA's newsletter mocked the wilful myopia of the state, in its refusal to enact the loophole within the loophole that it had created.³⁹

DERA and its allies continued to challenge the Skid Road Exemption, arguing that the residents of hotels and rooming houses 'are permanent tenants. They have no other homes and deserve the same rights (and obligations) as other tenants in the

³⁷ BC Archives MS-1163 box 1 file 37_redacted.

³⁸ 'Brazil resident's first hotel tenants' *Downtown East* January 1978, pp. 1, 6.

³⁹ *ibid.*

province'.⁴⁰ This bore legislative fruit when the Residential Tenancy Act Amendment Act passed the legislature in 1980 with only one dissenting vote. Seemingly designed to tidy up many loose ends of the 1974 LTA, it also designated premises that had been occupied for two consecutive months as a tenancy. This followed the request of the new Rentalsman, Jim Patterson, that the RTA be extended to cover hotel residents, with the relevant Minister expressing interest.⁴¹

Despite official willingness to consider the change, in 1982 the provincial Minister of Consumer Affairs, Peter Hyndman, declined to proclaim this section into law. This was in response to a question in the Legislature from Gary Lauk, political representative for Vancouver Centre, who noted that a resident in the Empress Hotel in the DES had been virtually held hostage in her hotel room because of the powers vested in the landlord due to the Innkeepers Act. Hyndman countered by noting that (1) the office of the Rentalsman was already struggling with the existing backlog under the existing 'deemed tenant' process, and his first priority was to cut through the backlog; (2) if hotel residents were to become tenants, they would be obliged to come up with a security deposit, and '*those people* who ... find this an appropriate kind of lodging [our emphasis]' would be unable to cover such costs; (3) the rental vacancy rate was easing (Patterson had noted this as a concern in 1980) which 'produces the flexibility for many tenants' to relocate if they wish to, the presumption being that this placed hotel residents in a stronger bargaining position vis-à-vis landlords; and (4), most importantly, the 1980 amendment would apply to the entire province, where the 'system works just fine', while the problem applies to '30 square blocks of Vancouver' (this despite earlier comments).⁴² In sum, the status of SRO residents was not worth state energy and resources. If there was a problem, people could move, and if outlaw status were lifted, residents would fail as tenants.

Thus, despite continued pressure to bring hotel residents under tenancy law, by 1984 a legal advocacy group could conclude that the government 'has given up any attempt to protect long-term residents of accommodation who are not technically tenants. This throws people who live permanently in hotels, rooming houses, shared accommodation etc. at the mercy of the very complex arbitrary definitions of a license as opposed to a tenancy'.⁴³

In 1986, the merciless effects of the Skid Road Exemption became clear, as DES hotels summarily evicted hundreds of long-term residents in preparation for an influx of tourists attending the Expo World's Fair, often with a day's notice. This had devastating effects on residents, leading to several deaths. This was despite widespread predictions of such an outcome, and DERA's attempt to carve out a protective Skid Road Exemption, in which the neighbourhood would be placed under a rent and eviction freeze for the duration of the Fair. Provincial politicians, in thrall to neoliberal thinking, feared that such interventions would distort the marketplace. Michael Walker, advisor to the ruling provincial party, stated that displaced residents would 'save everyone a lot of trouble if they were all put on buses to Kootenays [the interior of BC] ... The world runs by greed ... It's not a question of dire necessity. It's a question of choice of location'.⁴⁴ The Premier also pointed to the beneficial social cleansing of evictions: 'Handling problems of people and also encouraging the removal of areas that many communities could be called a slum area' are the government's priorities, he said.⁴⁵

40 DERA to Rafe Mair, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, 14 April 1977, original emphasis (BC Archives, MS-1163 box 1 file 37_redacted). As noted earlier, the evidence indicates that SRO residents were not particularly transient, as is often suggested (Antolin, 1989).

41 'Rentalsman seeks more tenant protection', *Vancouver Sun* 21 February 1980, p. 3.

42 https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/32nd-parliament/4th-session/32p_04s_820629p (June 1982, pp. 8507-8; accessed 12 February 2021).

43 'Comments on Bill 19' by Vancouver Community Legal Assistance Society (British Columbia Archives, 240-A-3 fld 5.pdf)

44 'Economist backs busing evictees', *Vancouver Sun* 23 April 1986.

45 'Bill won't take blame', *The Province* 25 April 1986, p. 27.

Why exempt Skid Road?

The political calculations behind the initial Skid Road Exemption, if any, are unclear.⁴⁶ Whatever may have motivated it, it turns, we suggest, on a nexus of interlocking assumptions and denials. First, it entailed a profound devaluation of the significance of housing for SRO residents, with a denial of the benefits of secure tenure. Second, it rested on an assumption that legal protection would lead to the collapse of the SRO stock. In a perverse form of legal devaluation, residents were deemed too vulnerable to be protected. Third, relegation was justified because of the assumed difference of the area, with residents themselves being blamed for their own housing crisis.

Rationales provided by state officials are revealing. In January 1976 Barrie Clark, the Rentalsman, issued an internal report concerning the possible blanket designation of certain DES hotels under the Landlord-Tenant Act.⁴⁷ This seems to have been prompted by a concern, presumably on the part of DERA, that dramatic rent increases had occurred in these hotels. As noted above, it was clear to Clark that the majority of these hotels would fall within the 'deemed tenant' status, noting that over 50% of the units had been occupied for more than a year. However, rather than endorsing their designation, Clark condemned it, and recommended that the deemed tenant status be 'reconsidered by the Government'.

In part, this was due to a concern that blanket designation would generate 'immense workload' for his Office. Most importantly, however, he argued that do so 'would seriously disrupt the entire relationship between landlords and tenants in this section of the city'.⁴⁸ In a remarkable assertion, he asserted that the status quo was working, insofar as quasi-feudal property relations were operating successfully, as:

the tenants in these facilities do not wish or require the services of this office. In fact, the Innkeeper's Act has apparently brought a fairly balanced relationship in these hotels. Anyone who disturbs the peace and quiet is immediately evicted and this is what the fellow occupants desire. Rent collection appears to be no problem as the innkeeper has the right to seize chattels. We received no objection to innkeepers having this right.⁴⁹

Rather than concluding that the arbitrary rule of hotel owners should be remedied by bringing them within the regulatory space of landlord-tenant law, he insisted on maintaining the exemption on the principle that to bring them under such protection would 'disrupt' the ecology of extractive rentier relations 'in this section of the city'. It is hard to interpret this argument as anything but a blunt endorsement of the power of the slumlord, and a profound devaluation of the relationship that SRO residents might have to their home.

Clark also differentiated SROs from other rental spaces, noting that these distinctions should be grounds for continuing the Skid Road Exemption. Hotel residents are not like regular tenants, it seems. Were an SRO resident to be brought under the LTA, 'he' would be evictable given that 'he has not fulfilled his obligations' under the Act. And hotel owners are said to not be like regular landlords, as many do not abide by municipal standards, and 'rules and regulations change frequently, services provided by management are adjusted according to the situation, and tenancies change

46 The role of an obvious culprit, the BC Hotel Association (BCHA), has been noted. Libby Davies, an organizer for DERA at the time, who noted that the province's Attorney-General had represented DES landlords in the past, including the owners of the Paris and Ohio Rooms, suggested that the BCHA had lobbied hard to remove tenancy protections from hotels (email to author, 4 March 2020). There was also a personal relationship between the Attorney-General and a major hotel owner ("Cockroach haven" landlords have upper crust connections', *Vancouver Sun* 18 March 1978, A 21). However, tangible evidence of lobbying is lacking in the archive.

47 British Columbia Archives MS-1163 box 1 file 37_redacted.

48 *ibid.*

49 *ibid.*

without any notice being given or being requested'.⁵⁰ In other words, the very 'outlaw' status of SROs justifies their continued exclusion from landlord-tenant law. But this is, of course, arguably a product not simply of endogenous relations 'in this section of the city', but also a predictable outcome of the state's own decision to expel hotel residents from the LTA, and outlaw them into the highly precarious property relations of the Innkeepers Act.

This argument becomes clearer in a set of briefing notes from June 1977 for a provincial minister, prior to a meeting with DERA, which was lobbying for tenancy protection for hotel residents.⁵¹ An anonymous official (likely Clark) warned that such protections would have 'serious implications'. Hotel owners were characterized as economically precarious. Many hotel owners would close hotels if they were forced into the RTA, he argued, because their operations were already marginal. 'At the very least they will fight the changes and the tenant will be the loser'.⁵² Their very vulnerability means that they cannot be brought within the fold of modern landlord-tenant law, in other words, but were to retain their quasi-feudal powers vis-à-vis their residents. Moreover, residents were also differentiated by their behaviour, it being feared that:

Many of these people could be evicted easily under the L & T Act due to their behavior and the landlord could then raise rents for the next person. Those who are difficult to house would find themselves expelled from all hotels which have been more tolerant of them than any rooming houses.⁵³

So, in order to protect housing for poor people, we must empower predatory landlords, it seems. Again, the legal differentiation of poor people's housing is justified by the need to sustain that housing, for to protect it would be, apparently, to destroy it.

SROs are framed as ungovernable, then, by virtue of both the economic precariousness of their owners, and the deviant behaviour of their residents. Their very difference means that they cannot be treated in the same manner as other forms of housing. The residents are too vulnerable to be protected, it seems, for legal protection would simply enhance their vulnerability. This is a subtle form of devaluation. It does not overtly characterize SRO residents as less worthy of legal protection than regular renters (who have long been devalued, of course). Rather, it practises a perverse form of welfarism, in which the state's duty to 'protect' poor people and their access to substandard housing requires their relegation to the outlaw zone.

The argument against DERA's lobbying was buttressed by supplementary advice from the Rentalsman's Office, which provided the following comments: (1) If the hotels come under the LTA, hotel owners will fight the move in the courts, and react against tenants. Tenants will be moved to undesignated [i.e. not 'deemed tenant'] rooms, or will be given only one-day leases, or will be evicted; (2) forcing landlords to provide better standards in the rooms is doomed to failure, as landlords are in 'deep financial trouble and are unable to absorb more losses'; and (3) such a redesignation will be pyrrhic: If landlords are forced to raise standards, 'they will not be able to tolerate renting their rooms to a number of current clients who are alcoholics, collectors of "junk" etc. These people who are hard to house will be without shelter'.⁵⁴ Again, it would seem to follow from this argument that we need bad housing and bad landlords to house poor people.

50 *ibid.*

51 British Columbia Archives, GR-0498 box 24 file 5 pages.

52 No evidence is provided for this claim, which becomes a continued assertion. Activists characterize this as a myth, pointing out that landlords charged rents/square foot higher than anywhere in the City (David Lane, email to author, 10 February 2021).

53 British Columbia Archives GR-0498 box 24 file 5 pages.

54 *ibid.*

So the state's differentiated relegation constitutes the SRO as a *sui generis* category. Its very difference renders it ungovernable within the terms of modern landlord–tenant law. The vulnerability and precarity of SRO residents is deemed to be so profound that to extend landlord–tenant protections to them would render them more vulnerable. The logical corollary of this reasoning, of course, is that residents are to be outlawed to the rightless vulnerability of the Innkeepers Act. However, this is justified by Clark given his characterization of the ‘fairly balanced relationship’ operative in the hotels. Rough and ready it may be, but it seems acceptable given the presumed characteristics of residents, who disturb the peace of their neighbours and fail to pay rent. They do things differently on Skid Road, remember. Outlaws deserve outlaw zones, it seems.

This logic is to become a continued refrain in the DES. Not only are residents too vulnerable to be protected but, as we can see above, landlords are too precarious to be regulated. The City's contemporary reluctance to enforce its own Standards and Maintenance Bylaw against millionaire slumlords like the Sahotas, Jack Gates's predatory and violent landlord, reflects this continued logic. At the core of the exemption is a pernicious and calculated differentiation. The poor are not like us. Outlaw people are too vulnerable to be protected. Outlaws deserve outlaw housing. The affirmative benefits that property rights provide SRO residents, meagre though they are, are summarily dismissed. In that sense, the outlawed are denied the right to have rights. They are ineligible for personhood: while subject to law, they are not its beneficiaries (Wright, 2011). As such, they are relegated to an outlaw zone of ‘social death’, predicated on the legal protection and valuation of whiteness (Mitchell, 2009; Cacho, 2012). Slumlords, moreover, are to be granted additional powers of predation, due to their assumed vulnerability.

Legal relegation, although inherently spatial,⁵⁵ does not rest on overt forms of territorial stigmatization (Wacquant 2007), in which SRO residents are obviously less worthy of protection because of their spatial location. However, there is a pernicious legal geographic imaginary at work here, that serves to efface the role of law in producing spatial difference. Particular landlord–tenant ecologies ‘in this section of the city’ are assumed to be a product of extant socio-economic geographies unique to, and generated by, a place that is marked off as deviant and different. The role of state relegation in producing this outlaw space is occluded. This rests on, and reproduces, a long-standing self-reproducing representation of the DES, like so many spaces of relegation, by external actors. Framed as a ‘discrete space and an official public problem ... [and imagined as a] space that differ[s] radically, even perilously, from the city around it’ (Sommers, 2001: 85), it is presumed to be both cause and effect of its failure, against which attempts at remediation are bound to fail. A discursive link was forged long ago between the space of Skid Road and the presence of the derelict. Outlaws *create* outlaw spaces, in other words. ‘The human and physical go hand-in-hand’ opined one journalist.⁵⁶ ‘There is no answer to the skid road’, one expert intoned in 1952: ‘The skid road isn't buildings—it's people. And as long as you have people of the mentality of these, you'll have skidroad’.⁵⁷ In a 1966 opinion piece tellingly titled ‘Moving furniture won't help’,⁵⁸ Thomas Cocking, a former police officer, characterized Skid Road as a ‘haven for the rejects of society’, such as the alcoholic, addict and ‘sex deviate’, characterizing it as an ‘*unyielding mass*’ (my emphasis) against which state solutions

55 Relegation derives from the late Middle English (in the sense ‘send into exile’): from Latin *relegat* ‘sent away, referred’, from the verb *relegare*, from *re-* ‘again’ + *legare* ‘send’.

56 Bill Ryan (1952) ‘Skidroad’, *Vancouver Province*, 13 November 1952, p. 47.

57 Quoted in Bill Ryan (1952) ‘Vancouver's shame—the lowest in humanity’, *Vancouver Province* 12 November 1952, p. 1.

58 ‘Moving furniture won't help’ *Vancouver Sun* 1 November 1966, p. 6.

will inevitably fail. ‘Skid Road’ he concludes ‘is not just a geographic accident, it is a hard core of human failure’.

The half-life of the exemption

In 1989 the province finally extended tenancy status to SRO residents, although it could not bring itself to bring them fully into the fold, declaring that legally they had been granted ‘near tenancy’ status, with hotel owners empowered to charge limits to visitors, with small rooming houses exempted.⁵⁹ David Lane, a tenant’s rights advocate, feared that landlords, who are used to ‘taking the law into the own hands’ will continue to treat hotel residents as licensees (quoted in Gilbert, 1989: 54). Judging by the actions of the Sahota slumlords, Lane was correct. A recent analysis (Fleming *et al.*, 2019) notes that landlord–tenant relations in contemporary private SROs, many technically covered by landlord–tenant law, are highly predatory. SRO residents have experienced numerous evictions, threatened or realized, in inconsistent and often unpredictable ways. Denied the right to have rights, respondents noted that they were targeted for eviction if they voiced concerns at housing conditions. Landlords rarely stored their belongings appropriately, frequently disposing of them after a tenant had vacated a unit. Like Jack Gates, they also reported frequent cases of landlords threatening them with physical violence or destroying their property to force them out of a unit. ‘Miranda’, a 31-year-old white woman, described her eviction from a privately owned SRO, in a clear case of non-compliance with tenancy protection:

When I came home from work at 9:30 the guy at the front door told me I was barred from the building. I was not allowed there. And I said, ‘Well, could you tell me why? I’d like to know what I did’. He goes, ‘Oh, well, your rent wasn’t paid’ ... Like if they barred me from the building, there should be an eviction notice, at least in my mailbox ... I was furious that they didn’t have enough decency to treat me like a human being and actually talk to me about what was going on, because they don’t like to listen to what they’re doing wrong. And to this day I have tried to talk with them a few times, and, ‘Well, we don’t have time for this, and you’re not our tenant anymore, and it’s not our problem, so just fuck off. Go away’ (Fleming *et al.*, 2019: 5).

These unlawful acts occurred in SROs formally governed by the RTA, like Jack Gates’s building. However, the 2018 RTA created a new Skid Road Exemption, explicitly excluding ‘transitional housing (i.e., non-profit housing with fixed rental terms) and accommodation which provides rehabilitative or therapeutic treatments or services. In 2016 a guideline was released deeming ‘transitional’ housing exempt from the RTA, while ‘supportive housing’ was subject to the RTA.⁶⁰ There remains ambiguity in drawing these distinctions (*PHS Community Services Society v. Swait*, 2018 BCSC 824). Given that 45% of SRO units are managed by non-profits, it is clear that many residents are outside tenancy protection (such as it is). A DES legal advocate noted that providers of ‘supportive’ SRO housing routinely abrogate tenant’s rights, in violation of the RTA, either through sheer ignorance of the policy guideline, by knowingly overriding tenant protections, due to lack of oversight, or by treating their housing as a ‘housing-based health facility’ under the terms of the RTA (s.4(g)(v)) and requiring residents to sign ‘program agreements’ in which they waive most rights they have to tenancy protection.⁶¹

59 https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/34th-parliament/3rd-session/34p_03s_890712p (July 1989; accessed 12 February 2021).

60 <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/housing-and-tenancy/residential-tenancies/policy-guidelines/gl46.pdf> (accessed 12 February 2021).

61 Email to author, 5 December 2019.

In 1988, the local provincial representative for the area, Emery Barnes, who had long lobbied against the Skid Road Exemption, noted that the relationship between landlords and SRO tenants was highly asymmetrical:

Landlords quite often are dictatorial. They are heavy-handed with their tenants; they use pressure and threats. There is a fair amount of intimidation and coercion with impunity ... [M]any of [the residents are] so frightened that they wouldn't make a complaint anyway, because there's no protection for them. They are captivated, in a sense, by the landlords. If there were ever any truth to the landlord being lord and master, I think it's the owners of these hotels.⁶²

Over three decades later, despite the notional closing of the 'lodger's loophole', too many tenants remain 'captivated' within spaces of outlawry. SROs are thus outlaw zones in both senses of the word: they are spaces of extralegal violence and predation, constituted by forms of legal relegation. In that outlawry entails relegating those deemed less worthy of protection by the law as outside legal protection, so it might be said that by living in the Regent, Jack Gates had entered a space in which he lost legal protection, as evidenced by the refusal of the police officer who attended his assault to defend his rights. As an outlaw, Jack bore the wolf's head, and thus his landlord was empowered to harm him. Yet the risk he faced needs to be understood not only as an act of unlawful violence, but within a history of outlawry in the second sense, predicated on legal relegation, spatial and legal differentiation, and subjective devaluation. The civic death he confronted, and challenged, rests similarly on a radical devaluation of his propertied status. He lived in the outlaw zone and thus should expect the bestial violence that is presumptively endemic to it. He lived in a space of legal relegation, in which his propertied personhood is devalued.

To break down Jack's door at night in order to threaten his attempt to mobilize law is to be condemned as an illegal act of coercive violence. Yet to characterize this act simply as lawless is to miss the vital work of legal relegation in outlawing Jack, and creating the 'outlaw zone' in which he was consigned. Tracing the work of law in creating outlaw space is vital political work, allowing us to move between the two meanings of 'outlaw'. We must challenge the outlawry that relegates SRO residents to a rightless 'bare life', while also condemning the illegality of landlord actions.⁶³ Here we can learn from slavery abolitionist movements that challenged not only the 'outlaw' status of enslaved people, but also contested the lawfulness of slave regimes, treating slave owners as themselves lawless outlaws (Rosen, 2018: 131).

Law alone does not produce the outlaw zone, of course. Nor should we assume that tenant status constitutes real protection. Moreover, an opposition to relegation should not lead to a denial of the actual differences of SRO. Ignoring the latter can be problematic: tenant organizers make clear that the simple imposition of landlord-tenant law to SROs, without a recognition of the vulnerability of residents to predatory slumlords, can lead to injustice. Indeed, activists have campaigned successfully for specific regulatory interventions into landlord-tenant relations in SROs. Seeking not relegation but promotion, the goal is to re-empower tenants in their relations with landlords. In a victory for tenant power, the City of Vancouver has recently recognized the need for massive state acquisition of the SRO stock, and is considering an unprecedented form of vacancy control in SROs, whereby rents would be tied to the unit,

62 https://www.leg.bc.ca/documents-data/debate-transcripts/34th-parliament/2nd-session/34p_02s_880413p#03838 (13 April 1988; accessed 12 February 2021).

63 It is also important to contest the manner in which the portrayal of the neighbourhood as lawless produces an intensification of legal violence directed not at sustaining life, but negating it (Sylvestre *et al.*, 2020). Imagined as lawless 'outlaw' space, it must be filled with (criminal) law. This, however, obscures the work of 'outlawry' in creating the apparent absence of law (thanks to Jeff Masuda for this prompt).

not the renter. Testament to the sustained pressure from DES tenants in their struggle for the right to remain (Masuda *et al.*, 2020), this sea-change also reflects the continued resonance of legal relegation in this outlaw zone.

Nicholas Blomley, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6, Canada, blomley@sfu.ca

References

- Antolin, M. (1989) Single room occupancy housing: two cases: Vancouver and Toronto. MA thesis, School of Community & Regional Planning, University of British Columbia.
- Bhan, G. (2016) *In the public's interest: evictions, citizenship, and inequality in contemporary Delhi*. University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA.
- Blackstone, W. ([1769] 1979) *Commentaries on the Laws of England, Volume IV*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Blomley, N. (2003) Law, property, and the geography of violence: the frontier, the survey, and the grid. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93.1, 121–41.
- Blomley, N. (2020) Precarious territory: property law, housing and the socio-spatial order. *Antipode*, 52.1, 36–57.
- Blomley, N. and the Right to Remain Collective (2019) Law and property relations: contesting the outlaw zone. In A. Roy and H. Malson (eds.), *Housing justice in unequal cities*, University of California, Los Angeles, CA [WWW document]. URL <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4kq1j0df#blomley>.
- Byrd J.A., A. Goldstein, J. Melamed and C. Reddy (2018) Predatory value: economies of dispossession and disturbed relationalities. *Social Text* 36.2, 1–18.
- Cacho, L.M. (2012) *Social death: racialized rightslessness and the criminalization of the unprotected*. New York University Press, New York, NY.
- Desmond, M. and M. Bell (2015) Housing, poverty, and the law. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 11, 15–35.
- Devlin, R. (2011) 'An area that governs itself': informality, uncertainty and the management of street vending in New York City. *Planning Theory* 10.1, 53–65.
- Devlin, R. (2018) Asking 'third world questions' of first world informality: using Southern theory to parse needs from desires in an analysis of informal urbanism of the global North. *Planning Theory* 17.4, 568–87.
- Fleming, T., W. Damon, A.B. Collins, S. Czechaczeka, J. Boyd and R. McNeil (2019) Housing in crisis: a qualitative study of the socio-legal contexts of residential evictions in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *International Journal of Drug Policy* 71, 169–77.
- Gilbert, L.J. (1989) *Housing trends and the role of public policy in generating homelessness: a case study of Vancouver, British Columbia*. UBC School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.
- Goodrich, P. (1990) *Languages of law; from logics of memory to nomadic masks*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.
- Harris, C. (1993) Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review* 106.8, 1707–91.
- Hathaway, O. and S.J. Shapiro (2011) Outcasting: enforcement in domestic and international law. *The Yale Law Journal* 121.2, 252–349.
- Jon, P.S. (2020) Tenant organizing and the campaign for collective bargaining rights in British Columbia, 1968–75. *BC Studies* 206, 31–58.
- Jones, T. S. (2018) *Outlawry in medieval literature*. Palgrave, New York, NY.
- Liu, S. and N. Blomley (2013) Making news and making space: framing Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *The Canadian Geographer* 57.2, 119–32.
- LRCBC (Law Reform Commission of British Columbia) (1973) *Report on Landlord and Tenant Relationships*. LRCBC, Vancouver.
- Masuda, J.R., A. Franks, A. Kobayashi and T. Wideman (2020) After dispossession: an urban rights praxis of remaining in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 38.2, 229–47.
- Masuda, J. and the Right to Remain Collective (2021) Abandoning the SRO: public health withdrawal from sanitary enforcement in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Journal of Urban History*. doi:10.1177/00961442211018795.
- Mitchell, K. (2009) Pre-Black futures. *Antipode* 41.1, 239–61.
- Peñalver, E. and S. Katyal (2007) Property outlaws. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 155.5, 1096–186.
- Rosen, D.A. (2018) Slavery, race, and outlawry: the concept of the outlaw in nineteenth-century abolitionist rhetoric. *American Journal of Legal History* 58.1, 126–56.
- Roy A. (2005) Urban informality: toward an epistemology of planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71.2, 147–58.
- Roy A. (2009) Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgence, and the idiom of urbanization. *Planning Theory* 8.1, 76–87.
- Roy, A. (2017) Dis/possessive collectivism: property and personhood at city's end. *Geoforum* 80 (March), A1–A11.
- Roy, A. and N. AlSayyad (2004) *Urban informality: transnational perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lexington Books, Lanham, MD.
- Saito, N.T. (2015) Race and decolonization: whiteness as property in the American settler colonial project. *Harvard Journal on Racial and Ethnic Justice* 31 (Spring), 31–68.
- Stewart, S. (2009) Outlawry as an instrument of justice in the thirteenth century. In P. Dalton and J. Appleby (eds.), *Outlaws in medieval and early modern England: crime, government and society c. 1066–c. 1660*. Taylor & Francis, London.
- Sommers, J. (2001) The place of the poor: poverty, space, and the politics of representation in downtown Vancouver, 1950–1997. PhD dissertation, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University.
- Sylvestre, M.-E., N. Blomley and C. Bellot (2019) *Red zones: criminal law and the territorial governance of marginalized people*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Wacquant, L. (2007) Territorial stigmatization in the age of advanced marginality. *Thesis Eleven* 91.1, 66–7.
- Wiegman, R. (1993) The anatomy of lynching. *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3.3, 445–67.
- Wright, M. (2011) Necropolitics, narcolitics, and femicide: gendered violence on the Mexico–U.S. border. *Signs* 36.3, 707–31.



**Mayor and Council
City Hall
453 West 12th Ave
Vancouver, BC
V5Y 1V4**

December 8, 2025

Copy delivered by email to: ken.sim@vancouver.ca, CLRbligh@vancouver.ca,
CLRdominato@vancouver.ca, CLRfry@vancouver.ca, CLRkirby-yung@vancouver.ca,
CLRklassen@vancouver.ca, CLRmaloney@vancouver.ca, CLRmeiszner@vancouver.ca,
CLRmontague@vancouver.ca, CLRorr@vancouver.ca, CLRzhou@vancouver.ca

**Re: Amendments to the FC-1 District in the Zoning and Development By-law
and the Downtown Eastside/Oppenheimer District Official Development Plan
(DEOD ODP) By-law**

On June 4, 2025, The City of Vancouver passed a motion affirming housing as a human right, and recognized that an urgent policy shift is required in order to “ensure access to affordable housing through policies that prevent homelessness, address the escalating homelessness crisis, eliminate discrimination, and prioritize the needs of vulnerable and marginalized populations.”

The right to housing demands immediate attention in the Downtown Eastside (DTES), a diverse and resilient neighbourhood in which people face intersecting challenges of extreme poverty, historical and personal trauma, mental health challenges, disabilities and the overdose crisis.

T: 604.681.8365
E: info@firstunited.ca

firstunited.ca

320 E Hastings St, Vancouver BC V6A 1P4

Located on unceded Xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam),
Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), & Səlilwətaʔ (Tsleil-Waututh) lands.

This area is home to Indigenous people at a proportion more than four times higher than Vancouver overall.¹ In deciding on the proposed rezoning, Council must also meaningfully consider the outsized impact on Indigenous people in the context of its obligations under the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* and in light of the Court of Appeal decision in *Gixtaala v. British Columbia (Chief Gold Commissioner)*.²

Right now, the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District benefits from protective zoning which prioritizes the delivery of social and supportive housing, and which has been very successful in providing this urgently-needed kind of housing. The bylaw changes before Council propose to reduce this protection in favour of market-driven housing.

We write in opposition to the motion, and we call on Council to:

- direct staff to **conduct an assessment of the likelihood of homelessness, displacement, and other social and economic impacts of the proposed changes**, with particular attention to Indigenous people, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups, as was originally planned for these zoning changes;
- direct staff to obtain **an assessment of the potential impacts of land value increases on the viability of social housing, and to examine alternatives to a financial profit-based model**, in light of all relevant evidence;
- direct staff to conduct **a full analysis of whether project viability for for-profit developers will actually result in the delivery of more social housing on a faster scale** than what has been achieved under the existing bylaws;
- improve the language of the Tenant Relocation Protection Policy** for the DEOD and Thornton Park to require actual provision of permanent,

¹ Per federal census 2021 data, 9% of total population in the DTES identifies as Indigenous vs. 2% within Vancouver CMA.

² 2025 BCCA 430

adequate housing, to require consent prior to relocation outside the neighbourhood, to include all Notices to End Tenancy, and to provide top-ups to actual market rent for anyone who exercises a Right of First Refusal;

-remove the 60-year lease option with reversion to private ownership.

We make these calls on the basis of the following:

1. The proposed rezoning will cause additional displacement and homelessness

Social housing, and especially shelter-rate and SRO units, play a critical role in preventing displacement and homelessness in Vancouver. Shelter-rate units provide housing to our neighbours who rely on income assistance, and SRO units provide housing of last resort to those who would otherwise be homeless. All social housing provides housing to the many British Columbians who cannot afford market rent and who would otherwise be at risk of homelessness.

The current Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District zoning has been highly effective in getting social housing built. Staff reports state that “only two buildings have been built” under the current zoning, but this is inaccurate, as it refers only to buildings that are mixed market rental and social housing. In fact, from 2014 to 2024, 22 social housing projects delivering 2,251 units of social housing were built in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District under the current policy, providing urgently needed housing for lower-income people who would otherwise be at risk of homelessness. The staff referral report confirms that social and supportive housing construction in the DTES overall met and exceeded the goal for this time period, delivering 2500 social and supportive units to meet the increasing need for these units.³

³ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 6.

The proposed changes are designed to allow removal of shelter-rate and SRO units without a plan to replace all of those units, and to reduce the proportion of social housing in new developments. When shelter-rate, SRO, and social housing stock is decreased, the number of homeless people will increase accordingly. Homelessness in Vancouver has already increased a staggering 12.5 percent since last year, to 2715 counted individuals⁴ and there are already 6,340 households on B.C. Housing's waitlist, as noted in the Referral Report for the recent inclusionary zoning measures for social housing.⁵ Research shows that the cost of increasing homelessness by far outweighs the cost of providing housing to people when they need it.⁶

The proposed rezoning will reduce the number of available SRO spaces by removing the current 1:1 replacement requirement and instead requiring only 50% replacement (in the case of conversion to self-contained units) or 20% replacement (in the case of redevelopment). The plan does not explain where these tenants will go when their housing is removed.

These concerns were also raised by multiple stakeholders during the consultation process; as summarized in the most recent referral report, Indigenous stakeholders had "concerns around gentrification, displacement, private development options, and erosion of community support networks." Likewise, public stakeholders voiced "significant concerns around reducing shelter rate housing, introducing more privately led development, displacement risks, and gentrification (public)" and SRO resident stakeholder input included "opposition to reducing shelter-rate housing, concerns around privately initiated development options, and tenant relocation/displacement risks."⁷

The present bylaw change process originally anticipated a Social Impact Assessment to respond specifically to new indicators including the overdose crisis and increased

⁴ 2025 Point-in-Time Homeless Count in Greater Vancouver: Final Report, prepared for Lu'ma Native Housing Society by Homelessness Services Association of BC (September 2025). Vancouver, BC.

⁵ Referral Report RTS 17793 (October 21, 2025), p 21.

⁶ See, e.g. Pomeroy, Steve. "The cost of homelessness: Analysis of alternate responses in four Canadian cities." *Ottawa: Focus Consulting* (2005), Ly, Angela "Housing First Impact on Costs and Associated Cost Offsets: A Review of the Literature/Coûts et économies associés à l'approche «Logement d'abord»: revue de la littérature." *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 60.11 (2015): 475, Latimer, Eric A., et al. "Costs of services for homeless people with mental illness in 5 Canadian cities: a large prospective follow-up study." *Canadian Medical Association Open Access Journal* 5.3 (2017): E576-E585, Goering, Paula, et al. "National final report: cross-site At Home/Chez Soi project." Calgary, AB: Mental Health Commission of Canada (2014).

⁷ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 21.

homelessness, similar to that which was conducted in 2014 as part of the Downtown Eastside Area Plan.⁸ However, in February 2025, staff advised that a Social Impact Assessment was not feasible due to resource issues and noted that they were “exploring ways to leverage the HCS (Healthy Cities Strategy) as a framework for measuring changes...this would include measuring changes and impact in the DTES.”⁹ However, it appears that this was not done: the referral report in support of the changes makes no reference to the Healthy Cities Strategy or any other form of impact assessment. As a result, there is no assessment in the materials before Council on the risk of homelessness and displacement as a result of the proposed bylaws.

We therefore submit that prior to considering changes to the bylaws that protect social housing in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District, **Council should direct staff to conduct an assessment of the likelihood of homelessness, displacement, and other social and economic impacts of potential changes, with particular attention to Indigenous people, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups.**

2. The proposed rezoning is likely to cause land value increases, making it harder to build social housing

With existing social housing protections, the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District has maintained a lower land value relative to neighbouring areas of the Downtown Eastside. Reducing these protections as proposed in the bylaw amendment will result in a “land lift,” in which increased available market density will increase the profit potential of land and therefore its value.¹⁰ In Vancouver, the evidence shows that both land values and speculation have increased when zoning is changed to allow higher-density

⁸ Report to Council, Standing Committee of Council on Policy and Strategic Priorities (November 29, 2023) p. 21.

⁹ Uplifting the Downtown Eastside and Building Inclusive Communities that Work for All Residents: Progress Update, Council report RTS 16128 (February 25, 2025).

¹⁰ See, e.g. Kim, Minjee, and Hyojung Lee. “Upzoning and gentrification: Heterogeneous impacts of neighbourhood-level upzoning in New York City.” *Urban Studies* 62.10 (2025): 2009-2028; Freemark, Yonah. “Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a zoning reform on property values and housing construction.” *Urban affairs review* 56.3 (2020): 758-789; Marcuse, Peter. “Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City.” *Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L.* 28 (1985): 195.

market development.¹¹ This effect may be particularly pronounced in the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District because the land currently has a lower value than adjacent areas. When land value increases, the ability for nonprofits and governments to buy and develop social housing slips further out of reach. In addition, land value increases will cause property tax increases for housing providers and businesses in the area, making it harder to provide critical housing, jobs, and services.

The economic report provided by Coriolis and included in the staff referral report gives a one-line opinion that they do not “expect upward pressure on land values” in several specific scenarios. In the attached expert opinion, Professor Patrick Condon an expert in urban planning, has stated that the idea that land values will not increase with this rezoning is “false and contrary to basic urban economics principles and observed patterns in Vancouver.”¹² He explains:

Land value increase is a standard outcome of market-driven densification in supply-constrained cities like Vancouver. Land prices reflect their highest and best use. Restrictive zoning caps potential revenue from development. Where restrictions are lifted through upzoning, greater development potential is unlocked, boosting projected income from rentals, sales, and commercial spaces. As such, this “land lift” directly raises the price developers and investors are willing to pay as the site becomes more profitable. Even the mere announcement of a potential upzoning triggers speculation, with buyers anticipating future gains.

Professor Condon’s opinion is that the proposed rezoning “would increase land prices in this way through allowing greater density and lowering the proportion of social housing...the neighbourhood’s hyper-central location near downtown jobs, transit, and amenities, means that demand for land outstrips supply, amplifying price surges.”¹³ Professor Condon notes that last time the DTES was

¹¹ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025. See also Quastel, Noah. 2009. “Political Ecologies of Gentrification.” *Urban Geography* 30 (7): 718. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.30.7.694; See also Gold, Kerry. “Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values – and rents.” *The Globe and Mail*, February 23, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190223101828/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>. See also Davidson, Mark, and Loretta Lees. “New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies.” *Population, space and place* 16.5 (2010): 395-411.

¹² Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 4.

¹³ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 6.

subject to rezoning, there was an assessment value increase of 16%.¹⁴ He concludes that these recommendations are “likely to cause speculation, land value surge, and gentrification. It is unclear how the stated goal of decreasing costs to construct new affordable housing can be achieved in that context.”¹⁵

The consultant report from Coriolis included in the staff referral report gives a one-line opinion that they do not expect upward pressure on land values in several hypothetical scenarios, but they do not provide any analysis as to why these scenarios would form an exception to the general expectation of upward pressure on land values with increased market density. Furthermore, the Coriolis report does not consider other avenues of housing delivery by non-profits which could provide an alternative to highly profit-driven supply, such as using nonprofit and government-owned land and equity sources. Right now, First United and other nonprofit organizations are delivering housing without the need to incentivize profit-driven developers and without the associated increases in land value.

Coriolis provided an additional two-page document (the “yellow memorandum”) on December 3, 2025 in which they state that a 188-unit project under the proposed bylaws would provide a “very low” potential annual income to the developer compared to total project costs, and on this basis, that land value will not be subject to upward pressure. This overlooks the evidence in Vancouver and elsewhere that land values consistently increase in response to upzoning (as they did by 16% in Strathcona following the initial DTES Area Plan, for example)¹⁶ and that the profits of developers rely at least as much on the assumption of land value increases in the long term as they do on rental income. This document also refers to purchase of the land at “its existing value under current zoning” which also seems to acknowledge that the value of land will increase under the new zoning. In other words, the opportunities that will be feasible and attractive to developers under this proposal (due to increase in land value and the perceived undervaluation of land under restrictive zoning) are the very same ones which will contribute to the escalation of land value.¹⁷

¹⁴ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 7.

¹⁵ Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 10.

¹⁶ See, e.g. Kerry Gold, “Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values - and rents”

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>, Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon declared on December 7, 2025 at para 6.

¹⁷ Yellow Memorandum RTS 18120 (December 3, 2025).

Given the evidence on the likelihood of land value increases as a result of increasing market density, the absence of this analysis in the Coriolis report and their additional document creates a large gap in evidence to support the assumption that land values will not increase.

The Coriolis report implies at page 7 that there could be significant upward pressure on property values where “the number of replacement SRO units is significantly less than about 10% of the number of units in the overall new project.”¹⁸ If this scenario poses a risk of significant upward pressure, it stands to reason that developments with a similar rental proportion, such as high-density developers which include 4% shelter-rate housing as proposed by the bylaw changes, may well also be subject to this risk.

We submit that, prior to reducing the proportion of social housing and removing the 1:1 replacement requirement for SROs, Council should direct staff to obtain an assessment of the potential impacts of upward price pressure on housing, and viable alternatives to a profit-based model, in light of all relevant evidence.

3. The proposed rezoning includes no evidence that it will increase or hasten social housing supply

The staff materials in support of the proposed bylaw changes provide an analysis of financial viability for private market, for-profit developers, and they conclude that reducing the proportion of social housing will make it more viable for for-profit developers to build. However, the materials do not analyze the relationship between allowing for-profit development and the actual delivery of social housing. The reports appear to rely on the assumption that when developers can build more market housing with a small proportion of social housing, social housing will increase overall. But there is no analysis to show why this would be likely to provide more or faster social housing, nor is there a comparative analysis with the current zoning, which has been very effective at providing social housing without market components. This is especially critical to assess given the likely increase in land values if market density is increased.

¹⁸ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), Appendix L (the “Coriolis Report”) at p 7.

We therefore submit that, prior to changing protective bylaws, **Council should direct staff to conduct a full analysis of whether project viability for for-profit developers will result in the delivery of more social housing on a faster scale than what has been achieved under the existing bylaws.**

4. The proposed Tenant Relocation Protection Policy measures do not guarantee housing for displaced tenants

The proposal before Council states that all tenants being displaced by developments (whether private or non-profit) under the proposed changes will have access to the non-market stream of the Vancouver-wide Tenant Relocation and Protection Policy (TRPP) under Section 4.

That section requires developers to do the following, *inter alia*:

- to offer “permanent housing options” that limit disruption and involve minimal moves, and which must be priced at no more than 30% of the household gross income or current rent, and of a unit type in accordance with CMHC guidelines.

- to compensate displaced tenants for moving expenses (at a flat rate in the TRPP, but increased to actual moving costs in the proposed bylaw)

- to make “all reasonable efforts” to provide all residents with the right of first refusal, but if this is not possible, a “permanent housing option” must be offered. The bylaw materials also include reference to the option for rent top-ups as an interim measure while tenants wait to return to the new development¹⁹

¹⁹ Referral Report RTS 18120 (October 22, 2025), p 12 and City of Vancouver Tenant Relocation Protection Policy (Amended June 11, 2019), s 4.0.

The policy recognizes that tenants will be displaced and provides an outline of responsibilities for developers, but it does not go far enough to ensure that tenants will not be made homeless or otherwise harmed through development and relocation processes.

As noted in the attached expert letter from Dr. Nicholas Blomley, legal protections for tenants in SRO's are often undermined in practice, including through the actions of landlords and managers who ignore the rules. Dr. Blomley further notes the importance of community in SRO settings, which his research shows can be "sites of resilience, Indigenous cultural practices, and mutual aid."²⁰

As such, **we recommend that the TRPP applicable to developments in the areas subject to the proposed bylaw changes be amended to include the following enhanced protections:**

-language specifying that an occupancy permit will not be issued until the applicant actually secures permanent, adequate²¹ housing for the tenant at the tenant's original rent or 30% of their gross household income, whichever is lower, and that city staff must confirm this with the tenants themselves prior to the issuance of the occupancy permit (and not based only on developer reports)

-language confirming that tenants will only be rehoused in a new neighbourhood with the written consent of the tenant(s) (no forced displacement)

-language confirming that all developer responsibilities in the TRPP will apply to all Notices to End Tenancy whose effective end dates would fall on the date of the initial development application onward, regardless of the reason specified on the Notice to End Tenancy (to help disincentivize bad faith evasion of TRPP obligations)

²⁰ Statutory Declaration of Dr. Nicholas Blomley declared on December 4, 2025.

²¹ "Adequate" housing has seven required components: security of tenure, availability of services, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location, and cultural adequacy. See UN Special Rapporteur on Housing, "The human right to adequate housing", online: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-housing/human-right-adequate-housing>.

-language confirming that where a tenant is offered a right of first refusal, the developer will provide rent top-ups to cover the difference between the tenant's original rent and the actual market rent paid for an adequate²² temporary rental unit in line with CMHC guidelines for unit size. It should confirm clearly that tenants will only be temporarily rehoused in a new neighbourhood with the written consent of the tenant (no forced displacement). It should further confirm that an occupancy permit will only be issued when all tenants in this situation have been provided with adequate, affordable permanent housing at their original rent or 30% of their gross household income, whichever is lower (whether through right of first refusal or other permanent housing).


5. The 60-year lease option represents a generational loss of social housing

In the current zoning regulations for the Downtown Eastside Oppenheimer District, social housing units must be owned by government or a non-profit. This bylaw proposal erodes the long-term protection of social housing by allowing for-profit developers to offer a 60-year lease instead of permanent ownership in non-profit hands, with the units reverting to for-profit ownership after 60 years. In our submission, it is unfair and inequitable to remove social housing protection from future generations in order to incentivize for-profit development today. The housing crisis is already borne disproportionately by younger generations, and removing critical social housing protections from future generations will undermine the goal of providing more social housing – by taking it away.


As such, we recommend **that the requirement for social housing units to be owned by government or a nonprofit be maintained and the 60-year lease option be removed.**

All of which is respectfully submitted,

²² *Ibid.*



Dr. Sarah Marsden
Barrister and Solicitor, Director of Systems Change and Legal



Vinson Shih
Barrister and Solicitor, Staff Lawyer, Special Projects



Gwen Hamilton
Articled Student

ATTACHMENTS:

A. Statutory declaration of Dr. Nicolas Blomley, declared on December 4, 2025.

B. Statutory Declaration of Professor Patrick Condon, declared on December 7, 2025.

C. Kim, Minjee, and Hyojung Lee. "Upzoning and gentrification: Heterogeneous impacts of neighbourhood-level upzoning in New York City." *Urban Studies* 62.10 (2025): 2009-2028;

D. Freemark, Yonah. "Upzoning Chicago: Impacts of a zoning reform on property values and housing construction." *Urban affairs review* 56.3 (2020): 758-789;

E. Marcuse, Peter. "Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City." *Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L.* 28 (1985): 195.

F. Quastel, Noah. 2009. "Political Ecologies of Gentrification." *Urban Geography* 30 (7): 718. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.30.7.694.

G. Gold, Kerry. "Vancouver zoning changes boosting land values – and rents." *The Globe and Mail*, February 23, 2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20190223101828/https://www.theglobeandmail.com/real-estate/vancouver/article-vancouver-zoning-changes-boosting-land-values-and-rents/>.

H. Davidson, Mark, and Loretta Lees. "New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies." *Population, space and place* 16.5 (2010): 395-411.