AUTHOR’S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.
The issue of downtown revitalization has been much studied over the past several decades. However, much of the existing knowledge base pertains to our largest urban centres. This leaves a significant information gap with regards to mid-size cities. As a result, past renewal attempts in these cities have often been scaled down versions of what has worked in larger cities. In most cases, this has resulted in detrimental rather than reviving effects. The current trend in cities of all sizes is the implementation of Creative City Theory. This thesis seeks to study this trend and its specific relevance to the mid-size city. The scope of research will then build on the current theory by exploring the effects of well-designed public spaces and their ability to not only unleash the creative spirit but to revitalize the post-industrial mid-size city downtown.

This information will then be applied to a design study for Hamilton, Ontario where failed renewal attempts have crippled the city’s downtown. The design will concentrate on Jackson Square (formerly known as Civic Square), a superblock within the very centre of downtown Hamilton. Through a redesign of Jackson Square, the thesis proposes to create a place that not only fosters creativity, but is once again meaningful and significant to Hamilton citizens. While the application of research to Hamilton is specific, the goal is to produce a body of work with principles that can be applied to any number of mid-size cities across the post-industrial world.
I would like to express my gratitude to Jeff, for your patience, encouragement, and insight; to Rick for your enthusiasm and trust in my abilities; and to Marie-Paule for your honesty and direction.

I would also like to thank Bill Curran for sharing with me his love for the City of Hamilton; The Beasley Neighbourhood Association - Isabel, Bill, Charlie, Tony, Gloria, Matt, Jeanette, John, and Sylvia - for showing me where the heart of the city truly resides; and my parents and family for their love and encouragement.

Finally, to my wife Tessa - thank you for your love, patience, and unending support throughout this process and always.
DEDICATION

to the citizens of hamilton
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The Transformative City

The origins of this thesis can be found in a neighbourhood in downtown Hamilton, Ontario known as Beasley. In 2006, Hamilton’s daily paper, The Spectator, sensationalized the condition of this poverty-stricken neighbourhood – Hamilton’s poorest – in a series of articles that one-dimensionally portrayed Beasley as a place without hope. This was the first I had heard of Beasley. Though I was living in Hamilton at the time, I lived ‘on the mountain’ (a colloquial way of referring to the more suburban part of the city located above the Niagara Escarpment). I had no tangible perception of this depressed part of Hamilton. All I knew was that it was somewhere ‘down there’ and that I now had one more reason to avoid venturing into Hamilton’s lower city.

CONTEXT & APPROACH

Figure 0.01
The neighbourhood of Beasley as depicted by the Hamilton Spectator in a January 2006 article
A few years passed and the neighbourhood soon faded from my memory until I began research for this thesis. Knowing that I wanted to study the city of my family’s roots, it was with naive optimism that I began to study Beasley. I had hopes of proposing an architectural solution to all of the urban blight and social issues. Quickly, I discovered that the problems within Beasley were complex and linked closely to decades of poor local decision making as well as a changing world economy. While one would expect a neighbourhood such as Beasley in an industrial city such as Hamilton to be negatively impacted by the transitioning post-industrial economy of the Western world, it was more shocking and more relevant to discover the city’s self-inflicted destruction of the neighbourhood and its surroundings.

While my mental image of Beasley placed it somewhere deep within the heavy industrial areas of the north and east ends of Hamilton, Beasley is, in fact, located at the very centre of Hamilton’s downtown. It forms the northeast corner of the city’s four downtown neighbourhoods and within its boundaries, the city was founded. It is also directly adjacent to a site where a once prosperous working class city undertook the largest renewal initiative of any Canadian city during the 1960s – razing 44 acres of Hamilton’s core.

Figure 0.02
The front page of The Hamilton Spectator on March 4th of 2009 bringing the news that yet another 1500 of the city’s steel workers had been laid off.
and rebuilding it in a modern image. At the same time, the city’s Victorian grid of streets was modernized with roads re-aligned, widened, and made into one way high speed thoroughfares. Though intended to generate prosperity, the neighbourhood – and the city itself – has never recovered from these destructive acts. This, coupled with a world economy where manufacturing cities such as Hamilton are forced to either dwindle into obscurity or quickly transition into something more knowledge-based, has left this neighbourhood at the very physical and symbolic heart of Hamilton in a desperate state.

Today, Beasley’s historic fabric stands crumbling as buildings that once signaled a city of prosperity stand vacant. Many of those left standing after the fever of renewal subsided have fallen into a state of such disrepair that they too have succumbed to the wrecking ball – though not for the sake of so-called progress, but rather because they now pose a risk to public health.

While the problems and challenges facing Hamilton are specific and complex, they can be seen as indicative of historical and contemporary trends within mid-sized cities.
across the continent. Urban renewal was a rampant trend in North American cities throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and beyond. Government-funded programs encouraged urban centres to demolish historic and rundown city precincts and then rebuild them in the image of a modern metropolis. This resulted in millions of displaced families, a mass destruction of historic city fabric, and, in many cases, a loss of civic identity - all in an attempt to help downtowns compete with the increasing dominance of suburban commercial and residential developments. While the heavy-handedness of renewal drew a number of vocal critics very early on, few cities heeded such advice and instead spent wild sums of money remaking their downtowns. Mid-size cities (those with populations between 50 000 and 500 000 people) were particularly damaged by renewal as many adopted scaled-down versions of large city strategies resulting in often incompatible developments. Today, these renewal attempts are seen as failures that accelerated downtown decline rather than reversing it. With more than a generation having past since the renewal attempts of the past, a number of cities are now trying to repair the damage. Through these attempts a number of trends have developed. These major trends will become a focus as this thesis seeks to investigate whether or not they have the potential to revitalize a mid-size city downtown. Attention will be placed on the strategy of using
public space for downtown revitalization through its ability to attract creative professionals, create memorable urban experiences that are unique to those offered by suburban environments, and contribute to the overall sense of belonging and identity that renewal so often swept away. As the concept of culture-driven revitalization, known as Creative City Theory has been widely accepted as a solution to decline, it too will be investigated. Though a number of other valid revitalization approaches exist such as waterfront design, brownfield remediation, and limiting urban sprawl they are not within the scope of this thesis.
METHODOLOGY & STRUCTURE

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part 1, *Mid-Size Cities and Creativity* supplies theoretical and historical background, addressing the existing body of knowledge relating to mid-sized cities, the current use of Creative City Theory and Public Space to revitalize such cities, and a related discussion exploring issues of space, psychological state, and access to the creative spirit. This review of literature and case examples will be used to develop a set of principles that will guide the design decisions made in Part 3. Part 2, *Postindustrial Hamilton* uses Hamilton as a case study, tracing the specific challenges and historical renewal mistakes made within the city. The issues and decisions that have led to Beasley’s current depressed state will also be examined. As well, the growing arts community that has developed on James Street North – the western edge of Beasley – will be studied within the context of Creative City Theory. The potential for this community to play a significant role in the revitalization of Beasley and downtown Hamilton will be explored and analyzed. Finally, Part 2 will also include an analysis of the renewal superblock presently known as Jackson Square, examining its effect on Hamilton’s downtown and its potential to be part of a revitalized downtown. Such research will form the basis for creating a design proposal for downtown Hamilton that responds specifically to local conditions. Part 3, *Facing Renewal, Redesigning Jackson Square*
will synthesize the information of Parts 1 and 2 to propose a new design for the superblock that replaced forty-four acres of Hamilton’s downtown. The new design seeks to reintegrate Jackson Square into the rest of the downtown in a meaningful way by reintroducing a system of streets and laneways through the site while creating grade-level public space. Emphasis will be placed on supporting and fostering the already existing arts community, while seeking to utilize quality design in order to positively impact the citizens of surrounding neighbourhoods such as Beasley. The thesis’ conclusion seeks to discuss and analyze the design application of Part 3 while reflecting on the most significant discoveries of the thesis and the broader applications they might have. Opportunities for further research will also be addressed.
1.1 THE CREATIVE MID-SIZE CITY

Mid-Size Cities: The unique challenges of revitalization

Nearly one quarter of the population in North America live in mid-size cities with populations that range roughly from 50,000 to 500,000 persons in size. However, between 1994 and 2004, 87 percent of articles found within Journal of the American Planning Association concerned places with populations of 1 million or greater while a meager seven percent considered cities within the mid-sized range.¹ Recently, an attempt has been made to fill this information gap. However, planners and other design professionals have historically approached issues of mid-sized city revitalization by adapting strategies originally designed for large North American cities. These strategies were typically centred on monolithic mega-projects such as infill malls, office towers, hotels, and mixed-use developments.² Unfortunately, such strategies have often resorted to the widespread destruction of downtown districts and neighbourhoods—replacing them with developments that are physically incompatible and economically unsustainable. The result has been detrimental rather than revitalizing with constant vacancies and a concentration of low-order commercial tenants plaguing such developments. With downtowns serving as the barometer for the health of a city, the damage to civic identity and civic perceptions has been significant.
The majority of such incompatible projects occurred during the urban renewal movement that swept through North American cities throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Government-funded programs encouraged urban centres to demolish historic and rundown city precincts and then rebuild them in the image of a modern metropolis. This resulted in millions of displaced families, a mass destruction of historic city fabric, and, in many cases, a loss of civic identity. The initiative originated in the United States in 1949 with the creation of the Federal Urban Renewal Program. Criticism of the program came swiftly with Jane Jacobs publishing her seminal critique, The Death and Life of Great American Cities in 1961. Martin Anderson was even more direct as he published The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949-1962. His critique was so scathing that in his conclusion he stated the following:

![Figure 1.01](image)

*Figure 1.01  
Boston’s Scollay Square before (left) and after (right) renewal. Today, the square is often cited as America’s worst public space.*
It is recommended that the federal urban renewal program be repealed now. No new projects should be authorized; the program should be phased out by completing, as soon as possible, all current projects. The federal urban renewal program conceived in 1949 had admirable goals. Unfortunately it has not achieved them in the past and cannot achieve them in the future. 

Figure 1.02
An unrealized design for the downtown of Fort Worth Texas by Victor Gruen - one of renewal's largest advocates
Renewal was concerned with doing away with and making new. Now widely accepted as a failure, most mid-size cities have shifted their approach to urban revitalization. Revitalization seeks to reinvent downtowns through a recovery of pre-industrial roles by focusing on arts and entertainment, service, and small-scale development. In the case studies found in Appendix A, four of the five profiled mid-size cities demonstrate this trend while the remaining city – Asheville, North Carolina – enjoys a distinct advantage from not having subscribed to the destructive forces of renewal. Each city demonstrates significantly different approaches to revitalization in significantly different contexts. However, from these examples a number of trends within current mid-size city revitalization are made clear.

The case studies reinforce that rather than implementing generic large city strategies for mid-size cities, strategies that preserve and enhance that which is unique, authentic, and local have much greater chances of success. In tandem with this approach it has been realized that the downtowns of mid-size cities can only successfully compete with suburban developments by offering a clear alternative to suburban experiences. Chattanooga, Tennessee and Asheville demonstrate this particularly well. As a result, it
The Transformative City

has been widely agreed that the once common strategy of readapting enclosed suburban malls for downtown settings has been unsuccessful. Such downtown malls have failed to generate economic spillover effects and have been criticized for “creating artificial, sterile, contrived environments that represent the antithesis of the city.” Instead, that which is truly urban and has developed over time and without forcefulness has become the most valued asset of the mid-sized city downtown – hence the success of Asheville’s intact historic downtown. This realization legitimizes Rochester, New York’s current revitalization undertakings that will attempt to reverse the anti-urban renewal superblock it created in 1962. Rochester’s situation is not ideal as the city has already lost that which has developed over time and without forcefulness in this part of the city’s downtown. However, by returning to an urban morphology of human-scaled blocks that offer the potential for future small-scale developments, Rochester’s downtown will be better positioned for revitalization. Of all the cities studied, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania’s transformation from a steel-producing industrial city to a public space filled cultural centre is most dramatic. For this reason, it is often viewed as a revitalization example to be emulated by other post-industrial mid-size cities. However, Pittsburgh is a unique case as an abundance of philanthropic dollars remain in the city and, unlike most mid-sized cities,
Pittsburgh is the dominant urban centre in a region of over two million people.

Though in varying degrees, a focus on arts and culture is common among all of the discussed mid-sized cities. This strategy, known as Creative City Theory offers a number of downtown revitalization opportunities. However, if such an approach is not carefully crafted, several potential pitfalls exist as well. The following section reviews the use of Creative City Theory and its appropriateness as a revitalization tool.

**The Creative City Trend**

Within recent years, Creative City Theory has gained acceptance by local, regional, and national governments throughout the world. It has resulted in policies that seek to attract creative individuals, particularly in declining downtown areas. The lure of this culture-driven regeneration that results in creative ‘brain-based’ jobs, increased property values, and thriving downtowns has led to an unprecedented number of cities declaring themselves a ‘Creative City’. Unfortunately, these aspirations of the theory may become its downfall as focus on one specific people group for economic gain
overshadows the importance of a well designed city that is amenable to not only attracting creative individuals, but to unleashing the creative potential of a city’s existing residents while serving day-to-day needs. The argument will be made that in order to truly become a ‘Creative City’, a city’s latent creativity must be nourished and supported. For this to occur, attention must be given to the design and experience of the city itself. It means an embrace of unique local character, complexity, and even disorder to create a healthy and inspiring public realm where interaction can occur. In most new cities, particularly smaller urban centres, this will mean a reversal of several decades of banal, rational and rigid city building that has resulted in spaces that are sterile and uninspiring – spaces that shatter rather than nourish the creative spirit.

The current state of Creative City Theory

Although many have contributed to the current creative city discussion, two dominant schools of thought have emerged – one represented by the writings of Charles Landry, and the other by those of Richard Florida. European-based Landry describes the Creative City as “a new method of strategic urban planning [that] describes how people can think, plan and act creatively in the city”⁸. Landry goes on to empha-
size that cities can become more livable and vital if the imagination and talent of people is effectively harnessed. In effect, Landry focuses on building better cities with an improved quality of life by allowing the creative potential of a city to be reached.

Florida’s approach to Creative City theory seems similar, at least on the surface. For Florida, harnessing the creative potential of a city is also of great importance; however, his writings tend to focus on the use of this creative potential to generate wealth and development rather than simply building a better more livable city. For Florida, “the real source of economic growth comes from the clustering and concentration of talented and productive people”⁹. Such clustering and subsequent growth will, according to Florida, occur when the 3Ts of economic development are present: technology, talent, and tolerance.¹⁰ Within this framework, tolerance is defined as openness, inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races, and walks of life, while talent is narrowly defined as those with a bachelor’s degree or above. Technology refers to both innovation and high-technology concentrations within a region.
While Landry’s approach is one of humane city building, it is Florida’s wealth-driven growth-generating focus that has gained the most traction among municipalities, particularly those in North America. This focus threatens to mire cities within the antiquated paradigm that a growing city is a healthy city, leading them to channel resources into attracting the businesses of the creative industries while making cultural investments for the sake of creating culture, even if such investments, when viewed critically, are not compatible with local identities. As noted in a number of publications, this narrow view of Creative City Theory further jeopardizes good city building as it gives the dangerous impression of being a panacea for all ills of the modern city\textsuperscript{11}. In reality it misses so much of the complexity of the city, particularly the importance of human-centred design that addresses the quality and experience of space. In studying the following authors from a variety of disciplines a form of Creative City Theory can be developed that builds upon Landry’s human-centred approach – offering the potential to not only transform cities, but to transform the effect that cities have on people and their ability to access the creative spirit.
1.2 PUBLIC SPACE / CREATIVE SPACE

Within Creative City theory, quality public space forming a healthy public realm is seen as one of the intrinsic ingredients for fostering creativity within a city. Not only does a healthy public realm act as an attractor for creative individuals, as Landry emphasizes, it “helps develop creativity because it allows people to go beyond their own circle of family, professional, and social relations.” The important role of the public realm for broad interaction among diverse groups is shared by a number of public space researchers as well. However, just as cultural investments and new creative businesses must be compatible with local identities, so must public space. When created insensitively and without awareness of local conditions, the creation of public space risks having a destructive effect on a city and its creative potential.

Made up of a city’s parks, plazas, squares, and streets—the public realm becomes the dwelling place of civilization and civic life. It represents the physical manifestation of the common good and is democratically accessible to all. The public realm serves not only as an informer of physical place, but, if well-designed, acts as a cultural and historical compass. When it is degraded, the quality of civic life is degraded as well. Unfortunately, mid-size cities in particular have
participated in widespread degradation of the public realm. Beginning with the rise of the automobile in the post-WWII world, streets were surrendered entirely for traffic efficiency, leaving them devoid of the vibrant life they once housed.

What followed was an evacuation of city cores as residents fled to the manicured private lawns of suburban homes where the securities and pleasures of private life began to supplant the public realm of cities. While the reasons for this retreat to private life are complex and will be dealt with later, its effects on the quality of public space in many cities, particularly those in North America have been devastating. Unfortunately, many of the previously discussed renewal schemes employed by cities eradicated the true public realm of downtowns in favour of privately controlled indoor shopping centres that placed limits on access and freedoms of use. Such developments eliminated the democratic aspect of the public realm and reduced the potential for the broad interaction that Landry describes as vital for creativity. The ability for the public realm to serve as a cultural and historical compass was also lost with entire historic districts razed.

While such degradation of the public realm is cause for alarm, Jan Gehl views it as a challenge rich with potential for
re-conquering our cities for people rather than automobiles. In the pre-automobile city, public space was used regardless of its quality out of necessity for meeting daily needs. Today with almost all the necessary activities of daily life being carried out within the private realm, public space will only be used when good quality spaces exist. Design, therefore becomes of the utmost importance. In addition, when public space is used, it is used almost entirely for optional activities that include passive ones such as stopping to watch city life from a stair step, and active ones such as jogging, skating, and other sporting pastimes.  

With this focus on the necessity of quality, Gehl effectively describes and analyzes what makes a public space a qual-
ity public space. Based on his extensive research of public spaces around the world, Gehl has established a number of parameters necessary for a space to be successful. Dealing primarily with physical characteristics, these parameters offer a guide for satisfying the basic human needs of the public realm. They fall under three main categories: protection, comfort, and enjoyment.

Within protection, Gehl cites the importance of feeling safe from traffic and accidents. He emphasizes the need for pedestrians to feel protected when occupying public space. This protection of pedestrians extends to sensory experiences as well through a consideration for weather and pollution. A feeling of security through protection against crime and violence is also emphasized. However, Gehl proposes that such protection be achieved through physical design rather than oppressive policing. Borrowing from the approach of urbanist Jane Jacobs, Gehl calls for a lively public realm that promotes eyes on the street, overlapping functions twenty-four hours a day and good lighting to engender a feeling of security. To achieve such security, diverse functions that include housing, offices, shops, and restaurants must be accommodated.16
Figure 1.12
Campus Martius in Detroit, Michigan. A variety of seating conditions are offered - fixed, moveable, shaded, and unshaded.

Figure 1.13
Sankt Hans Torv in Copenhagen, Denmark. Four and five-storey buildings frame the space and offer a permeable perimeter and provide eyes on the street. A sculptural fountain grounds the centre of the square.

Figure 1.14
Schouwburgplein in Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Unique, interactive, and sculptural lighting features provide interest and safety.
In the category of Comfort, Gehl presents design considerations that allow individuals to inhabit and use public space in desirable ways. To create opportunities to walk and see, Gehl calls for the provision of enough space to comfortably walk on unobstructed surfaces. Unhindered, interesting views also serve to stimulate a comfortable environment, while interesting building facades add to the visual interest of a space. James Howard Kunstler emphasizes the importance of the building facades surrounding a public space. Kunstler advocates for facades that create an active and permeable membrane around the perimeter of public spaces in order to activate their centre. This concept supports Gehl’s parameters of presenting opportunities to stand, stay, and sit as well. These parameters require specifically considered zones that offer supports for standing, good places to sit, and benches for resting. Often, people prefer to stay at perimeter or border zones while engaged in these activates while utilizing advantages such as view, sun, and the presence of other people. Gehl also calls for opportunities to play and exercise in public spaces, as well as spaces that foster good opportunities to talk and listen. This last consideration relates directly to the interaction that is so important for creativity. It requires low noise levels and street furniture that goes beyond simply providing a place to sit, but provides an arrangement amenable to conversation.
Well-known public spaces that maintain a maximum dimension of approximately 100m. Clockwise from top left: Jackson Square in New Orleans, USA, St. Andrew Square in Edinburgh, Scotland, Amalienborg Slotsplads in Copenhagen, Denmark, and Piazza del Campo in Siena, Italy.
Finally, within the category of enjoyment, considerations must be made of scale, the positive aspects of climate, and positive sensory experiences. Maintaining a human scale is vital - the human eye can see other people and activities with a distance of 100 m. This is almost always the largest dimension of squares in European cities. As well, a smaller scale will make a space appear livelier with less people.\(^{18}\) Beyond protection from climate and sensory experiences, well-designed public space should allow for the enjoyment of such factors when desirable. This may mean providing a combination of opportunities for sun and shade, wind shelter and wind protection, etc. It also means appealing to the senses through quality materials, well-detailed design, and the inclusion of trees, plants, and water.\(^{19}\) However, Gehl cautions that it is often no longer enough to simply provide beautiful surfaces with benches and a sculpture or fountain. Instead, the creation of special design themes is needed to stimulate the senses on many levels.\(^{20}\)

This concept of multi-leveled sensory stimulation is expanded on in Stephen Carr’s *Public Space*, delving beyond the basic needs of public space and dealing with the actual experience of public space. More than anything, the work of Carr is a call for attention to be placed on the human and cultur-
al dimensions of public space design and the way in which it is managed. “We see public space as the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities.”21, writes Carr. It is this balance between daily routines and periodic events that presents one of the many challenges of designing a city’s public realm. Often, spaces are able to successfully accommodate one or the other, but when a balance is achieved, the ability for public spaces to bind communities offers incredible potential – both in terms of quality of life and in fostering creativity.

For Carr, creating quality public space entails designing spaces that provide the basic human needs that Gehl describes, while not being too constrained.22 He also states the importance of richness in design, arguing against the types of spaces created during the fervent renewal schemes of the 1960s and 1970s that are rigid, unchallenging, cold, uninteresting, and out of context. The idea of a public space containing meaning – both held and imbued – is perhaps the most important quality discussed by Carr. If a space is meaningful, it will have the ability for people to create strong connections between place, personal lives, and the larger...
world. It will allow for relationships between physical and social context to be strengthened and will serve as an anchor for personal continuity in a changing world. Achieving such meaning is a challenge – especially in a world where diverse cultural backgrounds within cities have resulted in a shortage of the type of inspiring universal themes that would normally offer immediate understanding and significance. Despite these challenges, Carr offers a number of strategies that can be used to create public space that is meaningful.

Creating public space that is legible, offering opportunities for daily routines and periodic festivities is emphasized by Carr. Successful spaces require that they be connected to surrounding paths of travel. Visual access is also important to allow users to judge what is going on before entering a space. Legibility requires that spaces offer recognizable cues that communicate what kind of place it is and who is welcome there. While such legibility will promote use of public space, frequent small-scale events will further ensure continual interest and occupation. Frequent small-scale events are favoured over infrequent large-scale events as large-scale events often become overbearing, preventing daily routines from taking place. Such daily routines and use can also result in symbolic connections to a place.
particularly over generations as crucial reminders of the past become not historic monuments, but those experiences connected with one’s grandparents, parents, and one’s own childhood. Carr sites the public market as one type of public space that promotes such types of daily experiential connections as well as a connection to the non-urban world.\textsuperscript{26}

As discussed at the beginning of this section, one of the roles of public realm is its function as a cultural and historical compass. To achieve this, a responsiveness to unique local context and the provision for memorable experiences are required. Carr notes that public life in North America is distinctly different than in Europe. North America lacks the café society and the tradition of an evening promenade, therefore European models cannot be directly translated to North American contexts.\textsuperscript{27} Instead, public spaces in North America must resonate with historic antecedents and the larger landscape in which they exist. This requires a “gathering in and expression of those qualities of context that make a region or a city or a neighbourhood unique and give it its character.”\textsuperscript{28} Such references to a truly tangible past rather than a hollow pastiche will allow meaning and memorable experiences to develop while creating a connection between the physical city, the historic or symbolic city, and the natural world.
In Public Space, Carr also emphasizes the importance of public ownership and public participation. “People need to feel at ease if they are to use a space as they wish” writes Carr.\textsuperscript{29} For this to be achieved, a degree of spatial control is often necessary for people to realize their goals in public spaces. While this may restrict the freedom of others, it can be accommodated through the incorporation of small, well-differentiated subspaces and elements. Moveable seating offers greater flexibility, allowing people to lay claim and ownership to a space.\textsuperscript{30} Through the allowance of cultural expression, temporary claiming, and change, people come to feel that the public spaces they inhabit are part of their lives and an expression of their identity.\textsuperscript{31} Engaging user groups in a meaningful way during planning phases also helps to ensure the use and sense of ownership needed for successful public spaces.
The widely available works of Gehl and Carr form an important practical component in understanding what makes public space successful – facilitating meetings, interactions, and the sharing of knowledge through chance encounters and thus fulfilling an important aspect of becoming a creative city. However, space has the potential to play an even larger role in achieving the ambitions of Creative City theory. Space, if designed correctly has the ability to be transformative – unleashing a latent creativity from within.
1.3 THE TRANSFORMATIVE CITY

Our most commonplace acts give evidence of inner mental landscapes, as inevitably as the rituals and monuments that we hold at highest esteem. Precisely, our most commonplace acts, to which we place least amount of conscious attention and embellishment, provide most conclusive evidence of the state of our mind. A landscape wounded by acts of man, fragmentation of the cityscape, and insensible buildings are all external monuments of alienation and a shattering of the human inner space.

Juhani Pallasmaa
At the essence of the types of cities and urban experiences that attract and harness creativity are spaces that are nourishing rather than shattering to the human psyche. Such spaces allow an individual to place his or herself within their environment by not being overly rationalized or overly rigid. They are spaces that fuel the imagination and foster inspiration. Rather than imposing a personal identity, these spaces leave room for an individual's own unique sense of self to grow and be nurtured. In a sense, such spaces can be aligned under Richard Florida's creative city category of tolerance. More deeply, the psychological wholeness that these spaces allow has the potential for the latent creativity of all citizens— not just those of a narrowly defined creative class— to be utilized.

It is this creative transformative role of space that current Creative City theory fails to address. While the importance of place is mentioned by Florida, and many others, the significant role that space plays is not fully addressed. Landry goes as far as acknowledging the psychological effect of ugly, soulless buildings in their reduction of people's ability to work well. Still, while the value of place and space is mentioned, the full capability of space to nourish the psyche and, subsequently, nourish creativity is not explored. Alain
de Botton, on the other hand, speaks directly of the link between space, psychological state, and creativity. In his book entitled *The Architecture of Happiness*, de Botton refers to a troubling feature of human psychology – the idea that each of us harbour within us many different selves, not all of which feel equally like us. De Botton argues that the self we miss most is the “elusively authentic, creative and spontaneous side of our character [which] is not ours to summon at will”\(^3^4\). He goes on to say that “our access to it is, to a humbling extent, determined by the places we happen to be in, by the colour of the bricks, the height of the ceilings, and the layout of the streets”\(^3^5\).

In effect, the spaces we inhabit and the quality of their design have the ability to release that which is most creative within us. Yet, a lack of value for the quality of built space within our cities has led to their disappearance. Those spaces that are particular and unique, those that embody ideas of beauty and meaning, are vanishing at a rapidly increasing rate. Juhani Pallasmaa comments on this phenomenon:

The disappearance of beauty in our contemporary world is alarming. Can this mean anything else but the disappear-
ance of human value, self-identity and hope. Beauty is not an added aesthetic value; longing for beauty reflects the belief and confidence in future, and it represents the realm of ideals in the human mindscape. ...A culture that has lost its craving for beauty is already on its way towards decay.

As Pallasmaa states, this notion of beauty is not simply an added aesthetic. Nor is it related to the fleeting ideals generated by media and pop culture – that which is fashionable and youthful. Rather, “a feeling of beauty is a sign that we have come upon a material articulation ... of our ideas of a good life.” It stirs within the soul an internal longing – an ambition – for what life can be. Holding true with this definition of beauty, de Botton concludes that “we are all drawn to something beautiful whenever we detect that it contains in a concentrated form those qualities in which we personally, or our societies more generally, are deficient.” By contrast places that lack this quality have a psychologically draining effect, decimating an internal sense of purpose and our access to the creative spirit.

While Pallasmaa and de Botton state clearly the importance of beauty within society, James Howard Kunstler is blunter in
his declaration that “eighty percent of everything ever built in North America has been built in the last fifty years and most of it is brutal, ugly, depressing, unhealthy, and spiritually degrading.” By this assessment, our society has in fact lost its craving for beauty and, according to Pallasmaa, is therefore, on its way to decay. This idea of a decaying society becomes tangible when viewed in the context of the state of most North American downtowns that continue to decline as the relentless destruction of the natural world persists with low density suburban developments pushing ever further from city centres.

Figures 1.28
A typical mono-functional low density suburban sprawl development
Richard Sennett comments on and analyzes this decay within society as trends continue towards suburbanization and the cultural and architectural monotony that is associated with it. His position requires that our cities not only embody beauty, but complexity, diversity, and disorder. Only then will the built fabric of metropolitan areas provide the nourishment needed for any form of creative city to succeed.

Sennett is emphatic in his assertion that the city, particularly the city of disorder and diversity is vital for psychological health. He describes the passage from adolescence to adulthood as being dependent “on a structure of experience that can only take place in a dense, uncontrollable human settlement – in other words, in a city.” Based on this, Sennett believes that, despite the common approach of city simplification and rationalization that persists today and was prevalent at the time of Sennett’s writings, certain kinds of disorder have positive human value and should therefore be increased in city life. While Sennett is provocative in his writings on disorder, caution must be taken in first understanding what type of disorder Sennett is endorsing. While the idea of a disordered city may prompt visions of nineteenth century Victorian neighbourhoods with industrial factories spewing noxious fumes beside dense low quality residential
tenements, this is not the type of disorder Sennett is advocating. While Sennett uses the term disorder, perhaps to create tension, the term ‘organized complexity’ is better suited. This is a term Jane Jacobs borrowed from the discipline of life sciences to seemingly paradoxically qualify the need for order in cities. By order, Jacobs is not referring to repetition, but to seeing “complex systems of functional order as order, and not as chaos.” De Botton offers further clarification, noting that order is appreciated only when “we perceive it as being accompanied by complexity, when we feel that a variety of elements has been brought to order.” It is about engendering visual and experiential richness within the built world.

Sennett speaks of the value that this richness can have for a society, as it denies the myths of common solidarity that allow individuals to hide behind a communal identity, effectively repressing their own individuality and creativity while fueling discrimination of otherness. While such myths are easily perpetuated within mono-functional societies, namely suburban communities, they do not have a means of existing within the fertile complexity and diversity of cities that have developed over time without the heavy-handed oversimplification that plagues so much of what is built today.

Figures 1.29
A gated suburban community is an outright externalization of the desire to enact control that drives suburban existence.
Yet, the majority of people with sufficient means choose to live in the types of purified environments that Sennett, Jacobs, and de Botton argue against. This can be seen as a result of the fallacious view that the simplification of social life existing within suburban communities will make a close family life more possible than within the confusion of the city. While the city is perceived as confusing and overwhelming, the suburbs, while dull and sterile, offer an environment that is perceived as controllable.43

This overbearing desire to enact control over one’s surroundings is a surrendering to the desires of the ego while denying the creative needs of the subconscious. The result is a denial of one’s true self that aligns with Sennett as he observes the inability for people to grow into psychologically whole adults within suburban surroundings. To continue to borrow from the world of psychology, it can be said that individuation is permitted to take place within the psychologically nourishing city. Carl Jung defines individuation as “the process by which individual beings are formed and differentiated; in particular, it is the development of the psychological individual as a being distinct from the general, collective psychology.”44 That is, distinct from the myths of common solidarity that plague suburban communities. When individuation is

Figures 1.30 & 1.31
Diagrams of the psyche.
Prior to individuation (top), the Ego is the centre of the psyche, leaving aspects of the subconscious such as the Body, Dreams, and Shadow untapped. After individuation, the Self (**) becomes the centre of the psyche, subverting the Ego and permitting access to the subconscious.
allowed to occur, the desires and role of the ego become subverted, permitting the true desires of the self to become the motivators of action. The concept of the persona is also relevant for, “the aim of individuation is nothing less than to divest the self of the false wrappings of the persona on the one hand, and of the suggestive power of primordial images on the other.” Because the city leaves room for the disorder of the psychological shadow – those hidden aspects of the unconscious, good or bad, that have been previously suppressed by the ego – the city does not require the same false outward representation or ‘persona’ that is needed in suburbs. Instead, the city of complexity allows us to be at home, physically and psychologically, permitting greater access to that elusively authentic, creative and spontaneous side of our character.

**Recovering Complexity - Humane Urban Design**

The ills of the city are not mechanical ones of better transport, better financing, and the like; they are the human ones of providing a place where [individuals] can grow into adults, and where adults can continue to engage in truly social existence.

Richard Sennett
Unfortunately, much of the complexities of cities have been erased by post World War II planning and its compulsive attention to the very mechanical aspects Sennett argues need not be the centre of focus. Subsequently, many of the most vibrant and complex blocks and neighbourhoods within modern cities have been wiped from existence by the misguided attempts of downtown renewal that occurred during the mid-twentieth century and beyond. Initiated by early twentieth century modernists, efforts to remake cities in a modern image have been compared by writers such as Lebbeus Woods to a war against “the presumed chaos of old cities.”

Sennett attributes this destruction of presumed chaos to the use of the plan or “projection in advance” that planners perceive as more true than history and more true than anything unforeseen by the planner that occurs in “the real time of human lives.” Such a rigid approach not only denies history and memory, but functions under a false assumption that a society will come to be different than it had previously been or was expected to be in the past. Sennett also raises issues of power and class that have led to the implementation of renewal schemes, willfully destroying entire working class neighbourhoods and all of their public arenas for social
interchange because of “a middle-class vision of what a comfortable and secure place should really be.”

In Radical Reconstruction, Woods comments on how cities destroyed by war – whether one of combat, or one of middle-class modernist vision – can be recovered. According to him, the attempt to restore the fabric of old cities to their former condition is a folly that denies the conditions of the present and impedes the emergence of an urban fabric based on such conditions. Instead, only those elements of value should be restored, while any memories of tragedy and loss should be erased by substituting new, better tissue. Woods advocates a more humane type of city building in commenting that, while the destruction of culturally significant buildings is a great loss, it cannot compare to the loss of the shops, schools, and homes that comprise the everyday fabric of the city. In the end, Woods calls for something new – something that neither mimics what has been lost, nor forgets the losing with responsibilities for reconstructing the city shifting to its people.
Jane Jacobs offers a more direct approach to dealing with the effects of overly rational modernist renewal schemes – particularly those that assemble and merge city blocks to construct incompatible mega-projects. In general, such projects must not be thought of as projects that are abstracted or set apart from the ordinary city, instead, “the aim should be to get that project ... rewoven back into the city fabric – and in the process of doing so, strengthen the surrounding fabric too.” In reintegrating such ‘superblocks’ into the city, Jacobs supports a reintroduction of lost streets. However, in achieving such streets, Jacobs, like Woods, does not call for a tabula rasa approach, instead she requires that “the least material destruction should be combined with maximum visual gain.” With such an approach, it is unlikely that reintroduced streets will be straight or continuous. Jacobs recognizes and endorses this fact as she notes that a city with an easily understandable overall grid system combined with irregular streets stitched through where the grid is too large is actually good for city functioning. While Jacobs cautions that such visual interruptions must be exceptions to the rule for them to hold any power, such an approach has the potential to create the sort of interest and complexity described by Sennett.

Figures 1.36 & 1.37
Finch/Birchmount - a modernist 1960s housing development in Toronto (left) Architect A.J. Diamond's proposed reintegration of the development back into the city with through traffic and clearly defined private and public realms
In the end, overly rational and overly rigid simplification of the city is the result of our society’s unwillingness to deal with the shadow of our collective sub-consciousness. “Architecture is not only a shelter for the body, but it is also the contour of the consciousness, and an externalization of the mind,”55 writes Juhani Pallasmaa. The architecture we build and the cities we in turn create can be seen as a mirroring of the psychological health of our society. However, we choose to erect communities of control that permit us to perpetuate myths of community and the repressive common “us” mentality. This way of building can be seen as a refusal to deal with the world and all of its complexities. Jacobs writes of the unfortunate state of city planning where “routine, ruthless, wasteful, oversimplified solutions for all manner of city physical needs (let alone social and economic needs) have to be devised by administrative powers which have lost the power to comprehend, to handle and to value an infinity of vital, unique, intricate and interlocked details.”56 If not addressed, the result is a banal built environment that does not, as Sennett argues, allow individuals to become truly psychologically whole adults.

While much criticism in contemporary thought is focused on banal suburban communities, Sennett contends that the technological imagery of efficiency as it is applied to metro-
politan planning can “lead to an adolescent society as easily as [an] isolated suburb.” Consequently, creativity – that which we currently strive for so desperately in an attempt to save our post-industrial mid-sized cities – is stifled. For this reason, the current Creative City theories that have gained so much traction will almost undoubtedly fail in all but the most complex and diverse metropolitan large cities of the world. In many ways, the current trajectory of the theory risks repeating past mistakes of simply adapting a large city strategy to deal with a mid-sized city problem. Its chance of success in smaller urban centres is therefore minimal given the current economically-focused course of most city governments. However, should these cities choose to shift their focus to a more human-centred form of urban design that creates spaces that are nourishing and imbued with meaning, they may in fact succeed in becoming a ‘Creative City’ in the most full meaning of the term.

The following Design Guidelines serve to summarize the most prevalent discoveries from this review of literature. While every principle and strategy listed will not be applicable to every site in every city, the implementation of their overall spirit and intent has the potential to lead to creative, nourishing, and contextually appropriate revitalization initiatives in mid-size cities.
1.4 DESIGN GUIDELINES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Design Principles</th>
<th>Strategies + Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Uphold quality design of public realm | • provide protection from unpleasant sensory experiences as well as protection from traffic and accidents (Gehl)  
• provide desirable places to walk, sit, and stand with an active and permeable perimeter membrane (Gehl, Kunstler)  
• provide opportunities to enjoy the positive aspects of climate such as sun or shade (Gehl)  
• provide positive sensory experiences through good detailing, quality materials, etc. (Gehl) |
| Create spaces filled with meaning | • preserve and enhance that which is unique, authentic, and local (Robertson 1999, Fillion et al 2004)  
• incorporate public art of varying scales throughout public realm (Pittsburgh, Asheville, Chattanooga)  
• encourage frequent small-scale events and everyday routines - such as buying produce at a market (Carr)  
• refer to both local historical context and physical context - including natural world (Carr)  
• allow for public to take ownership of spaces through public participation during the design process and incorporation of moveable/flexible seating (Chattanooga, Carr) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Design Principles</strong></th>
<th><strong>Strategies + Sources</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employ human-centred design</td>
<td>• maintain human-scaled blocks (Rochester) and public spaces (Gehl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• design spaces that are legible - communicating openness, what type of place it is, and what is possible there (Carr)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• design for a society or culture’s present identity rather than an assumed or desired identity (Sennett)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• recognize value of beauty - not as an added aesthetic, but as an intrinsic part of a nourishing and creative city (de Botton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow for diversity, disorder, and complexity</td>
<td>• avoid over-simplification and rationalization of the city - for example, multi-functional streets instead of mono-functional (Sennett, Jacobs)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• encourage density (Sennett)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• design for overlapping functions rather than mono-functional neighbourhoods (Sennett, Jacobs, Gehl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reintegrate areas lost to misguided renewal attempts</td>
<td>• do not simply restore fabric to pre-renewal condition, but retain/restore elements of value only, inserting a new tissue elsewhere (Woods, Jacobs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• re-insert streets and laneways into superblocks without subscribing to a tabula rasa approach (Jacobs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENDNOTES


2 Bunting et al, P 47.


Filion et al 2004

6 Robertson (1997), P 394.


12 Landry, P 119.


Gehl et al, P 8-9.

Ibid. P 106.


Ibid. P 106.

Ibid. P 148.

Carr, P xi.

Ibid. P 17.

Ibid. P 20.

Ibid. P 144.

Ibid. P 168.


Ibid. P 17.

Ibid. P 238.

Ibid. P 154.

Ibid. P 160.

Ibid. P 265.


Landry, P xxiii.


Ibid.

Pallasmaa, P. 136.

De Botton, P 72.

Ibid. P 157.


42 De Botton, P 184.

43 Sennett, P 70-2.


46 Sennett, P 130.


48 Sennett, P 7-8

49 Ibid. P 77.

50 Woods, P 15.

51 Ibid. P 18.

52 Jacobs, P 392.

53 Ibid. P 380-1.

54 Ibid. P 381

55 Pallasmaa, P. 134.

56 Jacobs, P 408.

57 Sennett, P 97.
2.1 HAMILTON CONTEXT

Population: City of Hamilton: 504 559 (2006), Metropolitan Area 692 911

Population Peak: Current Population (however, as the city was amalgamated with 5 surrounding towns in 2000, it is difficult to track whether the old city continues to grow)

Identity: ‘Steeltown’, due to the city’s dominant industry that once employed over 20 000 people.  
‘The City of Waterfalls’, a new name to reflect the city’s efforts to reinvent itself, capitalizing on its natural surroundings, rather than its economic output.

Regional Role: Hamilton is at the geographic centre of a densely populated and industrialized region at the west end of Lake Ontario known as the Golden Horseshoe. However, Hamilton plays a secondary role to nearby Toronto – Ontario’s capital and Canada’s largest financial centre.

Historical Primary Industry: Steel and heavy industry.
Largest Employment Sector: Sales and service occupations (24.7%), Trades, transport, and equipment operators and related occupations (17.1%)\(^3\)

Largest Employer: Hamilton Health Sciences (10 000)\(^4\)

Failed Past Renewal Initiatives: Throughout its history, Hamilton has repeatedly undertaken initiatives to remake itself in the image of a modern metropolis. The city has widened streets and made them one-way (razing many buildings in the process). It also leveled 44-acres at the very centre of its downtown, constructing a large indoor mall and mixed-use superblock in its place.

Current Revitalization Initiatives: Hamilton currently has a number of revitalization initiatives underway. These include, light rail transit (LRT), a new waterfront stadium, and other improvements to the city’s waterfront. Though more grassroots in nature, a burgeoning arts community is also revitalizing the downtown’s former major commercial street, James Street North. The city is also attempting to correct some of its renewal mistakes with renovations to some elements of the renewal superblock including a renovated library and farmers’ market.
Hamilton, Canada

Located at the western tip of Lake Ontario, the city of Hamilton is home to 504,559 people, while the population including the outlying areas of the census metropolitan area (CMA) is 692,911. With a population of just over 500,000, Hamilton is technically just outside of the previously defined mid-sized city range (50,000 to 500,000). However, on January 1, 2001 the city of Hamilton amalgamated with five surrounding formerly autonomous communities (Ancaster, Flamborough, Dundas, Stoney Creek, and Glanbrook) to form what became known as 'the supercity'. If the population of these surrounding communities were excluded, Hamilton’s population would fall well within the defined limits of a mid-sized city and can therefore be characterized as such.

Like so many post-industrial mid-sized cities, Hamilton’s once flourishing manufacturing sector has been crippled by changes in the world economy. This, coupled with a history of poor local decision making has resulted in a severely decayed downtown and an overall negative city image. Though arriving much later than many other cities and regions of the developed world, Hamilton has recently moved towards the adoption of creative city policies as a way of returning the city to prosperity.
When Hamilton held its first annual economic summit in 2008, creative class guru Richard Florida was a keynote speaker. Florida ensured the city’s political and economic leaders that Hamilton could not help but prosper “given its location in the midst of one of the world’s most powerful economic
engines." The economic engine he referred to is what he superficially coined Tor-Buff-Chester – one of the world’s top ten economic mega-regions that, according to Florida, spans from Waterloo, through to Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and down into New York State. With these statements, Florida sent a message that Hamilton’s main asset was its serendipitous physical location. There was no mention of the strong arts community that has recently located in the city, the diverse stock of affordable quality housing, or the city’s rich history. For Florida, these unique and authentic local factors are lack relevance in what is important to Hamilton’s future.

This way of thinking exemplifies the economically-focused creative city approach criticized in the previous chapter. Such thinking uses new catchphrases to repackage the type of city governance that has persisted since post-WWII modernism – where attracting wealth-generating industry and corporations trumps quality of life and citizen needs. As will be discussed, this is a tactic that Hamilton has repeatedly succumbed to throughout its history, resulting in detrimental and largely self-inflicted wounds to the city – both physically and psychologically.
A City of Identity Crisis

One cannot fault Florida for failing to emphasize Hamilton’s unique local factors, for throughout its history, Hamilton has repeatedly undervalued and subverted its own unique and authentic character – effectively ignoring the true identity of the city in favour of an imagined or ambitioned city identity. For over a century, the political and economic leaders of Hamilton have strove to transform the city into something it is not – a major international metropolitan centre. In many ways, this mentality persists today. In the wake of such ambition, much of the physical urban fabric of the city has been either destroyed or damaged beyond recognition. More troubling is the damage it has done to the psychological perception of the city – particularly its downtown core.

This identity complex stems from the city’s beginnings when it battled for supremacy with Toronto as the dominant city of Lake Ontario. As stated by historian Charles Cooper, “anything that Toronto did, Hamilton was determined to do better.” In reality, this battle for supremacy was fought and lost during the railway boom of the mid to late 19th century. During this time Toronto and Hamilton clamoured to divert as much rail traffic as possible through their borders to spur the local economy by becoming transfer points for feeder
rail traffic. Both cities were able to connect themselves to an extensive network of continental railways with the Great Western Railway connecting Niagara Falls to Windsor via Hamilton and the Grand Trunk connecting Cornwall to Sarnia via Toronto. However, it was Toronto’s construction of the Northern Railway that secured its position as the dominant centre for trade and resource distribution. Upon completion, the Northern Railway funneled the valuable raw materials from Ontario’s resource-rich north directly into Toronto, long before ever reaching Hamilton. Refusing to accept defeat, Hamilton continued to use public monies to subsidize railway construction by private companies at a feverish pace. This eventually created a new southern connection to Lake Erie via Port Dover in 1873. The astronomical cost of such endeavours served only to further inhibit and undermine Hamilton’s development, even bankrupting the city in 1862.

In the wake of defeat and bankruptcy, Hamilton was left in desperate circumstances with increased taxes resulting in a population exodus from the city. Frantic to reverse its fortunes, Hamilton began a second round of industrial subsidization as it set out to attract new industry. During this period, Hamilton surrendered its shoreline freely to investors while implementing a policy of near non-existent industrial taxes.

Figure 2.05
A rail tunnel was dug under Hunter Street during the 1890s

The Transformative City
In 1893 these policies attracted a group of American capitalists to the city – eventually striking a deal in which they were freely given a 75 acre site along Hamilton’s shore and a $100 000 bonus. In return, the city asked for a guarantee that the group would build a blast furnace and open hearth mill on the site. From this point on, steel and Hamilton would forever be synonymous – Steeltown had been born. Soon, industries jostled for position along Hamilton’s shore. The harbour – once a famed spot for recreation – became polluted with its waters reaching unsafe levels as early as 1913. Hamilton’s push to attract industry was so successful that it soon earned the title of ‘The Birmingham of Canada’ drawing comparisons to the manufacturing might of Birmingham, England.10
While one might assume that the attraction of such great industry would generate tremendous wealth for Hamilton, this was not the case. At the turn of the twentieth century, Hamilton industries were taxed well below market value and as a result, these industries were a drain rather than a boon to city coffers. While the province put a stop to such practices during the 1920s the implications on the city’s social and physical development were significant. In effect, by desperately surrendering itself to industry in an attempt to remain competitive with Toronto, Hamilton had developed into a strictly working class city. While conditions improved during and after the two world wars, the city retained a level of grittiness with its predominantly blue collar labour market lacking in non-industrial jobs. During this same time, Toronto solidified itself as not only the centre for trade and commerce for the region, but for the nation. While Hamilton exhibited manufacturing might, the city failed to attract the types of office jobs generated in Toronto. Like their predecessors, this result left the leaders of post-WWII Hamilton extremely dissatisfied. Also like their predecessors, Hamilton’s leaders took drastic measures to reinvent the city as a fever of urban renewal swept across the city. Following the railway boom from 1850-1860 and the mass industrial expansion from 1890-1928, Hamilton historian Bill Freeman characterizes this as the third era of the city using public monies for private profits, calling it the real estate development boom.
2.2 Hamilton Renewal & Its Effects

Beginning in the years following WWII, the city of Hamilton undertook a number of initiatives to remake itself in a new and modern image. As previously quoted, Lebbeus Woods calls such acts a war “against the presumed chaos of old cities.”13 Granted, the adoption of renewal policies came at a time when new suburban malls at Hamilton’s periphery began to challenge the city’s downtown for commercial dominance. Unfortunately, the approach taken was entirely without consideration of both human and physical context, instead becoming driven by outsized ambitions and plans that simplified the complexities of the city for the sake of presenting a modernized image of Hamilton to the world. These renewal initiatives are now viewed as representative of the failure that occurs when a large city solution is used in a mid-sized city context.

Not surprisingly, York Boulevard – the main western entrance to the city, connecting Hamilton to Toronto was among the first projects targeted. One of the main commercial thoroughfares of the city, York Boulevard was an exception to Hamilton’s grid of streets, cutting across the city diagonally and terminating at the city’s geographic and symbolic centre – Market Square and City Hall. However, the street’s narrow proportions and patchwork of family-owned businesses

Figure 2.09
York Boulevard as it appeared in the late 1940s, before renewal
in aging buildings was deemed unfit for such an important entrance to the city and in 1976 all buildings facing the street were demolished and the street widened. While city leaders had hoped such a drastic move would create value and spur developments that suited the city’s new modern vision, such redevelopment never occurred. Today, the street remains undeveloped with very few buildings lining its edges.

Maintaining a vision of creating a grand modern entrance to Hamilton from Toronto, the terminus of York Boulevard – the aforementioned geographic and symbolic centre of the city – was also targeted for renewal. It was here that the city’s most significant renewal initiative was undertaken: Civic Figure 2.10

Figure 2.11

the discontinuous street face that exists today along York Boulevard. The street now terminates at Copps Coliseum (a hockey arena), shown in dark blue and in Figure 2.11.
Square. In the name of renewal and modernization 44 acres at the very heart of the city were razed. The Hamilton Spectator hailed the Civic Square scheme as “undoubtedly the most ambitious attempt to resurrect a city ever undertaken in Canada.” Unfortunately, it wiped out nearly 150 years of the city’s urban evolution, eradicating the city’s outdoor market, main public square, historic city hall, and taking with it one of the city’s most vibrant districts.

From Market Square to Civic Square to Jackson Square

Among the most damaging losses of the Civic Square scheme was the destruction of city’s public market and adjacent main public square, known as Market Square. The market has been a part of Hamilton since the founding of the city in 1816. When George Hamilton had a bill passed creating the District of Gore, he was able to use his political clout to have a tiny settlement located on his property designated as the Wentworth’s County Seat in the District. This resulted in the commission to lay out a new town by building a courthouse, gaol (jail), and publicly accessible market. Thus, Hamilton was born.
In its first iteration, Hamilton’s market took the form of a small open air market. In 1833 when the community was officially incorporated as a town, improving the market became a priority. It was initially moved to the city’s original courthouse site, but in just a few years was relocated once again to the intersection of James Street North and Merrick Street. It was at this time that a building was erected. In keeping with the typical market typology, market stalls were located in the basement and ground floor levels of the new building while the city clerk offices filled the upper floors. It would remain in this location for over 120 years before being deemed an obstacle to progress.

As the city grew, so did the market. By 1846, Hamilton became incorporated as a city. The town and market hall was then renovated into a true city hall forcing the market to inhabit temporary market structures in the square adjacent to city hall.
The mid nineteenth century was a difficult time financially for the city, but by the 1880’s, the fortunes of the city had changed. The city used its newfound wealth to construct a new city hall and market hall in 1885. The market hall was constructed not as a simple utilitarian building, but instead, was celebrated in the high-Victorian style of the time. The area surrounding the hall continued to bustle with open-air shops and stalls until a fire destroyed market hall in 1917. Still, Market Square persisted as the most important and best used public space in the city.

By the 1950s, Market Square grew increasingly congested by automobiles. Many saw the market as an antiquated type and wanted a more modern image for the city. So, in 1959, a parking garage was erected on Market Square. By 1961, the adjacent city hall was demolished as well to make way for an expanding Eaton’s Department Store. Still, the market endured. However, it was relegated to the ground level of the new parking garage and only opened three days
Within less than two decades, the parking garage housing the market was also destroyed to accommodate the Civic Square project. Originally framed as being motivated by greater public good, the Civic Square that was eventually constructed is anything but. The initial schemes of the project called for a large plaza of outdoor space that could have at least partially reclaimed the role of Market Square as an area for large public gatherings (though without the market). However, through series of poor decisions and corrupt dealings, priority was placed on private rather than public interest. After city council approved a request by the site’s developer to increase commercial area by 50% in July of 1968, many citizens and organizations began to voice their concerns. An article in Canadian Architect’s June 1969 issue cited a number of concerns including the east-west barriers through the site created by King and Main Streets, a lack of physical integration with the rest of downtown, and an absence of any consideration for the relationship between traffic and public transit.18

Despite these concerns, the final product – known today as Jackson Square rather than Civic Square – is predominantly comprised of a cavernous indoor mall and office build-
Figure 2.21
An 1893 Birdseye with the blocks lost to renewal highlighted (in this view, north is bottom-left).

Figure 2.22
A 1948 aerial photograph of downtown Hamilton (looking northwest). Areas demolished for renewal shaded in dark blue, other buildings lost to demolition shaded in light blue.
1. 17-storey apartments  
2. Auditorium  
3. Planetarium  
4. New parking garage  
5. Existing parking garage  
6. Existing Department Store  
7. Hotel  
8. Terrace  
9. Department store  
10. Office tower  
11. Future office tower  
12. Art Gallery  
13. Library  
14. Education Centre  
15. Skating and sculpture court  
16. Mall  

a) Education Centre, 1967  
b) Office, former Bank of Montreal Pavilion, 1972  
c) Office tower, former Stelco Tower, 1973  
d) Office tower, Robert Thomson Building, 1977  
e) Art Gallery, 1977  
f) Library & Farmers Market, 1980  
g) Convention Centre / Auditorium, 1981  
h) Office tower, Standard Life Building, 1983  
i) Hotel, Sheraton, 1985  
j) Stadium, Copps Coliseum, 1985  
k) Office Tower, Commerce Place 1 and 2, 1990  
l) Mall, former Eaton Centre, 1990  
m) Mall & Roof Terrace, Jackson Sq., built in phases  

Figure 2.23 The original Civic Square plan as it appeared in 1965. Note the north-south axis of grade-level public space that would have aligned with the newly constructed city hall.  
Figure 2.24 The 1967 plan from developer First Wentworth maintained the spirit of the 1965 plan, though with added commercial density and the introduction of two 17-storey apartment towers.  
Figure 2.25 Civic Square as constructed. All public space has been relegated to a privately managed second storey terrace. No department store tenant was secured, so an additional office building was constructed (Thomson Building) in its place. No residential units were constructed.
The only public outdoor space on the site has been relegated to a roof terrace above the one storey mall that connects all of the major buildings of the square. This terrace is entirely disconnected from the city and, even in good weather, is rarely occupied by more than a few teenagers on skateboards and a handful of employees taking a cigarette break. No space in the square is truly public as it is managed by Yale Properties, the private development company that built the square and holds a 99-year lease on the site. The public buildings that were constructed (a library, art gallery, and theatre) have been compressed into the least commercially desirable areas of the site. As for Hamilton’s market, it has been relegated to a basement space below the central library that was completed in 1980.

Maintaining consistency with the city’s history, renewal in Hamilton once again saw private interests supersede the public good of the city. Instead of renewing its surroundings, Jackson Square choked them into a deeper and more desperate state of decay that persists today.

**The effects of renewal**

Unfortunately, Jackson Square fulfilled the concerns voiced
in Canadian Architect regarding a lack of integration with the rest of downtown Hamilton. As with most similar downtown mall and mixed use developments, it suffers from what Kent Robertson terms ‘Fortress Effect’ – “where these structures isolate themselves from the surrounding downtown, thereby not generating the economic spillovers intended.”19 Beyond a lack of spillover effect, Robertson also characterizes such malls as resulting in the closure of many surrounding small independent shops while creating “artificial, sterile, contrived environments that represent the antithesis of the city.”20 The following diagrams and images demonstrate the effects that Jackson Square has had on Hamilton’s downtown.
Figure 2.26
While it was anticipated that the blocks surrounding Jackson square would develop with the same ‘modern spirit’ as the superblock, the surrounding historic fabric has either remained unchanged, or been torn down for parking lots.

Figure 2.27
The ‘fortress effect’ of Jackson Square (centre) and the surrounding surface parking (yellow).
Figure 2.29

Downtown Hamilton 2010
Figure 2.30

W Side of James Street South Between King Street and Main Street

THE PIGOTT BUILDING AND ROBINSONS 1959
Figure 2.31

*W Side of James Street South* Between King Street and Main Street

THE PIGOTT BUILDING AND THE CIBC COMPLEX 2010

75

Post-Industrial Hamilton
SE Corner James Street South and King Street

THE BIRKS BUILDING 1899

Figure 2.32
Figure 2.33

SE Corner James Street South and King Street

ONE JAMES STREET SOUTH 2010
Figure 2.34

*N Corners* King Street and James Street North

1960
Figure 2.35

**N Corners** King Street and James Street North

2010
Figure 2.36

*N Side of King Street East* between James and Hughson

FW WOOLWORTH CO 1960
Figure 2.37

*N Side of King Street East* between James and Hughson

HAMILTON DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL & EMPLOYMENT SERVICES 2010
NW Corner King Street East & Hughson Street North

THE RIGHT HOUSE 1953
Figure 2.40

*NE Corner* King Street East & Hughson Street North

SS KRESGE & CO 1960
NE Corner King Street East & Hughson Street North

DELTA BINGO 2010
The Transformative City

Figure 2.42

*N Side of King Street East* between Hughson Street and John Street

HONEY DEW CAFE *1940*
Figure 2.43

*N Side of King Street East* between Hughson Street and John Street

CHEAPIES MUSIC 2010
Figure 2.44

**NE Corner** King Street East and John Street North

MILLS HARDWARE & THE SPECTATOR BUILDING 1956
**NE Corner** King Street East and John Street North

THE GORE BUILDING & THE SPECTATOR BUILDING **2010**
Figure 2.46

*King Street East* view west towards Gore Park

1954
Figure 2.47

*King Street East* view west towards Gore Park

2010
Figure 2.48

*King Street West* view west from James Street North

1899
King Street West view west from James Street North

2010
Figure 2.50

*N Side* King Street West between James Street North and Macnab Street North

1947
Post-Industrial Hamilton

N Side King Street West between James Street North and Macnab Street North

JACKSON SQUARE & STELCO TOWER

2010
Figure 2.52

**NE Corner** King Street West and Park Street North

**IROQUOIS HOTEL** 1967
Figure 2.53

Former NE Corner King Street West and Park Street North

JACKSON SQUARE / ROBERT THOMSON BUILDING 2010

Post-Industrial Hamilton
Figure 2.54

*N Side* King Street West between Bay Street North and Park Street North

1958
Figure 2.55

*N Side* King Street West between Bay Street North and Park Street North

STANDARD LIFE BUILDING 2010
S Side of King Street West between James Street South and MacNab Street South

ROYAL BANK OF CANADA AND GRANGE TAVERN 1967
S Side of King Street West between James Street South and MacNab Street South

CIBC COMPLEX 2010
Figure 2.58

*SE Corner* King Street West and MacNab Street South

THE DOMINION BANK BUILDING + PIONEER RESTAURANT 1970
Figure 2.59

SE Corner King Street West and MacNab Street South

CIBC COMPLEX 2010
Figure 2.60

*SW Corner* King Street West and MacNab Street

LUCAS AND KING TRAVEL SERVICE 1968
Figure 2.61

SW Corner King Street West and MacNab Street

HAMILTON CONVENTION CENTRE 2010
Figure 2.62

SE Corner King Street West and Charles Street

SAM MANSON SPORTS GOODS 1968
Figure 2.63

Former SE Corner King Street West and Charles Street

HAMILTON CONVENTION CENTRE 2010
Figure 2.64

*NE Corner* James Street North and King William Street

LISTER BLOCK 1954
Figure 2.65

**NE Corner** James Street North and King William Street

**LISTER BLOCK** 2010
Figure 2.66

*Market Square* James Street North and King William Street

OLD CITY HALL, LISTER BLOCK, ZELLERS 1950s
Former Market Square, James Street North and King William Street

FORMER EATON CENTRE, LISTER BLOCK, JACKSON SQUARE ROOFTOP 2010
S Side of Market Street between James Street North and MacNab Street North

MARKET SQUARE 1969
Former S Side of Market Street between James Street North and MacNab Street North

JACKSON SQUARE ROOFTOP 2010
Figure 2.70

S Corners Market Street and MacNab Street North

SE - PARKE & PARKE DRUGS, SW - THE KING GEORGE HOTEL 1969
Figure 2.71

Former S Corners Market Street and MacNab Street North

JACKSON SQUARE ROOFTOP 2010
Beyond the displeasure felt with the city’s renewal attempts that is apparent with the previous series of images, the continual reconstruction and renovations to the various components of the project are further evidence that the outcome was extremely dissatisfying. As well, the excessive amount of office space that was built has been plagued with vacancies. Today, 100 King Street West, the 25-storey tower that formerly housed the head offices for Stelco Steel is over 50% vacant with twelve entirely vacant floors. Even the small-scaled 3-storey building at 1 James Street North (formerly the Bank of Montreal’s main branch) stands completely vacant.21

Figures 2.72 - 2.75
Clockwise from top-left: Renderings of the renovated Central Library and Farmers’ Market, completed in late 2010; the former Eaton Centre (now Hamilton City Centre), renovated in 2006 to house city staff during the renovation of city hall; and the Art Gallery of Hamilton, renovations completed in 2005.
Located adjacent to Hamilton’s renewal superblock is a neighbourhood that statistically speaking, is the poorest in Hamilton. It is the neighbourhood known as Beasley where this thesis investigation began. It would be naïve to concentrate the blame for Beasley’s economically depressed state squarely on Jackson Square. There are, in fact, a host of complex micro and macro variables that have led to Beasley’s current condition. In a physical sense, Jackson Square has cut the south end of neighbourhood off from the rest of the city. Its presence and a misguided approach to transportation has swelled the east-west routes that lie to the north and south of Jackson Square into high speed one way thoroughfares that slice through Beasley and create

Figure 2.76 (left) Beasley (dark red) in relation to downtown and the rest of the city
Figure 2.77 (top) Beasley Park, an abandoned industrial building in the background
Figure 2.78 Parking lots at the southeast corner of John St N and Wilson St
Figure 2.79 Beasley’s abandoned former rail yards, the Wesley Urban Ministries homeless shelter in the background
boundaries within the neighbourhood. In the mid 1980s the removal of a north-south rail line that ran along Ferguson Avenue left Beasley with wounds in the form of large swaths of vacant contaminated land that persist today. As well, a misconceived perception that parking was needed to serve Jackson Square combined with a reduced rate of taxation for surface parking lots led to the destruction of a number of buildings at Beasley’s south end resulting in more vacant properties and acres of surface parking.

Figure 2.80
This 1893 Birdseye reveals the neighbourhood’s historic form - a working class neighbourhood of dense compact blocks (in this view, north is bottom-left)
Figure 2.81 (far left)
A 1921 map of Beasley's eastern half indicates the rail lines and rail yards that once ran through the neighbourhood. 1 indicates the present location of Beasley Park. 2 is the Barton Street Jail and 3 is Hamilton's General Hospital. Both of these institutions remain in these locations, though they have been rebuilt.

Figure 2.82 (top)
A 1952 aerial view of the Ferguson Avenue railyards

Figure 2.83
Ferguson Avenue as it appeared in 1978
Furthermore, Beasley has become home to the single largest concentration of social service agencies in the city. While the abundance of shelters, food banks, and soup kitchens provide vital and necessary services to this impoverished part of the city, their presence also perpetuates the neighbourhood’s concentration of poverty. Such well-intending agencies also fuel negative stigma of the area and provide a disincentive for private investors. Along with Beasley’s physical boundaries and empty expanses, these agencies further undermine the potential of creating a cohesive neighbourhood. Beasley is a neighbourhood that is out of balance. The following statistics, charts, and diagrams paint a very bleak picture of this neighbourhood, though it is not the entire picture.
SERVICES FOR THOSE IN NEED

- art galleries
- rec + comm centres
- museums
- hospitals
- libraries
- beasley boundary

Figure 2.85

SERVICES FOR ALL

- food banks
- soup kitchens
- emerg shelters
- beasley boundary

Figure 2.86
The estimated amount of funding from public and private agencies that flows annually into Beasley. That equals approximately $5892/person.

$6226

The average income per person for Beasley residents. That’s less than 1/3 the average in the rest of Hamilton.

23

The number of times the social assistance rate in Beasley is above the provincial average. The number rises to 33 times for single men.

$33million

The estimated amount of funding from public and private agencies that flows annually into Beasley. That equals approximately $5892/person.

56%

The percentage of Beasley residents living below the Statistics Canada poverty line. 2.5 times higher than the rest of Hamilton.

100%

The mobility rate at Beasley’s elementary school (Edgar Davey), where enough students come and go each year to add up to a complete turnover.

24%

The percentage of Edgar Davey Grade 3 students who achieved the provincial standard in reading in 2007-2008.

66%

The percentage of single parent families in Beasley living in poverty.

45%

The percentage of Beasley’s available workforce who are unemployed.

Figure 2.87
IMMIGRATION

1 YEAR MOBILITY

LANGUAGE

THE LANGUAGES OF BEASLEY

Post-Industrial Hamilton
Figure 2.92
BUILT FABRIC
Figure 2.94
In an attempt to understand the neighbourhood beyond statistics and sensationalized media reports, a Neighbourhood Design Day workshop was held in May of 2009. The workshop was held in collaboration with the Beasley Neighbourhood Association – a group of dedicated local residents who work tirelessly to build a sense of community within the neighbourhood. As evidenced by the strategies of Chattanooga, Tennessee, public consultation and engagement can serve as an important part of revitalization, ensuring that strategies employed reflect local culture and local needs.

Held at a local non-profit café, the workshop permitted residents to take a step back and view their neighbourhood from different perspectives - allowing participants to see Beasley’s assets and challenges through others’ eyes as well as recognizing their place in the big picture. The workshop included creative activities using a social mapping exercise to explore participants’ connections to each other and the community as well as a three dimensional map-making exercise to help visualize the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of Beasley. Using prompts and ideas taken from previous workshops run by the neighbourhood association, participants had an opportunity to create and express their ideas and visions for the present and future direction of the community. The following is a summary of the dreams, hopes, challenges, and ideas expressed throughout the workshop.
SOCIAL
Prompts Given: social services & programming, institutions, crime, recreation, drug/alcohol abuse, quality of life, community participation, social cohesion, perceptions & attitudes, marginalized groups (homelessness, welfare, single-parent families), & demographics
- More programming in Beasley Community Centre, more funding as well
- An art sale or bake sale in McLaren Park
- Free summer film festival with outdoor movies in Beasley Park
- Outdoor swimming pool
- Lawn bowling or bocce in open land at Catherine and Rebecca
- Outdoor stage for live music all summer, outdoor concerts in Beasley
- More street festivals with live entertainment and booths for local businesses and organizations
- More cultural and educational facilities – a science centre
- Multi-cultural dancing in Gore Park
- More places to play sports, soccer, baseball, etc
- Turn Barton St into a pedestrian street once a week
- A mountain bike park/trick area
- An outdoor potluck/cultural festival in Beasley Park
- More of a police presence
- Neighbourhood skill trading

ECONOMIC
Prompts Given: housing prices, employment/business opportunities, unemployment rate, tourism, entrepreneurship, nature/type of employment, local economy, labour structure, & wealth distribution
- Real jobs in the community
- An incubator for small businesses
- More things made locally
- Urban farms instead of parking lots between Cannon and Rebecca

Figure 2.97
The social layer in progress

Figure 2.98 & Figure 2.99
Ideas generated on the economic layer
• Organic farm run with solar and wind power
• Grocery store at former bus depot on Rebecca St
• Organic health food co-op
• More entertainment businesses, ie. an arcade
• An artist co-op
• Turn Cannon Knitting Mill into artist and film studios with galleries, coffee shop, community meeting place
• A barter system – trade services, baked goods, gifts
• A market with public space in the neighbourhood
• Bring McMaster downtown campus to Beasley

ENVIROMENTAL

- Bike lanes on Wilson, more bike racks
- More bike paths, connect neighbourhood to waterfront with bike path
- More bus shelters, less waiting time for buses
- Put banners on lamp posts of major streets
- Light rail
- No one-way streets, no urban highways (cannon and Wilson) – friendly walkable streets instead
- Two-way traffic flow for better access to the neighbourhood
- Walkable streets - more trees, street planters, benches, widen sidewalks
- More green spaces and less concrete
- Community gardens
- Public waste bin at every bus stop ad every corner
- Greenhouse in Beasley Park
- Plant fruit trees on vacant lands
- Build small affordable housing units at former bus depot on Rebecca St
- Build apartments on former rail yards across from Wesley Urban Ministries
- More mixed-use buildings in the neighbourhood
- Public art throughout the neighbourhood

Figure 2.100 & Figure 2.101
Detailed views of the final product

Figure 2.102
Ending the workshop with some concluding remarks
The outcome of the workshop was somewhat unexpected. Despite the economically depressed state of the neighbourhood, very little emphasis was placed on the economic parameters of Beasley. Instead, most of the conversation focused on ways to make the neighbourhood a more livable and more enjoyable place to live. Issues of improved public transit, pedestrian-scaled streetscapes, public festivals, cultural activities, and beautification were recurring themes. It was clear that these residents not only understood what physical and social impediments their neighbourhood faces, but how to rectify these challenges through quality and human-scaled urbanism. For the Beasley Neighbourhood Association, this affirmed their focus on building a sense of community through regular BBQs, outdoor movie nights, winter fun days, and other social opportunities. For this thesis it affirmed the broader implications stemming from the loss of Hamilton’s physical and symbolic heart – Market Square and its surrounding blocks. Beyond the economic depression that the construction of Jackson Square accelerated, the development robbed the city of its most important public space. Until this void is filled and until the Jackson square superblock is reintegrated with the rest of the city, it will remain exceptionally challenging for Beasley to return to a balanced and healthy state.
Despite the enlightened understanding among workshop participants, many current revitalization strategies in Hamilton remain mired by a focus on the same type of monolithic mega-projects that have failed in the past.
2.3 HAMILTON TODAY

On a Wednesday evening in the middle of May, 2009 Hamilton’s city council met to formally approve a deal that would clear any local impediments to bringing a National Hockey League (NHL) franchise to the city. At that meeting Rev. John Smith prayed for the Heavenly Father to “work out any opposition in different sectors so that our city might be able to fulfill itself as one of the major cities in this country, and in North America.” In the end, Hamilton was denied an NHL team for the fifth time since 1990. NHL representatives conceded that the league would inevitably expand into southern Ontario with another team in the future, however Hamilton is not in the plans because Copps Coliseum (which was built in 1985 with the sole intention of attracting an NHL team) does not meet league standards. Yet, as is clear from Rev. Smith’s prayer the mentality that Hamilton is somehow destined to become a major cosmopolitan metropolis remains ingrained. This persistent belief continues to mire the city’s resources as focus continues to be placed on monolithic mega-projects that promise to transform the city.

Despite the gross failure of Jackson Square and its final piece – the hockey arena known as Copps Coliseum – the city has committed $60 million to construct a new stadium as part of Toronto’s successful 2015 Pan American Games bid. In
addition to the city’s own experience with Copps Coliseum, a great deal of literature has been written in the last decade that concludes that stadiums generally reduce the level of per capita real income in a city while siphoning both private and public spending from other areas. Still, Hamilton has once again been blinded by the promise of international attention and prestige, even in the midst of continued job losses and factory closures.

Beyond the planned stadium and Hamilton’s role in the 2015 Pan American Games, the city has begun a number of potentially positive initiatives with regards to public transit and the city’s waterfront. Metrolinx is a provincially created agency with a mandate to improve the coordination and integration of all modes of transportation in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area. As part of their multi-region plan, Metrolinx has listed rapid transit in Downtown Hamilton as a top transit priority within the first 15 years of a 25+ year plan. Though still in the planning stages at the time of writing, the intention is to create an east-west connection across the lower city spanning from Eastgate Mall in the east to McMaster University in the west. Light Rail Transit (LRT), Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), or a combination of the two will be used with plans for a future north-south connection from the city’s...
waterfront, and up the Niagara Escarpment to the Hamilton International Airport.

Efforts are also underway to improve public access to the city’s waterfront with plans for an artisan market, public art, cafes, retail and some residential at the terminus of northern James Street. Despite these promising initiatives, the city continues to undermine chances for real downtown revitalization by allowing the city to sprawl ever further from its centre with low-density suburban developments. As a result of such sprawl, the city faced a $150 million spending shortfall on roads, pipes, utilities and other structures in 2009. In a city that has been shedding rather than gaining jobs, downtown councillor Bob Bratina responded to the spending shortfall at a Public Works Committee meeting on January 21, 2010. Bratina called this type of a growth strategy unsustainable on a number of levels as it essentially subsidizes residences for people who work elsewhere. Still, this suburban greenfield development mentality persists as the city continues to push for urban boundary expansions— including a planned 1254 hectare expansion around Hamilton International Airport to provide airport-related employment lands and support further population growth. To put the size of such an expansion in perspective, the proposed expansion is approximately 8.2 times the size of the city’s downtown.
As the city struggles to reinvent itself amid its collapsing industries and the loss of its Steeltown identity, many local citizens and politicians are inclined to turn their backs on the urban parts of Hamilton, particularly its downtown. A citizen-led initiative to rebrand the city from ‘Steeltown’ to ‘The City of Waterfalls’ emphasizes the desire for a disassociation from the man-made city, relying instead on Hamilton’s natural surroundings. Counter to this, a growing population of artists and design professionals have been slowly taking advantage of the city’s rich built heritage.

Figure 2.106
The Toronto skyline seen across Lake Ontario with Hamilton industry in the foreground
Hamilton’s Creative Context

In the midst of Hamilton’s fixation with being perceived as a world class city that rivals Toronto, a number of artists and design professionals have begun to abandon Toronto, choosing instead to live and work in Hamilton. Attracted by the city’s urban amenities, expansive industrial areas, and affordable real estate prices, many creatives have been able to see what so many politicians and business leaders have not – that regardless of its perceived shortcomings, Hamilton has a great deal to offer. This trend has caused some to declare the presence of a massive art-brain-drain from Toronto to Hamilton.27 In fact, between 1991 and 2006, Hamilton’s design workforce grew at an annual rate of 5.8%. During the same period, Toronto’s design workforce grew at 3.7%, while provincially it grew at a rate of 3.9%. Making this increase in designers working in Hamilton even more significant is the fact that Hamilton’s total labour force grew by only 0.9% from 1991 to 2006 (compared to 1.6% in Toronto).28 So, even though Hamilton’s overall labour force grew at a much slower rate than Toronto’s, the city’s design workforce growth managed to increase at a significantly faster rate. Although Hamilton’s manufacturing past has meant that a significant number of industrial designers have traditionally lived in the city, this above average increase in all types of designers marks a larger national trend that has seen de-
signers dispersing from Canada’s largest urban centres to a second tier of mid-size Canadian cities. This trend has been particularly true for cities that, like Hamilton, are within a short distance to a major urban centre, but offer their own urban downtown environment and associated amenities.

The majority of these new artists and designers have settled along a four block portion of James Street North. This burgeoning arts district (that begins at the northeast corner of the Jackson Square superblock) has become home to over two dozen galleries and artist studios. The scene has been bolstered by the opening of several arts-focussed cafes and restaurants along the stretch offering spaces of interaction...
The galleries, bars, cafes, and studio spaces that make up the James Street North arts scene:

**This Ain't Hollywood** | 345 James St N | small music venue
**You and Me Gallery** | 330 James St N | art gallery
**James North Studio** | 328 James St N | a collective of 13 visual artists
**Artwood Art Bar & Gallery** | 15 Colbourne St | music venue, bar, and gallery
**Christ's Church Cathedral** | 252 James St N | new harbours music series
**Socald Studio Gallery** | 244 James St N | art gallery
**Blue Angel Gallery** | 243 James St N | art gallery
**The Brain** | 199 James St N | bar and meeting place
**The Studios at Hotel Hamilton** | 195 James St N | artist studios
**My Dog Joe Coffeehouse** | 195 James St N | cafe and art gallery
**The Clay Studio** | 175 James St N | pottery gallery
**Studios at Vasco de Gama** | 175 James St N | art gallery
**The Print Studio** | 173 James St N | printmaking studio and gallery
**Tribal Gallery** | 174 James St N | nomadic, tribal and ethnic jewellery & art
**Olinda's Fashion Studio** | 172 James St N | original fashion designs
**Hamilton History + Heritage** | 165 James St N | history-focused gallery
**Hamilton Artists' Inc** | 161 James St N | gallery and non-profit artist-run centre
**Mixed Media** | 154 James St N | independent art shop
**White Elephant** | 152 James St N | vintage oddities
**Loose Cannon Gallery** | 150 James St N | young emerging artist gallery
**Melanie Gillis Photography** | 126 James St N | photography studio
**Sylvia Nickerson Illustration** | 126 James St N | artist studio
**The Factory** | 126 James St N | media art centre
**TCA / Thier + Curran Architects** | 118 James St N | architecture studio
**The Sonic Unyon** | 22 Wilson St | art, music, and fashion studios
**Mex-I-Can** | 107 James St N | restaurant featuring art exhibits and live music
**Downtown Arts Centre** | 28 Rebecca St | theatre and gallery space
**SkyDragon Centre** | 27 King William St | multi-use centre and cafe

Figure 2.108
and contemplation to patrons. Most significantly, affordable prices have allowed artists to purchase, not rent their galleries, studios, and homes. So, unlike the trend that has consistently repeated itself in larger cities such as Toronto, these artists cannot be edged out of the neighbourhood by developers and gentrification. Instead they are now rooted within Hamilton. This rootedness has led to a greater concern for the revitalization of the area and downtown in general.\(^{30}\)

The monthly art crawls run by the James North artists have been very successful in this movement by attracting hundreds of people to the city’s downtown and offering them a positive and stimulating experience. In October of 2009, the coalition of James North arts groups and individuals were able to expand the art crawl experience by creating the first ever Supercrawl. Attracting thousands rather than hundreds, the Supercrawl event incorporated three stages of musicians and performers and for the first time, a portion of James Street North was closed down.\(^{31}\) Incredibly, all of this was accomplished with limited support (financial or otherwise) from the city.

Although the accomplishments of the James North arts community have been significant, many feel that the next level of success cannot be achieved without support at the
municipal level. In its 2005 Economic Development Strategy, the city took steps to identify ‘Film and Culture’ industries as a unique emerging cluster in the city. The other emerging clusters recognized in the same report were ‘Biotechnology & Biomedical’ and the aforementioned ‘Aerotropolis’ (development surrounding the airport). As well, the weight of the report’s ‘Film and Culture’ section is placed on the film and television industry, relegating the arts and culture portion to an ancillary role.

Thanks largely to the efforts of the James North arts community, the profile of arts, music, and design has been significantly raised since the city’s 2005 report. In its 2009 Economic Development Strategy (draft) the city of Hamilton listed the development of a ‘Creative Catalyst’ as a key deliverable of the Creative Industries Cluster. The creative catalyst model is one that has been used in a number of cities – including Asheville, NC – to foster and incubate creative industries in their nascent state. By providing studio space and other resources, these catalysts aim to boost the economic viability of the Creative Industries Cluster with a long-term goal of incubated businesses moving beyond the walls of a creative catalyst into the broader city. In Hamilton, the goal is to locate a creative catalyst in a large iconic building (or buildings in a precinct) downtown with an educational or cultural institution as an anchor.

Figure 2.111
Hamilton’s Barton Street transformed into a post-apocalyptic scene for a 2009 movie shoot
2.4 SITE SPECIFIC CONSIDERATIONS

In the following chapter, Jackson Square will become the focus of a design case study in an application of the material discussed thus far. While it can be said that the construction of Jackson Square was the single most self-destructive act to the physical and psychological health of Hamilton, its reconstruction must be approached with a great deal of sensitivity and awareness to ensure mistakes of the past are not repeated. Within the design guidelines presented at the end of Part I, creating spaces filled with meaning is one of the design principles. Preserving and enhancing that which is unique, authentic and local; and making references to local historical and physical context are strategies for achieving this meaning. Since these strategies are based on unique local factors, their implementation will be manifested differently in every city. Based on the discoveries made in Part II regarding Hamilton and its context, the following are unique local factors that will be drawn from for the design proposal in the following section.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Design Principles</strong></th>
<th><strong>Site Specific Strategies</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Create spaces filled with meaning</td>
<td>• Reference the city’s dominant natural feature of the Niagara Escarpment and its waterfalls as well as the city’s ‘Steeltown’ identity through materiality, art, and amenities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allow for diversity, disorder, and complexity</td>
<td>• Design must accommodate everyday needs for citizens from the James North arts community as well as citizens from downtown neighbourhoods such as Beasley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The market will be used as an anchor for a public space that serves these everyday needs, returning this historic Hamilton institution to a place of greater relevance and prominence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Given the site’s prominent location in the city, it must have the potential to act at the scale of the entire city in terms of events, perception, and scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Addressing citywide accessibility, the proposed east-west rapid transit route will be incorporated into the site, creating an important transit hub and building on the site’s relevance as part of everyday routines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Upholding the locally generated vision, the concept of the ‘Creative Catalyst’ combined with an educational institution will be utilized to further anchor and populate the site while supporting a broadening of the existing arts community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENDNOTES

1 2006 census
4 Martin, July 8, 2009.
5 2006 census
8 Cooper, P 10.
11 Freeman, (1979), P 21.
12 Freeman, (1979), P 15.
14 Author Unknown. (1965, April 10). The Hamilton Spectator.
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http://www.metrolinx.com/thebigmove/lookingforward/5_2_first15years.html

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Vinodrai, 2009.


http://hamilton.ca/ProjectsInitiatives/CreativeCatalyst/
Facing Renewal: Redesigning Jackson Square
3.1 DESIGN PROPOSAL

Downtown Hamilton 1911

Downtown Hamilton NOW

Figure 3.01

Figure 3.02
Figure 3.04 & Figure 3.05
Existing axonometric views looking northwest (top) and southeast (bottom). Proposed areas of demolition are shown in teal. The majority of the demolished area comprises of the one-storey indoor mall that connects the anchor buildings of the site.
Figure 2.06 & Figure 2.07
Proposed axonometric views looking northwest (top) and southeast (bottom). The scheme proposes an extension of the grade-level public realm through a system of streets, sidewalks, and squares. Framing these spaces are the existing anchor buildings of the site and several new buildings/structures shown in green.
EXISTING SITE PLAN

Figure 3.08
Figure 3.09

PROPOSED SITE PLAN
EXISTING ELEVATIONS

SOUTH ELEVATION
KING STREET WEST
Figure 3.10

NORTH ELEVATION
YORK BOULEVARD
Figure 3.12
Figure 3.11

WEST ELEVATION
BAY STREET NORTH

Figure 3.13

EAST ELEVATION
JAMES STREET NORTH

[Legend: RETAIL, OFFICE, MARKET, HOTEL, RESIDENTIAL, LIBRARY, ARENA, ARTS-RELATED INSTITUTIONAL, SERVICES / UNDERGROUND PARKING]
PROPOSED ELEVATIONS

![Diagram showing proposed elevations for King Street West and York Boulevard.](image)
USES OF REMAINING BUILDINGS

**Copps Coliseum**
- Present Use: Ground Floor: hockey / concert arena
- Proposed Use: Ground Floor: unchanged

**Standard Life Building**
- Present Use: Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail
  Upper Floors: commercial - office
- Proposed Use: Ground Floor: commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts where possible
  Upper Floors: commercial - office

**Sheraton Hotel**
- Present Use: Ground Floor: lobby + commercial - mall retail
  Upper Floors: hotel
- Proposed Use: Ground Floor: lobby + commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts where possible
  Upper Floors: hotel

**Robert Thomson Building**
- Present Use: Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail
  Upper Floors: commercial - office
- Proposed Use: Ground Floor: open ground plane + main transit station + public washrooms
  Upper Floors: unchanged

Figure 3.18 - 3.21
**100 King St W (former Stelco Tower)**

**Present Use**
- Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail
- Upper Floors: commercial - office

**Proposed Use**
- Ground Floor: commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts where possible
- 2-13 Floor: commercial - office + new residential units
- 14-24 Floor: commercial - office + new residential units

---

**1 James St N (former Bank of Montreal Pavilion)**

**Present Use**
- Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail
- Upper Floors: commercial - office

**Proposed Use**
- Ground Floor: commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts where possible
- Upper Floors: commercial - office + studios

---

**Hamilton City Centre (former Eaton Centre)**

**Present Use**
- Basement: commercial - mall retail
- Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail + office
- Second Floor: commercial - office (temporary city offices)

**Proposed Use**
- Basement: commercial - mall retail
- Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail with street-facing storefronts where possible
- Second Floor: commercial - mall retail (relocated retail from demolished Jackson Square)

---

Figure 3.22 - 3.24
**Former Eaton’s Department Store**

**Present Use**
- Basement: commercial - mall retail
- Ground Floor: commercial - mall retail + office
- Second Floor: commercial - office (temporary city offices)

**Proposed Use**
- Basement: unchanged
- Ground Floor: commercial - creative incubator
- Second Floor: institutional - post-secondary arts-related program

---

**Central Library**

**Present Use**
- Ground Floor: library - reading room + computer access + checkout
- Upper Floors: library - book stacks

**Proposed Use**
- Ground Floor: unchanged
- Upper Floors: unchanged

---

**Existing Farmers’ Market**

**Present Use**
- Basement: market stalls
- Ground Floor: market stalls

**Proposed Use**
- Basement: Art Gallery of Hamilton (AGH) modern gallery + flexible performance space
- Ground Floor: AGH modern gallery

---

Figure 3.25 - 3.27
USES OF PROPOSED BUILDINGS

**York Blvd Building**
Proposed Use: Ground Floor: commercial - sports related restaurant/bar

**Market and MacNab St Building**
Proposed Use: Ground Floor: commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts
Upper Floors: mix of affordable and market-rate residential units

**King St W (near James St) Building**
Proposed Use: Ground Floor: commercial - retail with street-facing storefronts
Upper Floors: mix of affordable and market-rate residential units

**Market and Park St Building**
Proposed Use: Ground Floor: commercial - Chagall’s Restaurant, relocated from demolished portion of Sheraton Hotel
Upper Floors: mix of affordable and market-rate residential units

**Market Hall**
Proposed Use: Ground Floor: market stalls + cafe-style seating areas

Figure 3.28 - 3.32
Figure 3.33

view North from the intersection of Macnab Street and King Street West

the ground floor of the Robert Thomson Building serves as a transit station

market stalls extend across Jackson Market Square to King Street

light rail transit adds an additional layer of complexity to King Street

The Transformative City
Copps Coliseum is permitted to spill onto the square. The new Market Hall; its sculptural form speaks to the building’s prominence while allowing its roof to serve as a fifth elevation, visible to the surrounding towers. A tower element aids in wayfinding and anchors the square. A gap within the market stalls creates a secondary pedestrian route across the square.

Figure 3.34
view North towards Jackson Market Square
wherever possible, ground floor spaces are permeable and transparent

a living wall adds texture and life to one of Copps Coliseum’s blank walls

the street’s narrow proportion is shared with cyclists, requiring vehicular traffic to travel slowly

Figure 3.35
view East along Market Street (near Bay)
an arts-related institutional use and creative incubator provide regular users for the newly created public spaces. Large areas of window replace the previously blank facade of the former Eaton’s department store.

Figure 3.36
view West along Market Street (near James)
MATERIALITY

an appropriate material for both pavers and cladding, **limestone** references the geology of the area’s most dominant natural feature - the Niagara Escarpment.

the use of **red brick** is also contextually appropriate, referencing the dominant material of the downtown’s historic built fabric

**steel** references the city’s industrial past - while already heavily used in the site’s existing buildings, it has potential to be used in different forms (such as corten or stainless) to further reinforce this part of the city’s identity
EXPERIENTIAL ILLUSTRATIONS

While the preceding vignettes are meant to capture scale and general feel, the following illustrations are meant to express the experiences that could occur within the project’s streets and public spaces. They have been represented as pages from an individual’s visual journal or scrapbook - a documentation of memories made and experiences had. It is this creation of memories through meaningful experiences that will make the project relevant within the consciousness of citizens, allowing it to function as the city’s physical centre and symbolic heart.

Three events have been chosen for representation; an Art Crawl, a Canada Day Festival, and a holiday-themed day in December.
Figure 3.40
view West along Market Street
(near James) during a monthly
Art Crawl

... dramabot! ... suspended lanterns ... exhibition openings ... street as gallery ... gallery as street ... local artists ... local art ... social exchanges ... institutional anchor ... art crawl extended ... art crawl expanded ...
... free entertainment ... local bands and musicians ... Hamilton’s Lancaster Bomber ... fireworks ... local pride ... national pride ... flexible space ... performance space ... celebration space ... shared experiences ...
... holiday market ... locally made unique gifts ... bright lights ... multi-colour projected snowflakes ... public skating ... carousel ... fresh cut trees ... annual tradition ... roasted chestnuts ... time with family ... civic tree ...
3.2 DISCUSSION & REFLECTION

More than anything else, this redesign seeks to integrate the Jackson Square superblock with the rest of downtown Hamilton while reintroducing grade-level public space of varying types and scales. In using this approach, the design does not seek to slavishly recreate the site’s pre-renewal state; rather, it incorporates many of the site’s existing elements - bringing them together in a new, more human-scaled way.

Jackson Market Square is the dominant space of the project. It has been designed to function at the scale of the city. Just as the previous Market Square did before its so-called renewal, the new square is intended to serve as a symbolic heart for the city. The presence of the farmers’ market and a multi-modal transit hub along King Street ensure that the space will become a relevant part of everyday experiences. Its scale also allows it to take on an entirely different character to accommodate less frequent large scale events such as protests, festivals, and celebrations. Smaller scale spaces throughout the design offer opportunities for different forms of inhabitation and use.

The design’s multi-functional streets reject notions of separated uses, opting instead to channel cyclists and motorists
together along minimally dimensioned thoroughfares, while pedestrians take predominance along adjacent sidewalks. This intentional move seeks to uphold the ideals of disorder and complexity previously discussed. It is also intended that this site not be used for moving through quickly but that it be used for creating meaningful experiences through active and passive interaction.

In its previous form, the site was devoid of any residential uses. The redesign remedies this by converting a number of floors within the former Stelco Tower into residential units and by adding additional units on the upper floors of the proposed new buildings. Such a move ensures that the site would be occupied beyond business hours.

Admittedly, such an undertaking would require an immense level of cooperation amongst the many stakeholders involved. While this thesis has criticized the city of Hamilton’s past subsidization of private interests, the manifestation of a project such as this would once again require significant contributions of public funds along with private industry partnerships. However, unlike past undertakings, the ultimate goals of this project place public needs over private profits.
Beyond such a shift in priorities, the implementation of the project would require further consideration for where the city’s potential lies. Instead of continuing to encourage outward growth through the approval of new big box shopping areas and through initiatives such as the previously mentioned outlying ‘Aerotropolis’, the success of this proposed project would hinge on a widespread commitment to Hamilton’s downtown. Before such a paradigm shift could take hold, other investments such as the implementation of Light Rail Transit or the presence of a National Hockey League (NHL) team in Copps Coliseum would likely be needed. Such large scale investments would not only further increase the chances of success for this proposed redesign, but they would present the city’s downtown in a new and positive light.
Creative City Theory and its widespread adoption as a means for urban revitalization marked the beginning of this thesis's investigation into how mid-size cities such as Hamilton with neighbourhoods such as Beasley can be revitalized. The challenge has been discovering what truly makes a city creative and inspiring, not only attracting creative individuals, but harnessing creativity amongst all citizens.

It is successful public spaces within a vibrant and human-scaled urban fabric that have been found to be vital in this endeavour - the types of spaces that embrace the disorder and complexity of the city while presenting opportunities to both carry out everyday routines and experience large scale civic events. These spaces must incorporate a number of necessary ingredients, dealing with practical issues such as scale, permeability, and sensory experience while considering experiential qualities through an honouring of local meaning, local history, and local context. Such a human-centred design approach is counter to most of what has been built in post World War Two North America where efficient, generic, and sterile built environments have become the norm - shattering rather than fostering creativity. Conversely, complex and multifunctional urban spaces promote random encounters and the sharing of ideas allow-
ing for innovation, originality, and creativity to be fostered. Furthermore, such spaces have been demonstrated to develop psychologically whole adults who are granted access to their true and most creative self. In accessing this true self, one must be placed in a physical environment that not only allows but promotes dealing with issues of the psychological shadow – issues that might otherwise be suppressed.

This dealing with the shadow can be seen as also necessary for cities attempting to revitalize. In the case of Hamilton, it means directly facing the self-inflicted wounds of renewal while simultaneously remaining mindful of the delicate challenges these wounds have created in neighbourhoods such as Beasley. It is through the proposed redesign of Jackson Square that these complex and interrelated issues can be dealt with. The specifics of the design are rooted in local issues and contextual solutions. However, by following the principles of the Design Guidelines presented in Chapter 2, Jackson Square’s redesign can be seen as a case example for revitalization in a mid-size North American city – reimagining it as a place that nourishes the soul rather than shattering it.
One of the largest challenges of an undertaking such as this is that, for the most part, the design presented represents just one voice – that of the author. While a single participatory design workshop was held in the form of the Beasley Neighbourhood Design Day, a much more extensive process of public engagement would be needed to ensure that the end result be reflective of Hamilton’s culture and its citizens’ needs. Such a process may even lead to a revitalization project other than Jackson Square if such a project is deemed to be more reflective of local desires. While viewed as an unexpected choice for revitalization by outsiders, the very successful aquarium project in Chattanooga, Tennessee was chosen based on such a public consultation process.

The design presented here for Hamilton can therefore be viewed as a framework. It represents the first few layers of something that, in the end, would be designed by many voices resulting in something much richer than what any one person could design in isolation.

Within this framework where many design voices are needed for success, understanding the role of the architect can also be seen as a challenge. However, within this process is an
opportunity for the architect to not only lend a strong design voice, but to act as communicator, educator, coordinator, and advocate. Perhaps above all others roles, it is advocating for the type of city that inspires him or her as a creative professional that is most important. After all, the architect is part of a group that Richard Florida calls super creatives. Who better then to lead a creative-based revitalization of the city, transforming it into the type of place that taps into the latent creativity of all citizens?

Much of the research within this thesis also legitimizes the role of the architect within North American society, a role that is often subverted. By recognizing the value of design and beauty, not as added, but as intrinsically necessary attributes of the built environment, the expertise of architects also becomes a necessary component of successful creative cities.
LIMITATIONS

Due to its scope, there are a number of topics that this thesis either does not address or only briefly touches on. Some areas for further research include:

- Further research of effective street design and the role and accommodation of multiple modes of transportation
- The role of participatory design in revitalization and methods for a successful public engagement process
- Consideration for effective urban design elements including seating, lighting, and street furniture - examining their ability to shape quality public space
- The required regulatory and paradigm changes required with regards to suburban growth and planning that are required in tandem with the material presented here for downtown revitalization to occur
CLOSING REMARKS

Creative city theory must not be seen as a panacea. Such an approach risks ignoring a city’s existing creative potential, unique assets, and other local factors. In the end, cities are far too complex for any one people group to be seen as a cure to downtown decline and transitioning economies. However, as evidenced by Hamilton’s case, when artists and creative individuals develop a love for a city, they demonstrate an ability to adaptively reuse historic buildings and create opportunities for positive experiences. As a result, they contribute to reversing negative perceptions, and help to reveal a city’s previously hidden potential to others.

Beyond all criticisms and research of creative city theory, this thesis has sought to place value on people as engines of revitalization – and not only those categorized as belonging to a narrowly defined creative class. In a city such as Hamilton and the hundreds of cities like it where economically motivated bureaucracies have eroded quality of life in favour of developers and big business industry, the abilities of people to create, innovate, and lead a fulfilling existence have been undermined. Such policies and misguided efforts have allowed once thriving inner-city neighbourhoods such as Beasley to fall into deep states of decay. This thesis posits that by following well-informed guidelines, the transformation of the city to place people and their needs first can have lasting, meaningful, and transformative effects.


APPENDIX A: CITY CASE STUDIES
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

Population: City of Rochester: 208,123 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 1,098,201

Population Peak: 1950, 332,488

Identity: ‘Flour City’ because Rochester was the largest flour producing city in America in the early 19th century

‘Flower City’ because as wheat-processing industry moved west, the city became home to a booming nursery business

‘The World’s Image Centre’, referring to the historical concentration of photography, xerography, and optics companies in the city

Regional Role: Rochester, the third largest city in New York State, is the economic and cultural center of the Genesee River-Finger Lakes region and gateway to the fertile Lake Ontario Fruit Belt.

Historical Primary Industry: As implied by its nicknames, Rochester was known for flour production and its nursery businesses in the 19th century. Post WWII, companies such as Eastman Kodak and Xerox were among the city’s top employers, although their numbers have dropped dramatically since 2000.
Appendix A: City Case Studies

Largest Employment Sector: Education and Health Services (19.4%), Trade, Transportation, and Utilities (16.6%)^4

Largest Employer: University of Rochester/Strong Health (19,441)^5

Failed Past Renewal Initiatives: Construction of the Civic Center (1950s) and Midtown Plaza, America’s first downtown indoor mall (1962). Midtown Plaza fulfilled the vision of architect Victor Gruen for the future of downtowns. Gruen had previously been known for being the designer of America’s first suburban enclosed malls. In addition to a mall, Midtown Plaza also included a 400 seat auditorium, and a skyscraper office building with hotel and restaurant. During this time, measures were also taken to make the city’s downtown more automobile-friendly with new and widened roadways.^

Current Revitalization Initiatives: Reversing the Midtown Plaza Renewal scheme is among the largest initiatives being undertaken in Rochester. Midtown was closed in the summer of 2008 with plans to be replaced by an 8-12 story tower housing the headquarters of telecommunications company PAETEC. Included in the scheme is a new grid of streets where the 8-acre superblock once stood and a central square for gatherings. With this plan and other incentive programs, Rochester has shifted its focus for the core from competing with its suburban counterparts for retail businesses, instead focusing on having more people living and working downtown.
The Transformative City

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

City of Pittsburgh: 312,819 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 2,351,192

Population: City of Pittsburgh: 312,819 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 2,351,192

Population Peak: 1950, 676,806

Identity: ‘Iron City’, then ‘Steel City’. Located in the middle of one of America’s most productive coalfields, Pittsburgh quickly grew to become a major manufacturing centre in the early 19th century. In the mid to late 19th century, steel replaced iron as the city’s principal product. For similar reasons, Pittsburgh has also been known as ‘The Birmingham of America’.10

Regional Role: Pittsburgh is the second largest city in Pennsylvania and is the county seat of Allegheny County. While Pittsburgh’s population has fallen to less than half of its 1950s peak, the city’s downtown has retained a substantial economic influence. Although the city ranks 59th in terms of most populous American cities, it ranks 25th for number of jobs within an urban core – and 6th in jobs density.11

Historical Primary Industry: Steel was by far the city’s primary industry historically. By the 1920s, one third of all steel produced in America was produced in Pittsburgh.12 This industry collapsed in the 1970s with the number of steel workers in Pittsburgh dropping from 90,000 in 1976 to 44,000 in 1980. While the headquarters of American Steel remains within the city, not a single steel mill remains.13

Largest Employment Sector: Trade, Transportation, and Utilities (20.6%), Education and Health Services (18.8%).14
Failed Past Renewal Initiatives:
Pittsburgh began its version of modernist renewal in 1946 with a project entitled Renaissance 1. Vast swaths of the city’s low income neighbourhoods were razed to make way for a new modern vision. Over 1200 residents were displaced to build a new cultural center that opened in 1961. As well, 125 acres of the East Liberty neighbourhood were demolished to construct garden apartments, three 20-story public housing apartments and a non-continuous serpentine road system. The area quickly became an urban ghetto. All of the buildings in the historic centre of Allegheny City, with the exception of the Old U.S. Post Office, the Carnegie Library, and Buhl Planetarium were destroyed and replaced with the Allegheny Center mall and apartments.

Current Revitalization Initiatives:
Today, the city of Pittsburgh is heralded as a success story in terms of transitioning from a manufacturing economy to one that focuses on services, medicine, higher education, tourism, banking, corporate headquarters, and high technology. A number of initiatives have also been undertaken to rehabilitate sites of former industry. In 1985 the J & L Steel site on the north side of the Monongahela river was cleared and a publicly subsidized High Technology Center was built. More recently, Three Rivers Park has utilized a number of former industrial sites and will eventually offer continuous trails and green space along a more than 13-mile stretch of riverfront. The successes of Pittsburgh in transitioning its economy and revitalizing its spaces led it to be chosen as host of the G-20 summit in 2009.
**Population:** City of Durham: 209,009 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 489,762

**Identity:** ‘Bull City’ for Blackwell Tobacco Company product in 1800s
‘Medicine City’ for over 300 medical and health-related companies as well as a top ranking medical centre at Duke University

**Regional Role:** Core of the four-county Durham MSA (489,762 people)
Located approximately 45km from Raleigh, North Carolina’s capital
Along with Raleigh and Chapel Hill, Durham makes up one corner of what is known as the Research Triangle Metropolitan Region

**Historical Primary Industry:** Predominantly tobacco, also textiles

**Largest Employment Sector:** Manufacturing (18.2%), Education and Health Services (17.7%)

**Largest Employer:** Duke University (18,000)
Failed Past Renewal Initiatives: Construction of Durham Civic Centre in the 1980s. This redevelopment included the Durham Centre Office Tower, a Marriot Hotel, an expansion of the Royal Centre for the Arts, a restoration of the Carolina Theatre, and the construction of an $11 million parking garage.24

Current Revitalization Initiatives: Recent initiatives in Durham have focused on arts and culture. The Durham Association for Downtown Arts (DADA) was founded in 1998. DADA seeks to support local artists while helping local residents access these artists. By 2003, the city began to realize that a large number of cultural producers were clustering in the city’s formerly abandoned industrial fabric. In response to this, the city initiated a cultural master plan in an attempt to understand arts on both an economic and cultural level. As a result, the city runs a number of public events to raise the profile of Durham’s cultural community. They also offer financial incentives for small entrepreneurs to be able to take advantage of spaces available in the downtown area. This has created an incubator of creative and inventive people and added dramatically to local street life.
Population: City of Chattanooga: 155,190 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 518,441

Population Peak: 1980, 165,565 (though it has been reported that population losses have recently been regained)

Identity: ‘Pittsburgh of the South’, due to the city’s heavy reliance on high polluting industries for economic survival. It has also been referred to as ‘America’s dirtiest city’.

‘The Sustainable City’, a new name to reflect the city’s efforts to reinvent itself.

Regional Role: Chattanooga is the fourth-largest city in Tennessee and is the seat of Hamilton County. The closest major city is Atlanta, Georgia – located 104 south-southwest of Chattanooga.

Historical Primary Industry: Heavy industry such as iron foundries, textile mills, and chemical plants.
Appendix A: City Case Studies

Largest Employment Sector: Manufacturing (15.2%), Government (15.0%)²⁹

Largest Employer: BlueCross BlueShield of Tennessee (4498)³⁰

Failed Past Renewal Initiatives: While mistakes were likely made in some instances, many of the positive changes the city has experienced in recent times were initially planned as early as the 1980s. Therefore, there is little evidence of failed renewal initiatives in Chattanooga.

Current Revitalization Initiatives: Chattanooga used extensive citizen participation to create a revitalization plan entitled ‘Vision 2000’. This plan, and its follow up, ‘Revision 2000’, has led to the revitalization of historic theatres, inns and a new waterfront park called Riverwalk. This system of public space allows residents and visitors access to the city’s riverfront – something that was previously impossible due to the presence of industry. A new major downtown attraction, The Tennessee Aquarium was also constructed attracting 1.5 million visitors during its first year of operation alone. The city continues to focus on reversing its former polluted image by emphasizing sustainability and remediation.³¹

Figure A.12 heavy industry dominates the skyline of Chattanooga in this 1950s postcard

Figure A.13 steel fabricated art references the city’s past along the new Riverwalk Park

Figure A.14 the Tennessee Aquarium has become a major attraction in the city
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

**Population:** City of Asheville: 78,543 (2006 est), Metropolitan Area 408,436

**Population Peak:** Current Population

**Identity:** ‘The Land of the Sky’, based on a book of the same name written by Frances Fisher Tieran in 1876. The name refers to the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains that Asheville is located between.

**Regional Role:** Asheville is the largest city in Western North Carolina and therefore forms the most prominent commercial hub.

**Historical Primary Industry:** Tourism has historically been the primary industry of Asheville due to its scenic mountain surroundings. The city saw a hotel building boom during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

**Largest Employment Sector:** Health Services & Private Education (16.9%), Government (14.7%)

**Largest Employer:** Mission Health & Hospitals (5125)
Failed Past Renewal Initiatives: Asheville was particularly hard hit by the Great Depression of the 1930s with a per capita debt held by the city that was larger than any other American city. The city chose to pay these debts over a 50 year period resulting in slow economic growth from the Depression through the 1980s. For this reason, the city was not able to take advantage of any renewal program incentives leaving most buildings in Asheville’s downtown district unaltered.37

Current Revitalization Initiatives: The downtown of Asheville has been connected through an ‘Urban Art Trail’. The art trail allows residents and visitors to easily navigate the downtown in a memorable way and incorporates a large amount of public art while showcasing Asheville’s stock of historic buildings. A number of these buildings have been repurposed, many with an arts theme. For example, the city converted a former department store into an incubator for creative and knowledge-based businesses. Quality public space has also been created in the city’s downtown such as Patton Park.
ENDNOTES


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Appendix A: City Case Studies

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